

# THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION SECURITIZATION ON THE INCREASE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA-BASED ATTACKS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2015-2019

Victoriana Melati

University of Indonesia

melativictoriana@gmail.com

## **ABSTRACT**

*This paper will discuss the United States policy under Donald Trump's administration which places migration as an agenda of securitization by restricting immigrants from entering the United States, especially Muslim immigrants. Trump firmly said to reject the entry of immigrants from six Muslim countries, namely Chad, Iran, Libya, Syria, Somalia and Yemen. Trump also added that the ban on the entry of immigrants was also applied to Venezuelans and North Koreans. The step was taken by Trump with the aim of ensuring the security of the United States from various threats potentially brought by the immigrants. Then, this paper will answer the big questions about how securitization of migration affected the emergence of Islamophobia in the United States. In analyzing these problems, we use the concept of securitization of migration with four operational variables, namely: 1. Framing by speech acts, 2. Politicization of fear, 3. The impacts (positive and negative): Securitization policy and the islamophobia actions. The results of this study indicate that securitization of migration process has an impact on the increasing actions of Islamophobia-based in the United States.*

**Keywords:** *Securitization of Migration; Travel Ban Policy; Islamophobia; United States*

## **ABSTRAK**

Tulisan ini akan membahas tentang kebijakan Amerika Serikat dibawah pemerintahan Donald Trump yang menempatkan migrasi sebagai agenda sekuritisasi dengan mengambil langkah adanya pembatasan terhadap masuknya imigran, khususnya imigran muslim di Amerika Serikat. Trump dengan tegas mengatakan untuk menolak adanya imigran yang masuk untuk enam negara muslim, yaitu Chad, Iran, Libya, Suriah, Somalia, dan Yaman. Trump juga menambahkan bahwa pelarangan masuknya imigran diberlakukan juga untuk warga Venezuela dan Korea Utara. Langkah tersebut diambil Trump dengan tujuan untuk memastikan keamanan Amerika Serikat dari berbagai acaman yang akan datang dari para imigran tersebut. Kemudian, tulisan ini akan menjawab pertanyaan pertanyaan besar tentang dampak sekuritisasi migrasi terhadap munculnya islamophobia di Amerika Serikat. Dalam menganalisa permasalahan tersebut, kami menggunakan konsep sekuritisasi migrasi dengan empat variabel operasionalisasi, yaitu: 1. *Framing by speech acts*, 2. Politisasi Ketakutan, 3. Dampak (positif dan negatif): terbentuknya kebijakan sekuritisasi migrasi dan meningkatnya aksi islamophobia. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa proses sekuritisasi migrasi memang berdampak pada meningkatnya aksi-aksi islamophobia di Amerika Serikat.

**Kata Kunci:** *Sekuritisasi migrasi; Kebijakan Travel Ban; Islamophobia; Amerika Serikat*

## Introduction

The election of Donald Trump as President adds to the dynamics of the US' policy both in domestic and foreign policies. In terms of international security, the United States under Donald Trump's administration places migration as an agenda of securitization by putting restrictions on immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants, to the United States. Trump firmly said to reject the entry of immigrants to six Muslim countries, namely Chad, Iran, Libya, Syria, Somalia and Yemen. Trump also added that the ban on the entry of immigrants was also applied to Venezuelans and North Koreans.

The idea that has been intensively conveyed since his campaign was attempting to convince the public that Muslim immigrants, in his view, are a threat to the citizens of the United States. One of them was recorded in December 2015, Trump released a statement in his campaign based on a poll result that most segments of the Muslim population have enormous hatred of Americans (Johnson, 2015). The speech continued with a statement that the citizens of the United

States must not only be careful of the arrival of Muslim immigrants but must also be on the lookout for Muslim immigrants who were already settled in the United States. This was related to the mass shooting incident that occurred in Southern California a month before, which he said was inspired by the Islamic State terrorist group (BBC, 2015).

Trump's statements during the campaign finally began to be realized when he is officially serving as President. On March 6, 2017 the White House officially released the Executive Orders on protecting the country against the entry of foreign terrorists, and several Muslim countries in were included in the ban, there were: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen (Executive Order No. 13769, 2017). Although the order has received mixed reactions, the statistics show that the policy is quite effective, as can be seen from the reduced number of visas issued to immigrants from the countries listed in the ban. The move was carried out by Trump with the aim of ensuring the security of the United States from potential threats brought by the immigrants.

**Graph 1. Change in the Amount of Visa Issuance by the United States Government to Immigrants from Countries listed in the prohibition**

### Immigrant visas

After the travel ban, implemented on Dec. 7, 2017, the number of immigrant visas granted to people from Muslim-majority countries in the ban declined significantly.

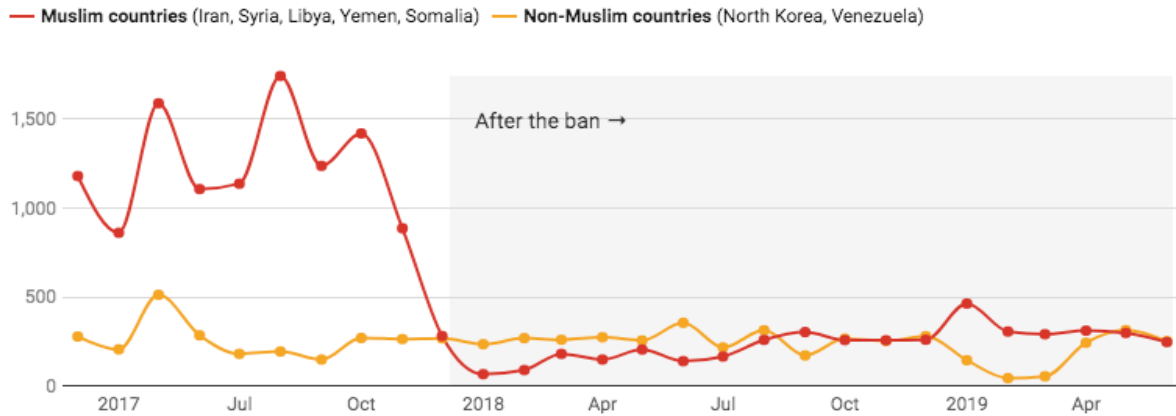


Chart: The Conversation, CC-BY-ND • Source: [U.S. State Department](#) • [Get the data](#)

