



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DISCIPLINE AREA

**THE IMPACTS OF THE SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION: THE
CASE OF MEXICAN UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS IN THE
UNITED STATES SINCE 1986**

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SUPERVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. DR. DIMITRIOS TRIANTAPHYLLOU

MASTER'S THESIS

ISTANBUL, DECEMBER, 2017

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partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master's in the
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ISTANBUL, DECEMBER, 2017

I, GRICELIA LLORENTE SUÁREZ;

Hereby declare that this Master's Thesis is my own original work and that due references have been appropriately provided on all supporting literature and resources.

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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

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ABBREVIATIONS LIST

ACLU	The American Civil Liberties Union
CBP	Customs and Border Protection
CIR	Comprehensive Immigration Reform for America's Security and Prosperity Act
CIS	Citizenship and Immigration Services
CRLAF	California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation
DACA	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DOJ	The Department of Justice
DOL	The Department of Labor
E-Verify	Employment Eligibility Verification Program
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
ICCPR	The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act
IAHCR	Inter-American Court of Human Rights
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
IIRIRA	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act
MCDC	Minutemen Civil Defense Corps
MRI	Migrants Rights International
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
PRWORA	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act
SRE	Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores
SSA	Social Security Administration
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
U.S.	United States

ABSTRACT

LLORENTE SUÁREZ, GRICELIA. *THE IMPACTS OF THE SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION: THE CASE OF MEXICAN UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1986*. MASTER'S THESIS, Istanbul, 2017.

In the discipline of International Relations, security used to refer exclusively to the field of military power. However, with the end of the Cold War, the orthodox concept has considerably broadened to include non-military areas. The century-long U.S.-Mexico migration system is an outstanding example of the widening of the security agenda in IR studies. Prior to 1986, the United States welcomed with open arms the Mexican immigrants that arrived to work in the U.S. farms during periods of crisis. However, since 1986 with the enactment of IRCA, the U.S. has established strong limits and barriers to Mexican undocumented migration, classifying the issue as a threat to their national security.

This process of the securitization of migration has comprised two main factors: the mechanism by which certain actors present through their discourses, the existence of a national security threat; and the practical results of these discourses such as a dramatic increase in the number of agents and budget to enforce the U.S.-Mexico border, the construction of physical fences and walls, the use of advanced technologies to control the movement of people, the enactment of restrictive immigration laws, massive deportations, among others. These indicators of the securitization of the Mexican undocumented migration in the U.S., have had several unintended consequences, for both, the migrants and the receiving country. In this regard, the main question that this research tries to answer is *what are the impacts of the securitization of migration on undocumented Mexican immigrants and in the United States?* Among these impacts are: (1) a geographic diversification of Mexican migration and the disruption of longstanding border-crossing patterns; (2) a shift from circularity towards settlement; (3) an increase in coyote use rates; (4) an escalation of migrants' deaths; (5) human rights violations; and (6) worsened labor conditions

Keywords: international migration, Mexico-U.S. migration, securitization, migration policy, security-migration nexus.

ÖZET

LLORENTE SUÁREZ, GRICELIA. *GÖÇÜN GÜVENLİKLEŞTİRME ETKİSİ: 1986'DAN BERİ BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLERDEKİ MEKSİKALI KAÇAK GÖÇMENLERİN DURUMU*. YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, İstanbul, 2017.

Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplininde güvenlik özellikle askeri güç alanına atıfta bulunmak üzere kullanılır. Öte yandan Soğuk Savaş'ın bitmesi ile beraber geleneksel kavram çevresel konular ve göç gibi askeri olmayan alanları da içine alacak şekilde büyük ölçüde genişlemiştir. Yüzyılı aşkın A.B.D.-Meksika göç sistemi, Uluslararası İlişkilerde güvenlik gündeminin genişlemesine mükemmel bir örnektir. 1986 öncesinde Birleşik Devletler, kriz dönemlerinde A.B.D. çiftliklerinde çalışmak için gelen göçmenleri sıcak bir şekilde karşıladı. Ne var ki 1986'dan itibaren Göçmenlik Reformu ve Kontrol Yasasının kabulü ile birlikte Birleşik Devletler bu konuyu ulusal güvenliğe bir tehdit olarak sınıflayarak kaçak Meksikalı göçüne güçlü kısıtlamalar ve engeller koydu.

Güvenlikleştirme süreci iki ana etkenden meydana gelmişti: ulusal güvenlik tehdidinin varlığını söylemleri ile dile getiren hükümet temsilcileri gibi aktörler; ve A.B.D.-Meksika sınırında kanunların uygulanması için gerekli bütçedeki ve yetkili sayısındaki belirgin artış, fiziksel çitlerin ve duvarların inşaatı, insanların hareketlerini kontrol etmek için yüksek teknolojinin kullanılması, kısıtlayıcı göçmenlik yasalarının yürürlüğe girmesi, kitlesel sınır dışı işlemleri, göç konusunu idare etmekten sorumlu kurumların ve karmaşık ağların geliştirilmesi gibi konuları kapsayan bu söylemlerin fiili sonuçları. Birleşik Devletlerde, Meksikalı kaçak göçünün güvenlikleştirme sinyallerinin hem kabul ülkesi hem de göçmenden açısından bazı kasıtsız sonuçları oldu. Bu bağlamda bu çalışmanın cevaplamaya çalıştığı esas soru *göçün güvenlikleştirme etkisinin kaçak Meksikalı göçmenler üzerinde ve Birleşik Devletler içerisindeki etkileri nelerdir?* Bu etkiler arasında: (1) Meksikalı göçünün coğrafi çeşitlendirmeye tabi tutulması ve süregelen sınır geçiş modellerinin bozulması; (2) döngüsellikten yerleşik düzene geçiş; (3) kaçak göçmenlik araçlarının kullanımında artış; (4) göçmenlerin ölümlerindeki artış; (5) insan hakları ihlalleri; ve (6) kötüleşen çalışma koşulları.

Anahtar Kelimeler: uluslararası göç, Meksika-A.B.D. göçü, güvenlikleştirme, göç politikası, güvenlik göç bağlantısı.



INTRODUCTION

Very few people would deny that it is migration, more than any other issue, that defines the existent relation between the United States of America and Mexico (Orrennius, Saving and Zavodny, 2016). The need to understand the dynamics in the world's largest migration corridor that exist between these two neighboring countries (Aragónes Castañer and Salgado Nieto, 2015; Levine 2015; Roldán, 2015), is greater than at any time in its more than a century-long existence (Escobar Latapí and Martin, 2008, p. ix). Today, more than ever before, there is a renewed interest in the long-standing Mexico-U.S. migration phenomenon, and in a particular manner, in the undocumented version of migration. The proposal of President Donald Trump to build a wall to separate the United States from its southern neighbor in order to stop the influx of *indocumentados* and *bad hombres* has caught not only the attention of both nations, but that of the entire international community as well.

Until the 20th century, the United States had an open and liberal migration policy where immigrants were considered as a valued and productive work force, stimulated at some periods, by the state itself (Izcara Palacios 2015). Indeed, as observed by Lopez (1998), massive migration from Mexico to the US did not begin until the northern country “urged and encouraged Mexican workers to fill lower echelon jobs in the country” (Urquijo-Ruiz 2004, p.63). Besides periods characterized by an active labor recruitment in the U.S. as seen during the Bracero Program era, the U.S. has followed a policy characterized by a passive acceptance of the cross-border movement, and later a period of discrimination and persecution of migrants (Massey 2011, p. 251).

Today we are at a very different stage in the history of the Mexico-U.S. migration phenomenon: the securitization of migration. The focus of many U.S. actors has shifted from negotiating a migration agenda, to actions such as securing the U.S.-Mexico border through aggressive efforts to control the flow of undocumented Mexican immigrants (Alba, 2016, p. 23). As argued by Orrennius, Saving and Zavodny (2016), the U.S. “has adopted fewer and fewer policies to accommodate the stream of Mexican migrants and focused increasingly on ways to impede it” (p. 37). The migration issue has gone from being considered a human and labor issue, to being understood as a matter of national security.

The notion that a collective migration such as the Mexican immigration, could pose an existential threat to the national security of the destination country, has been sustained through the discourses of politicians, pundits and the media. This perception has had significant implications in the political practice and legislation of migration receiving countries as the United States. The negative and not so true conception of migration as a security issue, has securitized the issue involving military solutions to a process that is a lot of things, but a military problem.

The mentioned changes in the US policies and anti-immigration discourses among U.S. decision makers, have led to a clear and strong securitization of Mexican undocumented immigration with ulterior and unintended consequences, most of them negative. Among these are a disruption in the patterns of migration from a temporary, circular movement, to a permanent residence in the United States; or an increased number of deaths “occurring as migrants attempt to cross into the United States through routes that are in remote desert regions” (Lowell, Pederzini Villareal and Passel, 2008, p.9).

In this context, the present research has the primarily objective to understand the impacts of the U.S. securitization of migration that targets undocumented Mexican immigrants. In this regard, the main question that this research tries to answer is *what are the impacts of the securitization of migration on undocumented Mexican immigrants and in the United States?* Subsequent questions follow the main one. Who are the agents that help to securitize migration and what are their strategies implemented to securitize the issue? How is the Mexican migration framed among the media and politicians? Are the United States strategies really diminishing the flow of undocumented Mexican migration that enters through their southern border?

In order to answer the mentioned research question and try to contribute to the existing literature on the subject, this paper follows a qualitative methodology to understand the impacts of the securitization of migration in the particular case of the Mexican undocumented immigrants in the United States. This thesis is sustained in several primary and secondary sources, in English as well as in Spanish, regarding the Mexico-to-United States migration phenomena, security studies, US migration legislations, human and labor rights, and theories such as the ones raised by the Copenhagen and Paris Schools.

