

Internalized Borders: Immigration Ethics in the Age of Trump

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Abstract

The Trump administration's immigration measures and attendant dehumanizing rhetoric have fanned the flames of nationalism and sown fear in communities. Its internal enforcement strategies are bolstered by manipulative narratives that perpetuate myths and reflect facile analyses of complex dilemmas, focusing on symptoms rather than causes of migration. Reducing immigration questions to the locus of border crossers alone eclipses from view transnational actors responsible for economic instability, violent conflict, or labor recruitment, and also eclipses their accountability. Recent developments in migration ethics help illuminate significant historical and structural contexts of migration as well as models of justice and norms for negotiating duties of reception that better reflect such relationships. Attending to underlying fears and idolatries that contribute to exclusionary dynamics also emerges as critical for advancing just policy reforms and cultivating civic friendship moving forward.

Keywords

civic friendship, immigration, migration ethics, social sin, structural justice, Donald Trump

Significant changes wrought by President Donald Trump during the first year of his presidency directly reflect his campaign rhetoric that casts immigrants and refugees as threats to the United States.¹ Trump campaigned on promises to

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deport undocumented immigrants and secure the border with Mexico, a country he charged with sending its criminals, drug dealers, and rapists. Anti-immigrant sentiment helped elect Trump: the most consistent chant at his rallies was “Build the wall!” Trump moved swiftly to make good on campaign promises, issuing executive orders within the first few weeks of his presidency that called for constructing a wall at the United States–Mexico border, a selective travel ban, and expansion of the nation’s detention capacity and expedited removal practices.² While the courts contest elements of the orders’ legal legitimacy, enforcement raids have ensued in at least twenty states. The administration’s internal enforcement measures and accompanying rhetoric have fanned the flames of nationalism, sown fear in immigrant communities, and eroded civic life.

Key elements of the administration’s enforcement strategy appear out of step with realities on the ground. The “Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements” order includes a series of mandates aimed at obtaining “complete operational control” of the entire 2,000-mile southwestern border. This centerpiece initiative has been broadly criticized based on escalating cost projections, efficacy as an enforcement tool, its necessity given other enforcement tools, personnel and technologies, and its deleterious effect on binational border communities, property rights, and the environment.³ The US government already spends more on federal immigration enforcement than on all other principal federal criminal law enforcement agencies combined.⁴ Between 1986 and 2008, the Border Patrol’s personnel increased by 500 percent and its budget by twentyfold, and whereas hundreds of miles of border walls were constructed, the number of unauthorized migrants grew during the same period from three million to twelve million. Despite such measures, the likelihood of a migrant ultimately crossing the border never dropped below 95 percent.⁵ Moreover, since 2008 the United States has witnessed a dramatic decline in the undocumented population, by contrast, and a growing

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2. Faye Hipsman and Doris Meissner, *Trump Executive Order and DHS Implementation Memo on Border Enforcement: A Brief Review* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, April 2017), <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/trump-executive-order-and-dhs-implementation-memo-border-enforcement-brief-review>.
 3. Robert Warren and Donald Kerwin, “The 2,000 Mile Wall in Search of a Purpose: Since 2007 Visa Overstays Have Outnumbered Undocumented Border Crossers by a Half Million,” *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 5 (2017): 124–36, <https://doi.org/10.14240/jmhs.v5i1.77>.
 4. Doris Meissner, Donald M. Kerwin, Muzaffar Chishti, and Claire Bergeron, *Immigration Enforcement in the United States: The Rise of a Formidable Machinery* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, January 2013), <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/immigration-enforcement-united-states-rise-formidable-machinery>.
 5. Elizabeth W. Collier and Charles R. Strain, with Catholic Relief Services, *Global Migration: What’s Happening, Why, and a Just Response* (Winona, MN: Anselm Academic, 2017), 61–62; Douglas Massey, Jorge Durand, and Karen A. Pren, “Why Border Enforcement Backfired,” *American Journal of Sociology* 121 (2016): 1557–1600, <https://doi.org/10.1086/684200>.

