

**Trump Administration's  
Monism Immigration  
Policy Reform and its  
Effects**

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## Summary

Since the founding of the United States, the Immigration Policy Reform mainly based on monism or pluralism is implemented. Monism means that the *Immigration Law* primarily aims at safeguarding national security, while market and human rights issues related to other economic, social and political purposes are less important.<sup>1</sup> Pluralism means that the Immigration Reform primarily aims at safeguarding national security, while taking into account market and human rights issues related to other economic and social purposes.

After Donald Trump taking office, he carried out the Immigration Policy Reform based on monism, which had multiple effects on domestic and foreign politics. Trump tends to carry out Immigration Policy Reform based on monism by using administrative power for immigration issues and based on the principle of “sovereignty trumps”, while market and human rights issues are less important. First, Trump implements strict border control and maintains concrete border sovereignty. Second, immigration is deemed highly related with security, and Muslim immigrants are treated differently in the name of “national security”. Third, to safeguard economic sovereignty and oppose the free regulation of labor force by the market, Trump believes that immigrants affected the economic sovereignty of the United States currently, and put forward the concept of “employing Americans and buying American goods”. Guided by this concept, he believes that the fewer immigrants, the better. He has implied restrictive measures against both high-skilled and low-skilled immigrants. Fourth, he reduced the number of refugees, and human rights are deemed less important. He mitigates the responsibility of global migration governance, which greatly influence the domestic politics and international relations. In terms of domestic politics, the policy negatively takes effect on domestic ethnic relations, economic development and politics, but it is conducive to consolidating Trump’s voter base.

Specifically, in terms of social level, immigration policy based on monism enlarges cultural differences between “native” and “foreign”, results in social panic, intensifies ethnic tensions, and promotes the expanding of social extremist forces. In terms of economic level, the policy restricting immigration directly resulted in heavy loss in industries of the United States that closely depend on immigration. The decrease in the number of workers is slowing down the growth

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<sup>1</sup> Kevin R. Johnson and Bernard Trujillo, *Immigration Reform, National Security After September 11, and the Future of North American Integration*, Oakland : University of California Davis Legal Studies Research Paper Series No. 101, February, 2007.

rate of the GNP of the United States in the future. In terms of political level, Trump got support of the political base by fulfilling his election promises, but it resulted in opposition of pluralist political forces. American political institutions fell into chaos due to different opinions on Immigration Policy Reform, and the polarized politics is worsening.

The Immigration Policy Reform has both domestic and international effect. The Trump Administration's Immigration Policy Reform based on monism has negative effect on bilateral relations between the United States and the countries of origin of immigrants, global migration governance and Sino-US relations. But this policy also provides opportunities for China to attract overseas talents.

Specifically, bilateral relations between the United States and the countries of origin of Muslim immigrants, traditional immigrants and skilled immigrants have been undermined somehow. In terms of global migration governance, the Trump Administration cut the budget for domestic refugees and reduced the financial support to International Organization for Migration, further aggravating the crisis of global migration governance. Trump's immigration policy has both advantages and disadvantages in terms of bilateral relations between China and the United States. On the one hand, the Trump Administration's policy restricting immigration is conducive for China to attracting overseas talents. On the other hand, Trump shifted the pressure of rising power of China to Chinese students and immigrants, which resulted in negative effect on Sino-US cultural exchanges.

## **Key Words**

Monism, Illegal Immigration, National Sovereignty, Polarized Politics

Since the foundation of the United States, its Immigration Policies shift between monism and pluralism. Monism means that the Immigration Law primarily aims at safeguarding national security, while market and human rights issues related to other economic, social and political purposes are less important.<sup>2</sup> Pluralism means that the Immigration Reform primarily aims at safeguarding national security, while taking into account market and human rights issues related to other economic and social purposes. After Donald Trump taking office, he carried out the Immigration Policy Reform based on monism, which had multiple effects on domestic and foreign politics.

## I. Immigration Policy Reform Based on Monism

Trump won the 2016 U.S. presidential election by relying on the anti-immigration strategy. After taking office, he carried out Immigration Policy Reform based on the concept of “American first” and the principle of “sovereignty trumps”. Trump pays attention to safeguarding the national sovereignty from different dimensions, including sovereign border, national security, economic sovereignty, which ignores the free regulation of the labor force by the market, and the human rights. It is absolutely a kind of monism.

**First, Trump implements strict border control and maintains concrete border sovereignty.**

During the 2016 U.S. presidential election, Trump, as a candidate, repeatedly criticized the poor situation of the border control and proposed to build a Border Wall along the southwestern border between the United States and Mexico. During the second and third debates for presidential election, he promised to primarily strengthen border security if he was elected.<sup>3</sup> After taking office, Trump included the strengthening of border control in the important agenda of domestic politics. As the main think tank affecting the Trump Administration’s Immigration Policy Reform, the Federation of American Immigration Reform holds very conservative concept of immigration policy reform, which has been deemed as a right-wing and hate group by Southern Poverty Law Center, an American