This thesis is organized in 4 major chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion chapter. The first one, theorizes the concepts of security, securitization and the migration-security

nexus. The subsequent chapter presents two fundamental sections: one regarding the practical responses and measures that the U.S. has taken to securitize the undocumented Mexican migration; and the other, on how certain actors present before the public the existence of Mexican undocumented migration as threat to U.S. national security. The third chapter, argues the broad consequences or impacts that the securitization of migration has had since the U.S. Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Finally, the last chapter, includes some suggestions to de-securitize the issue of Mexican undocumented migration in the US.



CHAPTER 1

THEORIZING SECURITY

Historically, the concept of security is often related to the sphere “of power, of military and policy forces, of defense hardware and troop deployments, of intelligence and conflict” (Ackleson, 2005, p. 165). Security, used to refer exclusively to the field where nation states threatened each other, challenging each other sovereignty, trying to impose their will on each other, or defend their independence (Wæver, 1995, p. 50). Truly the discipline of International Relations has traditionally emphasized these aspects of security, and war remains the defining limit of the concept (Lipschutz 1995b, p.4). However, more and more, non-military areas as the environment, drug flows, AIDS, transnational crime, migration, among others, have been labeled also security threats (Ackleson, 2005). In this regard, the present chapter discusses what do we understand by security, what do we mean by securitization, as well as the nexus between migration and security.

1.1 WHAT IS SECURITY?

What makes something to be considered a threat or a security issue for any given country? The literature, as argued by Buzan, “largely treats security as ‘freedom from threat’” (Wæver, 1995, p. 52). Indeed, in a traditional sense, “security – from the Latin *securitas*– refers to tranquility and freedom from care, or what Cicero termed the absence of anxiety upon which the fulfilled life depends” (Liotta 2002, p.477). Security, therefore, is concerned with “a condition of being protected, free from danger, and safety” (Der Derian 1995, p.28). A security problem for a state, is then, “something that can undercut the political order”, the survival of the unit (Wæver, 1995, p. 52).

Definitely, the concept of security has not been a monotonous field, but it has constantly evolved (Wæver, 1995, p. 50). As argued by Wæve (1995), during the 1980s the security agenda has considerably broadened (p. 47). In this regard, “the strong military identification of earlier times has been diminished” (Ibid). It is to some extent, “always there, but more and more often in a metaphorical form, as other wars, other changes –

while the images of 'challenges to sovereignty' and defense have remained central" (Ibid). Consequently, the concept of security started to comprehend larger areas of social life, acquiring "a number of connotations, assumptions, and images derived from the 'international' discussion of national security" (Wæver, 1995, pp. 47- 50).

With the end of the Cold War many theoretical issues in the discipline of International Relations – "concerning, for example identity politics and communal conflict, multilateral security institutions, the development of norms and practices, and so-called new issues (environmental) – can be most usefully studied through a prism labeled 'security studies'" (Krause, 1996, p. 3). Under the new security agenda, any of these new threats can also undermine the national security of a state and threaten its survival (Lipschutz, 1995, p. 5).

Even though, as already mentioned, the military sector has been the most important in history (Wæver, 1995), "labelling something as a security issue permeates it with a sense of importance that legitimizes the use of emergency measures outside of the usual political process" (Bourbeau, 2011, p.39). As noted by Buzan et al. (1998), it is not precisely the use of the word "security" what it is essential for designating something a security threat; but the use of emergency actions "or special measures and the acceptance of that designation by a significant audience" (Williams, 2013, p. 526). As described by Wæve, "by naming a certain development a security problem, the 'state'(claims)... a special right (to intervene)" (Lipschutz, 1995, p. 10). A threat or a security issue, in consequence, is something "identifiable, often immediate, and requires an understandable response" (Liotta 2002, p.478).

In addition, according to Wæver the redefinition of the concept of security "either to encompass new sources of threat or specify new referent objects, risks applying the traditional logic of military behavior to nonmilitary problems" (Lipschutz, 1995, p. 19). At the heart of the term *security* "we still find something to do with defense and the state"; the concept "still evokes an image of threat-defense, allocating to the state an important role in addressing it" (Wæver 1995, p.47). In this regard, the problematique of security has applied the same military means to other sectors.

Moreover, according to Wæver, (1995), widening the concept of security "that is, saying that 'security is not only military defense of the state, it is also x and z'- has the unfortunate effect of expanding the security realm endlessly, until it encompasses the

whole social and political agenda” (p. 48). In this regard, according to Bigo (2006), one of the consequences of extending the definition of security, is that it puts widely disparate phenomena such as the fight against terrorism, drugs and unauthorized immigration in the same continuum (p.17). As happened in the case of the Mexico-US border enforcement, the result has been “the consolidation of border security policies in which undocumented migration, drug trafficking and terrorism are combatted with the same instruments” (Izcara Palacios 2015, p.324). For this reason, the realm of national security, which refers to the security of the state, “is the name of an ongoing debate” (Wæver, 1995, p. 48).

1.2 WHAT DO WE MEAN BY SECURITIZATION?

In 1995, “Ole Weaver coined the term *securitization* in reaction to traditional studies on security, the realist and neorealist theories of the discipline of IR that restricted the concept of threats only to dangers of a military type, generally between states” (Treviño-Rangel, 2016, p. 292). In this regard, the concept of securitization, for Buzan, Wilde and Wæve (1998), is a “process by which an issue is taken beyond the established rules of the game and treated as a special issue that requires special methods” (Garret, 2013, p. 1). The theory of securitization developed by Buzan, Wæver and their collaborators, is “a body of work that has now come to be called the ‘Copenhagen School’” (Williams 2013, p.511).

For authors like Ole Weaver, regarding the process of securitizing an issue, what matters is the study of two principal things; first “the process by which certain actors, such as the press or the executive, present before the public the existence of supposed threats (military or not) as a pretext for deploying certain emergency measures“; and second “the results of these process – for example, an increase in the number of police, greater resources, more armaments” (Treviño-Rangel, 2016, p. 292). According to this framework, in the securitization process, “an issue is a security issue if positioned as a threat to a particular political community” (McDonald, 2008, pp. 576-578).

For the securitization process, language is vital. As argued by J. Ackleson (2005), “how something becomes securitized can be partly traced through discourse” (p. 169). The discourse, especially at the political elite or state level, “regulates the debate and defines

the 'problem' or 'threat' to a state or society's security" (Ibid). Under this scenario, "a problem would become a *security* issue whenever so defined by the power holders" (Wæver, 1995, p. 56). In this regard, as stated by Buzan et al (1998), the process of securitizing an issue "is what in language theory is called a speech act" which is "enunciated by elites in order to securitize issues or 'fields'" (Lipschutz, 1995, p. 9). It is not that important if the security threat is real; "by saying the words, something is done (like betting, giving a promise, naming a ship)" (Bourbeau, 2011, p.39).

In this line of thinking, the fact that security is a concept socially constructed "does not mean that they are not to be found real" (Lipschutz 1995b, p.10). The *speech acts*, "do draw on material conditions 'out there'"(Lipschutz 1995a, p.214). In this regard, "the logic of security assumes that state actors possess 'capabilities'" that can be observed and measured such as the "number of tanks in the field, missiles in silos, men under arms" (Lipschutz 1995a, p.214). In this sense, the speech acts in the securitization process "generates a proportionate *response*, in which the imagined threat is used to manufacture real weapons and deploy real troops in arrays intended to convey certain imagined scenarios" (Lipschutz, 1995a, pp. 214-215).

As segued by the so-called Paris School, "security is constructed and applied to different issues and areas through a range of often routinized practices rather than only through specific speech acts that enable emergency measures" (McDonald, 2008, p. 570). In the particular case of the securitization of the migration issue, borders controls and surveillance are "a central part of securitization" for the mentioned School and have been a recurrent strategy in the securitization of migration in the United States (Ibid).

1.3 THE SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION: THE NEXUS BETWEEN MIGRATION AND SECURITY

The issue of migration is increasingly associated with a security problematique. According to Huysmans and Squire, migration "emerged as a security issue in a context marked both by the geopolitical dislocation associated with the end of the Cold War and also by wider social and political shifts associated with 'globalization'" (2009, p. 1). In other words, as argued by Ibrahim (2015), "with the end of the Cold War and the increasingly globalized nature of markets and modes of production, in security terms, the

focus on the state has shifted more to the individual... this redefinition has led to the broadening of security issues” encapsulating immigration “within a new security discourse” (p. 168).

Indeed, as shown by Bigo (1995), the security studies, as a sub-discipline of International Relations, entered in crisis in the late 1980’s, “resulting in the introduction of various ‘new’ insecurities into the field of analysis” (Huysmans & Squire 2009, p.1). The “increasing integration of the world economy, accelerating international contacts between business men, politicians and publics, and the growing importance of the international tourist industry” made international migration very difficult to control and manage for states (Heisler & Layton-Henry 1993, p.149). As a consequence, the security agenda broadened from a military bipolar focus, to issues such as the movement of people across borders (Huysmans and Squire, 2009, pp. 1-2).

The Cold War period “and the opening of China, the foreign menaces that had dominated the American imagination since 1945 suddenly disappeared”, presenting the possibility of shifting the attention to other potential national security threats (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 102). In this regard, “after the end of bipolarity, because of the crisis for the military world, the idea of the enemy continued to evolve” and for some sectors, the surveillance and protection of people from abroad became their task and the object in which the new technologies could be experimented (Bigo 2002, p.77).