**Source: U.S. State Department, reprocessed by Niayesh (2019)**

Instead of making the US citizens feel at ease, post-election era of Trump as a president has shown a contradictory impact towards muslim immigrants. Assaults were still around, but majority of the perpetrators of these attacks are citizens of the United States and their targets are immigrants and citizens of Middle Eastern descent and/or muslim people. The forms of attacks vary from personal attacks to vandalism in places of worship, educational institutions, and buildings which belongs to Muslim communities in the United States. Those events can be included as the impact of the

policy because the citizens of the United States who carry out these actions feel as if the government supports their actions towards the immigrants, especially Muslims.

Some of the examples are what has happened in January 2017 at Kennedy International Airport, a Massachusetts citizen charged with hate crimes after he threatened an airport official who wears hijab, he kicked and said “Trump is here now! and he will chase away you all”. (Mele, 2017). Another incident was that in February 2017 a Kansas citizen shot and killed an engineer from India who he

thought was of Middle Eastern descent, and attacked two others after shouting “go away from my country” and opened fire (Brennan & Sommerfeldt, 2017). By the facts and data presented above, the author will answer the question of “How does the securitization of migration in the United States in travel ban policy impacts the increase in Islamophobic attacks in the United States?”.

The issue of Securitization of Migration is not completely new, in fact, previous researches were already done by numerous authors. Academic studies on the securitization of migration, especially in the United States, are divided into three broad perspectives, namely: (1) political economy; (2) domestic politics; and (3) regional studies.

Previous political-economic studies look at United States migration policy, as follows: it is closely related to the dynamics of the Mexican migrant workers market (Gentsch and Massey, 2011). then, the economic policies made by the core countries (US) for sex trade affect the rate of migration of Latin countries to the US (Copley, 2014). Migration policy is also very influential on the level of economic incentives in

the agricultural sector in the western United States (Philip, 2017). Mexico's migration to the US is also affected by the great recession in Mexico (Villareal, 2014). finally, the effect of migration on average income and the spread of income in destination and origin countries (OECD) (Intermediate, 2010).

Previous theoretical studies using domestic political perspectives, among others, review the Pro and Anti-Immigrants in the US is the Interaction Between the Growth of State-Level Latino Population, Electoral Competition, and Latino Voters (Reny, 2017). Then, the media and US congress play an important role in influencing how the executive branch makes decisions on the enforcement of migration policies (Salehyan and Rosenblum, 2008). Then, the use of quantitative numerical data and analysis, migration statistics and mass media influence the design of US migration policy (Cabrera and Arenaza, 2012). Finally, the regional study perspectives try to analyze US migration policies towards a country or region such as, Europe: Czech (Tkaczyk, 2017) and America: Venezuela (Belokonev,

Vodopetov, and Ivanov, 2019) and Mexico (Pries, 2019).

The argument developed by previous academic studies on the dynamics of migration in the United States is inseparable from the political and economic factors in it, such as the benefits derived from migrant workers, legal and illegal trade, and the effects of recession. In addition, migration policy in the US is also very much determined by domestic politics such as the role of government politicians, political parties, mass media, and voters, and the United States has an international migration policy aimed directly at an area or country that is considered important for US security.

Although we can draw important lessons from the perspective used, it seems that previous studies have not explicitly explained the impact of migration securitization policies themselves. This essay tries to analyze with a domestic political perspective but with a new perspective, namely islamophobia-based actions. Actions that tend to be cruel are precisely the impact of US migration securitization policies that are not wise. Securitization

actors carry out politicization of fear to a perception of threat to society and regard immigrants, especially Muslims as a common enemy that must be eradicated. This is very important to study considering the perceived impact is truly real.

### **Research Methods**

In analyzing the research problems, we will use qualitative methods. According to Alan Bryman, qualitative research is a research strategy that emphasizes words rather than quantification in data collection and analysis. Qualitative research is inductive, constructionist, and interpretive, although not all of these three elements are applied (Bryman 2004). We will conduct this research through series of stages. The stages are finding the focus, developing a theoretical framework, finding a methodology, analyzing the findings, and drawing conclusions. From one stage to the next, there is no binding time limit, and writers can always return to the previous stage to make improvements or add and reduce what was previously written.

In conducting analysis, researchers conduct data collection in accordance with

the case studies. The data are generally in the form of documents and scientific literature that supports research. The documents and literature taken in the form of secondary data collected by the author through text books, international relations journals, and news that contains the case studies selected.

The framework used to analyze the problems in this scientific article is the concept of securitization of migration. The concept explains that migration can be made into securitized after going through a process of domestic politicization by securitization actors to become a legal force in the form of a policy. However, it cannot be denied that the process also had an impact on society. It can be said that the process of securitization of migration have positive and negative side. The positive side is the creation of securitization itself with legal policies, but the negative side is the impact caused by changing the view of the citizen over the politicization of fear that associates immigrants as a national threat.