percentage of border crossers have originated in the Northern Triangle countries of Central America, fleeing pervasive violence and seeking not to evade arrest, but to request political asylum.⁶ Trump's border wall plan is opposed by a median of 76 percent across 37 countries surveyed, with 94 percent opposition in Mexico. Trump's related policy stances on withdrawing from international trade agreements and restricting entry into the United States by people from select Muslim-majority nations have been met with similar opposition.⁷

The executive order also gives wider latitude to enforcement officials, expanding those targeted for deportation to include anyone whom immigration officers judge to pose a risk to public safety or national security.⁸ Whereas the Obama administration initially deported those immigrants who had committed minor offenses—and went on to deport more immigrants than all twentieth-century administrations combined—it altered its policy to target primarily those convicted of serious crimes or who had violated deportation orders. By September 2017, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents had made 43 percent more arrests since Trump took office compared to the same period the previous year; whereas deportations were not on track in late 2017 to exceed the previous year's numbers, ICE took into custody nearly three times more removable noncitizens without criminal records than during the same period in 2016.⁹ The United Nations' migration agency reported significantly fewer people attempting to cross the Mexico–US border in the first seven months of 2017 than the year before, yet 17 percent more migrant deaths were reported at the border during the same period.¹⁰ Historically, stricter immigration policies have driven people to take more dangerous routes, in part because such policies fail to mitigate factors propelling most migrants to attempt the journey.¹¹ Mexican deportations of Central Americans have markedly increased since the country implemented *Programa Frontera Sur* in 2014, with little deterrent effect and reports of exacerbated human rights violations of migrants in transit through

6. Warren and Kerwin, "The 2,000 Mile Wall in Search of a Purpose."

7. Richard Wike, Bruce Stokes, Jacob Poushter, and Janell Fetterolf, "U.S. Image Suffers as Publics around World Question Trump's Leadership," *Pew Research Center*, June 26, 2017, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/u-s-image-suffers-as-publics-around-world-question-trumps-leadership/>.

8. Jennifer Medina, "Trump's Immigration Order Expands the Definition of 'Criminal,'" *The New York Times*, January 26, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/26/us/trump-immigration-deportation.html>.

9. Nick Miroff, "Deportations Slow under Trump Despite Increase in Arrests by ICE," *The Washington Post*, September 28, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/deportations-fall-under-trump-despite-increase-in-arrests-by-ice/2017/09/28/1648d4ee-a3ba-11e7-8c37-e1d99ad6aa22_story.html.

10. International Organization for Migration, "Migrants Crossing US–Mexico Border Dying at Faster Rate in 2017: UN Migration Agency," August 4, 2017, <https://www.iom.int/news/migrants-crossing-us-mexico-border-dying-faster-rate-2017-un-migration-agency>.

11. Amanda Holpuch, "Migrant Deaths at US–Mexico Border Increase 17% this Year, UN Figures Show," *The Guardian*, August 5, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/aug/05/migrants-us-mexico-border-deaths-figures>.

Mexico to the United States who have been targeted for kidnapping and extortion by criminal gangs and government officials.¹²

President Trump inherited an outdated immigration system issuing from decades of congressional inaction. The failure of Congress to protect even so-called DREAMers brought to the United States as youth is ostensibly what led President Obama to implement the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program as an exercise in prosecutorial discretion.¹³ Given the Trump administration's termination of the program and stated demands for its reinstatement, prospects for viable paths to citizenship for those not detained or deported look increasingly dim. Increased enforcement measures have contributed not only to upticks in detentions of noncriminals and border deaths, but also to heightened mental health risks in immigrant communities¹⁴ and threats to familial well-being on both sides of the border, as Guadalupe García de Rayos's deportation revealed.¹⁵ Increased fears of detention and deportation have deterred immigrants from attending routine medical appointments or lodging domestic violence reports, threatening the wider common good.