Furthermore, in 1994, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report recognized that the concept of security has been interpreted narrowly for a long time: “as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust” (Liotta 2002, pp.476–477). The UNDP report concluded that “with the dark shadows of the Cold War receding, one can see that many conflicts are within nations rather than between nations” (Ibid). In this sense, as stated by Huysmans (1995), the free movement of people began to be contemplated as part of the security field, “thus consolidating the articulation of migration as a security ‘threat’”, as one more “factor in the calculation of power and national security of states” (Huysmans and Squire, 2009, pp. 7-8).

In the particular case of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States, the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), marked the beginning of the current securitization of migration era. As pointed out by Massey (2015), beginning in 1965 and

enforced since 1986, the majority of Mexican immigrants were “illegals”, hence “criminals” and “lawbreakers” by definition. Even though, “there is little statistical evidence that undocumented migration was accelerating at this time” political and economic conditions provide “a context that allowed immigration to be framed in crisis terms” in the United States (Massey et al. 2002, p.84).



CHAPTER 2

INDICATORS OF THE SECURITIZATION OF UNDOCUMENTED MEXICAN IMMIGRATION IN THE U.S.

As previously mentioned, according to Ole Weaver, the process of securitizing an issue such as migration, should include the study of two principal things; first “the process by which certain actors, such as the press or the executive, present before the public the existence of supposed threats (military or not) as a pretext for deploying certain emergencies measures”; and second “the results of these process – for example, an increase in the number of police, greater resources, more armaments” (Treviño-Rangel, 2016, p. 292). In this regard, the next section would explain, based on the discourses of certain securitizing actors, and in a range of practices such as the militarization of the border, the enactment of laws intended to control immigration, the complex apparatus of institutions in charge of managing immigration, or the increasing number of deportations; the process of the securitization of the Mexican undocumented immigrants in the United States of America.

2.1 SECURITIZING PRACTICES

2.1.1 U.S. Border and Interior Enforcement Policies

The U.S.-Mexico border in first place, as well as the interior of the United States, are a fundamental area to focus if we want to fully understand and comprehend the securitization practices implemented by the U.S. agencies in charge of managing the migration issue.

US Border Patrol and INS's Budget and Size

As observed by Hollifield (2000), the ability or the inability of a state to control its borders and hence its population and security, “must be considered the *sine qua none* of sovereignty” (p. 141). The concept of national security “has traditionally included

political independence and territorial integrity as values to be protected” (Baldwin, 1997). In this regard, the Mexican-U.S. border is considered to be “particularly threatening” (Heyman, 2001, p. 132). Indeed, the Mexico-U.S. border is the stage where the authorities engaged in protecting U.S. national security, and conduct border surveillance to prevent the entry of Mexican immigrants (Olvera 2016).

After IRCA in 1986, one of the main indicators of the securitization of migration is the exponential increase in the US Border Patrol budget and presence in the southern border of the United States. Since the enactment of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986, the United States has mounted a great effort to control the flow of unauthorized Mexican immigrants. For this purpose, the US Border Patrol’s Budget “rose from \$282 million in 1970 to 3.8 billion in 2010, a 13-fold increase” (Massey et al. 2015, p.1023).

In this sense, “the Border Patrol has grown to become the nation’s largest civilian police force, with more than ten thousand officers in uniform and an annual budget in excess of \$1 billion” (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 115). The budget increases have also impacted “the number of US Border Patrol agents assigned to the US-Mexico border” which increased by 165 percent, “from 3,226 in 1990 to 8,525 in 2000” (Majmundar, Carriquiry and National Research Council, 2013, p. 25). In the 2000s, border enforcement efforts rose further: “the budget increased an additional 157 percent in real terms between 2000 and 2011 and the number of agents on the southwest U.S. border more than doubled to 18,506 in 2011” (Ibid).

Since 1986, the United States has spent a tremendous amount of money to “secure” the nation against the immigration threat. Meissner and his colleagues (2013), find that since the enactments of IRCA, “the US government spends more on its immigration enforcement agencies than on all its other principal criminal federal law enforcement agencies combined. In FY 2012, spending for CBP, ICE, and US-VISIT reached nearly \$18 billion” (p.9). These scholars argue that the “amount exceeds by approximately 24 percent total spending for the FBI, Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), Secret Service, US Marshals Service, and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives” (Ibid). In short, by 2012, as observed by Preston (2013), “the U.S. budget for immigration enforcement was \$18 billion, larger than all other federal law enforcement agencies combined”(Galemba 2015).

In addition, after the attacks of 9/11, “the newly created Immigration and Customs Enforcement branch of Homeland Security quickly grew after its founding in 2002 to encompass 17, 000 workers with an annual budgets of \$59 billion” (Massey 2011, p.257). According to Teitelbaum (1980) and Andreas (2000), “in the space of ten years the Border Patrol went from a backwater agency with a budget smaller than that of many municipal police departments... to a large and powerful organization with more officers licensed to carry weapons than any other branch of the federal government save the military” (Massey *et al.*, 2002, pp. 96-97).

Considering the amount of resources, “immigration enforcement can thus be seen to rank as the federal government’s highest criminal law enforcement priority” (Meissner et al. 2013, p.9). Compared to the spending level of the INS in 1986, “when the current era of immigration enforcement began”, the total spending of immigration enforcement agencies, is currently approximately 15 times more (Meissner et al. 2013, p.22). The enforcement of the border “has seen the largest budget increases” by almost 85 percent between 2005 and 2012, “from \$6.3 billion to \$11.7 billion in absolute dollars” (Ibid). The 2017 budget for the Department of Homeland Security, comprehends \$40.6 billion including funding for the Immigration and Customs Enforcement and the Border Patrol (US Department of Homeland Security, 2017, pp. 1-4). The number of agents in charge of “protecting” the border also continues to grow. In 2017, the U.S. Customs and Border Protection “plans to hire up to 21,070 Border Patrol agents and 23,821 CBP officers” (US Department of Homeland Security, 2017, p. 4).

Border Patrol "Linewatch" Activities

As noted by Hanson, (2006), “the first line of defense against unauthorized entry is the U.S. Border Patrol” (p. 884). The Immigration and Naturalization Service “distinguishes between two types of U.S. Border Patrol activities: "line- watch" activities, which occur at international boundaries, and "non-linewatch" activities, which occur in the U.S. interior” (Hanson & Spilimbergo 1999, p.1355). Border Patrol officers on “linewatch” have the responsibilities of patrolling the border, maintaining electronic surveillance of major crossing points along the border, and guard “staff traffic checkpoints along major highways near the border” (Hanson 2006, p.884). As we shall see, the INS “concentrates

disproportionate amounts of its enforcement at the Mexican border” (Heyman 1998, p.161). In consequence, the INS focus “most of its effort into an area that is not a workplace and has little direct effect on labor discipline” (Ibid).

Figure 2.1 shows how “annual Border Patrol officer hours devoted to linewatch duty” increased dramatically after IRCA, “rising from 2.5 million in 1994 to 9.8 million in 2001” (Hanson 2006, p.884) in light of the “Border Patrol operations near specific U.S. border cities, including El Paso, San Diego, El Centro, and McAllen (Hanson 2006, p.912).

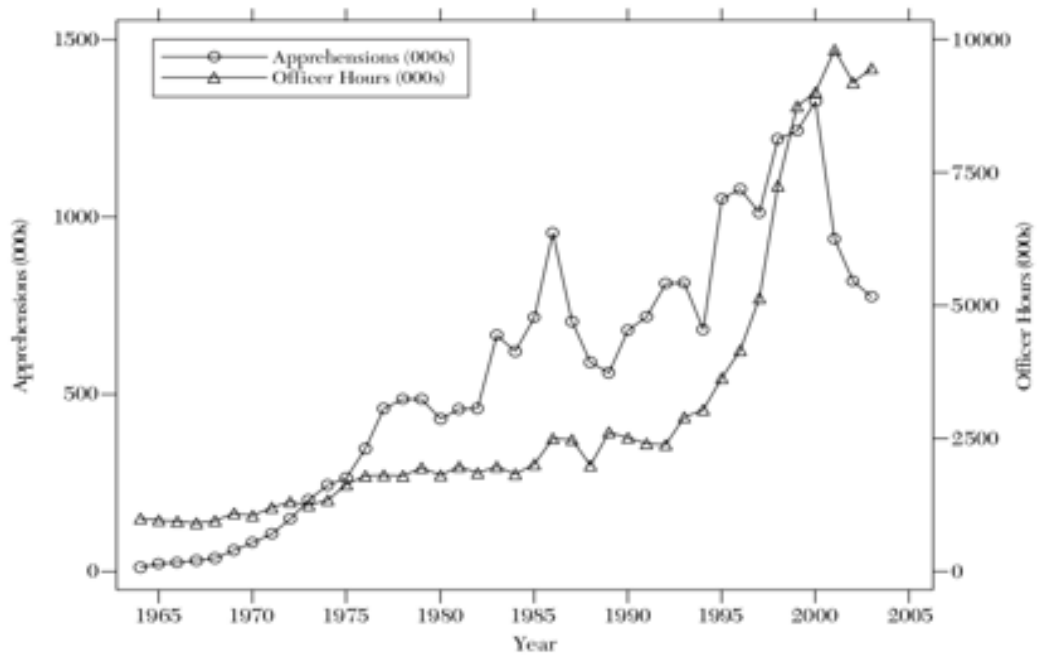


Figure 2.1: Linewatch Apprehensions and Enforcement by the U.S. Border Patrol

Source: Hanson (2006, p. 885).

