Introduction

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The Trump Paradox: Migration, Trade, and Racial Politics in US-Mexico Relations has been put together to explore one of the most complex and unequal cross-border relations anywhere in the world, especially in light of the rise of Donald Trump. The book examines current US-Mexico relations by looking at paradoxical immigration politics and policies and the current state of trade integration before and after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The current dynamics involve not only the changing migration demographics that have contributed to net zero Mexican migration to the United States but also the trillions of dollars contributed by Latino immigrants to the US economy. Trump's narrative blaming trade and migration for areas of the United States that are struggling economically must be understood instead in the context of the racialized historical roots of US-Mexico relations as well as their major implications for global trends in the twenty-first century.

Donald Trump's political rise utilized the narrative that America ceased being great because of "illegal" immigrants and trade agreements that produced deficits and took US jobs. The rise of Trump's electoral popularity has been conflated by many observers with measurable negative impacts from trade and migration on the lives of Trump supporters, as well as evidence of the need for more restrictive immigration and trade policy responses. An examination of the detailed geographic concentration of primary and general election voter support for Donald

Trump, however, indicates a negative correlation between Trump supporters and the presence of both Mexican immigrants and trade with Mexico. Thus, the Trump Paradox shows that those districts that voted for Trump are the least affected by Mexican trade and migration but still harbor anti-trade and anti-immigration views. The results of the 2018 elections show signs that the Trump Paradox is both deepening and unraveling. Forty congressional districts that voted for Trump in 2016 flipped in 2018, showing the unraveling of Trump's Mexico narrative. These formerly GOP districts are some of the districts that are most exposed to Mexican migration and trade. Recent research also shows that actually implementing highly restrictive trade and/or migration policies will significantly hurt Trump voting areas, despite their relatively low level of linkages with Mexico. While Trump voter regions are shown to be struggling economically, with high concentrations of white poverty, unemployment, and low income, neither the cause nor the solution is Mexico-related migration, and trade policies are neither the cause of nor the solution for these regions lagging behind economically.

This misguided Trump narrative is also paradoxical in the context of the recent historic shifts in US-Mexico trade and migratory labor integration. In the thirty-five years following World War II, deepening US-Mexico economic ties were characterized by relatively high trade protection and openness to migration, particularly in the Southwest where US agriculture depended on Mexican migrants for farm labor. But beginning in the 1980s and accelerating with NAFTA, US policy has shifted to increasingly liberal trade and investment policies. These policies have been accompanied by more restrictive immigration policies. Nearly a quarter century of a focus on trade liberalization has ignored areas of migration reform that are potentially much more beneficial, reforms that would recognize the positive impacts on the US GDP of the rising stock of migrants in the United States. Today, the United States and Mexico continue to share their long and unequal border, with intense trade, migration, and remittance interdependence involving billions of dollars per day and a Mexican-origin population in the United States that has contributed over $1 trillion to the US GDP, more than the size of the entire Mexican economy.[1]

Despite these regional complementarities and opportunities, the election of Donald Trump has led paradoxically to a highly conflictive period. The larger questions explored in this book are whether North America can shift to a new historic engagement that has the potential for beneficial migration and trade policy reforms. Such reforms could

leverage a new historical complementarity for upward wage and productivity convergence, increased intra- and interregional trade, and reduced migration.

It is in this US-Mexico context that we must see the paradox and the history behind the rise of Donald Trump, the epicenter and model for the rise of neonationalist politics across the globe. Trump created momentum for his political movement by blaming trade with and migration from developing countries, particularly by demonizing Mexico and Mexicans, for the economic woes of the working class, especially those in manufacturing. In doing so, he played to the economic and social anxieties of his majority-white political base. For Trump and his supporters, US-Mexico relations are believed to be deeply rooted, once again, in the racialized clash of a white "America" with nonwhite contenders, particularly its neighbor to the south and the people coming from it. Trump, like others before him, turned what would normally be cast as an instance of international relations into a racialized relationship. That is why we situate racial politics as central to understanding Donald Trump's rise.