The administration's internal enforcement strategies focus on symptoms rather than causes of migration. The measures are framed by narratives that perpetuate myths about responsibility for irregular migration and genuine threats to national security, reflective of enduring interpretive frames.¹⁶ Employing symbolic resources has long played an overt role in the politics of migration.¹⁷ Reducing immigration matters to the locus of border crossers alone eclipses from view transnational actors responsible for

12. Jan-Albert Hootsen, "Jesuit Groups Call Trump's Border Wall a Distraction as Migrants Suffer," *America*, October 12, 2017, <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2017/10/12/jesuit-groups-call-trumps-border-wall-distraction-migrants-suffer>.
13. DACA is an Obama Administration initiative that has granted work authorization and a two-year reprieve from deportation to roughly 800,000 unauthorized immigrants who came to the United States as children since its launch in 2012. The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act was first introduced in 2001 (and resurfaced in 2006, 2007, 2010, and 2013) and would have provided a pathway to lawful permanent residence for young unauthorized immigrants brought to the United States as children under certain conditions.
14. Beyond the physical and social manifestations of stress exhibited by immigrant family members in the face of increased deportation threats, for undocumented youth in particular, fear and stigma management become a "second border" that reinforces legal exclusion. See Roberto G. Gonzalez, *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).
15. Marcela Valdes, "Is It Possible to Resist Deportation in Trump's America?," *The New York Times Magazine*, May 23, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/magazine/is-it-possible-to-resist-deportation-in-trumps-america.html>.
16. See Kristin Heyer, "Reframing Displacement and Membership: Ethics of Migration," *Theological Studies* 73 (2012): 188–206, <https://doi.org/10.1177/004056391207300109>; Heyer, "The Politics of Immigration and a Catholic Counternarrative: A Perspective from the United States," *Asian Horizons* 8, no. 4 (2014): 719–37.
17. Charles R. Strain, "No More Deaths: Border Enforcement and Moral Devolution," in *Religious and Ethical Perspectives on Global Migration*, Elizabeth W. Collier and Charles R. Strain (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2014), 273–296 at 279.

violent conflict, and economic instability or climate change—much less blame for these factors. This note will attempt to recontextualize immigration, scrutinizing dominant narratives, delineating historical and structural contexts of migration, and profiling models of relational justice. It concludes by probing underlying fears and idolatries contributing to exclusionary dynamics.

Narratives of Misdirection and Exclusion

Trump's internal enforcement steps follow from the politics of exclusion peddled throughout his campaign, when appeals to economic and cultural anxieties were often cloaked in nativist rhetoric. His administration's ongoing negative portrayals of undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers reflect false assumptions and facile analyses of complex challenges.

Trump billed his initial immigration order as a measure to "Make America Safe Again," following from the law and order mantle he adopted to distinguish his candidacy. This framework casts unauthorized immigrants as willful lawbreakers, posing national security threats. Yet recent studies indicate higher rates of immigration correlate with lower rates of violent and property crime.¹⁸ The rule of law rightly occupies a privileged place in the United States, yet a lack of accountability that marks Border Patrol procedures and the lack of due process afforded immigrant detainees belie this rationale.¹⁹ The Department of Homeland Security's significant backlogs and priority "rocket" dockets in immigration courts give rise to concerns the removal system is both inefficient and lacking in adequate safeguards. In the case of increasingly employed expedited forms of removal, absent a courtroom and administrative judge or viable avenues for review, the rule of law lies within the hands of ICE or Customs and Border Protection officers alone, "who serve as both prosecutor and judge."²⁰

Attorney General Jeff Sessions framed expanded prosecution procedures for immigrants in similar terms of threats to law and order, warning of death-dealing cartels, profiteering coyotes, and document-forgers who seek to overthrow our system of lawful immigration, and "turn cities and suburbs into warzones" as they rape and kill "innocent citizens." His totalizing and binary language was vividly

18. Walter Ewing, Daniel E. Martínez, and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *The Criminalization of Immigration in the United States* (American Immigration Council, July 13, 2015), <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/criminalization-immigration-united-states>.