In this regard, “the additional resources and personnel allocated to the INS after 1986” had a pronounced and clear effect on the number of “linewatch-hours” (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 97). As argued by Massey *et al.*, (2002), in 1997 “the Border Patrol was devoting twice as much time to patrolling the border as in 1986” (p. 98). While “between 1986 and 2008, the number of Border Patrol Officers went from 3, 700 to 18, 000” also the number of linewatch hours increased dramatically “from 2.4 million to 201 million” (Massey 2011, p.257).

Border Patrol "Non-Linewatch" Activities

The detection of unauthorized immigrants in the United States interior territory “falls under U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)” (Hanson 2006, p.910). “The activities of ICE agents (and of INS agents before the creation of DHS)” include efforts to apprehend undocumented immigrants at their work-sites, “prosecutions and deportations of noncitizens who have been convicted of a felony in the United States”, among others (Ibid).

Regarding Border Patrol "non-linewatch" activities, scholars as Boeri, McCormick, and Hanson (2002), have documented how “U.S. immigration authorities apprehend far more illegal immigrants at U.S. borders than in the U.S. interior” (Hanson 2006, p.910). Between 1992 and 2004, “93 percent of deportable aliens were located by the Border Patrol, rather than by ICE or INS agents in the U.S. interior” (Ibid). During that period, “of those apprehended by the Border Patrol, 97 percent were Mexican nationals” and less than 1 percent of apprehensions of Mexican undocumented immigrants “occurred at U.S. worksites” (Ibid).

According to Hanson (2006), in 2003, “U.S. immigration authorities devoted fifty-three times as many officer hours to linewatch enforcement as to worksite enforcement” (p. 910). Although the majority of the immigrants are apprehended by the DHS in an attempt to cross the border, there has been “some very-high profile raids on businesses that employ undocumented immigrants” (Weeks *et al.*, 2011, p. 3).

The Militarization of the Border

A sharp increase in the measures to control and militarize the U.S.-Mexico border is also a strong indicator of the securitization of migration in the United States. As already mentioned, beginning in “the mid-1990s, successive administrations and Congresses have been committed to establishing border control by allocating large sums for people, infrastructure, and technology” (Meissner *et al.* 2013, p.23).

Before 1965, the border was essentially open, with only some mesh barrier in some urban regions (Durand, 2016, p. 62). It was precisely in 1965, “when Congress passed amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) that placed the first-ever

numerical limits on immigration from the Western Hemisphere, while at the same time canceling a long-standing guest worker agreement with Mexico”(Massey and Pren 2012 cited in Massey et al. 2016, p.1559). However, by 1993 the porous U.S.-Mexico border radically changed and began to be highly monitored “with the implementation of operations in el Paso and the San Diego corridor”(Durand 2016, p.61). According to the US Department of Justice (2000), “by the end of the 1990’s (i.e. before 9/11), the United States and Naturalization Service had more employees authorized to carry guns than any other federal law enforcement force” (Bourbeau 2011, p.1). And after September 11, 2001, the border shared by both countries “became a walled and militarized boundary, virtually impenetrable barrier” (Durand, 2016, p. 62).

Moreover, since the 1990’s, United States adopted the strategy of “deterrence through prevention” designed to enforce the border with an increased number of border patrol officers, the construction of walls, the acquisitions of military technology including photo-identification systems, magnetic and infrared motion detectors to detect and stop the flow of migrants (Izcara Palacios 2016, p.69). In this regard, the construction of walls, the use of automatized surveillance systems, and even the deployment of drones, are fundamental ingredient of the US strategy to securitize the undocumented Mexican migration and militarize the border.

Magnitude of Deportations

Another important indicator of border activity and the securitization of undocumented Mexican immigration in the United States is the number of deportations, officially called removals by the DHS (Passel et al. 2013, p.18). Removals or deportations, are one of the principal “enforcement tactics to diminish the size of the unauthorized immigrant population, although many of those removed return to the U.S. (or try to do so)” (Ibid). For King, Massoglia and Uggen, (2012), deportations “constitute a form of contemporary banishment— the systematic removal of an offender from a state” (p. 1788); a harsh, inhumane and exclusionary punishment for individuals who are not citizens, who most of the time are a marginalized population (p. 1819).

In this regard, deportations of undocumented Mexican immigrants are part of the means by which the migration is controlled and securitized. The procedure reaffirm the exclusion of immigrants and their categorization as threats (Samers 2010).

During a long time, the INS pursued a policy of moderation with regard to undocumented immigrants who arrived to work to the United States (Ngai, 2014, p. 152) and established strong links with the community. However, the degree of U.S. government involvement in managing the Mexican immigration flow changed since 1986. Since then, “more than 4 million deportations of noncitizens from the United States have been carried out” (Meissner et al. 2013, p.118). For this reason, King, Massoglia and Uggens, in relation to the magnitude of deportations, named the post-1986 period as “The Culture of Control” and the “Curtalement of Discretion” (p. 1796).

2.1.2 Immigration Reforms, Laws and Initiatives

As argued by Baldwin (1997), individuals as well as nation-states, sometimes feel insecure and react adopting policies to cope with these insecurities: “individuals, for example, may consult a psychiatrist; and nation-states revise their migration laws” (p. 23). Reforms, laws and initiatives, can favor migration, constrain it, and securitize it. They help to shape in a large degree the experience of migrants determining how they migrate (Schuck, 2000, p. 201) and how they are framed. In general, the US immigration legislation has been intended to impose harsher penalties on immigrants (Correa-Cabrera & Rojas-Arenaza 2012). Consecutively, are some of the main legislations and initiatives that have shaped the securitization process of Mexican undocumented immigrants in the United States:

- Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA)
- The Immigration Act of 1990
- Prevention Through Deterrence
- Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrants Responsibility Act (IIRIRA)
- The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA)
- E-Verify

- Real ID Act
- US Patriot Act
- Homeland Security Act
- Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act
- Border Protection, anti-Terrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act
- Comprehensive Immigration and Reform Act of 2006 and 2007
- Comprehensive Immigration Reform for America's Security and Prosperity Act (CIR)
- Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)
- Donald Trump Executive orders on migration

2.1.3 Institutions in Charge of Managing the Immigration Issue

Other strong indicator of the securitization of migration in the United States, is the large and complex network of institutions and agencies in charge of managing the phenomena of immigration. In fact, the existence “of a well-resourced, operationally robust, modernized enforcement system administered primarily by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), but with multiple Cabinet departments responsible for aspects of immigration mandates”(Meissner et al. 2013, p.1), is also a barometer of the securitization of migration in the United States. The combined actions of different “federal agencies and their immigration enforcement programs constitute a complex, cross-agency system that is interconnected in an unprecedented fashion” (Meissner et al. 2013, p.1). Among these institutions are:

- The Department of Homeland Security (DHS)
- Citizenship and Immigration Services (CIS)
- Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)
- Department of State
- The Department of Labor (DOL)
- Social Security Administration (SSA)
- The Department of Justice (DOJ)

2.1.4 Local securitization of Mexican immigration in US cities and towns

“Although immigration is mostly a matter of federal policy” since 1986, several states have “jumped onto the anti-immigrant bandwagon” (Massey et al. 2002, p.93) passing immigration legislations “in response to what was seen as an absence of federal action on the issue” (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, pp. 155-156). Many individual states, especially in the border region like Arizona and California, “have increasingly attempted to intervene in the regulation of immigrations and immigrants” (Johnson and Trujillo, 2011, p. 44) advocating for more “border controls and denying state public services” to the undocumented population (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, pp. 155-156).

One of the most representative of these cases “was the easy passage of Proposition 200”, also known as “Save Arizona Now”, which was submitted to vote in form of a referendum during 2004 presidential elections (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 156). The bill “denied undocumented immigrants access to state and local public services and stipulated that state public employees had to check the identity and immigration status of any person requesting services. If they failed to do so, they could be charged with a U.S. \$700 fine and up to four months of prison” (Ibid). If implemented, this legislation “could be used to deny illegal immigrants access to public parks and libraries, as well as to bar them from receiving police and nonemergency medical services” (Ibid).

This type of legislation “inspired” various “local and anti-immigration groups to try and pass similar legislations in their own states” (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 156).

2.1.5 Paramilitary vigilante civilian groups

Inspired in the restrictive local and state legislations, non-governmental groups have also joined the US effort to securitize migration coming from Mexico (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 156). The case of Minutemen (MCDC or Minutemen Civil Defense Corps), a group of US citizens that under voluntary bases patrol the US-Mexico border with the objective of securing US sovereignty and territory against “incursion, invasion and terrorism”, is the best example (Samers 2010). In April 2005, the MCDC

“announced their recruitment of 2, 000 individuals from across the country in order to form an immigrant watch group” to “‘help’ the Border Patrol stop illegal immigrants from entering the country through Arizona’s border with Mexico” (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 156).

2.2 SECURITIZING DISCOURSES

As happens in the securitization process of any other issue, the speech acts are a fundamental part of the securitization of undocumented migration in the United States. Indeed, it is exactly “the process in which migration discourse shifts toward an emphasis on security [what] has been referred to as the securitization of migration” (Ibrahim 2005, p.167). In fact, “government laws and policies are an outcome of discourse” (Ibrahim 2005, p.164).

