The Impact of Former President Trump's Presidential Agenda on the U.S.–Mexican Border
El impacto de la agenda presidencial del expresidente Trump en la frontera Estados Unidos-México

Kimberly Collins*

Abstract

This paper argues that to understand the impact of former U.S. President Donald Trump on the U.S.–Mexico border, his presidential agenda needs to be compared with other presidential administrations from the 1990s to the present. It looks at presidential policy agendas, as seen in executive orders, legislative policies, binational initiatives, deployment of the National Guard and military, presidential visits, and use of the bully pulpit with visits to the border region. These are compared to border operations indicators, highlighting formal and informal crossings of people and movement of goods. Though Mr. Trump has been specifically negative and aggressive regarding the border, the securitization of the region has been part of presidential agendas since the 1990s. A key takeaway is to think about and discuss these results to ensure the border is livable, manageable and ready for the challenges of the 21st century.
Key words: U.S. presidential policy agendas, U.S-Mexico border, Trumpism, border crossings.

Resumen

Este artículo sostiene que para comprender el impacto del expresidente de Estados Unidos, Donald Trump, en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México, es necesario comparar su agenda presidencial con las de otras administraciones desde la década de 1990 hasta la actualidad. Se examinan las agendas de políticas presidenciales tal como se reflejan en órdenes ejecutivas, políticas legislativas, iniciativas binacionales, despliegue de la Guardia Nacional y militar, visitas presidenciales y el uso de retórica intimidatoria con visitas a la región fronteriza. Estas políticas se comparan con indicadores de operaciones fronterizas, entre las que destacan los cruces formales e informales de personas y el movimiento de mercancías. Aunque Donald Trump ha tenido una actitud específicamente negativa y agresiva hacia la frontera, la securitización de la región ha sido parte de las agendas presidenciales desde la década de 1990. Un punto clave es reflexionar y discutir estos resultados para asegurar que la frontera sea habitable, pueda ser administrada y esté preparada para los desafíos del siglo XXI.
Palabras clave: agendas de políticas presidenciales de Estados Unidos, frontera Estados Unidos-México, trumpismo, cruces de frontera.

* California State University, San Bernardino; kimberly@csusb.edu

> Patriotism is when love of your own people comes first; nationalism,
> when hate for people other than your own comes first.
> Charles De Gaulle

> Patriotism is the virtue of the vicious.
> Oscar Wilde

INTRODUCTION

The U.S.–Mexico border has generally not been at the top of any president's agenda until former U.S. President Donald Trump made this region a defining issue for his term in office. His statements were viewed as nationalistic and racist by many, but to his base followers, they were patriotic. These viewpoints on the phenomenon of patriotism and nationalism are not new as seen in the quotes by De Gaulle and Wilde above, and both are much discussed with the rise of populist leaders around the world. In the United States, from where this essay is being written, former President Donald Trump is the most well-known current populist. Mr. Trump's brand of populism is similar to other leaders based on nativism or appealing to the nationalist spirit in the country. It is based on the classic "us vs them" paradigm, with policies based on fear and security as opposed to policies that are constructive to solve a problem (Stone, 2012). It is an agenda to create chaos that later demands a strong-handed government response. The rise of Trumpism—or the ideology of Donald Trump—has had reverberations through international relations and viewpoints on globalization, and has played out at the U.S.–Mexico border through explosive rhetoric from the former president, media, and public opinion. Unfortunately, this phenomenon continues to play out during the 2024 presidential campaign, as the U.S.–Mexico border security policy remains a trending news topic.

Mr. Trump built a large portion of his presidential agenda on border-related policies, specifically those dealing with the movement of people in the region. Agenda building is seen as the process of strategic communication by public relations professionals "to influence the news media, the public, or other stakeholders either directly or indirectly" (Schweickart, et al., 2016: 364 as noted in Lan, et al., 2020: 32). Mr. Trump has used his years of experience in public relations to build an agenda that is based on nationalistic patriotism and exploiting the broken system of immigration policy that has plagued the U.S. for decades.

Immigration policy has been at the forefront of U.S. policy since the birth of the country. Since the 1990s, U.S. presidential speeches have been focused on fixing the

broken immigration system and stopping undocumented migrants. At this time, international trade was also a top news story and was an important consideration for border policy. In 1992, the independent presidential candidate Ross Perot was quoted as comparing the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to a "giant sucking sound" as jobs were going to move to Mexico. With the implementation of NAFTA in 1994, border infrastructure and the environmental impacts of trade came to the forefront of border-related policy. This policy regime continued until the attacks on U.S. territory on September 11, 2001, when national security became the leading policy issue. For the past 20 years or so, many of the border challenges recognized in the 1990s have been marginalized, with undocumented immigration and national security concerns continuing to capture the headlines and the leadership of the federal branches of government. The inability of the political system to find a solution has led to a visible crisis and the border being discussed mainly as a source of problems for the United States.

Border policy should be seen as much more, it is the coming together of global/international policies and federal, state, and local policies. Border communities are impacted by a number of external factors, and they are highly reliant upon the ability of people and goods to cross. For example, the customer base for many local businesses in U.S. border communities are from the Mexican side of the border. If those shoppers cannot cross, these U.S. businesses go bankrupt (Naishadham and Rathke, 2021). Families are separated by borders, because some members are unable to cross, which creates social stress for those living on either side. Energy markets are hindered without strong bilateral relations (Duhalt, 2020). Manufacturing, agriculture, and other global business activities are hampered by long wait times (HDR/HLB Decision Economics Inc., 2006; Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, n.d.). The stakeholder interests are strong and varied in border communities. Without policy initiatives that are focused on improving local communities, many of the challenges impacting those living there go unresolved. For instance, environmental pollution impacts both sides; global pandemics and illness threaten the health of residents on both sides and far into the respective countries; and finally, illegal activities that inevitably cross the border are not resolvable by just one side working on solutions. Further exploration of the impacts on border conditions and policies from this current political phenomenon is for another paper, but it is important to note that a constructive response to the challenges in border communities is needed. This work specifically focuses on the impacts of government policies linked to presidential agendas upon the movement of people and goods on the U.S.–Mexico border. Framed another way, it is a comparative look at the presidential agendas from Clinton to Biden, giving a perspective on Mr. Trump's border agenda, and looking at the impacts on the movement of people and goods across the border.

METHODOLOGY

This work is a normative analysis using a mixed-method approach to understand the specific impacts on the primary function of the U.S.–Mexico border to control the crossing of people and goods from presidential administrations since the passage of NAFTA. The overarching research question to be explored is to what extent the presidents' agendas on the U.S.–Mexico border impact its basic operations. Three more specific questions will be explored. How has the presidential border-related agenda changed over the past 30 years since the passage of NAFTA? Comparatively, how did Mr. Trump's agenda differ from that of other presidents during the past 30 years? Does the presidential agenda impact the basic border operations of crossing people and goods?

The agendas of each presidential administration are reviewed through executive orders by topic or theme; diplomatic efforts as seen in the attendance of bilateral or trilateral meetings; signing of legislation to facilitate or securitize conditions at the border; or bilateral agreements to improve relations between the U.S. and Mexico; deployment of the National Guard or active military to the border; and use of the bully pulpit as seen in the number of visits to the border region to sway public opinion by highlighting challenges or improvements. The basic operations of the border are explored through the final budget numbers and number of personnel for border patrol; the number of apprehensions of undocumented crossers, asylum approvals, and deportations; formal crossing numbers for pedestrians, vehicles, and trucks; and dollar amount of trade moving across the border.

This review starts with former President Bill Clinton who implemented NAFTA and finishes with the current term of President Joe Biden. Each four-year presidential term is analyzed and compared to view the relation between the specific agenda policies and the cross-border indicators. The impact of the presidential agendas from Clinton to Trump on the basic operations at the border was analyzed through a model based on binominal ranking, indices, and the multivariate analysis of variance and analysis of variance.

PRESIDENTIAL AGENDAS AND POWER:
THE WHO AND HOW BEHIND IT

The U.S. system of public administration is based upon the fundamentals of the common law legal system set within the U.S. Constitution, and separation of powers or the decentralization of power. Throughout the history of the United States, there have been debates about the power and influence of the office of the president in

comparison to the legislature or judiciary (Nelson, 2012). This debate plays out in the paradigm of the administrative state and politics—between the rational functioning of the bureaucracy and the engagement of stakeholders to push specific agenda items. Added to this is the fact that there are more than 90,000 different governmental bodies with elected representatives in the United States (NAPA, 2022). This level of decentralization inhibits one level of government or one agency from full control of the system. The system was designed this way to decrease the likelihood of one individual or sector gaining full power. This theoretically keeps the power in the office of the president in check as depicted in *Listening to Laredo* by Momen (2023). In this border community, locals pushed back on state and federal regulations that were contrary to local interests.

The use of the border in building a political agenda is a recent development, with agenda-building on the U.S.–Mexico border being a partisan issue. In early 2024, congressional Republicans supported Mr. Trump's border agenda to the detriment of U.S. power in world events. From this perspective, Mr. Trump has been very successful in creating an agenda that destabilized the system of policymaking, but what have been the actual ramifications for the movement of goods and people across the region?