The Trump campaign and the Trump administration have stoked white anxieties, this time about losing their majority status and their privileged position, just as President James K. Polk did in the mid-nineteenth century in the Mexican-American War when the United States invaded Mexico and essentially seized its land. President Trump's rhetorical attacks on Mexico, which follow three decades of relatively serious and cordial relations, have inflicted damage on Mexico and US-Mexico relations and have marked Mexicans as a public enemy. In doing so, Donald Trump has also exposed anti-Mexican and anti-Mexico sentiments that have been brewing for more than 150 years, openly racializing not only Mexicans in the United States but also the country of Mexico and Mexico's relations with the United States. From this racialized US-Mexico narrative Trump provides a road map for how the "West" is to respond to a great new global convergence in which rich and poor countries come together (Spence 2011). Trump characterizes Latino immigrants, particularly those from Mexico, as an existential threat to the United States, reaffirming the "Hispanic Challenge" narrative advanced by the influential political scientist Samuel P. Huntington in his 1996 book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order.* Huntington's argument is that "the persistent inflow of Hispanic immigrants" poses the biggest threat to the essentially Anglo-Saxon Protestant US national identity because their growing presence in the United States threatens "to divide the United States into two peoples,

two cultures, and two languages[,] . . . rejecting the Anglo-Protestant values that built the American dream."[2]

The pivotal question is whether this monumental shift toward racialized nationalist anti-immigrant and anti-trade policy is a sustainable representation of a new world order or whether this fundamentally flawed narrative represents the last gasp of an old order—one that is soon to be replaced by a California-style transformation that embraces US-Mexico migration and trade integration. The chapters in this book have taken on this question from myriad perspectives, each bringing in empirical evidence and fresh research to illuminate both the conflicts and the complementarities of US-Mexico relations today.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS BOOK

This volume emerged from a binational conference that we convened at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), in late 2017. Its seventeen chapters present state-of-the-art analysis by scholars from both Mexico and the United States, sometimes working in binational teams. Most of the chapters were presented at the UCSB conference in an early version; others were later added to round out the volume. This has truly been a collective effort that we hope will contribute to greater cross-border understanding and cooperation. The views represented by the contributors to this volume are their own and not those of their respective institutions.

The seventeen chapters are organized in four parts, with the titles of each chapter bearing a central research question. Each chapter is also accompanied by suggested reading for those interested in further research on the subject. Key terms are boldfaced where they are first mentioned in the book, and a glossary (cross-referenced to that initial chapter) is included at the back of the book, along with a list of acronyms.

The Trump Paradox (Chapters 1 and 2)

The first two chapters frame the trade and migration paradoxes that inform the exploration of these issues in parts 2 and 3, on migration and trade, respectively, that follow. They also open the discussion of racialized politics as a driver of attitudes and policies in the current political climate, a subject that informs the whole book but is given particular context and focus in the book's final part. Of course, racialized politics

have a long history in the United States, a history described in chapter 13, the foundational chapter for part 4, "Racialized Politics."

In chapter 1, *How Do We Explain Trump's Paradoxical Yet Electorally Successful Use of a False US-Mexico Narrative?*, we compare the Trump narrative about how Mexican migration and trade have hurt the United States to the economic and social exposure to Mexican trade and immigration in places that voted for Trump. Our research shows the existence of what we refer to as the Trump Paradox, whereby counties that voted for Trump are often struggling economically, with high concentrations of poverty and unemployment, but paradoxically with little exposure to immigration or trade with Mexico. We also analyze the 2018 midterm elections and the breaking down of the Trump Paradox. In both elections, we find that Trump was able to gain support by tapping into anti-immigrant and anti-trade attitudes—disproportionately and paradoxically in places where there was little actual exposure to Mexican immigration or trade.

In chapter 2, *What Were the Paradoxical Consequences of Militarizing the Border with Mexico?*, Douglas S. Massey further examines the Trump Paradox by describing and analyzing Trump's single-minded determination, fired up by millions of voters, to build a border wall and militarize the border. Massey illustrates the evolution of Mexican migration and US policy over the past several decades and exposes the "train wreck" that Trump created. Through ongoing data collection and analysis, Massey has long argued that militarizing the border would not solve the problem of undocumented migration. In fact, it would make it worse, actually increasing the size of the undocumented population as it disrupted patterns of circular migration and traditional migration routes. This has ironically led to more undocumented immigrants making the United States their home given the unlikely success and the financial and physical costs of crossing the border again. At the same time, border militarization has redistributed many of them away from traditional destinations and throughout the rest of the country.

Mexico-US Migration (Chapters 3–8)

The Swiss playwright and novelist Max Frisch famously said, "We wanted workers, but we got people instead." The chapters in part 2 continue to explore the transformation of Mexico-US migration, including issues of health, education, and work that affect an increasingly

binational population. Several chapters pick up on the history of migration outlined in chapter 2 from relatively low-scale bracero recruitment of agricultural workers after World War II to large-scale migration tipped by the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965; these chapters go further to describe immigration as well as immigration enforcement over the past decade and illustrate the economic and demographic causes for the precipitous decline in immigration from Mexico since the Great Recession, one that has coincided with a fertility transition in Mexico. For the first time more Mexicans are leaving the United States than are arriving, though immigration from southern Mexico continues and that from Central America has exploded. Indeed, a dilemma for rich and aging societies like the United States is that for their economies to continue flourishing, they need immigrants. Several chapters describe the challenges that need to be addressed for future generations, including suggestions for sustainable policies.