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<sup>2</sup> Kevin R. Johnson and Bernard Trujillo, *Immigration Reform, National Security After September 11, and the Future of North American Integration*, Oakland: University of California Davis Legal Studies Research Paper Series No. 101, February, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Janell Ross, “From Mexican Rapists to Bad hombres, the Trump Campaign in Two Moments,” *The Washington Post*, October 20, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/10/20/from-mexican-rapists-to-bad-hombres-the-trump-campaign-in-two-moments/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.dbcd5b60966](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/10/20/from-mexican-rapists-to-bad-hombres-the-trump-campaign-in-two-moments/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.dbcd5b60966).

human rights organization. Affected by Federation of American Immigration Reform, Trump issued an executive order on strengthening border security, *Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvement Policies*, in the first month of his administration. The administrative order proposed to build a Border Wall along the southwestern border of the United States, build more residential centers, assign more border patrol agencies and withdraw federal funding for immigrant asylum cities. It is common for American governments to strengthen border security by investing more human, financial and material resources, such as Obama Administration. However, Trump has shown greater determination in safeguarding border security than his predecessors, and emphasizes improving the efficiency of enforcing Immigration Law. On the one hand, Trump insisted on building the Border Wall and required \$25 billion from the Congress. The Congress only agreed to allocate \$1.6 billion for border security, of which only \$38 million could be used to build Border Wall.<sup>4</sup> Although Trump did not obtain enough funds from Congress, the Border Wall has been constructed in El Paso, Texas, since September 2018. On the other hand, Trump attaches great importance to strengthening cooperation with local governments in law enforcement, in order to strengthen the law enforcement in the border. From January to August 2017, the White House and local governments signed 29 such cooperation agreements. So far, 60 such cooperation projects are determined and 23 of them was been enforced in 2018.<sup>5</sup>

**Second, the issue of immigration is deemed highly related with security, and Muslim immigrants are treated differently in the name of “national security”.**

In the early period of Trump Administration, the immigration issue was deemed highly related with security. Since the 9.11 Terrorist Attacks, the immigration issue was deemed highly related with security. Before 9.11, the public mainly viewed immigration from social dimension and they mainly worried about the social problems resulted from immigrants and the effect on racial diversity.<sup>6</sup> After 9.11, American political elites and the public believed that immigration was not only a social problem, but also closely related with national security and life safety.<sup>7</sup> In the post-9.11 era, the moderates in the Democratic Party and the Republican Party supported comprehensive Immigration Policy Reform, which in essence weakened the relations between immigration and security.

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<sup>4</sup> Nash Jenkins, “President Trump Wanted \$25 Billion for a Border Wall. Congress Gave Him a Fence Instead”, *Time*, March 22, 2018, <http://time.com/5210780/congress-omnibus-border-security-wall-donald-trump/>

<sup>5</sup> Sarah Pierce and Andrew Selee, “Immigration under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the Election”, *Migration Policy Institution*, December 2017, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/immigration-under-trump-review-policy-shifts>.

<sup>6</sup> Ole Waever, “Security, Insecurity and Asecurity in the West-European Non-War Community,” in Emmanuel Adler and Michael Barnett eds., *Security Communities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 69–118.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, “The Limits of a European Immigration Policy: Elite Opinion and Agendas within the European Parliament,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.43, No.4, 2005, pp.851–875.

After Trump taking office, the immigration is deemed highly related with security again.

In the name of safeguarding national security, Muslim immigrants, who are the primary victims, are treated differently and their entry is strictly restricted. In January 2017, Trump issued a "Muslim Ban", which prohibited immigrants from Iran, Syria, Yemen, Libya and other Muslim countries in the Middle East from entering the United States. At first, immigrants from seven countries are prohibited, which is changed to four countries finally. Although Muslim immigrants from the Middle East has been a sensitive issue in American society since 9.11, the United States government has always attached great importance to it and deemed it highly related with security. However, the United States government has not implemented the anti-Muslim policy blatantly.

Refugees from Iraq and Syria are also subject to strict scrutiny while the immigration is deemed highly related with security. On October 24, 2017, Trump issued an executive order on strengthening the scrutiny of refugees, stipulating that refugees from the Middle East and Central and South America should be subject to more stringent scrutiny than applicants of general visas, the information collection ability should be improved and the information should be fully shared between the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State.<sup>8</sup>

### **Third, Trump safeguards economic sovereignty and opposes the free regulation of labor force by the market.**

The international migration is generated essentially driven by the market. The international migrants can provide complementary labor force for the recipient countries if the advantages will outweigh the disadvantages. Otherwise, The international migrants compete with the labor force of the recipient countries. Trump believes that the current immigrants affect the economic sovereignty of the United States, and put forward the concept of "employing Americans and buying American goods" policy. Guided by this concept, he believed that the fewer immigrants, the better. He has taken various restrictive measures against both high-skilled and low-skilled immigrants.

Trump Administration implemented more stringent regulations on entry applications, spouse employment and green card applications for high-skilled immigrants than Obama Administration, and abolished the time limit of accepting visa applications for American embassies abroad.<sup>9</sup> Trump stressed that embassies must carefully review the backgrounds of applications and foreigners entering the

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<sup>8</sup> *Presidential Executive Order on Resuming the United States Refugee Admissions Program with Enhanced Vetting Capabilities*, October 24, 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-executive-order-resuming-united-states-refugee-admissions-program-enhanced-vetting-capabilities/>

<sup>9</sup> Obama Administration stipulated that the State Department must ensure that 80% of visa applicants are interviewed within three weeks.