"The President's agenda is best understood as a signal. It indicates what the President believed to be the most important issues facing his administration" (Light, 1991: 2-3). Agenda building or setting is differentiated from the implementation or the source of power for the presidents to complete their agenda. Agenda building is related to the salience or the importance of the issue as noted in the news press, public opinion, and information subsidies (Lan, et al., 2020; Kiousis, 2004; McCombs, 2002). Presidential agendas and specific powers are seen through the implementation of executive orders and memoranda, legislative vetos, signing statements to pass legislation, recess appointments, and military control powers. These powers to act upon their agenda have been highlighted by the dysfunction of the U.S. federal system in the 21st century. Party partisanship has increased with more efforts placed upon gaining a win over the other party than on working for the country (Carmines and Fowler, 2017). This has led to the inability of Congress to pass major reforms or legislation when power is divided. It has also led to an increase in executive orders (EOS) and memorandums by presidential administrations. Confronted with the lack of action or pure refusal to approve any initiatives by those from the opposing party, recent presidents from both parties are using executive orders to complete their campaign promises and legislative agendas. This action is seen as a strengthening of the executive and increased unilateral power by presidents (Carmines and Fowler, 2017; Thrower, 2023). The Obama administration is noted specifically for its working unilaterally, particularly in the last six years of his eight years in office as it had a

Congress that was unwilling to work cooperatively with the president's office (Kelley, et al., 2012). During former President Bill Clinton's time in office, a total of 364 EOs were issued. George W. Bush issued 291 EOs, Barack Obama issued 276, Donald Trump issued 270, and since entering office Joe Biden has issued 122 (Peters and Woolley, n.d.). The important consideration is not the number of EOs, but the content and extent of the policies (Thrower, 2023).

Contrary to the belief that the use of these presidential powers allows for the agenda of the president to be implemented, research has shown that they "are second-best options, or worse, for achieving president's policy goals and that they may be suboptimal precisely because of how the public may react to their use" (Reeves and Rogowski, 2015: 747). From this perspective, the use of presidential powers is more related to the approval of people than to partisanship (Reeves and Rogowski, 2015). However, those who are partisans of the president approve more specifically the use of presidential powers than those who are not. In the past, this has acted as a key check on executive power and particularly on a single person holding that power. An additional check on presidential power is based on popularity. Unpopular presidents have led to discussions on the limits to presidential power as opposed to popular presidents, who are given more leeway (Reeves and Rogowski, 2015; Andrade and Young, 1996).

With this new concentration of power in the president's office, there are obvious concerns regarding an imbalance of power between the executive and legislative branches as designed by the framers of the Constitution. Some presidential actions or EOs have been taken up by the U.S. Supreme Court under the purview of the Administrative Procedure Act (APA–1946), which provides oversight of agencies' actions. For instance, in the 2020 review of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), the Supreme Court found that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) had overstepped its authority in its rescission of DACA (National Immigration Law Center, 2020). The correct procedures were not followed to remove the DACA program from DHS' programs and were struck down by the Supreme Court. Another check on presidential power comes from the public and at times through legislation (Thrower, 2023). After an extensive review of how and when presidents have used their executive order power, Thrower found that "executive orders are less likely to be altered by presidents facing oppositional or internally cohesive congresses and high public disapproval when costly retaliation is expected" (p. 25).

The importance of this executive power is highlighted by recent border-related policies. Each presidential administration has a border agenda that can be seen through the signed EOs, along with actions that support bilateral relations between the U.S. and Mexico, and policies that move to facilitate or secure the border region. The following

section reviews the presidential agendas from Clinton to Biden. It is a comparative approach providing insight into each administration and for this paper a closer look at Trump's policy agenda.

Presidential Agendas from Clinton to Biden

With the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the formation of the security apparatus at the border was cemented (Mattern, 2018). This securitization process is seen below in the presidential border agendas for the past 30 years. Nevertheless, there are differences and similarities between each administration as seen in the brief quotes from each president; the signed EOs; the number of U.S. and Mexican presidential meetings; major policy decisions; the use of the National Guard and military at the border; and the number of visits to the border as part of the Presidential bully pulpit.

William "Bill" Jefferson Clinton (1993-2001)

> All Americans, not only in the States most heavily affected but in every place in this country, are rightly disturbed by the large numbers of illegal aliens entering our country. The jobs they hold might otherwise be held by citizens or legal immigrants. The public service they use imposes burdens on our taxpayers. That's why our administration has moved aggressively to secure our borders more by hiring a record number of new border guards, by deporting twice as many criminal aliens as ever before, by cracking down on illegal hiring, by barring welfare benefits to illegal aliens. In the budget I will present to you, we will try to do more to speed the deportation of illegal aliens who are arrested for crimes, to better identify illegal aliens in the workplace as recommended by the commission headed by former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan. We are a nation of immigrants. But we are also a nation of laws. It is wrong and ultimately self-defeating for a nation of immigrants to permit the kind of abuse of our immigration laws we have seen in recent years, and we must do more to stop it.
>
> State of the Union Address, January 24,
> Clinton Presidential Library (1995)

Table 1
WILLIAM J. CLINTON BILATERAL AGENDA ITEMS

First Term Actions (1993-1998)		Second Term Actions (1998-2001)	
EO-Date	Title-Focus	EO-Date	Title-Focus
EO 12889-12/27/1993	Implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement-Trade	EO 13082 - 5/8/1998	Joint Mexican-United States Defense Commission-Security
EO 12904-3/16/1994	Commission for Environmental Cooperation, Commission for Labor Cooperation, Border Environment Cooperation Commission, and North American Development Bank 12904-Environment, Infrastructure, Labor	EO 13122 - 5/25/1999	Interagency Task Force on the Economic Development of the Southwest Border-Economic Development
EO 12915-5/13/1994	Federal Implementation of the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation-Environment		
EO 12916-5/13/1994	Implementation of the Border Environment Cooperation Commission and the North American Development Bank-Environment, Infrastructure		
EO 12989-2/13/1996	Economy and Efficiency in Government Procurement Through Compliance With Certain Immigration and Naturalization Act Provisions-Immigration		
U.S. and Mexican Presidential Meetings			
Oct. 10, 1995; May 5-7, 1997		Feb. 14-15, 1999; Jun. 9, 2020; Aug. 24, 2020	
U.S. Presidential Visits to U.S.-Mexico Border			
May 1993; Jun. 9, 1996			
Major Policy Initiatives Related to the U.S.-Mexico Border Region			
1993-Customs Modernization Act			
1993-1997-National Guard Deployed to the Border			
1994 NAFTA-Environmental, Labor Side agreements			
1994-Joint Working Committee (Regional Border Master Plans)			
1994-Southwest Border Strategy (1993-Operation Hold the Line; Oct. 1994-Operation Gatekeeper)			
December 1994-U.S. sends economic rescue package			
1996-*IIRIRA*			
1997-Collaboration on Counternarcotics Increases			

Source: SBCC, n.d.; Council on Foreign Relations, n.d.; U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2022; Congressional Research Service, 2023; University of Arizona, 2024; Wilson, 2016; USDHS, 2020; Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 2010; Meneses, 2022; USDOS, n.d.

During the presidential term of Bill Clinton, the focus on the U.S.–Mexico border began to change. NAFTA was implemented, and Mr. Clinton balanced trade growth along the border with environmental and labor concerns, as well as with security issues from undocumented migration and drug trafficking. In Mr. Clinton's State of the Union Address and visits to San Diego during this same time, he said his administration was ready to stop the undocumented or illegal flows across the border. However former President Clinton also made a number of visits to border cities during his time in office and did not speak of border problems, but rather of issues impacting Latinos and the economic development of the region (Clinton Digital Library, n.d.). This shows a perception of the border as a place where citizens live with their families; a place that needs to have support from all levels of government to improve local conditions.

A notable finding from Table 1 is that the majority of Mr. Clinton's policy initiatives related to the border were during his first term in office. There were many actions taken to improve trade, the environment, and infrastructure at the border, as well as deal with undocumented immigration. The securitization of the border was implemented through the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) with the Border Strategic Plan in 1994 (USGAO, 1994). The precursor to the strategic plan were the Border Patrol operations known as Operation Gatekeeper in the San Diego Border Patrol Sector and Operation Blockade or Hold the Line in the El Paso Sector (Dowd, 2012). The goal of this policy was to push all informal crossings to remote desert locations, thereby creating a deterrence for migration. The result was a surge in migrant deaths. A recent estimate puts the number of migrant deaths along the U.S.–Mexico border at more than 7,000 individuals from 1998 to 2017 (Rappaport, 2018). The policy is rightly seen as the beginning of the securitization of the U.S.–Mexico border.

George W. Bush (2001–2009)

> First, the United States must secure its borders. This is a basic responsibility of a sovereign nation. It is also an urgent requirement of our national security. Our objective is straightforward: The border should be open to trade and lawful immigration, and shut to illegal immigrants, as well as criminals, drug dealers, and terrorists.
>
> George W. Bush Whitehouse Archives (2006)

Table 2
GEORGE W. BUSH AGENDA ITEMS

First Term Actions (2001-2005)		Second Term Actions (2005-2009)	
EO-Date	Title-Focus	EO-Date	Title-Focus
EO 13367-12/21/2004	United States-Mexico Border Health Commission - Health	EO 13380 - 6/17/2005	Implementing Amendments to Agreement on Border Environment Cooperation Commission and North American Development Bank-Environment, Infrastructure
		EO 13404 - 6/7/2006	Task Force on New Americans - Immigration
		EO 13434 - 05/17/2007	National Security Professional Development - Security Workforce Development
U.S. and Mexican Presidential Meetings			
Feb. 16, 2001; Mar. 21, 2002; Oct. 26-27, 2002; Jan. 12-13, 2004		Mar. 30-31, 2006; Mar. 12-14, 2007	
U.S. Presidential Visits to U.S.-Mexico Border			
Mar. 21, 2002		Nov. 29, 2005; May 18, 2006; Jun. 7, 2006; Aug. 3, 2006	
Major Policy Initiatives Related to the U.S.-Mexico Border Region			
2002 - U.S.-Mexico Border Partnership Agreement; Secure and Smart Border Action Plan		2005-2009 - North America Leaders' Summit	
2003 - Creation of USDHS		2005 - Operation Streamline	
2004 - The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act		2006 - Merida Initiative	
		2006 - Secure Fences Act	
		2006 -2008 - National Guard deployed to border, Operation Jump Start	

Source: SBCC, n.d.; Council on Foreign Relations, n.d.; U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2022; Congressional Research Service, 2023; University of Arizona, 2024; Wilson, 2016; USDHS, 2020; Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 2010; Meneses, 2022; USDOS, n.d.