Chapter 3, *How Did We Get to the Current Mexico-US Migration System, and How Might It Look in the Near Future?*, by Silvia E. Giorguli, Claudia Masferrer, and Victor M. García-Guerrero, explores the changing nature of migration between Mexico and the United States. Demographic projections that take into account Mexico's steep fertility decline and Mexico's relations with other neighbors—Canada, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador—reveal a new migration system in the making, one that entails a slowing but persistent flow of Mexicans to the "North," a rapidly growing US-born population in Mexico, and the visible flow of Central Americans across Mexico to the United States, often for political reasons.

Given that, for now at least, mass Mexican immigration has ended, chapter 4, by René Zenteno and Roberto Suro, investigates the question, *Recession versus Removals: Which Finished Mexican Unauthorized Migration?* This chapter explores how the Great Recession suddenly stifled Mexican immigration and how the steep decline in Mexican fertility to near-US levels may keep it from returning to earlier levels. By its size, concentration, and duration, the authors note, Mexican immigration stood as a singular event in the annals of contemporary migrations worldwide and was unprecedented both in Mexico's experience as a sending country and in the long history of immigration to the United States. Zenteno and Suro point out that the circumstances of the migration finale are as important as its much-studied beginnings.

In chapter 5, *How Is the Health of the Mexican-Origin Population on Both Sides of the Border Affected by Policies and Attitudes in the United*

States?, Fernando Riosmena, Hiram Beltrán-Sánchez, Megan Reynolds, and Justin Vinneau explore the implications for health among the Mexican-origin population on both sides of the border. They note that because the United States and Mexico are deeply linked economically, environmentally, and socially, a shared, binational understanding of the well-being of these populations is required. The chapter concludes with policy suggestions for improving health care for these populations.

In chapter 6, *What Shall Be the Future for the Children of Migration? LASANTI and the Educational Imperative,* Patricia Gándara and Gary Orfield discuss the need for school integration in the deeply interdependent and contiguous region of Los Angeles–San Diego–Tijuana (LASANTI). This Baja California (a state in Mexico) and Southern California region is home to the most heavily transited international border in the world. In spite of the rhetoric about building walls and sealing borders, California and Mexico are highly interdependent, especially at this frontier, and their fortunes are inexorably tied. Yet this enormous resource is at risk unless both nations combine their efforts to raise the education level for the entire region, quickly, before the window of opportunity closes.

Pia M. Orrenius and Madeline Zavodny, in chapter 7, examine changes in the size and flows of undocumented immigration and discuss the policy implications of slowing undocumented immigration and growing labor demand. *What Are the Policy Implications of Declining Unauthorized Immigration from Mexico?* first estimates the size of inflows of unauthorized workers from Mexico and then examines the determinants of those inflows. As previous chapters have suggested, their estimates reveal that the current inflows of unauthorized Mexican workers are the lowest they have been in decades, and based on various indicators, they are unlikely to rebound. Nevertheless, US labor demand is growing. They point to the policy implications of creating a broad and sustainable temporary worker program that would allow for low-skilled, employment-based immigration as well as incorporate unauthorized workers who are already present.

Finally, in chapter 8, *How Does Mexican Migration Affect the US Labor Market?,* Frank D. Bean, Susan K. Brown, and James D. Bachmeier assess the extensive research on the impact of immigrants on US labor markets, explaining the complex interaction between them and the clearly positive economic and demographic gains from immigration in the long term. They note that numerous rigorous research studies demonstrate that allegations that immigrants take American jobs are false or grossly exaggerated. Since the end of World War II, economic

and job growth in the United States has ranked among the highest in the world, especially in California. This alone, taken at face value, suggests that Mexican migrants and their descendants have not damaged the labor market of the United States.

Trade Integration (Chapters 9–12)

The chapters in part 3 review the long-term labor market and demographic transformations within and between the United States and Mexico over the post–World War II period. This part explores the positive impact immigration has had on the US economy, the effects of NAFTA on agriculture and the automobile sector, and the winners and losers under NAFTA, with an examination of some of the new provisions in the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA).