Securitization of migration is basically the application of securitization theory in the field of migration. The concept of securitization was first

introduced by the Copenhagen School through scientists Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver, who argued that security problems did not just emerge, but were built in such a way by securitizing actors through speech acts. Security issues cannot be seen as a given fact, but must be seen as subjective discursive processes (Tromble, 2014). The Copenhagen School not only introduces analytical tools to examine the development of discursive threats, but also contributes to the expansion of security concepts to also include non-military threats.

Migration has been recognized as a security issue. Barry Buzan is one example of scientists who connect migration and security. Migration is one area that extends the security nexus (Buzan, et al 1998). Buzan selected the era of Cold War as an example that migration issues are related to security and needed to be securitized. It is said that the flow of East German refugee migration contributed to tearing down the Berlin wall and causing the collapse of the German Democratic Republic.

Migration is a unique non-traditional security issue that can be securitized, because basically the security threats

brought by migration are not natural nor absolute, instead they are the result of a different definition for each state leader, politicians, and citizen. The issue of migration was exploited by Trump, who was competing in the nomination for president of the United States to convince US citizens about the fears of threats that immigrants could bring. This can be done by a state leader because based on Balzacq (2005) securitization is a set of practices, contexts, and power relations that construct a picture of threats, through an intersubjective process. This process is explained further in McDonald (2008) based on 4 variables, including: (1) The existence of an actor or agent who launched a securitization policy; (2) the existence of destructive threats; (3) there are objects that are protected from the securitization process, and (4) there are parties that must be convinced to accept issues that are securitized as threats.

When this is applied to the problem of migration, we can see that cross-border movements and the presence of foreigners in certain countries often bring problems such as political loyalty, calculation of the impact on the economy, military and other capacities of the country, need to be

considered (Huysmans, 2006: 30). In ensuring that migration is a security threat, politicians and state leaders take advantage of the fears of citizens as individuals. Based on Robin (2004) politicization of fear can work in 2 ways: (1) the leader/politician determines the public's view of an object of fear/threat, or (2) the leader/politician interprets the fear faced by the public and uses it according to his interests. Both ways in politicizing fear are closely related to what is called framing. Framing is the process by which a person develops a special conceptualization of a problem or redirects their thinking about a problem (Chong & Druckman, 2007: 104). Implementing the policies on issues such as migration requires a lot of support, and political actors can get that support using this method. As said by Jacoby (2000):

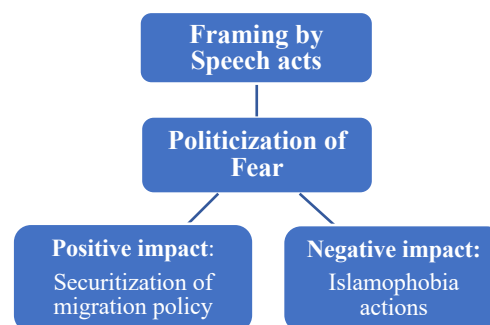
*“Politicians try to attract voters for their policies by persuading them to think about their policies along particular lines. They can do so by focusing on specific features of their policies. For example, stressing the likely effects or the relationship of the policies to the important values of the audience”* (Jacoby, 2000: 751).

Framing provides specific definitions and interpretations of political issues for certain audiences, or the general public. In other words, they try to guide the audience with a specific framework for understanding and interpreting problems and events in a certain way. Migration tends to be framed by politicians and policy makers as an existential danger to the continuity of political unity.

Security framing creates the realm of political interaction by spreading trust and fear. In the case of migration, it can mean that we are led to trust those who are (culturally) close to us, (West, Europe) and fear those who are in the distance from us (Non-Western, Non-European). Framing causes a real distinction between us and them. Then, they (foreigners) are politicized into something dangerous and feared. Thus, trust can be achieved by identifying or creating a source of fear or distrust. In this way we know who to trust and who to fear. In this way, the politics of insecurity simultaneously represents politics of knowledge (Huysmans 2006, 51-54). Thus, the government will get more support from the public to securitize the issue of migration and encourage policy makers to act on it.

It also proves that a fear can indeed be a motivating factor for a movement to make a social change or support a policy, as described by Hobbes which is the basis of a great and lasting society is not the same goal but rather the similarity in fear. (Robin, 2004: 31). Trump uses that in his campaign slogan “Make America Great Again” to show that the United States is not as great as before and a movement is needed to achieve it. However, beside implementing the securitization policy, the results actually led to an increase in attacks based on Islamophobia.

**These are the operationalization of variables from migration securitization concept:**



Therefore, the concept of securitization of migration can be described as a process. Starting with the existence of framing which is done with a



speech act from the government or the executive, which is associated as a threat. Then, this perception is politicized by securitization actors as if it becomes an urgent problem and influences aspects of national security. Then, after the perception of threat and fear is formed, there will be two impacts. On the positive side, the public will support the government and urge policy makers to create a policy of securitizing the issue of migration, and the negative side is the increase in Islamophobia-based action in the United States.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Framing by speech acts**

Framing can also be called the definition and specific interpretation of political issues for certain audiences, or the general public. Donald Trump as the presidential candidate for the United States also participated in framing actions during his campaign. Trump and his entire success team try to guide the audience with a specific framework to understand and interpret that Muslim immigrants are giddy will endanger the citizens of the United States. Immigrants from Muslim

countries are associated with crime in such a way, especially the issue of terrorism. This is implicitly set forth in his oration which can be classified as hate speech. One example is Trump's statement on December 7, 2015:

*“We cannot let our citizens suffer because of the brutal attacks from persons who deify jihad and do not have common sense or humanity towards human life. If I am elected to lead this country as president, together we will make America great again” (Kozłowska, 2015).*

In 2016, precisely May 20 through Fox media, Trump directed his conversation to ethnic Muslims: *“They have to hand over people who bombed planes. And they know who those people are. And we will not find people just by continuing to be kind and gentle”*. Then, on another occasion, Trump also mentions Muslims and links them to brutal terrorism. At a rally in North Carolina, Trump stressed that parents of suspected brutal shooting cases in Orlando were American Muslims who immigrated from Afghanistan. Trump claimed Muslims that every terrorism attack incident, they are responsible actors: *“Children of American Muslim parents, they are responsible for*

*the increasing number for whatever reason increasing terrorist attacks”* (Johnson & Hauslohner, 2017).