United States are required to submit additional social media accounts and records over the past five years.<sup>10</sup> The rules indicating that the spouse of high-skilled immigrant holding H1B visa can work in the United States are abolished. The applicants of green card must engage in visa interview. In terms of low-skilled immigrants, Trump implemented a mass expulsion policy due to the large proportion of illegal immigrants. Although Trump Administration expelled less illegal immigrants in the first two years of his administration than the Obama Administration,<sup>11</sup> the Trump Administration pays more attention to the expulsion efficiency and shortens the time for illegal immigrants to stay in the United States. On the one hand, Trump Administration implemented the policy of “Non-black Court” in the judicial organs. By employing retired immigration judges and holding video hearings, 650,000 immigration cases have been solved, the efficiency of immigration proceedings is improved.<sup>12</sup> Thus, it is less possible for illegal immigrants to legalize their status by applying for refugee status. On the other hand, the Trump Administration temporarily suspended to solve the special problem of “illegal immigrants–legalizing the status of young illegal immigrants”. During the Obama Administration, the Deferred Action of Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy was implemented to stop deporting illegal immigrants who came to the States when they were children. About 800,000 young illegal immigrants conform to this policy, and 55% of them are working adults.<sup>13</sup> Compared with the general illegal immigrants, the young illegal immigrants have obvious advantages in English level and education background. 36% of them are high-quality labor force and have bachelor degree or above. However, Trump vetoed DACA from the beginning of his presidency. Later, DACA was suspended due to the opposition of the Democratic Party. Trump suspended DACA to delay the time of legal employment of young illegal immigrants, so as to avoid employment pressures on American citizens in the future.

**Fourth, Trump reduces the number of refugees, human rights are deemed less important, and mitigates the responsibility of global migration governance.**

After World War II, the United States accepted a large number of refugees after the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the Cuban

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<sup>10</sup> Sarah Pierce and Andrew Selee, “Immigration under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the Election”, *Migration Policy Institution*, December 2017, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/immigration-under-trump-review-policy-shifts>.

<sup>11</sup> Santa Ana, “Donald Trump is Deporting Fewer People than Barack Obama Did,” *Economist*, December 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017, <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2017/12/14/donald-trump-is-deporting-fewer-people-than-barack-obama-did>.

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Pierce and Andrew Selee, “Immigration under Trump: A Review of Policy Shifts in the Year Since the Election”, *Migration Policy Institution*, December 2017, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/immigration-under-trump-review-policy-shifts>.

<sup>13</sup> Sam Petulla, “What We Know about Who Is Enrolled in DACA”, *CNN*, January 25, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/25/politics/daca-dreamers-by-the-numbers-trump-sessions-funding/index.html>.



Revolution, in order to demonstrate the superiority of American democracy and freedom, and became the leader of global refugee governance. In 1980, the United States issued the *Refugee Act of 1980*. Based on this system, refugees can enjoy more preferential treatment and conditions than ordinary immigrants while applying for qualifications and entry. For example, the refugee system is independent of *Immigration Law* and the number of refugees is not limited by immigration quotas. After the 9/11 Incident, President George W. Bush suspended the refugee policy for several months, but then resumed. The United States accepted refugees about 70,000-80,000 a year from 2001 to 2015. After Trump taking office, the number of refugees continued to decrease, which is the least since 1980.

After the European Migrant Crisis in 2015, the Obama Administration accepted 85,000 refugees in 2016 and 110,000 in 2017.<sup>14</sup> Trump reduced the number of refugees to 60,000 in 2017. In fact, the United States only accepted 53,716 refugees in 2017.<sup>15</sup> In 2018, the number of refugees accepted by the United States was further reduced to 45,000.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, temporary protection policies, mainly for refugees from Central and South America, were abolished by Trump. In 2017, Trump suspended the temporary protection policies for about 400,000 refugees mainly from 10 countries, including Haiti, Sudan and Nicaragua.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, Trump began to mitigate the responsibilities and obligations of the United States in global migration governance, and announced the drop-out from the *Global Compact on Migration* in December 2017. According to the *Global Compact on Migration*, the Member States should undertake more responsibilities and obligations in global migration governance, such as promoting the protection of refugees' human rights, ensuring that the children refugee access to education in a short period of time, stopping the expulsion of children refugee, and providing financial assistance to countries of origin for refugees.<sup>18</sup> Trump announced to drop out the *Global Compact on Migration* on the grounds that it threatened the sovereignty of the United States. A series of Immigration Policy Reform based on monism carried out by the Trump Administration has great effect on the domestic and foreign politics.

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<sup>14</sup> Juliet Eilperin, "White House Raises Refugee Target to 110,000", *The Washington Post*, September 14,

2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/09/14/white-house-plans-to-accept-at-least-110000-refugees-in-2017/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.c75962828116](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/09/14/white-house-plans-to-accept-at-least-110000-refugees-in-2017/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.c75962828116).