Former President G.W. Bush's term in office was very much defined by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on U.S. territory. September 11 impacted the policies regarding open borders, and globalization, and led to the creation of the U.S. DHS to specifically protect the nation's borders. It brought the issue of the border and border policies into the interior of the country (Payan and Cruz, 2020) as a new awareness

came to the American public. Concern about terrorism and an open border entered into the political lexicon and the need to continue to fortify the border to keep out those who wished to do us harm. The president's office was also working to pass immigration reform legislation with Congress, but this did not occur. As a new immigration act was not passed, the four EOs passed by Mr. Bush are supportive of the institutions at the border and designed to create programs that are supportive of immigrants as seen in Table 2.

Mr. Bush worked on bilateral relations with his counterparts in Mexico through six presidential meetings; supported Mexico's war with drug traffickers through the Merida Initiative; and used the bully pulpit with five visits to the border region—most notably four of those during his second term. Mr. Bush also signed EO 13367 to support the U.S.–Mexico Border Health Commission. Overall, Mr. Bush was supportive of trade and institutional development in the region. At the same time, the main legislation that was passed was the Secure Fences Act of 2006 (White House, 2006). This act was developed to build physical structures at the border and use new technologies to secure the border in places where it was difficult to build fences. As part of this package, the press release from The White House notes that they doubled the spending for overall border security from approximately $5 billion to $10 billion to support the goals of the Secure Fences Act. In total from 2007–2010, the Bush administration built a total of 548 miles of fencing in the region (Dobbin, et al., 2019; Nicol, n.d.). The Secure Fences Act continues today with a goal to fortify the border and balance this with free trade and support of an immigrant workforce as noted from Bush's EOs and speech.

Barack Obama (2009–2017)

> When I took office, I committed to fixing this broken immigration system. And I began by doing what I could to secure our borders. Today, we have more agents and technology deployed to secure our southern border than at any time in our history. And over the past six years, illegal border crossings have been cut by more than half. Although this summer, there was a brief spike in unaccompanied children being apprehended at our border, the number of such children is now actually lower than it's been in nearly two years. Overall, the number of people trying to cross our border illegally is at its lowest level since the 1970s. Those are the facts.
>
> White House, President Barack Obama (2014)

285

Table 3
BARACK H. OBAMA AGENDA ITEMS

First Term Actions (2009-2013)		Second Term Actions (2013-2017)	
EO-Date	Title-Focus	EO-Date	Title-Focus
EO 13558-11/09/2010	Export Enforcement Coordination Center-Trade	EO 13659 - 02/19/2014	Streamlining the Export/Import Process for America's Businesses-Trade
EO 13581-07/24/2011	Blocking Property of Transnational Criminal Organizations-Security		
EO 13629-10/26/2012	Establishing the White House Homeland Security Partnership Council-Security		
U.S. and Mexican Presidential Meetings			
Apr. 16-17, 2009; Aug. 9-10, 2009; Jun. 17-19, 2012		May 2-3, 2013; Feb. 14, 2014	
U.S. Presidential Visits to U.S.-Mexico Border			
May 10, 2011			
Policy Initiatives Related to the U.S.-Mexico Border Region			
2010-2016 - The 21st Century Border Management Initiative		2013, Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act	
2010 - National Guard Troops Deployed to Border, Operation Phalanx		2013-High Level Economic Dialogue	
2011-Merida 2.0		2014, 2016-North America Leaders' Summit (2014-North American Trusted Traveler Program & North American Transportation Plan)	
Jun. 15, 2012-DACA		2014-U.S.-Mexico Customs Bilateral Strategic Plan	
2012-North America Leaders' Summit		2015-Cross Border Xpress opens	

Source: SBCC, n.d.; Council on Foreign Relations, n.d.; U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2022; Congressional Research Service, 2023; University of Arizona, 2024; Wilson, 2016; USDHS, 2020; Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 2010; Meneses, 2022; USDOS, n.d.

The administration of former President Barack Obama was defined by his moniker of "Deporter-In-Chief" given to him by immigrant activist groups in the United

States (Latino USA, 2017). During his time in office from 2009 to 2017, approximately 5.2 million people were formally and informally deported, compared to 10 million during G.W. Bush's term and 8.6 million during the Clinton administration. The methods of how deportations were counted change between the administrations and there are many nuances with these numbers that cannot be explored here. However. Obama administration officials note that the majority of deportations were "criminal aliens" and not average individuals who did not have papers (Latino USA, 2017). Mr. Obama is also known for his support and development of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) initiative in the DHS in 2012. Under this program, those who qualified—specifically children brought to the U.S. informally—are provided temporary protection from removal. DACA was developed because Congress was unable to pass an immigration reform bill titled the DREAM Act (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) and many of the DACA recipients are also known as Dreamers.

Additionally, there was criticism by Republicans on how former President Obama implemented the Secure Fences Act. This is seen in a speech he made on May 10, 2011, in El Paso, Texas regarding immigration reform. He stated that the fence along the border with Mexico is "now basically complete" (Farley, 2011). Mr. Obama signed four EOs that are related to the U.S.–Mexican border. The focus was primarily on trade and security. There is a bit of confusion about whether DACA was also an executive order, but it was a memorandum or initiative within DHS.

Mr. Obama supported bilateral relations during his eight years in office, with five presidential meetings; development of the 21st Century Border Management Initiative; participation in the High Level Economic Dialogue; engagement with the North America Leader's Summit, development of the Trusted Traveler Programs and the North American Transportation Plan; and the Cross Border Express connecting California to the Tijuana airport was opened. Overall, the Obama administration worked at a very high level on border issues and the focus of this work was on streamlining operations for the passage of people and goods, and security systems (ITDS). Much of the work can be seen as a continuation from the previous administration—focused on immigration reform and securing the border.

Donald Trump (2017–2021)

> Illegal immigration affects the lives of all Americans. Illegal immigration hurts American workers; burdens American taxpayers; and undermines public safety; and places enormous strain on local schools, hospitals, and communities in general, taking precious resources away

from the poorest Americans who need them most. Illegal immigration costs our country billions and billions of dollars each year.

Illegal Immigration Crisis and Border Security,

Trump Whitehouse Archives (2018)

Former President Donald Trump is notorious for his inflamed comments and rhetoric about the U.S.–Mexico border. He spoke multiple times about the immigration system and the U.S.–Mexico border wall, as both were cornerstones of his campaign and policy platform as seen from the works of Mattern (2018), Yang (2018), Fleuriet and Castellano (2020), and Heide (2022).

This inflamed rhetoric is seen not only in his words but also in his policy agenda. In looking at the use of the bully pulpit, Mr. Trump visited the border region seven times in four years, more than any other president. For bilateral relations, there was only one official visit between the presidents. The policies passed during his tenure were to secure the border and shut down crossings. But there was also the outlier event of the coronavirus pandemic that allowed for the closing of the border.

One of his major, benchmark initiatives was Proclamation 9844 in 2019. This provided the funding and authority to build the border wall, a cornerstone of his border policy. As most policies developed in the U.S. are incremental and based upon previous policies, this proclamation is based upon Executive Order 13767, which referenced the Secure Border Fence Act of 2006; the Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act of 1996, which was passed during the Clinton administration; and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. These references show the precedent that the Trump administration saw supporting the case for building additional barriers along the border region. During his term, a total of 52 new miles of primary wall and 22 miles of new secondary barriers were installed. Additionally, 351 miles of primary barriers were replaced and 22 miles of smaller, older secondary barriers were replaced. Even though this was one of his most important policy initiatives, it was the least successful.

The border-related policy actions during the Trump administration were overwhelmingly negative to border communities and bilateral relations, with the exception of the signing of the USMCA (United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement), or NAFTA 2.0. Out of the 10 executive orders signed by Mr. Trump between 2017 and 2020, four were for the execution of the USMCA. In addition to these EOs, Mr. Trump also passed EO 13788 in April of 2017, which specifically laid out a mandate for federal agencies to buy from and hire Americans. This is not the first such policy and has been a part of U.S. policies for decades. Yet, this EO and other "buy American" provisions have impacts on the U.S. supply chains and relations with Mexico and Canada.

Table 4	
DONALD J. TRUMP AGENDA ITEMS	
First Term Actions (2017-2021)	
EO-Date	**Title-Focus**
EO 13767-January 25, 2017	Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements - Immigration
EO 13768-January 25, 2017	Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States - Security
EO 13769-January 27, 2017	Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States - Immigration
EO 13815-October 24, 2017	Resuming the United States Refugee Admissions Program with Enhanced Vetting Capabilities - Immigration
EO 13841-June 20, 2018	Affording Congress an Opportunity to Address Family Separation - Immigration
EO 13867-April 10, 2019	Issuance of Permits with Respect to Facilities and Land Transportation Crossings at the International Boundaries of the United States - Security
EO 13907-February 28, 2020	Establishment of the Interagency Environment Committee for Monitoring and Enforcement Under Section 811 of the USMCA Implementation Act - Environment
EO 13908-February 28, 2020	Establishment of the Interagency Committee on Trade in Automotive Goods Under Section 202A of the USMCA Implementation Act - Trade
EO 13918-April 28, 2020	Establishment of the Interagency Labor Committee for Monitoring and Enforcement Under Section 711 of the USMCA Implementation Act - Labor
EO 13923-May 15, 2020	Establishment of the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force Under Section 741 of the USMCA Implementation Act - Labor
U.S. and Mexican Presidential Meetings	
(Aug. 31, 2016 meeting with Pena Nieto before president); (Jan. 25, 2017 visit cancelled by Mexico); Jul. 8, 2020	
U.S. Presidential Visits to U.S.-Mexico Border	
Aug. 22, 2017; Mar. 13, 2018; Jan. 10, 2019; Feb. 11, 2019; Apr. 5, 2019; Sep. 19, 2019; Jun. 30, 2021	
Major Policy Initiatives Related to the U.S.-Mexico Border Region	
April-June 2018 - Zero-Tolerance Policy for Criminal Illegal Entry (family separations)	
2018-Remain in Mexico policy implemented	
Apr. 2018-National Guard Troops Deployed to Border	
Oct. 2018-Active Duty Armed Forces Deployed to the border	
Feb. 2019-Proclamation 9844 Declaring a National Emergency Concerning the Southern Border of the United States	
Mar. 2020-Title 42 Health	
Apr. 2020-U.S.-Mexico Joint Initiative to restrict all non-essential travel across the border	
2017-2020-The 21st Century Border Management	
Jul. 2020-USMCA	

Source: SBCC, n.d.; Council on Foreign Relations, n.d.; U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2022; Congressional Research Service, 2023; University of Arizona, 2024; Wilson, 2016; USDHS, 2020; Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 2010; Meneses, 2022; USDOS, n.d.; Egeland, 2019.