In this statement, Muslims are associated as a group of people who carry out indiscriminate attacks on in the name of jihad (heroic sacrifice), and are also considered to be cruel to human life. Without a context and more detailed information about who is meant by Trump both from the background of citizenship and affiliation to certain organizations, Trump directly generalizes that all Muslims are terrorists. Followed by a statement that when he was elected president, he would return the United States to become a great country again.

As explained by Huysmans (2006) that Framing causes a real distinction between us and them. Then, they (foreigners) are politicized as something dangerous and feared. Thus, trust can be achieved by identifying or creating a source of fear or distrust. In this way we know who to trust and who to fear. At this point, it can be said that Trump is trying to reinforce the notion that the United States Government under his leadership will later be a trusted party because it will tighten the migration of Muslim residents to the

United States, so citizens must support his view. On the other hand, Trump also managed to create the image of Muslim immigrants as a party to be feared. At this stage, framing by means of speech act by securitization actors is considered to be able to arouse a certain belief or assumption.

### **Politics of Fear (Politics of Fear)**

After the framing action succeeded in building public opinion in such a way as to the issue of migration and Muslim citizens, Trump could then utilize the fear or concern of the community for political purposes, namely to win votes for him in the presidential election. In accordance with Robin (2004) explanation that the politicization of fear can work in 2 ways: (1) the leader / politician determines the public's view of an object of fear / threat, or (2) the leader / politician interprets the fear faced by the public and uses it in accordance with its importance. In framing efforts carried out before, then the first way above is in accordance with what was done by Trump in the statements in his campaign that he (and his group) which determined that the public should also be concerned about an issue that he said could

be a threat. An example is his statement on June 13, 2016:

*“If I am elected president, I will stop the flow of immigration from all regions where there has been a history of terrorism that has proven to attack the United States, Europe or our allies, until we understand how to end this threat” (Politico, 2016).*

In US presidential election speeches, Trump often portrays immigrants as potential real threats to the American people. Like Latin immigrants, Trump said that: *“They (Latino illegal immigrants) are drug carriers, crime carriers and they are rapists”*. Trump labels Latino immigrants as potentially dangerous drug dealers, criminals, and as people who come to the US to steal jobs and clean up the system (Lamont, Park, & Ayala-Hurtado, 2017, pp. 23-24).

Trump also often associates all Muslim immigrants as a potential terrorist movement. For example, in Phoenix, in a speech on October 29, 2016, Trump made a flashy statement by linking immigrants with criminal aliens: *“When Hillary Clinton was Secretary of State, she let thousands of the most dangerous criminal aliens in the world be released. In America*

*because their home country won't take it back. They are people who are guilty of murder, assault, rape, and all kinds of crimes with violence” (Lamont, Park, & Ayala-Hurtado, 2017, p. 25).*

The statement underlines the issue of terrorism that has become part of the dark history in the United States in the tragic events of 9/11 which implicitly contains agreement to assume that every country that is indicated (though not yet proven) related to acts of terrorism against the United States, Europe, and its allies, is a real threat. Trump is very consistent in the promised statements regarding immigration, especially against Muslim immigrants. This policy is strongly influenced by the condition of the threat of terrorism expressed by Trump as part of a radical Muslim group. By ensuring that they are threats, for reasons of national security everything that can be done to minimize or even eliminate these threats must get the full support of the community.

The politicization of fear carried out in the Trump campaign proved to be successful in gaining public support. There was a response of support from the audience (the United States of America) so

that the migration issue that was considered non-security at first was a security issue. The determination that Trump's security speech was successful was his appointment as the winner of the election by pocketing 304 electoral college votes (Shabad, 2017). While the minimum requirement for a candidate to win the presidential election is to win 270 electoral colleges. Then after Trump officially became president, a series of securitization of migration from the framing process and politicizing people's fears then anchored in the formation of a policy that could realize that goal.

With the politicization of fear process, supported by the victory of the trump in the United States presidential election, it turns out that the securitization of migration agenda has two impacts, positive and negative. the positive impact is the formation of a legal migration securitization policy, and the negative impact is that it actually encourages Islamophobic actions.

### **Positive Impact: Travel Ban Policy**

Securitization theory emerged to manage and as a solution to security problems that threaten human life but have

not been recognized as crucial to national security. To obtain security status, then it must go through an intersubjective process involving securitization actors and the audience. securitization actors try to call out any issues that need to be securitized to be shared with the audience so as to create a common understanding and support from them. The success of the securitization process ultimately led to the creation of a policy that was considered the most appropriate to curb the threat of security problems (Balzacq & Guzzini, 2015). The intersubjective process carried out by Trump as a securitization actor to the American public over security threats coming from immigrants has successfully gained support and won him in the United States presidential election and made the Travel Ban or Muslim Travel Ban policy implemented.