The topic of migration has become “captive to a new reality and a new discourse” (Alba 2016, p.17). Mainly since 1986, “the dominant narrative used by politicians and the media to discuss the border and movements across it” has been increasingly associated with a border “under siege”; a sense of crises and “loss of control” (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 87). Migration has become synonymous with risk, danger and threats; and “has increasingly been described in security terms” (Ibrahim 2005, p.167). The movement of people crossing the US-Mexico border has been “accompanied by a rhetoric of the defense of the nation’s boundaries from an attack by foreigners” (Urquijo-Ruiz 2004, p.67). As argued by Massey (2011), the rising number of “immigrant arrest, deportations, and incarcerations has been accompanied by a rise in anti-immigrant rhetoric, which increasingly frames Mexicans as a threat to America’s security” (p. 258).

There are three prominent social actors in the U.S. that have succumbed to this temptation of creating a perceived threat reflected in the undocumented Mexican immigrants: “bureaucrats, politicians, and pundits” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1561). And it is precisely the combined actions and discourses of the securitizing actors, that have “driven forward a politics of immigrant exclusion that settled on border enforcement as the favored policy tool” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1590).

Throughout history, there are infinite examples of securitizing discourses from US politicians and government representatives who saw an opening for cultivating a politics

of fear framing Mexican undocumented immigration as an important threat to the nation. For instance, Massey, Durand, & Malone (2002) find that one of the principal politicians who have contributed to this exclusionist narrative regarding immigration is President Reagan (Massey et al. 2016, p.1561); “who in 1985 declared undocumented migration to be ‘a threat to national security’ and warned that ‘terrorists and subversives [are] just two days driving time from [the border crossing at] Harlingen, Texas’”(Massey 2015, p.188), the nearest border crossing point. During the Reagan administration up until today, the rhetoric regarding Mexican immigrants has highlighted arguments about how Mexican immigrants are “swamping the ‘lifeboat’ of America’s capacity to bear the load” (Saragoza 2011, p.235). A discourse that Leo Chavez (2008) has named the “Latino threat narrative” which in short “conflates undocumented immigration with terrorism and drug trafficking to portray Hispanic immigrants as a risk to the national security and cultural integrity of the United States” (Zlolniski 2011, p.253).

Not only politicians and government representatives, but also the media is “wont to frame immigration as a disorderly, chaotic process that somehow must be brought ‘under control’”(Massey et al., 2002, p. 3). Among the media, military “language is increasingly used to portray the border as a ‘battle-ground’ that is ‘under attack’ from ‘alien invaders’”(Massey, 2011, p. 258). Immigration is therefore, constantly visualized in the media as a “war” (Massey et al., 2002, p. 3). According to Andreas (2000), “by the late 1980s the tidal metaphor of a ‘flood’ had given way to martial images of threatened ‘invasion.’”(Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 87).

Among the media, immigrants have been framed as “a ‘time bomb’ that will ‘explode’ to destroy American society”; while “Border Patrol Officers are ‘defenders’ who, although ‘outgunned’, seek to ‘hold the line’ against attacking ‘hoards’ that launched ‘Banzai charges’ along a beleaguered frontier” (Andreas, 2000; Dunn 1996 cited in Massey, 2011, p. 258). They are framed as “illegal aliens” “invading and wreaking havoc on the nation” who “must be stopped or ‘we’ will be destroyed” (Johnson and Trujillo, 2011, pp. 5-6). “Such images, which Lou Dobbs for years sensationalized almost nightly in CNN”, have helped to justify and legitimate the enforcements at the border and interior (Johnson and Trujillo, 2011, pp. 5-6).

Similarly to politicians and the media, pundits have “made their contributions to the Latino Threat Narrative in order to sell books and boost media ratings” (Massey 2015,

p.288). War metaphors also become a common narrative “among pundits to describe immigration from Mexico”, referring to the flow of “undocumented migration explicitly as ‘an invasion of illegal aliens’” (Massey, 2011, p. 259). On a television program in 2007, the political commentator Patrick Buchanan, “alleged that illegal migration was part of an ‘Aztlán Plot’ hatched by Mexicans to recapture lands lost in 1848” (Massey 2015, p.188). According to Chi (2008), “in an interview with Time magazine, he said that immigration constituted a ‘state of emergency’ and warned, ‘If we do not get control of our borders and stop this greatest invasion in history, I see the dissolution of the U.S. and the loss of the American southwest – culturally and linguistically, if not politically- to Mexico’” (Massey, 2011, p. 259).

Books and articles arguing the alleged dangers posed by immigrants like the *Alien Nation of 1996* of Peter Brimelow, are also common examples of the securitizing discourses (Saragoza, 2011, p. 238). In this regard, the historian Schlesinger Jr, has stated that recent immigration and the rise of multiculturalism is posing a threat to the society and leading potentially to the disuniting of America (Hollifield 2000, p.141).

Also, Samuel Huntington (2004), an academician and policy advisor, has constantly “portrayed Latino immigrants as a threat to America's national identity (Massey 2015, p.188). Huntington has warned that “in this new era, the single most immediate and most serious challenge to America’s traditional identity comes from the immense and continuing immigration from Latin America, especially from Mexico” (Chavez 2013, p.1).

In this sense, his polemic discourses regarding the negative impacts of Hispanic immigrants particularly of Mexicans, is an emblematic example of the existent anxiety regarding the challenges posed by immigration (Hamilton, 2009). Massey (2015) affirmed that none of the foregoing pronouncements was based on the realities of undocumented immigration, but “were distortions designed to cultivate fear among native born white Americans for self-interested purposes of boosting ratings, selling air-time, and hawking books” (p.188). In this context, the securitization of migration has been successfully accepted by a large part of US society.

CHAPTER 3

IMPACTS OF THE SECURITIZATION OF UNDOCUMENTED MEXICAN MIGRATION IN THE U.S.

Since 1986, the securitization of the undocumented Mexican immigration in the United States expressed in the new U.S. immigration policies; the strengthening of the border patrol budget and size; in the fences and new technology deployed at the border to control undocumented immigrants; as well as in the discourses of securitizing actors, “have generated negative consequences for both the immigrants and the United States” (Fernández de Castro & Clariond Rangel 2008, p.146). As observed by Massey *et al.*, (2002), “IRCA and successive policies disrupted the system’s smooth operation to bring about a variety of negative, and largely unforeseen, consequences” (p. 3). Among these impacts are: (1) a geographic diversification of Mexican migration and the disruption of longstanding border-crossing patterns; (2) a shift from circularity towards settlement; (3) an increase in coyote use rates; (4) an escalation of migrant’s deaths; (5) human rights violations; and (6) worsened labor conditions.

3.1 THE GEOGRAPHIC DIVERSIFICATION OF MEXICAN MIGRATION AND THE DISRUPTION OF LONGSTANDING BORDER-CROSSING PATTERNS

Two of the main impacts of the securitization of migration are without doubt the pronounced shift in the geography of Mexican migration (Massey, 2011, p. 260) and the disruption of traditional border-crossing routes. First, the enforcement and militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border that began in 1986 with the passage of IRCA, and rose with the introduction of Operation Blockade in 1993 and Operation Gatekeeper in 1994; have diverted the “flows of undocumented migrants away from well-travelled routes in the urbanized areas of San Diego and El Paso into unpopulated desert territory between these two sectors” (Massey 2015, p.290). In other words, the securitization practices have deflected immigrants away from the state of California “toward new crossing points in Arizona, New Mexico, and more remote sections of the Rio Grande Valley in Texas” (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 107).

In 1986, 85 percent “among the undocumented migrants apprehended for illegal entry by the INS” were arrested in the corridors of San Diego, El Paso and San Antonio, which together represent a very small portion of the long border (Massey et al., 2002, p. 106). With the militarization of the border, the overwhelming majority of the undocumented flow “was displaced to a new corridor through Sonora into Arizona, which in 1989 accounted for just 6 percent of all border crossings but reached 58 percent by 2003” (Massey, 2011, p. 260).

In parallel with the disruption of longstanding cross-border routes points, undocumented Mexican workers are taking much more extensive routes within the United States (Izcara Palacios 2009). As observed by Massey (2011), within the U.S., “the effect of this shift in crossing behavior was to divert flows decisively away from Californian destinations, yielding a new geography of Mexican settlement” (p. 260). As a consequence, “the percentage of migrants going to Californian destination” than in 1980 represented a 66 percent, fell to 22 percent in 2002. (Ibid). Once Mexican immigrants were “diverted away from traditional destinations in states such as California”, they also “continued on to new destinations throughout the United States” (Massey 2015, p.290).

In this regard, the securitization of migration and the new changes in US immigration laws and policies that have accompanied the process, have “transformed Mexican immigration from a regional phenomenon affecting a handful of U.S. states into a broad social movement touching every region of the country” (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 3).

3.2 THE SHIFT FROM CIRCULARITY TOWARDS SETTLEMENT

Before mid-1980s, “a relatively stable, smoothly functioning migration system” was in place (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 71). Generally, “it was a system that minimized the negative consequences and maximized the gain” for Mexico and the United States (Ibid). On one hand, the US “got a steady supply of workers for jobs that natives were loath to take” (Ibid). And on the other, “by slowly increasing the enforcement effort in tandem with the volume of undocumented migration, it maintained a level of deterrence that selected workers who were both the ablest and the least likely to carry serious social costs: young men of prime productive age traveling without dependents” (Ibid). Additionally, the unauthorized status of the majority of the Mexican immigrant population, encouraged

immigrants to return to their country, while the relatively porous border offered the possibility to return back to the US when there was availability of jobs or “whenever the need arose” (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 71).

However, the US securitization of migration erased the incentive and the possibility to move back and forth between Mexico and United States as done by previous generations. It promoted permanent settlement in the United States, “bottling up within the U.S. millions of Mexican migrants who would otherwise have continued to come and go across the border, as their parents and grandparents had done” (Cornelius 2006, p.6).