19. Legal reform reports have criticized aspects of the US immigration laws at odds with this complement of features: their retroactivity, inconsistent application, lack of proportionality, procedural unfairness (e.g., the effects of availability of legal counsel), and failure to comport with basic due process norms. See Donald Kerwin, "Rights, the Common Good, and Sovereignty in Service of the Human Person," in *And You Welcomed Me: Migration and Catholic Social Teaching*, ed. Donald Kerwin and Jill Marie Gerschutz (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2009), 93–122 at 111.

20. Lenni B. Benson, "Immigration Adjudication: The Missing 'Rule of Law,'" *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 5 (2017): 331–55 at 331, <https://doi.org/10.14240/jmhs.v5i2.87>.

dehumanizing: “Depravity and violence are their calling cards, including brutal machete attacks and beheadings. It is here, on this sliver of land, where we first take our stand against this filth.”²¹ His expansion of felony charges and funding cut threats to sanctuary locales²² follow through on Trump’s promises of an indiscriminate deportation force.²³

Related reporting requirements that perpetually showcase instances “where immigrants and refugees pose a threat to society or impose costs” fuel a criminal narrative. Such reports may increase public awareness of specific crimes, yet “releasing them devoid of contextualizing information such as overall crime rates or comparable data on citizens . . . skew public perceptions of immigrants, both legal and unauthorized.”²⁴ Hence the ongoing function of law-and-order rhetoric is ensured through these efforts to hone anti-immigrant propaganda machinery and single out behavior of a particular group of people, devoid of wider context, which some have compared to Breitbart News’s “Black Crime” section.²⁵ Inside the United States as elsewhere, terrorist attacks are seized upon to feed a conflation of migration with terrorism.²⁶ Senator Rand Paul called the Tsarnaev brothers “refugees coddled by the United States,” and as a candidate Trump was quick to call for a complete shutdown of Muslims entering the country in the wake of the San Bernadino attacks in 2015.²⁷ Trump has continued to collapse such distinctions to sow isolationism and xenophobia, with his pardon of

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21. Attorney General Jeff Sessions, “Remarks Announcing the Department of Justice’s Renewed Commitment to Criminal Immigration Enforcement” (address, Nogales, AZ, April 11, 2017), <https://www.justice.gov/opa/speech/attorney-general-jeff-sessions-delivers-remarks-announcing-department-justice-s-renewed>.
 22. In what is at least a temporary victory for cities nationwide that have defied Mr. Sessions, Judge Harry D. Leinenweber of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois ruled that Chicago had shown a “likelihood of success” in arguing that Mr. Sessions exceeded his authority. Associated Press, “Sessions Can’t Deny Money for Sanctuary Cities, Judge Rules,” *New York Times*, September 15, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/15/us/sessions-sanctuary-cities-chicago.html>.
 23. Law enforcement officials frequently claim it is “sanctuary” cities that uphold law and order, given that “enlisting state and local law enforcement for deportation undermines community trust, local policing and public safety.” The Editorial Board, “Jeff Sessions, Unleashed at the Border,” *The New York Times*, April 13, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/13/opinion/jeff-sessions-unleashed-at-the-border.html>.
 24. Muzaffar Chishti, Sarah Pierce, and Jessica Bolter, *Muscular Public Relations Strategy to Paint Immigrants and Immigration as Negatives Embedded Deep within Trump Executive Orders* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, March 2017), <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/muscular-public-relations-strategy-paint-immigrants-and-immigration-negatives-embedded-deep>.
 25. Chishti, Pierce, and Bolter, *Muscular Public Relations Strategy*.
 26. In the course of the 114th Congress (2015–2016) at least 37 anti-refugee bills were filed in Congress and 42 in state legislatures. Ah Noorani, *There Goes the Neighborhood: How Communities Overcome Prejudice and Meet the Challenge of American Immigration* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2017), 88.
 27. Noorani, *There Goes the Neighborhood*, 86–87, 124.