In his intersubjective process, Trump tries to convince the US community that criminal and criminal cases, especially cases of terrorism by immigrants that endanger the United States, occur because of the lack of strict rules governing the dynamics of immigration in the United States and their implementation: "The threat of

immigrants has caused attacks and terrorism that threatens terrorism our way of life and claiming many innocent Americans because our politicians have failed in their duty to secure our borders. Any politician who does not understand this danger is not fit to lead us to the country” (Ball, 2016). It implies that the United States needs to respond and follow up seriously from the threat of immigrants with an appropriate policy.

After convincing the public that migration, especially migration from prohibited countries is a threat to national security, Trump then realized the policies he had promised since the campaign period. Trump clearly indicated that something was wrong that happened especially in Muslim countries and related to terrorism. By taking advantage of this lack of clarity or potential risk, Trump led support for a plan to ban total Muslims from entering the United States.

*“Donald Trump voiced and emphasized the total halt of Muslim immigration to the United States until we could find out what was happening, it was like hell, we had no other choice, really we had no choice” (Johnson, 2015).*

With such a strong affirmation that

there is no other way but to forbid Muslim immigrants from entering the United States, Trump actually implemented the policy at the beginning of his reign. Although he did not totally ban all Muslim-populated countries, through executive order he began the realization of migration securitization by rolling out a travel ban policy.

The travel ban policy, which is even more popular with the term Muslim ban, is the designation of a series of executive actions launched by Trump since officially serving as President in 2017. Based on documents issued by the White House, executive orders it underwent several changes. In executive order no.13769 a strict ban was imposed on foreign nationals who would visit or travel to the United States, among other countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. However, the enactment of these regulations received a response in the form of protests to official demands, so that the next order was an amendment to the previous order namely removing Iraq from the list of prohibitions (Executive Order No. 13780). Eventually the President issued Presidential Proclamation 9645 by adding several other countries to the ban,

namely Chad, North Korea and Venezuela, while Sudan was removed from the list. (Executive Order, 2017) Naturally, if many people consider this travel ban to be more inclined towards Muslim ban because 6 out of 8 prohibited countries are Muslim-populated countries.

The impact of the implementation of the policy was very drastic, for example, the rejection of visas of around 135 million migrants, the majority of whom came from Muslim countries. The largest number is from Iran which counts more than 80 million people not getting visas, and only 573 migrants have gotten visas in 2018, 12 months since the ban was applied. Not only Iran, other Muslim countries also experienced a decrease in the number of US visa issuance, both types of tourist visas (tourist) and others. Only 12 months after the entry into force of travel bans, decreases in visa issuance for Somalis were 86%, Yemen citizens 83%, Libya 80% and Syria 77% (Niayesh, 2019).

However, the impact of the migration securitization in the United States is not only in the form of a decrease in the number of visas issued to Muslim citizens, but other impacts are the

reactions of US citizens towards Muslim citizens. This reaction is in the form of words, spontaneous individual actions and even plans that not only cause offense but also fatalities and damage. And it can be said that it is caused by the strong influence of framing carried out by Trump during the campaign by associating Muslims as a dangerous party which is closely related to crime and even terrorism.

### **Negative Impact: Actions of Islamophobia**

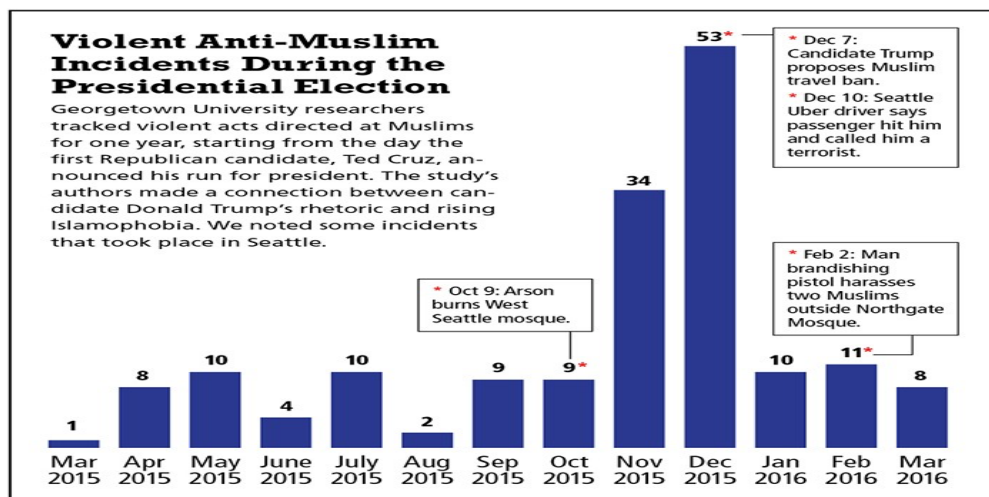
Islamophobia is an excessive fear of everything that directly or indirectly related to Islam, both adherents, places of worship, as well as rituals of worship and other activities that are Islamic religion and culture, even further linking Middle Eastern countries in general as a place for the emergence of Islam. The United States can be said to be closely related to Islamophobic attitudes given the deadly attacks that claimed the lives of many of its citizens. Although the relationship between the United States and Islamophobia is closely related to the events of 9/11, the truth is that long before that a bomb attack carried out by citizens

of middle eastern descent was recorded to have occurred in 1993 with the same target, the World Trade Center Building. Since then, the image of Arabs and Islam in the eyes of US citizens has become worse, followed by accusations against Muslims in the Oklahoma City Bombing incident by media crews that have further angered US attitudes toward Arabs and Islam. Post 9/11, hatred towards Arabs and Islam increased rapidly compared to the previous year, namely 354 events in 2000 and 1,501 incidents in 2001. (Oswald, 2005)

However, anti-Arab sentiments and islamophobia in the United States had subsided when Barrack Obama took office president. Diplomacy carried out against

Muslim countries is enough to suppress the number of Islamophobic-based attacks, although not all US citizens agree with Obama's policy direction. But change was seen when the authority was given to Donald Trump, with a different base of support and parties from the previous president. During the Trump administration, the number of Islamophobic-based hate attacks has increasingly appeared in media coverage. The results of the research of a lecturer from Georgetown University, Engy Abdelkader (2016), showed an increase in the number of anti-Muslim sentiment incidents that were linked to the campaign by Trump before serving as president.