In chapter 9, *Before and after NAFTA: How Are Trade and Migration Policies Changing?*, Raúl Hinojosa-Ojeda, Sherman Robinson, and Karen Thierfelder take up the positive impact immigration has had on the GDP of the US economy and provide statistical models that show how immigration reform is a potentially much more significant economic factor than any trade deal could be. These models also estimate the cost and benefit of alternatives to immigration reforms, such as the collapse of NAFTA, trade wars among NAFTA countries, and the implementation of the new USMCA. These are then compared to (1) the effects of highly restrictive and mass removal migration policies or, alternatively, (2) the legalization and empowerment of 8 million undocumented workers in the United States. The results show the negative consequences of neonationalist policies and the trade policies that could potentially benefit both countries more than the relatively low impact of the USMCA—policies that could create complementary versus conflictual trade integration.

Chapter 10, *What Is the Relationship between US-Mexico Migration and Trade in Agriculture?*, by Antonio Yúnez-Naude, Jorge Mora-Rivera, and Yatziry Govea-Vargas, seeks to present an accurate diagnosis of the association of two events under NAFTA: the evolution of Mexico-US migration and the recent state of Mexican agriculture, particularly field crops and corn. Against common misconceptions of the relationship between NAFTA and migration, their data show that Mexican migration has decreased the most just as Mexican corn imports have increased the most in the past two decades. A better understanding of past and contemporary trends of these phenomena is needed in order

to reflect about the future relationship between trade, migration, and agricultural development.

In chapter 11, *Is Complementarity Sustainable in the US-Mexico Automotive Sector?*, Jorge Carrillo analyzes the importance of the automotive sector to the Mexican economy and the impact of the trade relationship between Mexico and the United States. Trade in the automotive industry between both countries is not a zero-sum game in which one country gains and the other loses but rather a highly integrated and complex process that is complementary in various ways. While the asymmetrical dependence of Mexico on the United States increases, so too does the wage gap between the two countries. In the face of this paradoxical process of increased complementarity, there has been a growth in labor market disparities. In addition, a new Industry 4.0 of technological change, including robotics, is challenging traditional labor processes and will need to be confronted.

In chapter 12, Robert A. Blecker, Juan Carlos Moreno-Brid, and Isabel Salat consider the question, *What Policies Make Sense in a US-Mexico Trade Deal?* The renegotiation of NAFTA in 2017–18 at the behest of US president Donald Trump has focused public attention on trade "deals" as a key link between the Mexican and US economies. Like all trade agreements, NAFTA helped reshape the industrial structure of the three member economies (Mexico, the United States, and Canada) and created winners and losers along the way. NAFTA's trade and investment rules created incentives for industries to locate in one country or another and promoted the development of trinational "supply chains" among the three North American nations. Revising those rules in the new USMCA will affect the evolution of all three economies and will create new winners and losers in each one. USMCA includes a number of new provisions, such as a requirement to pay higher wages in a substantial part of automobile production, protections for the labor organizing rights of Mexican workers, and a mandate for future renegotiation, the consequences of which are difficult to foresee.

Racial Politics (Chapters 13–16)

Today, with globalization and growing diversification of the United States and particularly California, we would expect internationalist policies to be welcomed. But a nationalist reaction, led by the political impulses of President Trump, has led to increasing polarization between Mexico and the United States. Indeed, antiglobalization, anti-immigrant,

and racist attitudes that we thought were going the way of the dinosaur are back with a vengeance. As a result, politics increasingly represents this clash of views on immigration and trade policies. These politics are increasingly tinged with racism and a long racialized history regarding Mexicans, as such viewpoints have become emboldened with the current administration. At the very least, the Trump administration has demonized Mexico and Mexicans, relying on the support of his base, many reclaiming inherent and historical anti-Mexican attitudes. In addition, immigration politics in the United States is racially divided, with Latinos reacting by tending to heavily support immigration reform. Chapters 13 through 16 reveal this turn to a racial politics in both American and Mexican nationalism.

In chapter 13, the social historian David Montejano describes how Donald Trump represents merely the latest in a long lineage of anti-Mexican and nativist leaders, critiquing the ideology of Manifest Destiny and the repercussions of the annexation of northern Mexico after the Mexican-American War. Montejano investigates the historical and contemporary conditions under which such racial politics and nativism arise, outlining the conditions under which nativist politics has surfaced once again. *What Is the Historical and Political Context for Trump's Nativist Appeal?* explores the rise of Trump and puts the roots of Trump's "Make America Great Again" slogan in the historical and political context of his nativist worldview.