Before 1986, “a lack of documents presented no real barrier to employment or earnings and most migrants were able to move regularly between seasonal jobs in the USA and families back in Mexico” (Massey et al. 2015, p.1016). Nonetheless, beginning in 1986, the militarization of the border changed the circular character of Mexicans “coming and going in response to economic fluctuations on both sides of the border” (Massey et al. 2015, p.1016).

At the end, “in addition to changing the geography of Mexican undocumented migration”, the securitization of migration and more particularly the militarization of the border, also had the “paradoxical effect of reducing the rate of return among those already present in the north of the border” (Massey, 2011, pp. 261-262). Massey (2011) found that while in 1980, about 46 percent of the undocumented Mexican immigrants returned to their home country within the first 12 months, after IRCA’s passage the probability fell to 7 percent in 2007 (p. 262).

3.3 INCREASE IN COYOTE USE RATES

Since 1986, crossing the Mexico-US border is more problematic, dangerous and difficult than ever before. For this reason, the great majority of the Mexican immigrants are pushed to hire the services of a “pollero” o “coyote” to be able to cross the border with success. As argued by Izcara Palacios (2009), during 1980s, the undocumented workers from Tamaulipas, crossed the border without relative difficulties (p.10). However, the increasing militarization of the border has multiplied the economic and social cost of crossing the border from Mexico to the United States (Izcara Palacios 2009) and “migrants have become increasingly dependent on professional coyotes to cross the

border”, rising at the same time, “the profits of human smugglers” (Zlotniski 2011). In short, the stronger enforcement of the border, “has been a bonanza for the people-smuggling industry” (Cornelius 2006, p.6).

Since Mexicans immigrants are now more “likely to cross the border without documents or with fraudulent ones”, and through new and unknown routes, they are pushed to increasingly hire coyotes or polleros as “guides to protect and guide their crossing” (Donato, 1994, p. 725; Cornelius, 2006), as they appear to have better information for crossing (Meneses 2003, p.271). The securitization of migration “has made smugglers essential to a safe and successful crossing” (Cornelius 2006, p.6).

Even further, due to new US strategies such as the “consequence delivery system” where immigrants are returned to Mexico to locations “far from where they crossed into the United States” with no ties or contact networks left, some of them do to even have another option: either they pay another coyote the estimated cost of \$3,000 USD per-head required to attempt another crossing, or they begin the journey to their “home communities” (Meissner et al., 2013, p. 44). In essence, as synthesized by Massey and his colleagues, “the militarization of the border transformed coyote usage from a common practice that was followed by most migrants into a universal practice adopted by all migrants” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1576).

3.4 ESCALATION OF MIGRANT’S DEATHS

As previously discussed, the militarization of the border has not stopped unauthorized entry, but it has made it more difficult and dangerous. There have always been certain risks associated with crossing the border of Mexico and the United States, specially the Bravo River – which honors its name that can be translated to wild or brave river (Feldmann & Durand 2008). However, since 1986 the risks have risen exponentially. The securitization of the issue, and more particularly, the aggressive US border control measures, have not stopped undocumented immigrants from attempting to cross the U.S.-Mexico border, “but instead simply pushed would-be illegal Mexican migrants away from large cities and into more rugged but largely unpatrolled terrain along the border” (Johnson & Trujillo 2011). In this regard, a large number of scholars have documented how the militarization of the border has had the immediate consequence of increasing the

number of deaths among undocumented border crossers (Majmundar et al. 2013, p.25; Fernández de Castro & Clariond Rangel 2008; Orrennius 2001; Ngai 2014; Massey 2015; Izcarra Palacios 2009; Massey et al. 2002; Durand 2016; Aguilera-Guzmán 2007; Ward & Martínez 2015; Romo 2016; Hanson 2006; Whitaker 2009; Meneses 2003; Cornelius 2006; Feldmann & Durand 2008; Massey et al. 2016).

With the current fortification of the border, migrants now have to “spend 3 or 4 days traversing one of the most inhospitable regions of North America to cross illegally” (Whitaker 2009, p.366). Immigrants “often walk for long distances” and expose themselves to “extreme conditions where summer temperatures often exceed 100 °F and winter temperatures can reach freezing” (Beck et al. 2015, p.11). As observed by Cornelius, many migrants “have perished from dehydration in the deserts, hypothermia in mountainous areas, and drowning in the irrigation canals that parallel the border in California and Arizona” (2006, p. 6). In this regard, the U.S. southern border has become lethal for undocumented migrants (Ibid), who have to choose between crossing the Rio Bravo or going through the dessert.

The danger of crossings the border increased exponentially with the securitization of migration, provoking a rise in the number of deaths (more than one migrant per day) (Aguilera-Guzmán 2007, p.83). Beck, Ostericher and Sollish, GregorDe León (2015), estimate that “since 1998, over 5500 people have died while trying to cross into the United States” (p. 11) and Cornelius (2001) calculated a “474 percent increase in deaths along the southwest border from 1996 to 2000” (Androff & Tavassoli 2012, p.168). In 2016, according to SRE, the figure reached 316 deaths (Pérez 2017).

Figure 3.2 illustrates how “increased risks faced by undocumented migrant crossings shifted into more hostile terrain at isolated segments of the border by showing the number of border deaths from 1985 (when estimates first become available) to 2010” (Massey 2015, p.291). Right after the enactment of IRCA, throughout the operations launched in 1993, the numbers of deaths fluctuated around 147 and 67. However, since Operation Gatekeeper, “deaths along the border proliferated, steadily climbing to peak at almost 500 in 2005” (Massey 2015, p.291)

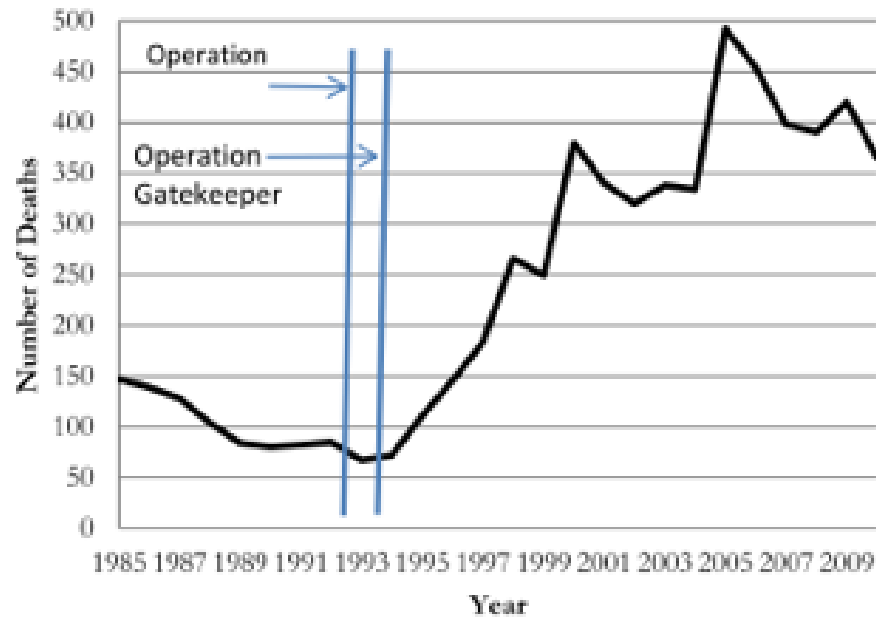


Figure 3.2 Migrant deaths along the U.S.-Mexico border 1985-2010

Source: Massey, (2015, p. 291)

In this regard, Massey *et al.*, (2002) conclude: “Despite its extravagance, the expensive post-IRCA enforcement regime has had no detectable effect, either in deterring undocumented migrants or in raising the probability of their apprehension. It has been effective, however, in causing at least 160 needless deaths each year” (p. 140). In other words, every single year the new US regime remains in place, “160 people lose their lives needlessly, which seems a rather high price to pay simply to maintain the pretense of a border under control (Massey *et al.*, 2002, p. 114). As argued by Massey *et al.*, “no one should have to die for the ‘crime’ of seeking work in the United States” (Ibid).

3.5 HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Many scholars such as Susan Gzesh 2008; Creapeau and Natache 2006; Devetak 2004; Liotta 2002; Lowry 2002; have highlighted the connection between “security practices and human rights considerations” (Bourbeau, 2011, p.34). In the case of border practice, the anti-immigration policies have undermined “the legal standing and rights of migrants in favor of governmental sovereignty at borders” (Heyman, 2001, p. 136). In this regard, it should come as no surprise that the US-Mexico border is “a site of continual human rights violations” (Urquijo-Ruiz 2004, p.66).

Several NGO's and migrants associations such as the "Migrants Rights International (MRI), The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation (CRLAF) have strongly denounced the human rights violations caused by military operations in the border, however, there has been "little attention to the human rights crisis in the U.S.-Mexican border" caused by the securitization and criminalization of migration (Androff & Tavassoli 2012, p.165). For instance, the CRLAF filed a petition in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IAHCR) accusing the U.S. government of "flagrantly abusing its right to control the border by resorting to a strategy which is designed to maximize the physical risks" (Meneses 2003, p.277).

In regard to this subject, Ruiz Marrujo and López Pulido (2016) developed an extensive research that concluded that there are three types of violence happening at the border: "physical, symbolic and economic" (p. 135). According to this research, all the migrants interviewed by these scholars "through detainment, apprehension, incarceration and deportation were subject to all three forms of violence" (Ibid).