Sherriff Joe Arpaio sending a message of impunity for law enforcement and symbolizing the centrality of law-and-order bravado to his immigration narrative.²⁸

Another script from Trump's migration and trade platform casts newcomers as economic threats, a perception historically fueled in times of economic downturn.²⁹ Beyond studies that show immigrant laborers provide a net benefit to the US economy—recent estimates indicate that DACA beneficiaries alone would contribute \$460.3 billion to the US gross domestic product over the next decade³⁰—the detention industry profits from irregular migrants, further confounding the “economic threat” frame. Share prices for privately held corrections firms, GEO Group and Corrections Corporation of America, rose over 100 percent in the wake of the 2016 election, given Trump's avowed commitment to increase incarceration of immigrants. The administration has called for nearly doubling the number of immigrants detained to 80,000 per day, and in April of 2017 the White House approved plans to construct a \$110 million detention center operated by GEO near Houston. Detainees in GEO's Adelanto Detention Center in California staged a hunger strike and a sit-in in the summer of 2017 to protest unsanitary conditions and poor medical care; three detainees had died in the previous three months.³¹ The burgeoning immigrant industrial complex raises serious questions about the financial stakes in the broken immigration system, diminished public oversight, and accountability.

The administration has connected economic anxieties with anxieties over cultural shifts, shaping a particular vision of “America First” that casts newcomers as threatening to the nation's identity. Tapping into the related anti-immigrant sentiment has provoked the demonization of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. Bias-related hate crimes surged following the election.³² Where appeals to nostalgia or anxieties about

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28. Arpaio relentlessly targeted immigrants in Maricopa County, Arizona, forcing 220 to march, shackled, from a county jail to his infamous “Tent City.” Noorani, *There Goes the Neighborhood*, 129 and Antonio De Loera-Brust, “Pardoning Sheriff Joe Arpaio Is Part of a Long History of Discrimination,” *America*, August 29, 2017, <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2017/08/29/pardoning-sheriff-joe-arpaio-part-long-history-discrimination>.
29. Trump courted the “disaffected downwardly mobile as a key voting bloc,” and developments diminishing job security contributed to their captivity beyond this economic scapegoating. See Kenneth Himes's discussion of the plight of the “precariat” and the atomization of the work place in “The State of Our Union,” *Theological Studies* 78 (2017): 147–70 at 148–49, 160, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0040563916682469>.
30. Tom K. Wong, Greisa Martinez Rosas, Adam Luna, Henry Manning, Adrian Reyna, Patrick O'Shea, Tom Jawetz, and Philip E. Wolgin, “DACA Recipients' Economic and Educational Gains Continue to Grow,” *Center for American Progress* (blog), August 28, 2017, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/news/2017/08/28/437956/daca-recipients-economic-educational-gains-continue-grow/>.
31. Leslie Berestein Rojas, “UPDATE: Detainees End Hunger Strike at Adelanto Immigrant Detention Center,” *Southern California Public Radio*, June 13, 2017, <http://www.scpr.org/news/2017/06/13/72892/detainees-start-hunger-strike-at-adelanto-immigran/>.
32. Hatewatch Staff, “Post-Election Bias Incidents Up to 1,372; New Collaboration with ProPublica,” *Southern Poverty Law Center Hatewatch* (blog), February 10, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/02/10/post-election-bias-incidents-1372-new-collaboration-propublica>.

rapid cultural and demographic changes may have remained more hidden or coded in the recent past, Trump's collusion with white nationalists has brought overt racist and xenophobic fears into the open. Some contend Trump has surrounded himself with high-level advisers who embrace a "clash of civilizations" paradigm, explaining the restrictionist logic that informs his approach to migration policy and international affairs in terms of the importance of threats to culture rather than political ideology.³³