In chapter 14, the anthropologists Regina Martínez Casas and Rafael Elías López Arellano observe how Donald Trump's "Twitter diplomacy" has stoked Mexican nationalist sentiments. In the context of Mexican nationalism—formed largely in response to US aggression and aggrievement throughout that country's history—the authors examine a series of tweets from then candidate and now president Trump. *How Has the New Mexico-US Relationship Affected Mexican Nationalism?* surveys Trump's attacks on Mexico and Mexicans and the way in which Mexico and Mexican nationalism have responded through a nationalist narrative of both estrangement and rapprochement.

Chapter 15, *What Are the Social Consequences of Immigrant Scapegoating by Political Elites?,* by the sociologist René D. Flores, looks at local anti-immigration initiatives and the rhetoric used by prominent leaders and explores the intended and unintended consequences that the targeting of immigrants has set in motion. Cases are presented of immigrant scapegoating in California, Florida, and Pennsylvania. The chapter concludes by providing some evidence of the short-term conse-

quences of Trump's rhetoric and predicting some of its long-term consequences at the national level.

In chapter 16, the political scientists Gary Segura, Matt Barreto, and Angela E. Gutierrez explore the effects of "group threat" on racializing Latino identity and Latino responses to the anti-immigrant rhetoric of recent years. Their analysis of postelection survey data shows that Latino voters were indeed politically motivated by Trump's anti-Latino rhetoric. *How Do Latinos Respond to Anti-Immigrant Politics?* also presents evidence that Latino voters who were angry were more likely to engage in political activities during the 2016 election cycle. The findings hold for US-born Latinos as well as among non-Mexican Latinos who felt similarly targeted by Trump's rhetoric and proposals.

In the final chapter, chapter 17, the political scientist Zoltan L. Hajnal examines anti-immigrant backlash in state-level politics, most notably in California—a state that was in the 1990s at the forefront of the anti-immigrant backlash and may now be at the vanguard of pro-immigrant policy making. In particular, *Anti-Immigrant Backlash: Is There a Path Forward?* explores the lessons we might learn from California. The evidence leads Hajnal to conclude that growth in the Latino population initially provokes an anti-immigrant backlash. However, evidence also shows that once the Latino population crosses a demographic threshold, politics and policy begin to shift back toward inclusion and generosity.

BACKGROUND OF THIS BOOK

Even before Trump's election, a group of us at the University of California and leading Mexican institutions began discussions on how to understand this new context and its potential for long-term damage to US-Mexico relations. The U.S.-Mexico-California Collaborative, which we formed as a result, undertook a binational research agenda and organized a series of conferences on major policy arenas of trade, migration, integration, and racialized politics. We acted on the necessity of organizing a series of educational, research, and service activities that would bring together the best research on these issues to dismantle and replace Trump's misinformed and racially constructed policy narratives on immigration and international trade. Despite the scientific evidence and consensus that immigration and cross-border trade are generally beneficial to the US economy and US workers, he convinced his many voters of the opposite—that Mexican immigration and trade hurts them even though

they tend to live in places with relatively little of either. Furthermore, the implementation of his anti-immigration and trade agenda will nevertheless have negative impacts in their relatively isolated communities. We believe that exposing this "Trump Paradox" is not only essential to clarify the nature of Trump's support but also opens up the potential for creating a counternarrative and a policy agenda based on real evidence, in contrast to Trump's divisive politics of fear and misinformation. It is also a way to communicate to the wider public policy community the large benefits of implementing policies leading to the legalization of immigration and sustainable trade integration.

The experience of California in the past three decades has been central to our thinking. In the 1990s, California elected an anti-immigrant governor and voted in anti-immigrant initiatives, including the notorious Proposition 187, banning government services and support for undocumented immigrants. Largely as a result of demographic change, with immigrants naturalizing and their children coming of age, as well as the growth of a college-educated population, California subsequently turned left and embraced immigration (Pastor 2018). We ask if California's rejection of the anti-immigration politics of Proposition 187 is a model for a demographic and political evolution that embraces a new phase of US-Mexico relations. California as a state can play a huge role in moving policy research and politics in this direction. For example, its economy strongly benefits from openness to technology, trade, migration, and integration with Mexico, and these factors provide widespread indirect benefits throughout the US economy. California's political leadership has demonstrated that it is committed to leading the way on sensible policies on immigration and trade (as well as progressive and sustainable environmental policies), based on evidence-based research and a concern for human rights rather than the current administration's nationalistic anti-immigrant and anti-trade policies that build on white anxieties about immigrants and minorities, as well as damaging environmental policies. We believe that California provides lessons for the nation today, and it has inspired us to produce this book.