**Graph 2. Increasing Number of Anti-Muslim Violence Acts within 12 months**



Source: Research Report from Georgetown University, visualized by Ghabra (2017)

Anti-Muslim sentiment continued to take place until Trump was elected, these actions took the form of vandalism, expressions of individual hatred and attacks that resulted in minor injuries to gunfire and attacks on groups. The author describes several examples of cases that received the attention of the citizens of the United States and into the media spotlight

down below. With no intention to underestimate vandalism actions or other actions that do not take casualties, the authors limit to frontal actions which are related to the Islamophobic motives that were raised by Trump's campaign or after Trump took office as president and implemented a travel ban.

**Table 1. List of incidents of violence and / or destruction based on Anti-Muslim sentiments which are highlighted by Local and International Media**

Tanggal	Keterangan
29 June 2016	Minneapolis Shooting : a man fired a gun at 5 Somali-American people, witnesses claim that the perpetrator shouted anti-muslim slogan. (Harvard, 2016)
19 July 2016	An Indian Immigrant in Nebraska was assaulted into unconscious by someone who shouted "ISIS, get out of my country!" while keep assaulting the said immigrant. (Roberts, 2016)
13 August 2016	An Imam and his apprentice were shot dead on their way home from mosque in New York. (Clark, 2016)
18 August 2016	A Lebanese-American man in Oklahoma was shot dead by his neighbour who often shouted "Dirty Muslim!" and "Arabs", even when the latter man was a christian.. (Kestler-D'Amours, 2016)
12 September 2016	A man in Florida set a mosque on fire because he was worried that similar attacks as 9/11 will take place once again. (Hyman & Keegan, 2017)
10 November 2016	Two muslim woman were assaulted when walking, and the perpetrator also assaulted the woman's kid who was in the stroller while shouting "This is United States, You should not look different from us!". (del Valle, 2017)
27 November 2016	A man in Virginia was assaulted in parking area by someone who was shouting islamophobic words. (Jouvenal, 2016)
5 Desember 2016	A muslim woman in New York was pushed off a stair by random person who accused her as terrorist. (CBS News, 2016)
10 Desember 2016	A muslim man in California was stabbed in front of a mosque by unknown person. (Stevens & Hamilton, 2016)
18 Desember	A customer threw hot coffee to a muslim women, who was a waitress in the



2016	cafe, punched her and accused them as terrorist. (Reyna Dkk, 2016)
10 March 2017	A man in Oregon tortured an Arabian-descendant waiter in a restaurant with an iron pipe, while shouting "Go back to your country, terrorist, and get out of America". (KPTV, 2017)
12 March 2017	A citizen of Florida tried to set a minimarket on fire after he assumed that the owner was a muslim, he wanted to cast Arabians out of United States", although later it is known that the owner was an Indian
5 August 2017	Bom attack towards Dar Al Farooq Islamic Center in Bloomington, Minnesota. (Chuck, 2017)

**Source: the author compiles from various media with related topics**

Securitization of migration which should be an act of prevention of the dangers that might come from free migration, has turned into accusations and judgement of foreign immigrants because the politicization of fear, especially Muslims as a whole as a real threat that must be eradicated. The use of politicization of fear by associating foreign immigrants especially Muslim immigrants as a threat to national security has led public opinion to hate and condemn it. This affects the sense of insecurity of the United States of America against immigrants, especially Muslims and encourages them to do islamophobic-based actions to protect their security. however, this actually makes American citizens cruel for their actions.

### **Conclusion**

The idea of migration securitization was launched by Donald Trump since 2015, at the time of the competition for the election of the President of the United States as a tool for his campaign. Securitization of migration by Trump is voiced as important for the national security of the United States. In accordance with the concept of migration securitization, the action taken by Trump to securitize migration issues is a process. It starts with framing the need for migration securitization by speech act during the campaign. Then followed by the politicization of fear, namely associating migration as a threat to national security, one of which launched the entry of acts of terrorism. Then, after the public joined in agreeing to the idea, a "travel ban" policy and restrictions on visa

issuance were implemented.

Indeed, the idea of securitization of migration by Trump runs in accordance with the goals it wants to achieve. It can be seen that in the end Trump can win the US Presidential election contestation with a pretty high vote. Many support Trump for the idea of migration securitization and his ideals, namely "make America great again" to be realized.

However, this turned out to create new problems as a result of the association of immigrants, especially Muslim communities as a threat to the national security of the United States. Immigrants, especially Muslims are often associated with acts of terrorism. The United States people who feel insecure, in fact instead overdoing the Muslim community that shelter in the United States. Indeed, the initial goal is to be alert to threats. However, what happened was no longer preventive action but it showed violence and deep hatred until violence occurred. This is proven by various acts of vandalism and bombing of Muslim sites and shelters in the United States. This shows that the politicization of fear has an indirect negative impact on the emergence of Islamic action in the United States.