Mr. Trump spoke (and is campaigning to this day) of the dangers of the U.S.–Mexico border and the need to shut it down. But as seen in the data below in the cross-border operations section, the realities with the movement of people and goods were very similar to other administrations. The only reason the border was able to be shut down was the emergency event caused by the coronavirus pandemic. If Mr. Trump is to take office again, we can assume that much of this agenda will continue, with the greatest harm being on refugees and the negative image being created of the border, which inhibits positive policy actions to improve critical issues on the environment, health, education, and economic / community development.

Joseph R. Biden (2021–Present)

> On my first day in office, some of you may recall, who cover this area—and they cover it well—I sent Congress a comprehensive piece of legislation that would completely overhaul what has been a broken immigration system for a long time: cracking down on illegal immigration; strengthening legal immigration; and protecting DREAMers, those with temporary protected status, and farmworkers, who all are part of the fabric of our nation.
>
> White House (2023)

When President Biden entered office in 2021, he had an administrative and political problem at the border (Zurcher, 2021). As such, he immediately revoked a number of former President Trump's EOs regarding immigration and border policies. But his first visit to the border was not until January 8, 2023, two years after being in office and after his first official visit with Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador. In September 2023, President Biden addressed the nation on immigration, from which the quote is provided above. The tone of the speech is very different than what was seen by former President Trump and is a return to previous presidents working to reform the immigration system, as well as secure the border. Another takeaway from this speech is how it is written to show leadership in comparison to Congress and differentiate his administration's approach from the Trump administration.

Table 5	
JOSEPH BIDEN AGENDA ITEMS	
First Term Actions (2021-2023)	
EO - Date	**Title - Focus**
EO 13993-20-Jan-21	Revision of Civil Immigration Enforcement Policies and Priorities - Immigration
EO 14008-27-Jan-21	Tackling the Climate Crisis at Home and Abroad - Environment
EO 14010-27-Jan-21	Creating a Comprehensive Regional Framework to Address the Causes of Migration, To Manage Migration Throughout North and Central America, and To Provide Safe and Orderly Processing of Asylum Seekers at the United States Border - Immigration
EO 14011-2-Feb-21	Establishment of Interagency Task Force on the Reunification of Families - Immigration
EO 14012-2-Feb-21	Restoring Faith in Our Legal Immigration Systems and Strengthening Integration and Inclusion Efforts for New Americans - Immigration
EO 14013-4-Feb-21	Rebuilding and Enhancing Programs to Resettle Refugees and Planning for the Impact of Climate Change on Migration - Immigration
EO 14017-24-Feb-21	America's Supply Chains - Trade
EO 14045-13-Sep-21	White House Initiative on Advancing Educational Equity, Excellence, and Economic Opportunity for Hispanics - Migrants
EO 14059-15-Dec-21	Imposing Sanctions on Foreign Persons Involved in the Global Illicit Drug Trade - Security
EO 14060-15-Dec-21	Establishing the United States Council on Transnational Organized Crime - Security
EO 14097-04/27/2023	Authority to Order the Ready Reserve of the Armed Forces to Active Duty to Address International Drug Trafficking - Security
U.S. and Mexican Presidential Meetings	
Jul. 2022; Jan. 9-10, 2023; Nov. 17, 2023	
U.S. Presidential Visits to U.S.-Mexico Border	
Jan. 8, 2023	
Major Policy Initiatives Related to the U.S.-Mexico Border Region	
Jan. 20, 2021 - Proclamation on the Termination of Emergency with Respect to the Southern Border of the United States and Redirection of Funds Diverted to Border Wall Construction	
Jun. 2021 - First memorandum to terminate Remain in Mexico; Judicial review; Jun. 2022 - Remain in Mexico policy terminated	
Nov. 2021 - U.S.-Mexico Joint Initiative Canceled	
2021, 2023 - North America Leaders' Summit	
2021-2023 - U.S.-Mexico Bilateral Executive Steering Committee of the 21st Century Border Management Process	
May 2023 - Title 42 Ended	
2023 - Active Duty Armed Forces deployed to the border	

Source: SBCC, n.d.; Council on Foreign Relations, n.d.; U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2022; Congressional Research Service, 2023; University of Arizona, 2024; Wilson, 2016; USDHS, 2020; Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 2010; Meneses, 2022; USDOS, n.d.

Biden's agenda toward the border can be seen in Table 5. Thus far he has signed 11 executive orders that were directly related to the U.S.–Mexico border or had border implications. Many of these were to revoke previous executive orders signed by Mr. Trump. President Biden also signed a "Buy American" EO on his second day in office on January 25, 2021. Executive Order 14005–Ensuring the Future Is Made in All of America by All of America's Workers shows that there are differences in perspectives in the White House and new program development, but some things stay the same.

Since entering office in 2021, President Biden has held three meetings with Mexican President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador and visited the border once. Policy initiatives include overturning other policies set by the Trump administration such as funds to build the border wall, revoking the Remain in Mexico policy, revoking the U.S.–Mexico Joint Initiative that closed the border to non-essential workers and non-citizens, and Title 42. The administration has participated in the North America Leader's Summit and the Bilateral Steering Committee. This has been a return to normal bilateral relations. As seen with Mr. Trump's administration, active-duty military was deployed to the border. This is a ramp-up from previous administrations that used the National Guard. Overall, the work of Biden on the border and immigration has returned to previous years, seeking a comprehensive immigration reform bill from Congress and continuing the pace to secure the border.

From this short review, it is clear that Mr. Trump's border/bilateral agenda was comparatively more extreme than the other presidents. However, each presidential agenda reviewed pushed for immigration reform, increased border security, and supported the movement of goods across the border. When analyzed from this perspective, the agendas have many similarities, but of course, Mr. Trump took it all to a new level. The next section reviews cross-border operations since the passage of NAFTA. It provides data on the informal and formal crossing of people as well as trade numbers.

CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS

Governance of the U.S.–Mexico border region is dominated by the federal government. The communities are similar to many throughout the United States and Mexico but also have some key characteristics as noted by many scholars (Ganster and Collins, 2021; Gerber, 2023). Within this region, there are many different areas in need of collaborative solutions, such as the environment, education, health and human welfare, transportation and trade, and urban planning. These are all policy arenas worked on by state and local governments, and because of the binational context,

are supported by the federal government. Federal border policy in recent years has been dominated by security as seen in the review of the presidential agendas.

The U.S.–Mexico border has been a region of cooperation and conflict since the division of the land after the Treaty of Guadalupe and the U.S.–Mexican War in 1848. Ganster and Collins (2021) discuss the multiple policy issues that developed with the border over time. Specifically, their book reviews demographics and urbanization; the economy, trade, and community development; security issues including drug and human trafficking; refugees and migration; environment, health, and social challenges; and the political context of the border. The overall takeaway from this work is thinking about the border from a larger context than just security and migration. Payan and Cruz (2020) edited a volume that also speaks of the institutional need for better governance in this complex and varied region. It is a diverse region of people, environment, and development but there are no fully-formed binational institutions to adequately respond to the challenges. Finally, the border is not a single homogeneous region. It is made up of multiple subregions with complex issues that need government action, resources, and leadership at all levels (Collins and Kohout, 2020). It is from this perspective that the border is defined for this work. Not as a single, unitary issue but rather a complex region that has many challenges and opportunities for those looking to capitalize on them.

In the 1990s, a new era developed with the opening of free trade that built upon the previous system established in the 1960s with the in-bond manufacturing or maquiladora program. With this "opening" of the border to trade, it was also a time when securitization of illicit movement across the border was prominent. Operation Hold the Line and Operation Gatekeeper, which began in the Clinton administration, moved to stop the flow of individuals crossing without papers. This is not to say that actions were not taken by presidents before Mr. Clinton, but funding and personnel to secure the border increased substantially during this time and has continued on an upward trend ever since. Graph 1 shows the dramatic increase in spending and personnel at the border.

The budget for the U.S. Border Patrol along the Southwest border began at $568 million in 1996, exhibiting a consistent upward trajectory to reach $4.858 billion by 2020. This steady increase in budget allocation highlights a sustained commitment to border security, infrastructure development, and technological advancements in surveillance and monitoring. Noteworthy increments are observed in several years, such as the jump from $1.525 billion in 2005 to $2.115 billion in 2006, and again from $2.958 billion in 2010 to $3.549 billion in 2011. The number of personnel deployed along the Southwest border started at 5,333 in 1996, rising to 16,605 by 2019 and then a lesser increase to 16,753 in 2020. The growth in personnel numbers aligns with the

budget increases, indicating a parallel enhancement of human resources to bolster border security and operations. Significant increases in personnel are noted in the early 2000s, particularly from 10,032 in 2006 to 13,297 in 2007, aligning with policy shifts and increased focus on border security in the post-9/11 era.