<sup>15</sup> <http://ireports.wrapsnet.org>

<sup>16</sup> "Presidential Documents", *Federal Register*, Vol. 82, No. 203, October 23, 2017, <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2017-10-23/pdf/2017-23140.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> Kathryn Johnson, "Protected Status for Hundreds of Thousands of Immigrants. Here's What You Need to Know", American Friends Service Committee, May 4, 2018, <https://www.afsc.org/blogs/news-and-commentary/trump-has-ended-temporary-protected-status-hundreds-thousands-immigrants>

<sup>18</sup> Alexander Betts and Lena Kainz, "The History of Global Migration Governance," *Working Paper Series NO. 122*, July 2017.

## II. Domestic effect of the Trump Administration's Immigration Policy Reform

The immigration policy based on monism is opposed by social and political forces advocating pluralism in the United States, and has negative effect on the social, economic and political level in the United States.

First, in terms of social level, **the immigration policy based on monism enlarges the cultural differences between "native" and "foreigner", results in social panic, intensifies ethnic tensions, and promotes the expanding of social extremist forces.**

The policy restricting immigration not only leads to widespread panic among ethnic minorities, but also leads to competition and divides among ethnic minorities due to immigration quotas. As the largest ethnic minority in the United States, Latinos account for the most in both legal and illegal immigrants, so they feel most panicked about Trump's immigration policy. According to the survey of Pew Research Center, 50% Latinos believe that they had a hard time after Trump taking office, and 55% worry that their family members or close friends will be expelled due to Trump's Immigration Policy Reform. Moreover, 49% Latinos worry about their living conditions in the United States, which increased 8% , compared with that in Obama Administration (41%).<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, Asian immigrants are most concerned under the Trump Administration's restricting legal immigrants and reducing H1B visas policy. There are 1.5 million illegal Asian immigrants and 1.7 million illegal immigrants applying for legal status. They are also relatively panicked about Trump Administration's policy of mass deportation of illegal immigrants.<sup>20</sup> As a sensitive group in American society, Muslim immigrants are extremely worried about Trump's "Muslim Ban". After the Supreme Court upheld the Ban in June 2018, Muslim considered themselves as "second-class citizens".<sup>21</sup> In addition, the "Muslim Ban" led to increasing attacks on Muslim immigrants. The Council on American Islamic Relations, an American Muslim organization, claims that its

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<sup>19</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>20</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>21</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

members were attacked 44% more in 2017 than in the past.<sup>22</sup> Trump's Immigration Policy Reform adheres to the principle of "selecting the best", and the reduction of immigration quotas also results in competition and divides within ethnic minorities. Most ethnic minorities oppose the Trump's Immigration Policy Reform, while South Asian immigrants with the majority of the middle class supported the building of Border Wall. They are willing to provide financial support and hope Trump would forcefully fight against illegal immigrants and issue more H1B visas.<sup>23</sup>

The left-wing and right-wing extremist forces are further expanded affected by the Immigration Policy Reform. Inspired by the Immigration Policy Reform based on monism, the scale and scope of activities of extremist group are further expanding, including the right-wing extremist upholding white supremacy, anti-immigration groups and social hate groups. According to a study by the Southern Poverty Law Center, the number of social hate groups in the United States increased from 917 in 2016 to 954 in 2017. Among them, the Neo-Nazi movement upholding white supremacy expanded most rapidly, from 99 to 121, with a growth rate of 22%. After the significant development of anti-Muslim groups in 2015-2016, the number of branches increased from 101 to 114 in 2017, with a growth rate of 13%. The number of anti-immigration groups increased from 14 in 2016 to 22 in 2017.<sup>24</sup> Generally speaking, the right-wing extremists mainly carry out activities in the grass-roots level. After 2017, some social hate groups continue to expand in universities and recruit college students as their members. In 2017, the right-wing extreme racist distributed leaflets in more than 200 university campuses across the United States for more than 300 times.

Meanwhile, the left-wing extremist groups also expand due to the Trump Administration's Immigration Policy Reform. Since 2017, the left-wing extremist groups which advocate anti-fascist and anti-white supremacy further expanded. Among them, Antifa, an anti-Nazi, anti-racism, anti-white supremacy and anti-fascist group, has expanded rapidly. Antifa is a violent branch of the left-wing movement, which engaged in the Occupy Wall Street in the past and is engaging in the anti-Trump movement. In response to Trump's Immigration Policy Reform, Antifa and another left-wing group, Patriot Prayer, jointly organized more than 700 anti-Trump protests ranging from New York, Los Angeles, where free immigration policy is implemented, to Alabama and Wyoming, where conservative

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<sup>22</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>23</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>24</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

immigration policy is implemented.<sup>25</sup>

Second, **in terms of economic level, the policy restricting immigration directly resulted in heavy loss in industries of the United States that greatly depend on immigration. The decrease in the number of workers is slowing down the growth rate of the GNP of the United States in the future.**

Trump's Immigration Policy Reform restricts and even expulses low-skilled immigrants. However, labor-intensive industries such as agriculture, fisheries, construction industry, service industry, commerce and manufacturing greatly depend on low-skilled immigrants. In some areas, low-skilled immigrants even serve as the backbone of local industries. The complete expulsion of low-skilled labor would have a devastating effect on the local industry as a whole.