## References

- Abdelkader, E. (2016). When Islamophobia Turns Violent : The 2016 U.S. Presidential Elections. *Special Report*. Georgetown University.
- Andrés Villarreal. 2014. Explaining the Decline in Mexico-U.S. Migration: The Effect of the Great Recession. *Demography*, volume 51. Downloaded from: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13524-014-0351-4>
- Balzacq, T. (2005). The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context. *European Journal of Internal Relations*, Vol. 11(2). Downloaded from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1354066105052960>
- Belokenov, Sergey Yu, Sergey A. Vodopetof, Vladimir G. Ivanov. 2019. The Impact of Migration from Venezuela on the Domestic Political Situation in the United States. *Journal of Political Science*, volume 21, issue 2. Accessed from: <http://journals.rudn.ru/political-science/article/view/21842>
- Brennan, C. & Sommerfeldt, C. (2017). Kansas man accused of fatally shooting Indian engineer after shouting 'get out of my country', *Daily News*, 23 February 2017. Available on: <https://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/man-shouting-racial-slurs-kills-wounds-article-1.2980033> (Accessed on 14

- December 2019)
- Buzan, Barry and Weaver, Ole and De Wilde, Jaap. 1998. *Security: a new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Ceyhan, A. & Tsoukala, A. (2002). The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent Discourses and Policies. *Alternatives 27, Special Issue*. 21-39. Downloaded from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/03043754020270S103?journalCode=alta>
- Chong, Dennis and. Druckman, James, N. (2007). "Framing Theory". *Annual Review of Political Science*. No 10. Accessed from: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228198044\\_Framing\\_Theory](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228198044_Framing_Theory)
- Chuck, E. (2017). "Bomb Blast Shakes Minnesota Mosque as Worshipers Prepare for Prayers. *NBC News*, 6 August 2017. Available on : <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/feds-investigate-explosion-shook-bloomington-minnesota-mosque-n789891> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Clark, D. A. (2016). Queens Imam Murder: Oscar Morel Charged With Killing of Maulama Akonjee. *Newseek*, 16 August 2016. Available on : <https://www.newsweek.com/oscar-morel-imam-maulama-akonjee-queens-murder-thara-uddin-new-york-490884> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Copley, Lauren. 2014. What Does Policy Have to Do with It? The Political Economy of Latino Sex Trafficking in The United States. *Crime Law Social Change, Vol. 62*. Accessed from: <https://research-portal.najah.edu/migrant/37279/>
- Correa-Cabrera, Guadalupe and Miriam Rojas-Arenaza. 2012. The Mathematics of Mexico-US Migration and US Immigration Policy. *Journal of Policy Studies*, vol. 33, Issue 4.
- Curley, Melissa G. and Herington, Jonathan. (2011). "The securitization of avian influenza: international discourse and domestic politics in Asia". *Review of International Studies*. Vol. 37:1. Accessed from: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-international-studies/article/securitisation-of-avian-influenza-international-discourses-and-domestic-politics-in-asia/9FAE1C67ADB28EDA0932420360C9386E>
- Del Valle, L. (2017). 2 Muslim Women, Babies Attacked in Alleged Hate Crime. *CNN*, 10 September 2016. Available on : [www.cnn.com/2016/09/10/us/brooklyn-muslim-women-attacked/index.html](http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/10/us/brooklyn-muslim-women-attacked/index.html) (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Exec. Order No. 13769 (2017). Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States. *Executive Office of the President*. 82 FR 8977–8982. 1st February

2017. Available on: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states-2/> (Accessed on 14 December 2019)
- Gentsch, Kerstin and Douglas S. Massey. 2011. Labor Market Outcomes for Legal Mexican Immigrants Under the New Regime of Immigration Enforcement. *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 92, No. 3. Accessed From: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42956552>
- Ghabra, Omar. (2017). Even in Liberal Seattle and Washington State, Islamophobia Is On the Rise. *The Stranger*, 7 June 2017. Available on : <https://www.thestranger.com/features/2017/06/07/25195502/even-in-liberal-seattle-and-washington-state-islamophobia-is-on-the-rise> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Harvard, S. A. (2016). 2 Muslim Men Were Shot Near Minneapolis Mosque, Police Are Investigating as Hate Crime. *Mic*, 2 July 2016. Available on : <https://www.mic.com/articles/147640/2-muslim-men-were-shot-near-minneapolis-mosque-police-are-investigating-as-hate-crime#.KHsVINeYv> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Hate Crime Suspects Beats Salem Restaurant Employee with Pipe. *KPTV*, 10 March 2017. Available on : [https://www.kptv.com/news/hate-crime-suspect-beats-salem-restaurant-employee-with-pipe/article\\_a56ce15c-0d57-5c3e-a95b-4d42a2dc0985.html](https://www.kptv.com/news/hate-crime-suspect-beats-salem-restaurant-employee-with-pipe/article_a56ce15c-0d57-5c3e-a95b-4d42a2dc0985.html) (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Huysmans, Jef. 2006. *The Politics of Insecurity. Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*. London: Routledge.
- Hyman, A. & Keegan, C. (2017). Suspect Charged in Fort Pierce Mosque Arson Sentenced to 30 Years, *WPTV*, 7 February 2017. Available on : <http://www.wptv.com/news/region-st-lucie-county/fort-pierce/suspect-charged-in-fort-pierce-mosque-arson-to-appear-in-court-again-monday> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Jacoby, William. G. (2000). "Issue framing and public opinion on government spending". *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 44. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2669279>
- Johnson, Jenna. (2015). Trump Calls for 'Total and Complete Shutdown of Muslims Entering The United States', *The Washington Post*, 8 December. Available on : <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/12/07/donald-trump-calls-for-total-and-complete-shutdown-of-muslims-entering-the-united-states/?noredirect=on> (Accessed on 14 December 2019)