Graph 1
BORDER BUDGET AND PERSONNEL NUMBERS, 1996–2020
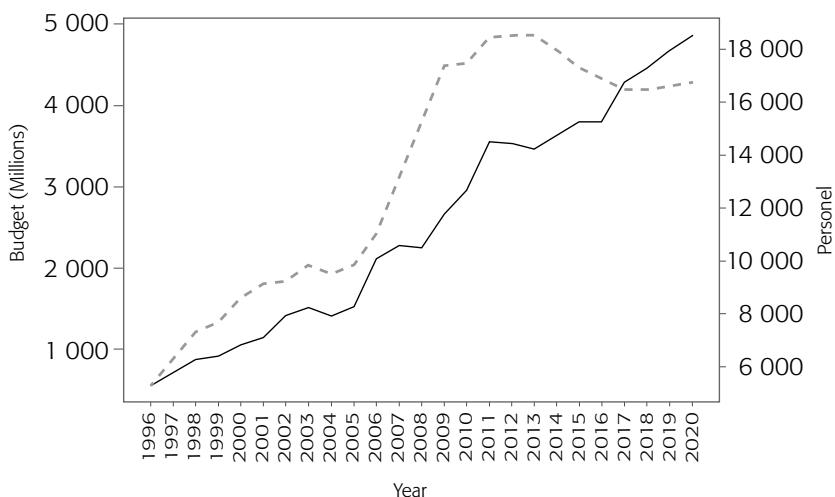
Source: USCBP, 2021; AIC, 2021.

This controlled movement of people accelerated with the terrorist acts on September 11, 2001, with the passage of the Patriot Act, and the Real ID Act. In 2006, new U.S. government pre-clearance programs to facilitate crossing borders were rolled out with SENTRI passes along the U.S.–Mexico border, Global Entry for those arriving at airports, and the NEXUS pass for the U.S.–Canadian border. Another major impact came with the coronavirus pandemic in 2020 and the partial closure of the border to control the transmission of COVID-19. Graph 2 provides an overview of the pedestrian and personal vehicle passengers crossing the border from 1996 to 2000.

The volume of pedestrian crossings initiated at 21.46 million in 1996, with fluctuations over the period, and a notable peak at 39.24 million in 2001, followed by a gradual decline and subsequent stabilization around the mid 30-million mark until 2019, followed by a sharp drop to 19.83 million in 2020. The fluctuations in pedestrian crossings can be segmented into distinct phases: an initial rise culminating in 2001, a period of volatility between 2001 and 2015, and a relative plateau thereafter

until the precipitous decline in 2020. The volume of personal vehicle passengers started at 169.86 million in 1996, reaching its peak at 239.70 million in 1999, indicating a robust phase of cross-border mobility. This is followed by a period of gradual decline, reaching a low of 110.17 million in 2011, before partially recovering to 136.50 million in 2015 and experiencing fluctuations, thereafter, culminating in a significant drop to 80.07 million in 2020. The early peak and subsequent decline reflect a variety of factors, including changes in border policy, economic conditions, and the evolution of cross-border travel preferences.

Graph 2
PEDESTRIAN AND PERSONAL VEHICLE PASSENGERS CROSSING THE BORDER, 1996–2020

Source: USDOT, 2023.

In comparison to the number of individuals crossing the border, another basic operation of the border is the movement of goods and trade between the two countries. In 2023, Mexico topped all other countries as the largest trade partner with the United States (Sheidlower and Gaines, 2024). This increase in trade accelerated with the passage of NAFTA in 1994 and was solidified with the USMCA in 2020. The coronavirus pandemic also increased the phenomenon of "near-shoring," as supply chain interruption during the pandemic showed the need for improving location as distant manufacturing became a difficult risk for many businesses. Graph 3 shows the number of trucks and Southwest border trade from 1996 until 2000. As seen in the graph,

trade has increased with a constant upward trend. A key takeaway is how policy can support and improve the functioning of the border.

Graph 3
NUMBER OF TRUCKS AND TRADE AT THE SOUTHWEST BORDER,
1996–2020
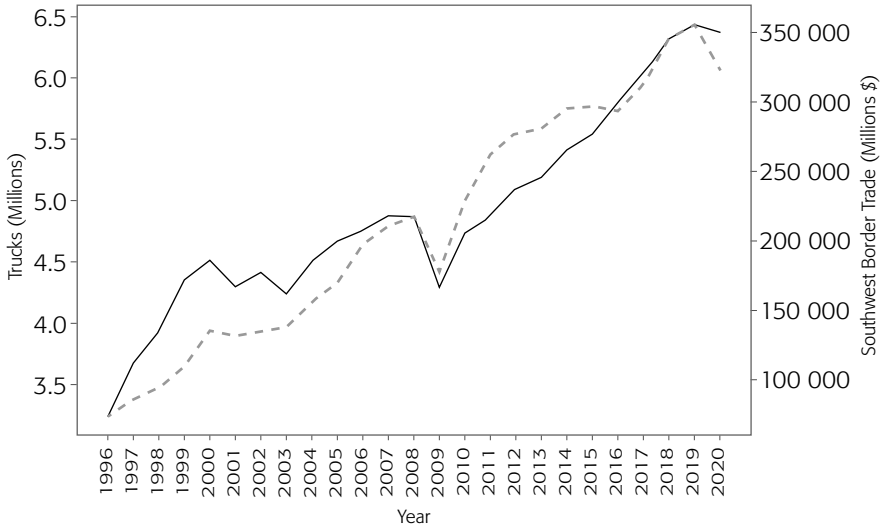
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2023; USDOT, 2023.

The volume of truck crossings started at 3.25 million in 1996, showing a general upward trend and reaching a peak of 6.44 million by 2019, before a slight decline to 6.37 million in 2020. The growth trajectory of truck crossings can be segmented into three phases: a steady rise from 1996 to 2000, a plateau with minor fluctuations from 2001 to 2013, and a consistent increase from 2014 to 2019. The slight decrease observed in 2020 might be attributable to the global COVID-19 pandemic, which disrupted trade flows and border crossings due to health and safety measures. The trade value, starting at approximately $74.3 billion in 1996, exhibited more pronounced growth, reaching $356.1 billion by 2019, before a downturn to $323.5 billion in 2020. Similar to truck crossings, the dip in 2020 is likely a direct consequence of the initial impact of COVID-19 on global trade. The trade value trajectory highlights significant growth phases, notably from 1996 to 2000 and again from 2010 to 2019, with the latter period showcasing the recovery and expansion of trade activities following the 2008 financial crisis.

Thus far, we have looked at the formal crossing and security at the U.S.–Mexico border region. Graph 4, the last graph in this section, looks at informal crossings through data on apprehensions, deportations, and asylum granting. These numbers are based on considerations such as instability and global crises, the nationality of those crossing, and the routes taken to cross the border.

Graph 4
APPREHENSIONS, DEPORTATIONS, AND INDIVIDUALS GRANTED ASYLUM,
1996-2020
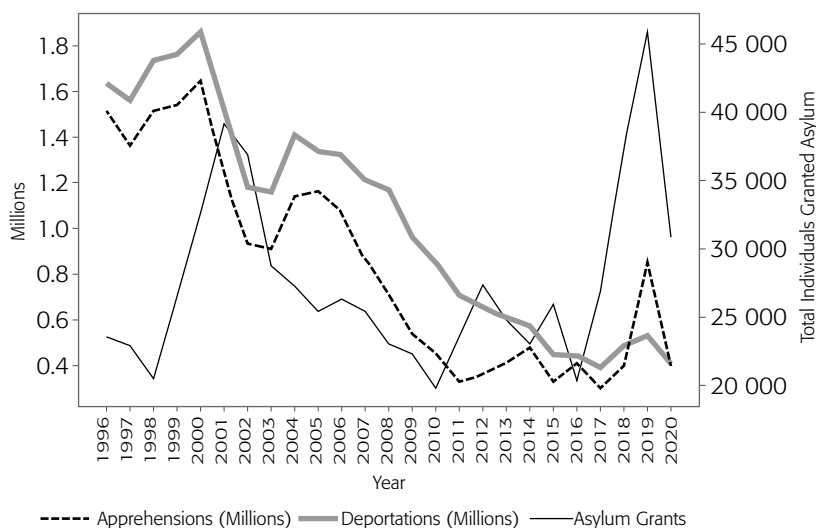
Source: U.S. Border Patrol, 2020; USDHS, 2020.

The dataset reveals a marked fluctuation in the number of undocumented individuals apprehended at the Southwest border, commencing with 1.51 million in 1996, experiencing a gradual decline to a base of 0.30 million in 2017, followed by a resurgence to 0.85 million in 2019, before decreasing to 0.40 million in 2020. The trajectory of deportations mirrors this pattern, although with a slight temporal lag, starting at 1.64 million in 1996, decreasing to 0.39 million in 2017, and subsequently ascending to 0.53 million in 2019, before descending to 0.41 million in 2020. Contrasting the trends in apprehensions and deportations, the number of individuals granted asylum exhibits a different pattern, with a steady increase from 23,532 in 1996 to a peak of 45,888 in 2019, before a decrease to 30,964 in 2020.

The next section covers the model developed to understand the impact of presidential agendas on cross-border operations. The goal is to bring together the previous

two sections and see how important presidential actions are on how the U.S.–Mexico border operates.

THE IMPACT OF PRESIDENTIAL AGENDAS ON CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS

Presidential Agendas

The methodology for analyzing the agenda of U.S. presidents regarding border policy involves an analysis of executive orders and legislation related to the border, bilateral initiatives, deployment of the national guard or military to the border, U.S. and Mexican presidential meetings, and the use of the bully pulpit with U.S. presidential visits to the U.S.–Mexico border. This analysis is based on data spanning from 1997 to 2020, covering the administrations of Presidents Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump. President Biden's term was not included in this analysis as there are only one or two years of data, depending on the indicators. The data is categorized into four distinct areas: executive orders, border-related policy, bilateral interactions between the United States and Mexico, and U.S. presidential visits to the U.S.–Mexico border. The methodology employs a scoring system to quantify the facilitating or non-facilitating nature of executive orders and policy perspectives, as well as the frequency of diplomatic interactions.