Representations of the outsider as a social menace have been reinvented in moments of national crisis, with the general pattern evidencing xenophobia's productive function in the national imaginary. Portrayals of immigrants as public charges or of a dangerously porous border have long shaped US society's collective imagination. In the 2016 presidential campaign, Trump consistently played upon the fears of cultural displacement of white working-class voters. Such voters who reported often feeling "like a stranger in their own land" were 3.5 times more likely to favor Trump than those who did not share such concerns.³⁴ His campaign performed strongest among those who reported that their ancestors are "American." Robert Jones has argued Trump successfully converted white evangelical Protestant "values voters" into "nostalgia voters" by naming and elevating their anxieties about the country's recent demographic and cultural shifts ("Make America Great Again" as restoring cultural displacement and economic displacement alike). He suggests white southern Christians have been vulnerable to the lure of nostalgia as they perceive a loss of unquestioned white power and its attendant hierarchy of social roles and order.³⁵

Political theorists connect the stability of diverse democracies to the ability of the country's members to feel like they share and value a common identity.³⁶ The norms delineated to describe "American" social identity typically involve civic and ethnic (or ascriptive) classes.³⁷ Empirical scholarship on American identity reveals a wider endorsement of civic than ascriptive norms, as well as the persistence of ascriptive ideas about being American endorsed by nontrivial segments of the population and "widespread

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33. Todd Scribner, "You Are Not Welcome Here Anymore: Restoring Support for Refugee Resettlement in the Age of Trump," *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 5 (2017): 263–84 at 263, <https://doi.org/10.14240/jmhs.v5i2.84>.
 34. Daniel Cox, Rachel Lienesch, Robert P. Jones, *Beyond Economics: Fears of Cultural Displacement Pushed the White Working Class to Trump* (Washington, DC: Public Religion Research Institute, May 9, 2017), <https://www.prrri.org/research/white-working-class-attitudes-economy-trade-immigration-election-donald-trump/>.
 35. See Robert P. Jones, *The End of White Christian America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016); Jennifer Rubin, "What the End of White Christian America Has to do with Trump," *Washington Post*, September 16 and 18, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/right-turn/wp/2016/09/16/what-the-end-of-white-christian-america-has-to-do-with-trump-part-1/> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/right-turn/wp/2016/09/18/what-the-end-of-white-christian-america-has-to-do-with-trump-part-2/>.
 36. Deborah J. Schildkraut, "Boundaries of American Identity: Evolving Understandings of 'Us,'" *Annual Review of Political Science* 14 (2014): 441–60 at 455, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-080812-144642>.
 37. Schildkraut, "Boundaries of American Identity," 447.

associations between whiteness, Christianity and being American.”³⁸ Recent studies show African Americans and Latinx are significantly more likely than white respondents to understand American identity as defined by its “balance of assimilation and migration-driven diversity” and that the two are not mutually exclusive.³⁹ Some sociologists warn that seemingly innocuous dialogue about preserving national culture has enabled exclusionary and essentializing discourses to circulate: despite layered forms of belonging, hybrid identities, and migrant activism, “the specter of difference and the migrant as other continue to dominate social and political debates.”⁴⁰ In the case of the current administration’s rhetoric, nativist understandings of identity have been thinly veiled at most.