In the low-skilled industries, there are about 12 million illegal immigrants, accounting for a large proportion of the labor force. If they are completely expulsed, the U.S. economy will suffer double losses. On the one hand, the expulsion of illegal immigrants will cost the federal government \$400-600 billion, and the domestic labor force in the United States will be reduced by 6.4%, which are about 11 million workers. As a result, agriculture, construction industry, retail and hotel industry will be seriously affected.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, according to a study by the National Bureau of Economic Research, illegal immigrants can increase the income of the U.S. economy by about \$5 trillion in the next 10 years, accounting for about 3% of the U.S. GDP.<sup>27</sup>

In the high-skilled industries, it is more difficult to obtain H1B visa, and there will be a serious shortage of labor and brain drain for tech companies which mainly depend on foreign labor in the fields of engineering, technology and data analysis. According to a report of CATO INSTITUTE, the population will increase to 409 million under current policies. However, only 383 million labors (common labors) are available under the Trump Plan.<sup>28</sup> 71% of the labors in Silicon Valley are foreign immigrants, most of which are Indian and Chinese students studying abroad. Iranian immigrants also serve as the elite for technology industry in the United States. In NASA, eBay, Google,

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<sup>25</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>26</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>27</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>28</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

Twitter, Uber and other companies, Iranian immigrants also serve as senior management personnel. Trump Administration deemed immigration issues highly related with security, so the Iranian student visas are reduced from 29,404 in 2016 to 19,801 in 2017,<sup>29</sup> reducing the talent pool in the future. According to a report of National Foundation for American Policy, the rejection rate of H1B visas increased by 41% in the fourth quarter of 2018.<sup>30</sup> As a result, some high-quality workers have to leave the United States and get jobs in other countries.

The U.S. economy mainly depends on consumption, accounting for 70% of GNP. More population will result in more consumption. The U.S. population is growing by less than 1% a year. If immigration restrictions are implemented, it will lead to less consumption,<sup>31</sup> which will ultimately affect the economic growth of the United States. According to a report by the National Academies of Sciences, Trump's immigration policy of "buying American goods and employing Americans" will lead to a decline of about 15% in the GDP of the United States. Under the current immigration policy, the US GDP will grow from \$19 trillion to \$58 trillion in 2060. Under the Trump's immigration policy, the US GDP will only reach \$49 trillion in 2060.<sup>32</sup> Trump's Immigration Policy Reform aims at creating more jobs for native Americans. However, there is no evidence that Trump's immigration restriction policy has created more jobs in the country, compared with 2015 and 2016.<sup>33</sup> On the contrary, according to a study of Madeline Zavodny, an economist at the University of North Carolina, immigrants have reduced unemployment and increased the labor participation rate of Native Americans of all genders and of the same educational level.<sup>34</sup>

Third, in terms of political level, Trump got support of the political base by fulfilling his election promises, but it resulted in opposition of pluralist political forces. **American political institutions fell into**

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<sup>29</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>30</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>31</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>32</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>33</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>34</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

**chaos due to different opinions on Immigration Policy Reform, and the polarized politics is worsening.**

Anti-immigration is one of Trump's main strategies to win the 2016 presidential election. Trump quickly fulfilled his promises after taking office, which won the favor of the original voters and consolidated the political base. According to the Axios-Survey Monkey Poll, 58% of rural whites, 50% of suburban whites, 59% of whites without bachelor degree and 31% of the millennials support Trump's Immigration Policy Reform.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, more and more Republicans tend to support the Immigration Policy Reform. By 2016, only 88% of Republicans and independent politicians supported Trump's Immigration Policy Reform, and 63% of them strongly supported it. By 2018, 92% of Republicans supported the policy, and 67% of them strongly supported it.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, Trump's Immigration Policy Reform was strongly opposed by the pluralist political forces led by the Democratic Party. The American domestic politics fell in chaos. In terms of federal government, tensions between political parties are rising and contradictions between the government and Congress intensified. Due to Trump's determination and aggressive behavior in some policies, the Immigration Policy Reform based on monism is strongly opposed by the Democratic Party. The relations between government and Congress as well as the party fight in Trump Administration focus on the immigration issues. In January 2018, Trump failed to reach a consensus with Democratic senators on Immigration Policy Reform due to determination to build the Border Wall, which directly led to the government shutdown for the first time in American history due to immigration issues. In terms of local government, the immigration issues resulted in great contradiction between the federal and the local government. Trump's radical immigration policy was strongly opposed and resisted by liberal local governments. Trump's "Zero Tolerance" border policy implemented from April to July 2018, which resulted in family separation, and was condemned by the state governments. Relations between the federal and state governments are disrupted due to law enforcement in the border. California, Colorado, Connecticut, Maryland, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and even Massachusetts controlled by Republican Party refused to cooperate with the federal government on "Zero Tolerance" policy. They refused to dispatch or even withdrew the national guards and other resources from the states. For example, the California government announced the withdrawal of 400 law enforcement officers, which were dispatched to the border by the sta