The dataset was constructed by compiling publicly available records of executive orders, official statements, and documented interactions between U.S. and Mexican leaders. Each entry in the dataset corresponds to a specific year and category, reflecting the sum of actions or policies deemed facilitating (+1) or non-facilitating (-1) regarding border issues. This approach allows for a nuanced analysis of policy direction and intensity over time.

The analysis proceeds by aggregating the scores within each category for every year and administration, enabling a comparative assessment of policy trends. Positive scores indicate a facilitating stance towards border issues, characterized by policies aimed at enhancing cooperation, security, or migration management in a manner deemed constructive. Conversely, negative scores signify a non-facilitating approach, marked by restrictive or adversarial policies.

Based upon the binominal analysis in Table 6, an index was developed that reflects on the yearly presidential agenda. The objective of this methodology is to develop a composite index that quantitatively reflects the agenda of U.S. presidents concerning border policy on an annual basis.

		Executive Orders Related to the Border	Border Policy	U.S. and Mexican Presidential Meetings	U.S. Presidential Visits to U.S.-Mexico Border
Table 6 BINOMINAL ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL AGENDA ITEMS, 1997-2020					
W.J. Clinton Term 2	1997	0	1	1	0
	1998	1	0	0	0
	1999	1	0	1	0
	2000	0	0	2	0
G.W. Bush Term 1	2001	0	0	1	0
	2002	0	-1	2	-1
	2003	0	-1	0	0
	2004	1	-1	1	-1
G.W. Bush Term 2	2005	1	0	0	-1
	2006	1	3	1	-1
	2007	1	0	1	-1
	2008	0	0	0	-1
B.H. Obama Term 1	2009	0	0	1	0
	2010	0	0	2	0
	2011	1	-1	0	-1
	2012	1	2	0	0
B.H. Obama Term 2	2013	1	1	1	0
	2014	1	2	1	0
	2015	0	1	0	0
	2016	0	1	1	0
D.J. Trump Term 1	2017	-4	1	0	-1
	2018	-1	-3	0	-1
	2019	-1	-1	0	-4
	2020	3	-1	1	0
Source: Developed by the author.					

This index integrates four key variables: executive orders related to the border, border policy, U.S. and Mexican presidential meetings, and U.S. presidential visits to the U.S.–Mexico border. The variables are weighted to reflect their relative importance in shaping the presidential agenda on border policy as follows:

• Executive orders related to the border: 35 %
• Border policy: 35 %
• U.S. and Mexican presidential meetings: 15 %
• U.S. Presidential visits to the U.S.–Mexico border: 15 %

These weights were chosen based on the assumption that executive orders and policy have a more substantial direct impact on the border, while diplomatic interactions and presidential visits symbolize the commitment and attention given to border issues.

The yearly index was calculated by first normalizing the scores of each variable on a scale from -1 to 1, where -1 represents the most non-facilitating stance and +1 represents the most facilitating stance towards border policy. The normalized scores for each category are then multiplied by their respective weights. The sum of these weighted scores yields the composite index for each year, which can range from -1 to +1, where a higher score indicates a more facilitating approach to border policy.

Normalization was conducted by dividing the score of each category by the maximum absolute value observed in that category across all years. This approach ensures that each variable contributes proportionately to the final index, allowing for an equitable comparison across different administrations and years.

The composite index for each year is calculated using the formula:
Index $= (E \times 0.35) + (P \times 0.35) + (M \times 0.15) + (V \times 0.15)$

where:
• E = Normalized score for executive orders related to the border
• P = Normalized score for border policy
• M = Normalized score for U.S. and Mexican presidential meetings
• V = Normalized score for U.S. presidential visits to the U.S.–Mexico border

The resulting index provides a comprehensive measure of the presidential agenda on the border. A positive index suggests a facilitating border policy, whereas a negative index indicates a non-facilitating stance. We acknowledge some limitations of this methodology, including the subjective assignment of weights and the potential for oversimplification of complex policy stances. Additionally, the index does not account for the broader political, social, and economic contexts that may influence policy decisions.

The calculated index values for each year are as follows:

Table 7
INDEX OF PRESIDENTIAL AGENDA ITEMS RELATED TO THE BORDER, 1997-2020

Year	Index	Year	Index
1997	0.1917	2009	0.0750
1998	0.0875	2010	0.1500
1999	0.1625	2011	-0.0670
2000	0.1500	2012	0.3208
2001	0.0750	2013	0.2792
2002	-0.0042	2014	0.3958
2003	-0.1167	2015	0.1167
2004	0.0083	2016	0.1917
2005	0.0500	2017	-0.2708
2006	0.4750	2018	-0.4750
2007	0.1250	2019	-0.3542
2008	-0.0375	2020	0.2208

Source: Developed by the author.

For the border operations dataset, Z-score normalization was applied to each variable, to rescale the data to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. This method enhanced the comparability of data by adjusting for differences in scale and distribution. Following normalization, four indices were constructed to aggregate related metrics into coherent themes for analysis:

- Border Security Budget and Personnel Index: This index averages the normalized values for the U.S. Border Patrol's budget and personnel dedicated to the Southwest border, reflecting the resource allocation to border security.
- Immigration Enforcement Index: An average of normalized figures for undocumented immigrant apprehensions, total deportations, and asylum grants, providing an overview of enforcement intensity and humanitarian considerations.
- Border Crossing Volume Index: This index captures the volume of legal border crossings through the average of normalized pedestrian and vehicle passenger counts, indicative of cross-border movement and economic activity.
- Border Trade and Transportation Index: Averaging normalized truck crossings and trade values, this index highlights the economic significance of cross-border trade and goods transportation.

ANALYSIS

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA)

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to assess the impact of the President's Agenda Index, categorized into three levels (low, neutral, high), on a composite of dependent variables related to border operation measures. These measures included the indices listed above. The MANOVA results revealed the following:

Test Statistic	Value	Num DF	Den DF	F Value	Pr > F
Intercept					
Wilks' lambda	0.9270	4.0000	94.0000	1.8508	0.1256
Pillai's trace	0.0730	4.0000	94.0000	1.8508	0.1256
Hotelling-Lawley trace	0.0788	4.0000	94.0000	1.8508	0.1256
Roy's greatest root	0.0788	4.0000	94.0000	1.8508	0.1256
C (Presidents_Agenda_Index)					
Wilks' lambda	0.8148	8.0000	188.0000	2.5348	0.0121
Pillai's trace	0.1945	8.0000	190.0000	2.5581	0.0114
Hotelling-Lawley trace	0.2160	8.0000	131.9817	2.5225	0.0138
Roy's greatest root	0.1263	4.0000	95.0000	2.9994	0.0223

The intercept values assess the overall mean of the dependent variables when all predictors are held at zero. The results across all four test statistics (Wilks' lambda, Pillai's trace, Hotelling-Lawley trace, and Roy's greatest root) are not statistically significant ($Pr > F = 0.1256$), suggesting that the overall mean of the dependent variables is not significantly different from zero at the chosen level of significance.

President's Agenda Index Effect:

- **Wilks' Lambda (0.8148, Pr > F = 0.0121)**: Indicates a significant multivariate effect of the President's Agenda Index on the combined dependent variables, implying that different levels of the President's Agenda Index are associated with significant differences in the set of dependent variables.
- **Pillai's Trace (0.1945, Pr > F = 0.0114)**: Supports the finding of a significant multivariate effect, suggesting variations across the groups defined by the President's Agenda Index.
- **Hotelling-Lawley Trace (0.2160, Pr > F = 0.0138)** and **Roy's Greatest Root (0.1263, Pr > F = 0.0223)**: Both confirm the significant impact of the President's Agenda Index, with Hotelling-Lawley providing a measure of variance

explained by the model and Roy's indicating the largest eigenvalue (most significant root).

The MANOVA results demonstrate a significant multivariate effect of the President's Agenda Index on the set of dependent variables, indicating that presidential policy priorities significantly influence the measured aspects of border security and immigration policy. The significance across different multivariate tests highlights the robustness of the findings, underscoring the importance of presidential agenda setting on policy outcomes related to border management and immigration enforcement.

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

Subsequent ANOVAs were conducted to disentangle the multivariate effect observed in the MANOVA, focusing on the individual impact of the President's Agenda Index on each dependent variable separately.

Border Security Budget and Personnel Index:

Source	Sum of Squares	df	F Value	Pr > F
C (Presidents_Agenda_Index)	1.227675	2	0.601918	0.549793
Residual	98.920847	97	NaN	NaN

The ANOVA for the Border Security Budget and Personnel Index yielded an F-value of 0.601918 (df = 2, 97) with a p-value of 0.549793, indicating that there are no statistically significant differences in border security budget and personnel allocations across the different levels of the President's Agenda Index. This finding suggests that variations in presidential policy focus do not significantly alter budgeting or staffing levels for border security within the observed period.

Immigration Enforcement Index:

Source	Sum of Squares	df	F Value	Pr > F
C (Presidents_Agenda_Index)	0.490765	2	0.223917	0.799793
Residual	106.298659	97	NaN	NaN

Similarly, the Immigration Enforcement Index ANOVA produced an F-value of 0.223917 (df = 2, 97) with a p-value of 0.799793. This lack of significant difference implies that the enforcement of immigration policies, as measured by this index, does not significantly vary with changes in presidential policy agendas.