Conversations about who we are as a nation, the kind of society we wish to share, and the role of civic ideals, histories, and traditions in our understandings of our national identity are worth engaging. Frameworks raising security and economic questions also entail legitimate concerns, yet employed on their own they serve to distort and eclipse fundamental features of the whole picture. Fear of difference is relatively easy to mass market and shapes society’s imagination in powerful ways. Encounters with reluctant or desperate migrants signal significant dissonance between these exclusionary frameworks and the inhumane impact of recent rhetoric and measures alike. Tucson’s Bishop Gerald Kicanas lamented that during the attorney general’s visit to Nogales, Sessions neglected to hear border narratives of immigrants fleeing impossible situations, risking dangerous border crossings “in search of protection and a new life.”⁴¹ At his border mass in Ciudad Juárez, Pope Francis bade listeners to measure the impact of forced migration not in numbers or statistics but with concrete names and stories, evoking a counter-narrative to those dominating the airwaves:

They are the brothers and sisters of those expelled by poverty and violence, by drug trafficking and criminal organizations. Being faced with so many legal vacuums, they get caught up in a web that ensnares and always destroys the poorest. Not only do they suffer poverty but they must also endure these forms of violence. Injustice is radicalized in the young; they are “cannon fodder,” persecuted and threatened when they try to flee the spiral of violence and the hell of drugs, not to mention the tragic predicament of the many women whose lives have been unjustly taken.⁴²

38. Schildkraut, “Boundaries of American Identity,” 455.

39. Schildkraut, “Boundaries of American Identity,” 448. See also Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-first Century: Public Opinion in the Age of Immigration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

40. Miri Song, “The Changing Configuration of Migration and Race,” in *The Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, ed. Steven J. Gold and Stephanie J. Nawyn (London: Routledge, 2012), 169–79 at 171–72, 174.

41. Bishop Gerald F. Kicanas, “Bishop Kicanas: Attorney General Sessions Heard Only Part of the Story,” *Arizona Daily Star*, April 20, 2017, http://tucson.com/news/opinion/column/guest/bishop-kicanas-attorney-general-sessions-heard-only-part-of-the/article_01d3e24d-b8a7-5af1-9a76-fd4ee5dcac19.html.

42. Francis, “No Border Can Stop Us from Being One Family,” *Vatican Radio*, February 18, 2016, http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2016/02/18/pope_francis_%E2%80%98no_border_can_stop_us_from_being_one_family%E2%80%99/1209507.

Attentiveness to such experiences can help unmask operative narratives. Probing the complex realities behind deceptive sound bites also expands consideration beyond individuals who cross borders to consider the global contexts that compel migration.

Structural Contexts and the Demands of Relational Justice

Trump's restrictionist measures and rhetoric do not convey a sense of the complex roles historical relationships, transnational politics, and economic globalization play in contemporary migration. Understanding immigration as "individual actions of emigrants," wherein individuals are the primary site for enforcement and responsibility, has become increasingly incompatible with transnational politics and economics.⁴³ Developments in social sciences and migration ethics help reorient analyses away from stopgap efforts and toward contextual assessments of what patterns of migration reveal and demand. Understanding the geopolitical structures and systems that generate and sustain migration impact culpability and warranted responses alike.

Typically, established communities and migrants are "bound together by history, politics and economics even before the act of migration bridges the distance of geography."⁴⁴ Dynamics of employer recruitment, for example, tend to be shaped by prior bonds impacted by colonialism, military invasions, or economic ties. Saskia Sassen also highlights the increasing significance of today's "multiplying global imaginaries, which are partly a function of Western economic and media dominance and have their own way of constructing bridges."⁴⁵ In the case of the United States, the renewal of mass migration in the 1960s ensued amid its expanded economic and military activity in Asia and the Caribbean and its critical role in the development of a world economic system. Both helped create conditions that mobilized people into migrations as well as the formation of unintended bridges to the United States. Sassen argues these patterns indicate that measures thought to deter emigration from developing countries, such as foreign investment or the promotion of export-oriented growth, "seem to have had precisely the opposite effect, at least in the short and middle run."⁴⁶ Miguel De La Torre emphasizes the ongoing legacy

43. Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 6–8.

44. Silas W. Allard, "Who Am I? Who Are You? Who are We? Law, Religion, and Approaches to an Ethic of Migration," *Journal of Law and Religion* 30 (2015): 320–34 at 325, <https://doi.org/10.1017/jlr.2015.6>.