- Jouvenal, J. Va. 2017. Man Charged with Hate Crime After Using Muslim Slurs, Biting Victim's Face, Police Say. *The Washington Post*, 27 February 2017. Available on: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/va-man-charged-with-hate-crime-after-using-muslim-slurs-biting-victims-face-police-say/2017/02/27/8524182a-c819-4c4a-8131-7f93766eeb5e\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/va-man-charged-with-hate-crime-after-using-muslim-slurs-biting-victims-face-police-say/2017/02/27/8524182a-c819-4c4a-8131-7f93766eeb5e_story.html) (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Kestler-D'Amours, J. (2016). Man Killed in Suspected 'Anti-Crime', *Al-Jazeera*, 18 August 2016. Accessed on: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/08/man-killed-suspected-anti-muslim-hate-crime-160816191517636.html>
- Martin, Philip. 2017. Immigration Policy and Agriculture: Possible Directions for the Future. *Journal on Migration & Human Security*, Vol. 5 Issue. Downloaded from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/233150241700500202>
- Mayda, Anna Maria. 2010. International migration: a panel data analysis of the determinants of bilateral flows. *Journal of Population Economics*, Vol. 23, No. 4. Accessed from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40925859?seq=1>
- McDonald, M. (2008). Securitization and the Construction of Security. *European Journal of International Relations* 14 (4). Accessed from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1354066108097553>
- Mele, Christopher. (2017). Man Kicked J.F.K. Airport Worker Wearing Hijab, Prosecutor Says, *The New York Times*, 26 January 2017. Available on: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/nyregion/queens-ny-jfk-attack.html> (Accessed on 14 December 2019)
- Muslim Woman Pushed Down NYC Stairs, Called "Terrorist". *CBS News*, 5 December 2016. Available on: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/muslim-woman-new-york-city-pushed-down-stairs-subway-called-terrorist/?linkId=31992332> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Niayesh, Vahid. (2019). Statistic show that Trump's "travel ban" was always a Muslim ban, *Quartz*, 29 October 2019. Available on: <https://qz.com/1736809/statistics-show-that-trumps-travel-ban-was-always-a-muslim-ban/> (Accessed on 14 December 2019)
- Oswald, Debra L. (2005). *Understanding Anti-Arab Reactions Post-9/11: The Role of Threats, Social Categories, and Personal Ideologies*. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*. 35 (9). Accessed from: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/229541125\\_Understanding\\_Anti-Arab\\_Reactions\\_Post-911\\_The\\_Role\\_of\\_Threats\\_Social\\_Categories\\_and\\_Personal\\_Ideologies1](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/229541125_Understanding_Anti-Arab_Reactions_Post-911_The_Role_of_Threats_Social_Categories_and_Personal_Ideologies1)

- Pries, Ludger. 2019. Momentum of Transnational Socialspaces In Mexico-US-Migration. *Comparative Migration Studies*, Vol. 7:34. Downloaded from: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335208909\\_The\\_momentum\\_of\\_transnational\\_social\\_spaces\\_in\\_Mexico-US-migration](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335208909_The_momentum_of_transnational_social_spaces_in_Mexico-US-migration)
- Reny, Tyler. 2017. Demographic Change, Latino Countermobilization, And the Politics of Immigration in US Senate Campaigns. *Political Research Quarterly* 2017, Vol. 70(4). Accessed from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1065912917713155>
- Reyna, R., Dimon, L., & Annese, J. (2016). Homeless Man Throws Coffee at Muslim Woman, Calls Her 'Terrorist' in Manhattan Dunkin. *New York Daily News*, 19 December 2016. Available on : <https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/manhattan/homeless-man-throws-coffee-muslim-woman-nyc-dunkin-donuts-article-1.2915553> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Roberts, D. (2016). Indian Immigrant Says Attacker Yelled "ISIS" Profanities at him before Attacking. *KETV*. Available on : <https://www.ketv.com/article/indian-immigrant-says-attacker-yelled-isis-profanities-at-him-before-attacking-1/40770974#> (Accessed on 15 December 2019).
- Robin, C. (2004). History of an Idea, dalam *Fear: The History of a Political Idea*. Oxford University Press.
- Salehyan, Idean and Marc R. Rosenblum, 2008. International Relations, Domestic Politics, and Asylum Admissions in the United States. *Political Research Quarterly* Volume 61 Number. Downloaded from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20299714?seq=1>
- San Benardino Shootings Investigated as Terrorism – FBI, *BBC*, 4 December 2015. Available on: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-35006404> (Diakses pada 14 December 2019)
- Shabad R. (2017). "No, Trump's victory was not the biggest Electoral College win since Reagan". Quoted from: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/no-trumps-victory-was-not-the-biggest-electoralcollege-win-since-reagan/>
- Stevens, M. & Hamilton, M. (2016) Man Stabs Worshiper Near Simi Valley Mosque in Hate Crime, Police Allege". *Los Angeles Times*, 12 December 2016. Available on : <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-simi-valley-mosque-stabbing-20161211-story.html> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)
- Tkaczyk, Michal. 2017. Between Politicization and Securitization: Coverage of the European Migration Crisis in Czech Online News Media. *Communication Today*, Vol. 8, No. 2. Downloaded from:

<https://www.communicationtoday.sk/download/22017/07.-TKACZYK-E28093-CT-2-2017.pdf>

Tromble, Rebekah. (2014). "Securitising Islam, securitising ethnicity: the discourse of Uzbek Radicalism in Kyrgyzstan". *East European Politics. Vol. 30:4*.

Wang, A. B. (2017). A Man Assumed a

Store's Indian owners were Muslim, SO He Tried to Burn it Down, Police Say". *The Washington Post*, 12 March 2017. Available on : <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/03/12/police-man-started-dumpster-fire-to-run-the-arabs-out-of-our-country-the-victims-were-indian/> (Accessed on 15 December 2019)