In addition, Trump **attaches great importance to immigration issues**

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<sup>35</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

<sup>36</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

**and carries out administrative orders for immigration frequently, which not only strengthens the Immigration Policy Reform based on monism, but also further cultivates and strengthens the white's cultural identity of his supporters.** In the mid-term elections in 2018, the Republican candidates greatly affected by Trump paid attention to anti-immigration election strategy, which echoed Trump's "Zero Tolerance" border policy on immigration issues. This further strengthens the white's cultural identity of supporters in terms of the political concept and policy level. As a result, the right-wing political forces in America will further expand. It is less possible for the left-wing and right-wing to reach consensus and the polarized politics is worsening. According to the survey of Pew Research Center, the polarization of the two parties in the first year of Trump's administration has further expanded. The polarization of the two parties on immigration has reached its highest level since 1994. 84% of the Democrats believe that immigrants can contribute to the United States by working hard, but only 42% of the Republicans agree with that. The polarization level reached 2:1.<sup>38</sup>

### III. International effect of the Trump Administration's Immigration Policy Reform

The Immigration Policy Reform has both domestic and international effect. The Trump Administration's Immigration Policy Reform based on monism has negative effect on bilateral relations between the United States and the countries of origin of immigrants, global migration governance and Sino-US relations. But this policy also provides opportunities for China to attract overseas talents.

**First, bilateral relations between the United States and the countries of origin of Muslim immigrants, traditional immigrants and skilled immigrants have been undermined somehow.**

Although countries of origin of Muslim immigrants in the Middle East are angry about the "Muslim Ban", they did not strongly protest due to deterrence of the United States. The "Muslim Ban" undermines the relations between the United States and countries in the Middle East. It undermined the cooperation between the United States and the Iraqi against Iran. The Iraqi Congress required the government to take the same retaliatory action against the United States by imposing a "Ban on the United States" on more than 5,000 U.S. military personnel fighting ISIS in Iraq. The "Muslim Ban" also consolidated the hard line of the Iranian government which originally tended to compromise and consultation with the United

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<sup>38</sup> "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider", *Pew Research Center*, October 5, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grow-s-even-wider/>

States.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the “Muslim Ban” will promote the expanding of religious extremist factions in the Muslim world to a certain extent, which will be detrimental to the anti-terrorism action of the United States in the Middle East. Mohammad Javad Zarif, the Iranian Foreign Minister, believed that the “Muslim Ban” is beneficial to religious extremism and will be a tool for mass propaganda by extremist groups.<sup>40</sup>

The relations between the United States and Mexico, a country of origin of traditional immigrants, are undermined since Trump engaging in presidential election. Trump abused the Mexican immigrants during presidential election, and implemented the “Zero Tolerance” policy at the border after taking office, which resulted in strong criticism and condemnation from the Mexican government. In April 2018, during the increasingly severe refugee crisis in Central and South America, Trump accused that the Mexican government fail to take proper actions to prevent the “refugee caravan” moving towards the United States. In response, the Mexican government also played hardball. President Enrique Peña Nieto issued an unusual order to review all bilateral relations with the United States. Mexico’s Senate approved a non-binding resolution urging the government to end cooperation with the United States, which improved uncertainty to the ongoing trade negotiations.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile, the Mexican public’s favor for the United States dropped sharply. According to the survey of Pew Research Center, Mexican public’s favor for the United States dropped to the lowest level since 2002, from 64% in 2002 to 30% in 2017, and 95% Mexicans opposed the building of Border Wall.<sup>42</sup> In July 2018, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, the newly elected national leader of Mexico indicated that he would strengthen cooperation with the United States on immigration issues. However, the relations between the two countries will have a hard time in the future due to Trump’s immigration policy .

In terms of the countries of origin of skilled immigrants, India obtains most of the H1B visas, accounting for 70% of the 85,000 H1B visas issued annually. However, the Indian government is also concerned about Trump’s H1B visa system. The low-skilled immigrants play an important role in cooperation between the two countries and an important component of bilateral economic and trade relations.

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<sup>39</sup> Jared Malsin and Cairo,” How Trump’s Presidency Could Become a Dividing Line in the Middle East”, *Time*, February 4, 2017,<http://time.com/4658762/donald-trump-middle-east-saudi-arabia-egypt/>.

<sup>40</sup>Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff, Martin Chulov and Saeed Kamali Dehghan,” Muslim-majority Countries Show Anger at Trump Travel Ban ,”29 Jan 2017 ,<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/29/muslim-majority-countries-anger-at-trump-travel-ban>.

<sup>41</sup>Joshua Partlow,” In Mexico, frustration with Trump grows as relations reach a ‘defining moment’”, *The Washington Post*,

May 10,2018,[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the\\_americas/in-mexico-frustration-with-trump-grows-as-relations-reach-a-defining-moment/2018/05/09/57450340-41db-11e8-b2dc-b0a403e4720a\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.91ae9d14b3ec](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/in-mexico-frustration-with-trump-grows-as-relations-reach-a-defining-moment/2018/05/09/57450340-41db-11e8-b2dc-b0a403e4720a_story.html?utm_term=.91ae9d14b3ec)

<sup>42</sup> Margaret Vice and Hanyu Chwe, “Mexican Views of the U.S. Turn Sharply Negative”, *Pew Research Center*, Sep 14,2017, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/09/14/mexican-views-of-the-u-s-turn-sharply-negative/>.