Border Crossing Volume Index:

Source	Sum of Squares	df	F Value	Pr > F
C (Presidents_Agenda_Index)	7.934464	2	3.521509	0.033389
Residual	109.277464	97	NaN	NaN

Conversely, the ANOVA for the Border Crossing Volume Index showed an F-value of 3.521509 (df = 2, 97) with a p-value of 0.033389. This statistically significant result suggests that the level of the President's Agenda Index does indeed impact the volume of border crossings, with variations in presidential policy focus correlating with changes in crossing volumes.

Border Trade and Transportation Index:

Source	Sum of Squares	df	F Value	Pr > F
C (Presidents_Agenda_Index)	10.928165	2	5.50071	0.005459
Residual	96.354111	97	NaN	NaN

The ANOVA for the Border Trade and Transportation Index revealed an F-value of 5.50071 (df = 2, 97) and a p-value of 0.005459, indicating a statistically significant difference in trade and transportation activities across the levels of the President's Agenda Index. This finding highlights the significant influence of presidential policy priorities on trade and transportation dynamics at the border.

The multivariate and univariate analyses collectively suggest that while the President's Agenda Index significantly impacts the composite of border-related measures, its influence varies across specific aspects of border functioning. Notably, the presidential agendas appear to have a more pronounced impact on border crossing volumes and trade and transportation activities, rather than on budgeting and personnel allocations for border security or the enforcement of immigration policies. These insights underscore the complexity of policy impacts on border management and highlight areas where presidential focus can lead to measurable changes in border operations and activities.

DISCUSSION

Much has been written about former President Donald Trump and his border policies. Shannon Mattern (2018) discusses how the border is a security apparatus. Mattern argues that with this security apparatus, all other policy issues are secondary to the point where migrants lose their humanity. Within this analysis, the importance of

the private sector and the development of new technologies have been highlighted as the means to find solutions to the issue of border security. Finally, Mattern shows how the present-day border security apparatus has been under development since the 1990s and did not begin with Trump entering office. However, she highlights how the rhetoric and initial policies by Trump took it to a new, extreme level.

Yang (2018) defines Trumpism from the perspective of John Higham's (1954) work on nativism. The definition set on the ideal of the WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) being the primary stakeholders in the country and everyone else being the "other." This sets the first premise for the "us and them" or creating the "other" in society. This is another phenomenon that is not new to the United States as with each cycle of immigrants entering the country nativism rises to "protect the homeland." Working from this theory of nativism, Yang develops the concept of a horizontal America versus a vertical America. The horizontal version is accepting and diverse, while the vertical America shows Trump's version to raise borders, inhibit diversity, and define who is identified as an American. It plays into the notion that WASPs are the original immigrants, who established this nation and therefore are rightful, original Americans. This, of course, is seen as a false narrative by Yang, but the results are bifurcating the United States. This bifurcation is seen as a real danger to the future of the country with the attack on the U.S. capital on January 6, 2021, to stop the certification of the 2020 presidential election, and now former vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin stating the country will go to civil war if Donald Trump is put to trial for his actions after the 2020 presidential election (Pengelly, 2023).

In addition to the nativist analysis of Trumpism, populism and the use of the media are important considerations in understanding this phenomenon (Heide, 2022; Fleuriet and Castellano, 2020). Heide (2022) explores how the U.S.–Mexico border was turned into a media spectacle that served the populist narrative. His analysis discusses how Trump's followers see Trumpism as "a form of insurgency" (Heide, 2022: 143). From this perspective, Trumpism is a form of populism that is working to correct the problems that exist in the country by attacking the liberal elites and giving "power back to the people" (143). This form of populism has been criticized by many as authoritarian and anti-democratic, and for the use of the U.S.–Mexico border as a media spectacle to rally followers. Fleuriet and Castellano (2020) write that Trump was able to rise in political stature by creating "a political agendum that consciously crafted a U.S.–Mexico border imaginary to generate fear through a blending of national security concerns, xenophobia toward Mexicans, criminalization of immigration, and an idea of the U.S.–Mexico border as porous" (890). The authors question who gets to define the border: those living and working in the region, or national politicians who are using the border to increase their own political power.

Yet, this paper shows that the rise of Trumpism was not a one-off. It has been a systematic change in the perspective of the border region; one by which the principle of liberalism or individualism has moved into an extreme form of "us vs them." The neo-liberal agenda has provided the backdrop as people struggle to compete against perceived and real threats caused by globalization, immigration, and greater equality where more have a chance to be part of the economy. "Without a clear and potent independent working-class political alternative—one rooted in mass struggles in workplaces and communities—more and more workers will see no alternative to the neo-liberal capitalist offensive other than white populist nationalism" (Post, 2017). Therefore, it is also not surprising that the U.S.–Mexico border region is a symbol of this globalist, immigrant agenda. As seen in the model constructed, the presidential agendas do have an impact and the current security apparatus has been constructed over the years cumulating in the current political situation. If nothing is done, then the prospects for a better quality of life in the border region with fewer national security tensions are highly unlikely.

Finally, a larger question regarding the impacts of Trumpism is how this is changing democracy in the United States. It is not clear what the outcomes of this agenda will have on the nation; whether we are headed into a civil war as noted by Sarah Palin or just continuing with extreme levels of dysfunction in the federal government. Either scenario does not bode well in creating an agenda for 21st-century governance that needs to overcome climate change, plan for community resiliency, and fix the inequalities of the past in order to improve current quality of life.

CONCLUSIONS

This short review of the American presidents from Bill Clinton to Joe Biden and the comparison with Trumpism found there were great differences in how Mr. Trump presented and used the border region for his agenda, but the data shows a systematic securitization of the region since the 1990s. More work should be done to look at the implications of Trumpism as it decentralizes into border-state policies, and the connections between border security spending and how the border functions in the informal and formal sectors. Finally, the biggest takeaway from this analysis should be how to develop a more comprehensive presidential agenda that supports the livability of the region for its 15 million inhabitants. If this does not occur, there will be more responses and conflict from the other stakeholders seeking to improve their situation. Conflict should not be the way the 21st century is governed.

Bibliography

AIC (American Immigration Council)
2022   "The Cost of Immigration Enforcement and Border Security," American Immigration Council, www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/the-cost-of-immigration-enforcement-and-border-security, accessed September 1, 2023.

Andrade, Lydia, and Garry Young
1996   "Presidential Agenda Setting: Influences on the Emphasis of Foreign Policy," *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 591-605.

Carmines, Edward G., and Matthew Fowler
2017   "The Temptation of Executive Authority: How Increased Polarization and the Decline in Legislative Capacity Have Contributed to the Expansion of Presidential Power," *Indiana J. Glob. Leg. Stud.*, vol. 24, no. 369, https://doi.org/10.2979/indjglolegstu.24.2.0369

Center for U.S.–Mexican Studies
2010   "United States-Mexico Bilateral Action Plan for Endorsement at the Inaugural Meeting of the Bilateral Executive Steering Committee on Twenty-First Century Border Management," usmex.ucsd.edu/_files/documents_esc_action_plan.pdf, accessed February 1, 2024.

Clinton Digital Library
n.d.   "President Clinton's Travel Schedule," https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/travel-schedule, accessed January 30, 2024.

Clinton Presidential Library
1995   "The 1995 State of the Union," clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/exhibits/show/sotu/1995-sotu, accessed August 29, 2023.

Collins, Kimberly, and Michal Kohout
2020   "Regional Geographies of the US-Mexico Border," in Edward L. Jackiewicz, Fernando J. Bosco, eds., *Placing Latin America*, Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 223-40.

CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE

2023   "The President's Authority to Use the National Guard or the Armed Forces to Secure the Border," June 15, https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/LSB/LSB10121#:~:text=Congress%20has%20used%20this%20power,laws%2C%20or%20protecting%20civil%20rights, accessed February 2, 2024.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

n.d.   "U.S.–Mexico Relations, 1810–2022," www.cfr.org/timeline/us-mexico-relations, accessed February 3, 2024.

DOBBIN, CAUE, MELANIE MORTEN, and TREB ALLEN

2019   "Border Walls," Jan. 14, Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR), cepr.org/voxeu/columns/border-walls, accessed September 8, 2023.

DOWD, VINCENT

2012   "Operation Hold the Line, National Border, National Park: A History of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument," organpipehistory.com/orpi-a-z/operation-hold-the-line-2/, accessed September 2, 2023.

DUHALT, ADRIÁN

2020   "Governance and Energy Trade on the U.S.–Mexican Border" in Tony Payan and Pamala Cruz, eds., *Binational Commons: Institutional Development and Governance on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, pp. 342-368.

EGELAND, ALEXIS

2019   "Timeline: Donald Trump's Five Visits to the Border as President," *The Republic*, Apr. 5, www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/2019/04/05/timeline-donald-trumps-five-visits-border-president/3377674002, accessed on February 2, 2024.

FARLEY, ROBERT

2011   "Obama Says the Border Fence Is 'Now Basically Complete'," *Politifact*, May 16, https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2011/may/16/barack-obama/obama-says-border-fence-now-basically-complete/, accessed August 27, 2023.

FLEURIET, K. JILL, and MARI CASTELLANO

2020   "Media, Place-Making, and Concept-Metaphors: The U.S.–Mexico Border

During the Rise of Donald Trump," *Media Cult. Soc.*, no. 42, pp. 880-97, doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443719890539

Ganster, Paul, and Kimberly Collins

2021   *The U.S.–Mexican Border Today: Conflict and Cooperation in Historical Perspective*, Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield.

George W. Bush Whitehouse Archives

2006   "President Bush Addresses the Nation on Immigration Reform," May 15, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/05/20060515-8.html, accessed August 27, 2023.

Gerber, James

2023   "How the Border Works: A View from San Diego", November 5, unpublished manuscript.

Gobierno del Estado de Sonora

n.d.   "Capacitan autoridades de Sonora y Arizona a transportistas de carga en cruce fronterizo," http://sidur.gob.mx, accessed September 3, 2017.

hdr/hlb Decision Economics, Inc.