The securitization of migración since the enactment of IRCA, has also institutionalized the violence, stigmatization and discrimination from the Border Patrol officers towards Mexican immigrants (Roldán 2015). In this sense, several reports have been issued by la Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos de México (CNDH) (Roldán, 2015, p.104). In the "Informes sobre violaciones a los derechos humanos de los trabajadores migratorios mexicanos en su tránsito hacia los Estados Unidos" (1991 y 1996), the CNDH has documented the increase of aggressions and of brutal knotting that caused irreversible fiscal injuries; the refusal of medical attention in some of these incidents, the cases where migrants were run over with official vehicles, the torture by air conditioning in cold weather days, sexual assaults, the subjection to degrading personal searches, insults and, in many cases, Mexicans who lost their lives in hands of the border police (Ibid, Meneses, 2003; Feldmann and Durand, 2008).

Human rights violations at the detention centers managed by the ICE are very recurrent. Many immigrants have denounced unfortunate situations as overcrowding "physical and verbal abuses, lack of medical care and legal counsel, and inhumane conditions" (Androff and Tavassoli, 2012, pp. 169). For example, in the years 2006 and 2008, the NGO "No More Deaths" (NMM), "documented 345 cases of substantiated human rights abuses of migrants in short-term custody, such as the denial of food, water, and medical care;

physical, sexual, and verbal abuse; and the separation of families, including parents and children” (Androff and Tavassoli, 2012, pp. 169). According to NMM (2008), the conditions at the detention facilities “can be inhumane, including the denial of bathroom facilities, extreme temperatures in cells, and refusals to provide blankets to women and children”; and even denying pregnant women medical care (Ibid). On top of this, according to official data from the ICE (2008), a “ total of 110 detainees have died in immigration detention since 2003” (Ibid).

3.6 WORSENERD LABOR CONDITIONS

The securitization of migration has also limited and affected migrant’s rights and conditions at their work sites. The anti-immigrant policies and the condition of “illegality” under which migrants live, have relegated them to an underground market. In the case of undocumented Mexican immigrants who cross the border to find a job, “US state actions do add to exploitation” (Heyman 1998, p.157). As explained by Josiah McC. Heyman, “the smuggling, transportation and job arrangements required to overcome border and interior enforcement lead undocumented immigrants to enter conspiracies to avoid the laws that are, in turn, used against them in workplaces” (Ibid). In other words, for this scholars undocumented Mexican immigrants are exploited in part “because of current immigration law enforcement” (Heyman 1998, p.158).

Mexicans who have become an “icon of illegal aliens” (Ngai, 2014, p. 58), and who “fill competitive and poorly paid sectors of the US economy” (Heyman 2001, p.157) have the possibility to get a job in the United States, as long as they are willing to accept the conditions arising from the label of “illegal” or “undocumented” (Bustamante & Martínez 1979), which are characterized by low wages and exploitative conditions. US employers are able to pay immigrants “lower wages, invest less in training and continued retention, and avoid labor unions” (Whitaker 2009, p.374). The criminalization of migration has promoted a reign of terror against immigrants precluding “them from demanding their legal, human, and economic rights” due to fear of being deported (Garcia 1998, cited in Urquijo-Ruiz, 2004, p. 67).

Phillips and Massey (1999), “found that whereas undocumented status had no effect on the wages earned by Mexican migrants before 1986, afterward it carried a 25% wage

penalty” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1582). Additionally, after IRCA, U.S. employers increasingly hire immigrants through indirect labor contractors, “who pocketed a share of the wages that used to go to the migrants themselves (Ibid). Although, as already noted, U.S. strategy decreased the expected net earnings of undocumented Mexican immigrants by lowering their wages while increasing the financial cost of crossing the border; “the net differential in expected earnings between Mexico and the United States never came close to being eliminated” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1582). In this regard, as a result of these circumstances, the changes produced by policies at the northern part of the border, “functioned less to deter undocumented migration than to compel migrants to work longer to earn back the costs of crossing and make the trip profitable” (Ibid).



CHAPTER 4

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE DE-SECURITIZATION OF MEXICAN UNDOCUMENTED MIGRATION

It is true that, as argued by Liotta, “achieving ‘security’ is among the most basic and vital interests of any nation” (2002, p. 485). It is also true that as argued by Peter Andreas “the U.S.-Mexico boundary is the busiest land border in the world, the longest and most dramatic meeting point between a rich and a poor country, and the site of the most intensive interaction between law enforcement and law evasion” (2000, p. xiv). However, we must ask if Mexican undocumented migration needs to be treated in terms of security? In other words, if Mexican immigrants truly represent a security problem for the United States? In this regard, this chapter presents some suggestions for finding a new and healthier equilibrium between security and migration.

4.1 A CHANGE FROM A UNILATERALLY RESPONSE TO A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

Migration is an important nexus, if not the most fundamental, for Mexico-U.S. relations. “Like it or not”, the United States and Mexico, are inextricably bound “by geography, history, demography, and economics” (Massey et al. 2002, p.6). “In economic and trade issues” both nations are “highly integrated and sophisticated partners” (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 171). However, this scenario “of cooperation and communication” is not present in the migration system, but without doubts, should be extended to it (Ibid). The trade policies in the United States allows “goods to be transported freely, but not people”(Whitaker 2009, p.373) As argued by Massey *et al.*, (2002), most of “flows of capital, commodities, and goods are managed for the mutual benefit of trading partners by agreements such as NAFTA, labor migration can also be cooperatively managed to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs for both sending and receiving societies”(p. 143).

In this regard, the United States has treated migration as a “domestic issue, not foreign policy one” (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 168) involving another

country. Immigration policies have been imposed unilaterally and since the Bracero Program there has not been any bilateral agreement as the ones that “govern international flows of capital, goods, commodities, and information” (Massey et al. 2002, p.155). In this sense, Hollifield argues that it is extremely difficult for states to manage or control migration unilaterally (2004, p. 903). This scheme is not only incomplete and ineffective, but it is also a real possibility for antagonizing long-standing allies (Teitelbaum, 2013, p. 59), such as Mexico and the United States.

The results or impacts of the securitization of migration suggest a need for a bilateral rather than unilateral response. Coordination between Mexico and the United States is necessary for a more effective management of migration and protection of the border. As argued by Teitelbaum (1980), “reconciling national sovereignty” with “enhanced international cooperation and fairness does require a less exclusively nationalistic perspective on immigration” (p. 46). It simply implies an increased communication and joint effort for a more comprehensive strategy to manage migration with a shared responsibility.

4.2 A MORE COMPREHENSIVE MIGRATION REFORM

According to Androff and Tavassoli, “many would acknowledge that immigration is a major issue in the United States and that immigration reform should be a priority” (2012, p. 165). The United States “has failed to legislate a comprehensive immigration policy that allows orderly and authorized entry for Mexicans who seek work from U.S. employers who need their labor” (Valencia-Weber & Sedillo Lopez 2010, p.283). It has focused on a security framework and on an enforcement-first approach to the issue even at the expense of the needs of the US labor market (Gzesh 2007, p.101).

As observed by Massey (2011), “the current situation with respect to Mexican immigration in the United States is historically unprecedented” (pp. 262-263). Approximately 12 million Mexicans currently live in the U.S., “constituting around 10 percent of Mexico’s total population and 4 percent of the U.S. population” (Ibid). Moreover, among the total number of Mexican immigrants living in the United States, about a half do not have the proper documents to do so “and therefore rights” (Hanson 2006, p.909).

The high number of Mexican immigrants still living in the United States without documents “indicates that U.S. enforcement efforts have not succeeded in stopping illegal entry from Mexico” (Hanson 2006, p.909) nor all the initiatives to securitize the movements of Mexican undocumented migrants. In this regard, as argued by Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel (2008), “there is a new consensus in the United States on immigration: the current system is broke. As such, it should be subjected to comprehensive reform” (p. 171).

There are several inconsistencies that can be changed. For instance, “the number of numerically restricted visas allocated to Mexico, which has a population of 100 million, is the same as that for the Dominican Republic, whose population is only 8.2 million”: both nations are “allowed 20,000 visas” (Massey et al., 2002, p. 158). Broadened the availability of legal paths for Mexican individuals who want to migrate to the United States in response of US employers’ needs, including creating new categories of US visas for Mexicans (specially for low-skilled migrants), or modify the ones that already exist, could be an alternative to the uncontrolled growth of border enforcement and resources intended to limit the flow.

Also, it is probable that the U.S. would have better control over Mexican immigrants that move to work, if they had a safe and legal path to migrate under a new guest worker program that allowed them to have the proper documentation to work in the United States and go back home after a certain amount of time; if the U.S. increased the number of legal immigrant visas; or if certain incentives were implemented to encourage immigrants to go back home.

The possibility of an amnesty program for undocumented Mexican migrants in the U.S. law, is one of the most controversial. It is indeed, one of the most discussed alternatives for the high numbers of individuals living in the United States without documents. As observed by Teitelbaum, (2013) “for humane reasons, however, some form of limited amnesty must eventually be granted to persons who have lived many years of their lives illegally in the United States and have established deep personal and familial roots in the country” (p. 53). Legalize as many undocumented Mexican immigrants who already are on U.S. territory, would have several benefits for both parts the immigrants and the receiving country. In this sense, as observed by these scholars, “any comprehensive

reform would have to address the more than ten million undocumented immigrants in the country, not only for humanitarian reasons, but also for security concerns” (Ibid, p. 165).

4.3 RETURN TO A CIRCULAR PATTERN OF MIGRATION

One of the most crucial challenges of a comprehensive reform in the United States “is to restore the circularity of the migration flow” (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 169) that has been changed for a reality of increasing settlement of Mexican immigrants who do not want to take the risks of crossing the border back and forth. In this respect, a cooperative mechanism of the Mexican government with their northern neighbor, “could provide help in finding common solutions” (Ibid).