Trump reduced the number of H1B visas and made it more difficult for Indian technicians to apply for green cards. In early 2017, Trump proposed not to extend H1B visas for foreigners on the waiting list of permanent residence or green cards. If so, more than 50,000 Indians will be affected. The Indian government is extremely concerned about this. Narendra Modi, the Indian Prime Minister, raised the issue of H1B visa in a telephone conference with Trump, and then discussed it with the delegation of the U.S. Congress who visited India. Subrahmanyam, the Indian Foreign Minister, listed immigration as an important agenda during his visit to Washington in March.<sup>43</sup>

Second, in terms of global migration governance, **the Trump Administration cut the budget for domestic refugees and reduced the financial support to the International Organization for Migration, further aggravating the crisis of global migration governance.**

During the Refugee Crisis in Europe in 2015, it was difficult for European countries to handle effectively, and it was difficult for International Organization for Migration to play a role in coordinating national actions. In this crisis, the United States was unwilling to take more responsibilities and obligations. Global migration governance got into trouble. In response to the crisis and improving the effectiveness of global migration governance, 193 UN Member States discussed the issues of global migration and refugee in New York on September 19, 2016, and issued the *New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants*. The *Declaration* emphasizes that a global compact should be formulated to promote the safe and orderly flow of immigrants around the world. Integrating immigrants and improving the capacity to receive refugees will be included in the framework and plan of humanitarian and development assistance. The Obama Administration responded positively to the *Declaration* by proposing to increase humanitarian funding from \$10 billion in 2015 to \$13 billion in 2016, increase the number of refugees resettled and provide humanitarian assistance for resettlement, and facilitate the entry and self-dependence of refugees.<sup>44</sup> After Trump taking office, he announced the withdrawal from the *Declaration*, and drastically cut budgets for immigration and related humanitarian issues, further mitigating responsibilities and obligations in global migration governance. The budget for the Population, Refugee and Immigration Divisions of the U.S. Department of State has been cut from \$31 billion in 2017 to \$27 billion in 2018. Emergency assistance for refugees and immigrants has also been reduced to 50 million dollars. The budget for Health and Human Rights Services Division providing services for refugees

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<sup>43</sup> Michael Kugelman, "Trump Is Scaring Indians", *Foreign Policy*, March 21, 2017, 4:29 PM

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/21/trump-is-scaring-indians-modi-visa-travel-ban-immigration/>

<sup>44</sup> U.S. State Department, "Strengthening the International Response to the Global Refugee Crisis: Fact Sheet of the Office of the Spokesperson, Washington, DC, January 22, 2016," <http://reliefweb.int/report/world/strengtheninginternational-response-global-refugee-crisis>.

and children immigrant has also been reduced from \$2.1 billion in 2017 to \$1.5 billion in 2018.<sup>45</sup> All these actions will certainly deepen the dilemma of global migration governance.

THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR) and INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM) serve as the main international organizations responsible for refugee governance, and the United States is the main source of funding for them. In 2016, the United States contributed about \$1.5 billion and \$1.03 billion to UNHCR and IOM, respectively.<sup>46</sup> Since 2017, the Trump Administration has been reducing or even stopped its contributions to relevant United Nations organizations. Thus, the global refugee governance is in shortage of funds. In 2017, the Trump Administration stopped contributions to the United Nations Population Fund, which aims to provide health services to female refugees escaping from political conflicts and to protect them from other violent attacks. In August 2018, Trump announced that **U.S** would stop financial support to the UN Relief and Works Agency, which will result in 30% loss of budget. Furthermore, Trump announced that the financial support to the United Nations may be further reduced in the future. Thus, other United Nations agencies involved in refugee governance, poverty eradication and human rights development will be also in shortage of funds. The United States provides about 20% of the United Nations budget, and contributes higher proportion in sectors involving immigration, human rights and economic development. From 2014 to 2016, the United States contributes 41% of the budget of the UN World Food Programme, 46% of the budget of the UNHCR and 35% of the budget of the IOM.<sup>47</sup> These organizations contribute to the global poverty eradication, promoting global economic development and solving refugee problems. Without support of the United States, it will be difficult for these organizations to operate normally, which will undoubtedly lead to more difficult for global refugee governance.