2006   "Economic Impacts of Wait Times at the San Diego-Baja California Border, Final Report," https://smartbordercoalition.com/storage/files/Economic%20Impacts%20of%20Border%20Wait%20Times%20at%20%20the%20San%20Diego-Baja%20California%20Border%20Final%20Report,%20SANDAG%202006.pdf, accessed February 2, 2024.

Heide, Markus

2022   "Populism and the Politics of the Media Spectacle in the United States: The Imagery of the U.S.-Mexico Border," in Julian Cananau and Peder Thalén, eds., *Populism, Democracy, and the Humanities: Interdisciplinary Explorations and Critical Enquiries*, London, Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 143-62.

Kelley, Christopher S., Melanie Cook Marlowe, and Ryan J. Barilleaux

2012   "President Barack Obama, Unilateralist," in Andrew J. Dowdle, Dirk C. van Raemdonck, and Robert Maranto, eds., *The Obama Presidency: Change and Continuity,* New York, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 77-90.

KIOUSIS, S.

2004   "Explicating Media Salience: A Factor Analysis of *New York Times* Issue Coverage During the 2000 U.S. Presidential Election," *Journal of Communication*, vol. 54, no. 1, pp. 71-87.

LAN, XIAOMENG, SOFIYA TARASEVICH, PAMALA PROVERBS,
 BARBARA MYSLIK, and SPIRO KIOUSIS

2020   "President Trump vs. CEOs: A Comparison of Presidential and Corporate Agenda Building," *Journal of Public Relations Research*, vol. 32, nos. 1-2, pp. 30-46, DOI: 10.1080/1062726X.2020.1719494

LATINO USA

2017   "Obama Leaves Office as 'Deporter-in-Chief,'" National Public Radio (NPR), Jan. 20, www.npr.org/2017/01/20/510799842/obama-leaves-office-as-deporter-in-chief, accessed September 8, 2023.

LIGHT, PAUL

1991   *The President's Agenda*, rev. ed., Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press.

MATTERN, SHANNON

2018   "All Eyes on the Border," September, *Places Journal*, placesjournal.org/article/all-eyes-on-the-border/?cn-reloaded=1#0, accessed July 20, 2023.

MCCOMBS, M. E.

2002   "The Agenda-setting Role of the Mass Media in the Shaping of Public Opinion", paper presented at the Mass Media Economics 2002 Conference, London School of Economics, London, UK.

MENESES, GUILLERMO ALONSO

2022   "Border Walls, Control Operations, and Laws: Some Collateral Effects of the United States-Mexico Border, 1991-2021", *Frontera Norte*, vol. 34, no. 13, https://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/fn/v34/0187-7372-fn-v34-e2224-en.pdf, accessed February 1, 2024.

MOMEN, MEHNAAZ

2023   *Listening to Laredo*: *A Border City in a Globalized Age*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Naishadham, Suman, and Lisa Rathke

2021   "U.S. Businesses Near Border Struggle with Boundaries' Closure during Co-
        vid-19 Pandemic," Associated Press, March 22, https://www.usatoday.
        com/story/money/business/2021/03/21/us-mexico-border-businesses-
        struggle-closure-amid-pandemic/4789101001/, accessed February 1, 2024.

NAPA (National Academy of Public Administration)

2022   "1.1 Number of Government Jurisdictions," https://federalism.us/signifi-
        cantfeatures2020/1-1-number-of-government-jurisdictions/#:~:text=
        For%202017%2C%20the%20Census%20of,)%3B%2016%2C253%20town-
        ships%20governments%20and, accessed August 25, 2023.

National Immigration Law Center

2020   "Summary of the U.S. Supreme Court's Decision in the DACA Cases," www.
        nilc.org/issues/daca/summary-of-scotus-decision-in-the-daca-cases/
        #:~:text=On%20June%2018%2C%202020%2C%20the,Justice%20Roberts%20
        wrote%20the%20opinion, accessed September 7, 2023.

Nelson, Michael, editor

2012   *The Evolving Presidency: Landmark Documents, 1787-2010*, Washington, D.C.,
        CQ Press.

Nicol, Scott

n.d.   "The Obama-Biden Administration Build More Than 100 Miles of Border
        Wall. The Biden-Harris Administration Should Tear Walls Down," Southern
        Border Communities Coalition, www.southernborder.org/the_obama_biden_
        administration_built_more_than_100_miles_of_border_wall_the_biden_
        harris_administration_should_tear_walls_down, accessed September 6, 2023.

Payan, Tony, and Pamela L. Cruz

2020   "Defining the Border and the Borderlands: A Precondition for Institutional
        Development?," in Tony Payan and Pamela L. Cruz, eds., *Binational Com-
        mons: Institutional Development and Governance on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, Tuc-
        son, University of Arizona Press, pp. 48-71.

Pengelly, Martin

2023   "Sarah Palin Says U.S. Civil War 'Is Going to Happen' over Trump Prose-
        cutions," *The Guardian*, Aug. 25, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/

aug/25/sarah-palin-us-civil-war-donald-trump-prosecutions, accessed August 30, 2023.

PETERS, GERHARD, and JOHN T. WOOLLEY

n.d.   "Executive Orders," in John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, eds., *The American Presidency Project 1999-2023*, Santa Barbara, Calif., www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/323876, accessed September 1, 2023.

POST, CHARLES

2017   "The Roots of Trumpism," *Cult. Dyn.*, no. 29, pp. 100-08, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0921374017709229

RAPPAPORT, NOLAN

2018   "Bill Clinton's Attempts to Secure the Border Caused a Humanitarian Crisis," *The Hill*, Opinion, Nov. 23, thehill.com/opinion/immigration/417994-bill-clintons-attempts-to-secure-the-border-caused-a-humanitarian-crisis/, accessed September 1, 2023.

REEVES, ANDREW and JON C. ROGOWSKI

2015   "Public Opinion toward Presidential Power", *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 4, pp. 742-59.

SBCC (SOUTHERN BORDER COMMUNITIES COALITION)

n.d.   "Operation Gatekeep and the Birth of Border Militarization," www.southernborder.org/operation_gatekeeper, accessed February 3, 2024.

SHEIDLOWER, NOAH, and CORK GAINES

2024   "The U.S. Is Now Buying More from Mexico than China for the First Time in 20 Years," *Business Insider*, Feb. 9, https://www.businessinsider.com/mexico-us-top-trading-partner-china-economic-nearshoring-trade-agreement-2024-2, accessed February 10, 2024.

STONE, DEBORAH

2012   *Policy Paradox*, 3rd ed., New York, W.W. Norton.

THROWER, SHARECE

2023   "Between Two Fires: The Institutional and Public Constraints to Unilateral Policy Change," *Polit. Res. Q.*, no. 76, pp. 14-28, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129211069579

Trump Whitehouse Archives

2018   "Remarks by President Trump on the Illegal Immigration Crisis and Border Security," November 1, trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-illegal-immigration-crisis-border-security/, accessed August 20, 2023.

University of Arizona

2024   "Mexico Initiatives: A Brief Legislative History of the Last 50 Years on the U.S.-Mexico Border," mexico.arizona.edu/revista/brief-legislative-history-last-50-years-us-mexico-border, accessed February 2, 2024.

U.S. Border Patrol

2020   *U.S. Border Patrol Total Apprehensions*, United States Border Patrol.

U.S. Census Bureau

2023   "Trade in Goods with Mexico," https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c2010.html, accessed February 7, 2024.

U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants

2022   "Migrant Protection Protocols Timeline," March, refugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/MPP-TimelineFinal.pdf, accessed February 4, 2024.

uscbp (U.S. Customs and Border Protection)

2021   "United States Border Patrol, Border Patrol Agent Nationwide Staffing by Fiscal Year," www.cbp.gov/newsroom/media-resources/stats, accessed September 5, 2023.

usdhs (U.S. Department of Homeland Security)

2022   *2021 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, Office of Immigration Statistics.

2020   "Fact Sheet: dhs Measures on the Border to Limit the Further Spread of Coronavirus," www.dhs.gov/news/2020/10/19/fact-sheet-dhs-measures-border-limit-further-spread-coronavirus, accessed February 4, 2024.

usdos (U.S. Department of State)

n.d.   "Office of the Historian, Mexico," https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/travels/president/mexico, accessed February 2, 2024.

USDOT (U.S. Department of Transportation)

2023   "Workbook: Border Crossing Data," explore.dot.gov/views/BorderCrossing-Data/Annual?%3Aembed=y&%3AisGuestRedirectFromVizportal=y, accessed September 5, 2023.

USGAO (U.S. General Accounting Office)

1994   "Border Control: Revised Strategy Is Showing Some Positive Results," GAO/GGD-95-30, Dec., www.gao.gov/assets/ggd-95-30.pdf, accessed August 15, 2023.

White House

2023   "Remarks by President Biden on Border Security and Enforcement," January 5, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/01/05/remarks-by-president-biden-on-border-security-and-enforcement/#:~:text=We%20can't%20stop%20people,fix%20the%20border%20problem%20completely, accessed September 8, 2023.

2014   "President Obama: Why I Acted on Immigration," President Barack Obama, November 14, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2014/12/02/president-obama-why-i-acted-immigration, accessed August 30, 2023.

2006   "Fact Sheet: *The Secure Fence Act* of 2006," President George W. Bush, October 26, georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/10/ 2006 1026-1.html, accessed September 1, 2023.

Wilson, Christopher

2016   *The Anatomy of a Relationship: A Collection of Essays on the Evolution of U.S.-Mexico Cooperation on Border Management*, June, Mexico Institute, Wilson Center.

Yang, Mimi

2018   "Trumpism: A Disfigured Americanism," *Palgrave Communications*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1-13.

Zurcher, Anthony

2021   "President Joe Biden's 'Big Problem' at the U.S. Border," BBC News, U.S. & Canada, www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-56446814, accessed August 10, 2023.