If a new temporary worker program is implemented, “the willingness of Mexican workers to return” back home, is the core of a successful strategy (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 169). The Mexican and the US governments, “as well as the business community, should attempt to create the economic conditions and implement incentives necessary for motivating immigrants to return to Mexico” (Ibid, pp. 177-175) . Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel (2008), suggest that “Mexican financial officials should seek the cooperation of their U.S. counterparts in order to create saving accounts with tax preferential rates and a retirement system tailored for immigrants” in order to encourage the return of circularity (p. 169).

4.4 A MORE HUMANE APPROACH TO MIGRATION

There is an urgent need for a more humane approach and management of the migration movement. It is very common, as seen under the securitization of migration, that states violate the fundamental rights of migrants while “protecting” their national security. The undocumented immigrants are the most vulnerable in this regard. We are at a moment where undocumented immigrants are more excluded and persecuted than ever before (Ibidp. 99), where their rights and labor conditions are in great danger. In this regard, the sovereignty argument used to control and securitize immigration in the United States must also be accompanied by a human rights discourse.

The decision of leaving a home country to move to an unknown place where they ignore the language, laws, and are, in many occasions, received with hostility, it is certain that one of the most difficult ones (Gzesh, 2007, p. 106), and most of the time, is not necessary 100% voluntary since people's income depends on it. The deaths and severe human violations of migrants who try to reach a destiny with better living conditions while taking enormous risks is unacceptable (Feldmann & Durand 2008, p.15)

The securitization of migration has established some forms of migration as acceptable, and others, as unwanted and therefore "illegals". Undocumented immigrants categorized as "illegal aliens" and "criminals" are the ones subject to the consequences of the securitization strategies such as the violation of human rights and labor exploitation. However, as argued by human rights defenders, by definition, there should not be irregular or illegal migration (Castles, 2014).

Although undocumented immigrants cross the border and enter the U.S. without authorization or inspection, surely they must be "entitled to all basic human rights, e.g., the right to humane treatment while in custody, the right to *habeas corpus*, and so on" (Teitelbaum, 2013, p. 52). We must not forget that before being migrants, they are human beings and that the distinction between being a national or a foreigner does not matter when talking about the fundamental and most basic rights of people.

There is a clear danger in implementing military means designed to fight against traditional threats to "protecting citizens and states from new vulnerabilities" (Liotta 2002, p.486). The application of military solutions as the ones implemented at the Mexico-U.S. border, "can – and often does – aggravate human security issues and can be more the cause of rather than the solution to human security dilemmas" (Liotta, 2002, p. 483). Increasingly militarized means as happened with the 1990s Operations at the border, not only have not work, but have also left "death and violence in its wake" (Galemba, 2015). In response to this unintended consequence, reducing mortality at the border should be a priority in the management of the migration phenomena for both governments.

4.5 A MORE SECURE US-MEXICO BORDER

The massive increase in border enforcement has translated in greater difficulties for immigrants who attempt to cross the border, but it has not restrained “prospective migrants from attempting to enter the United States” (Hanson, 2006, pp. 912-913). Apparently, the result of the militarization of the border has been incrementing the risk of death or suffering a serious injury while attempting to cross the border at desolated and dangerous terrains as desert areas, waters or mountains.

In this regard, the deaths and accidents at the U.S.-Mexico border, should and could be avoided. The US and Mexican governments “should engage in some activities to prevent the numerous accidents at the U.S.-Mexico border” (Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, 2008, p. 175). While there can be arguments against the direct responsibility of the United States regarding the deaths at the border, the fact that the authorities have not taken the necessary precautions to avoid more deaths is definitely under their responsibility (Feldmann & Durand 2008, p.15). For example, besides setting up signs warning of the dangers of crossing the border, both governments could cooperate with NGOs in rescuing migrants who are dehydrated or injured. There should be an independent instance, different from the one who tries to apprehend them, dedicated to the rescue of immigrants that are in danger, and the number of officers should be greater than just a couple of dozens. They could also offer immediate medical assistance as soon as migrants are discovered, and could implement a program to search and recover the human bodies along the un-patrolled routes that migrants now use, so their families can know what happened to them.

Additionally, “Mexican authorities should strengthen cooperation with their U.S. counterparts in cases of deportation” (Ibid). Both governments, but mostly the Mexican one, should help Mexican citizens that arrive to their home country without money and far from their home towns; and protect them from being an easy target for organized crime groups. Moreover, as suggested by Fernández de Castro and Clariond Rangel, “the two countries could also cooperate in the expansion and institutionalization of the program for voluntary repatriation to the interior of Mexico” (2008, p. 175).

CONCLUSION

At the end of the XIX century US employers sent contractors to Mexico to ask Mexican laborers to go to the northern country to work in farms and build railroads (Orrennius, Saving and Zavodny, 2016, p. 49). At the beginning, Mexican immigrants arrived reluctantly, but later, mostly after the establishment of the Bracero Program, a strong migrant system emerged with benefits to both sides: US employees got the workers that needed, and Mexican migrants that could not find jobs at their home country were able to work.

In 1986, after the enactment of IRCA, circumstances changed as “politicians in the United States manufactured an immigration ‘crisis’ and created the false impression that the border was out of control” (Massey et al., 2002, p. 72). Mexican migration, mostly the undocumented version of it, started to be labeled as a security issue in the discourses of politicians, government representatives, pundits and the media. It is true that the United States has arrested undocumented immigrants at the Mexican border long before the enactment of IRCA in 1986 mostly “subordinated to obvious considerations of facilitating labor supply to agriculture” (Heyman 1998, p.161). However, since 1986, the Mexico-U.S. border has been subject to an unprecedented militarization and the issue of Mexican undocumented migration securitized.

As a consequence, since then, the US government has developed strong strategies to control the flow of Mexican unauthorized migrants by the appliance of military solutions to non-military problems such as migration. New anti-immigration legislative actions were launched by the US federal government; the U.S.-Mexico border became a militarized territory with advanced technology to detect unauthorized entries; the budget and size of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and Border Patrol multiplied; the network of bureaus and agencies in charge of managing migration became even more complex; states, local authorities and even civilian groups joined the process of the securitization by promoting harsh laws and launching operations at the border to control the “threat” of Mexican migrants. The securitization of migration has treated Mexican undocumented immigration as a “low-intensity military conflict with collateral damage” affecting Mexican undocumented immigrants “who are civilians and not soldiers” and who historically have arrived to U.S. territory peacefully looking for job opportunities (Meneses 2003, p.276).

This process of securitizing the issue of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States has not been one without consequences, but has had several unintended impacts for immigrants and the United States, that are either “benign nor limited” (Massey et al., 2002, p. 72). As intended by the unilaterally series of repressive policies and actions, the risk and cost of crossing the border substantially raised for Mexican immigrants. However, the new era of the securitization of migration has had more negative consequences than positive impacts. What used to be a circular flow of migrants crossing back and forth in response to labor markets, turned into a settled population due to the increasing difficulties and dangers associated with crossing the border through hostile territories in the Sonoran Desert and through Arizona; the Mexico-to-US migration system changed from a regional phenomenon touching only a handful of states to a national issue; the coyote fees rose exponentially strengthening the smuggling industry and rising the migrant’s need to rely on paid coyotes; the militarization of selected segments of the border pushed immigrants to dangerous and desolated areas causing a substantially increase in migrant’s death rate; the violation of human and civil rights became a constant experience for migrants; and migrant’s labor conditions worsened even more.

In the meantime, many actors received important benefits from this process. Due to the massive expansion of migration enforcement efforts, private corporations in charge of installing high technologies at the border, building fences or managing the detention facilities of immigrants, have capitalized on the issue. Not only the private companies that sold the technology to militarize the border and those who run the detention centers received contracts of thousands of dollars; but also “pundits sold books, garnered higher media ratings, and increased earnings while politicians mobilized voters to gain power and officials within the immigration bureaucracy accumulated a treasure trove of resources” (Massey 2015, p.295). As pointed out by Upton Sinclair (1994), “it is difficult to get a man to understand something when his salary depends upon his not understanding it” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1562).

In this regard, up until today, as observed with the current U.S. administration, politicians, bureaucrats, pundits and the media continue to advocate for harsher and stronger border enforcement, more deportations and restrictive immigration laws despite the fact that since 2008 the net migration from Mexico to the United States is zero. Also, since 2014,

“for the first time most of those caught at the border were not Mexicans but Central Americans” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1563). Nonetheless, as observed by Massey and his colleagues, “calls for more border enforcement continue because the Mexico- U.S. border has become the preeminent symbolic line separating Americans from any and all external threats” (Ibid).

The U.S. has invested an exorbitant sum of money (approximately \$2 billion USD a year), to maintain a strategy that is unclear if it is succeeding. As summarized by Massey, Durand and Pren, “from 1986 to 2008 the undocumented population of the United States grew from 3 million to 12 million persons, despite a fivefold increase in the number of U.S. Border Patrol officers, a fourfold increase in hours spent patrolling the border, and a twenty fold increase in nominal funding” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1558).

In conclusion, the securitization of migration has not been efficacious for controlling Mexican undocumented migration to the United States, to say the least. The strategy has “backfired by cutting off a long-standing tradition of migratory circulation and promoting the large-scale settlement of undocumented migrants who otherwise would have continued moving back and forth across the border” (Massey et al. 2016, p.1590); has promoted the violation of human rights and labor exploitation; has benefited the smuggling industry, while increasing the financial cost and human risks of a successful crossing.

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