**Third, Trump's immigration policy has both advantages and disadvantages in terms of bilateral relations between China and the United States.** On the one hand, the Trump Administration's policy restricting immigration is conducive for China to attracting overseas talents. At present, Chinese students studying abroad accounts for highest proportion in the United States. From 2016 to 2017, Chinese students accounted for 33% of international students in the United

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<sup>45</sup>Lazaro Zamora, "Immigration in Trump's FY2018 Budget", *Bipartisan Policy*, May 25, 2017,

<https://bipartisanpolicy.org/blog/immigration-in-trumps-fy2018-budget/>

<sup>46</sup>Martin, Susan F., and Elizabeth Ferris. "US leadership and the international refugee regime." *Refuge*, Spring 2017, Vol 33, No 1 (2017)

<sup>47</sup> Amanda Shendruk, "Many UN agencies are in a precarious position if the US decides to cut foreign aid", September 29,

2018, <https://qz.com/1405965/many-un-agencies-are-in-a-precarious-position-if-the-us-decides-to-cut-foreign-aid/>.

States, followed by India (17%).<sup>48</sup> However, Chinese students obtain far less H1B work visas than that of Indian students. In 2016, 82% of the H1B visas in the United States were issued to Chinese and Indian students, 126,692 for Indian students and only 21,657 for Chinese students.<sup>49</sup> The decrease in the number of H1B work visas will make it more difficult for employment of Chinese students. Since 2017, the number of H1B visas has declined steadily, from 236,000 in 2017 to 199,000 in 2018 and 190,098 in 2019.<sup>50</sup> All these result in the increasing Chinese returnees in recent years after Trump taking office. According to statistics from the Ministry of Education the People's Republic of China, the number of returnees reached 480,900 in 2017, an increase of 11.19% compared with the previous year.<sup>51</sup> Although Trump's Immigration Policy Reform has not changed the mainstream trend for world's top talent flowing to the United States, the flowing trend of the world's middle and high-end talents has been changed to certain extent.

Compared with the US policy of restricting the employment of international students, Canada implemented an open policy. As a result, many international students tend to get jobs in Canada. In 2017, Canada accepted 86,022 foreign technicians from the United States, 42% of them were Indians, 9% were Chinese, 6% were Nigerians and 4% were Pakistanis.<sup>52</sup> In view of this, China should also set up and track the database of overseas talents by nationalities and formulate proper policies based on their majors to attract them, so as to meet requirements of national development and strengthen the country by talents.

On the other hand, Trump shifted the pressure of rising power of China to Chinese students and immigrants, which resulted in negative effect on Sino-US cultural exchanges. Trump pointed out that "All Chinese Students are Spies" and prepared to revise the policy for Chinese students. In May 2018, the U.S. Department of State announced that it would restrict the visa validity of Chinese, and the F1 five-year visas of Chinese students may be shortened in validity. Although the F1 visa policy has not been changed, until November 2018, Trump may further reduce the number of F1 student visas in the future on the grounds of "Chinese Students are Stealing the U.S. Secrets". Moreover, Trump Administration strictly reviewed

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<sup>48</sup> Jie Zong and Jeanne Batalova, "International Students in the United States", *Migration Policy Institution*, May

9, 2018, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/international-students-united-states>

<sup>49</sup> Rani Molla, "Workers from India and China received 82 percent of U.S. H-1B visas last year", *Recode*, Apr 13, 2017,

<https://www.recode.net/2017/4/13/15281170/china-india-tech-h1b-visas>.

<sup>50</sup> "USCIS Receives 199,000 FY 2018 H-1B Cap Cases, Runs Selection Lotteries", *FRAGOMEN*, APR 17 2017,

<https://www.fragomen.com/insights/alerts/uscis-receives-199000-fy-2018-h-1b-cap-cases-runs-selection-lotteries>

<sup>51</sup> "Are Chinese returnees still welcomed while the overseas returnees are increasing?" Sohu, November 1, 2018, [http://www.sohu.com/a/272628243\\_428966](http://www.sohu.com/a/272628243_428966)

<sup>52</sup> Deborah DSouza, "The Impact of Trump's H-1B Visa Crackdown in 5 Charts", *Investopedia*, August 1, 2018

<https://www.investopedia.com/news/impact-trumps-h1b-visa-crackdown-5-charts/#ixzz5X7s8dCIU>.

Chinese scholars listed in China's "Recruitment Program of Global Experts" on the grounds of "Chinese Scholars are Stealing Technical Secrets of the U.S.". The U.S. Congress has also actively cooperated in this regard, held hearings, and prepared legislation to sanction Chinese scholars in certain technical fields. With the increasing anxiety and pressure for China due to increasing technical development and overall national strength, Trump deemed the issues of Chinese students and scholars related with national security, and strictly reviewed the Chinese scholars in technical fields, which made it difficult for normal academic and technical exchanges between China and the United States, and had a very negative effect on the cultural exchanges between the two countries.

## IV. Conclusion

The Trump Administration's Immigration Policy Reform based on monism adheres to the concept of "American first" and essentially coincides with the anti-immigration atmosphere of middle and lower class immigrants in the United States. Although the Immigration Policy Reform will consolidate the governance cornerstone, it will have a negative effect on the social, economic and political levels of the United States. In terms of international effect, the bilateral relations between the United States and the countries of origin of Muslim immigrants, traditional immigrants and skilled immigrants have been undermined somehow. The crisis of global migration governance is further aggravated. The Trump Administration's policy restricting immigration is conducive for China to attracting overseas talents, but it has negative effect on Sino-US cultural exchanges.

## About the Author

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