45. Saskia Sassen, "The Making of Migrations," in *Living With(out) Borders: Catholic Theological Ethics on the Migrations of Peoples*, ed. Agnes Brazal and María Teresa Dávila (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2016), 11–22 at 12.

46. Sassen, "The Making of Migrations," 13. See also Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

of nineteenth- and twentieth-century US foreign policy, expansionism, and neoliberal economic strategies—with attendant narratives—in generating migration flows from Latin America.⁴⁷ Writing about the European context, Marianne Heimbach-Steins notes colonial structures shaped not only long-term international political and economic relationships that have inhibited equal participation, but also culturalist patterns and ideologies of domination that continue to influence migrants' exclusion and power asymmetries.⁴⁸

Sassen's latest research links deeper dynamics of debt servicing and extraction to new migratory flows.⁴⁹ She argues that given "predatory" forms of advanced capitalism, opaque transnational networks, and a global governance system geared to aiding corporations, migration is far more complex an issue than one concerning nationalism versus globalism.⁵⁰ Concerned with emergent migrations, she traces how such factors have expelled communities from their habitats: in the case of Central American minors entering the United States, she probes root causes behind proximate violence broadly construed, to rapidly escalating urban gang activity due to the destruction of small-holder rural economies resulting from land grabs and mining. Luis Jesús Paz Acosta recently lamented that to be young in El Salvador today is nearly a death sentence.⁵¹ Getting to the roots of such violence—without simply blaming corrupt police and criminalizing traffickers, or keeping gang violence "local" without interrogating its transnational dimensions and origins—traces systemic flows to their source. She links other emergent patterns of displacement (such as the Rohingyas fleeing Myanmar and migration toward Europe originating in several Middle Eastern and African countries, but also forms of mass incarceration and the warehousing of able-bodied unemployed persons in ghettos and slums) in terms of thoroughgoing "expulsions."⁵²

Systemic approaches to recontextualizing migration(s) illuminate the shortcomings not only of reductive protectionist responses but also more receptive responses to immigrants that prioritize hospitality over structural justice or remain narrow in moral

47. Miguel De La Torre, *The U.S. Immigration Crisis: Toward an Ethics of Place* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2016), 151–52. He personally reflects, "I am in this country following my sugar, tobacco and rum" (158).

48. Marianne Heimbach-Steins, "Migration in a Post-colonial World," in Collier and Strain, *Religious and Ethical Perspectives on Migration*, 87–107 at 87, 93.

49. Saskia Sassen, "Three Emergent Migrations: An Epochal Change," *SUR File on Migration and Human Rights* 13 (2016): 29–41, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2838267.

50. Sassen, "A Massive Loss of Habitat: New Drivers for Migration," *Sociology of Development* 2 (2016): 204–23 at 211, <https://doi.org/10.1525/sod.2016.2.2.204>.

51. Luis Jesús Paz Acosta, "El Problema de las Pandillas en El Salvador," in *Hacia una Ética de Participación y Esperanza*, ed. Emilce Cuda (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2017), 105–18.

52. Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

concern.⁵³ Tisha Rajendra's work effectively critiques Catholic social thought's over-reliance on neoclassical migration theory and attendant "supply side cures," indicating how migration systems theory more accurately reflects a social anthropology and the macrostructures that directly impact migration patterns (quasi-colonialism, labor recruitment) alongside mesostructures (social networks).⁵⁴ She forwards the importance of relational justice for overcoming tendencies to misdiagnose migration tensions as residing between migrants' freedom and political communities' self-determination alone.⁵⁵ She develops an ethic of responsibility that integrates universal norms with contextual, relational realities to counter the weaknesses of reigning theories of justice with respect to their abilities to respond to the particular relationships that drive migration.⁵⁶ Hence systemic perspectives also signal the inadequacy of certain categories of analysis themselves.⁵⁷

Whereas communitarian and cosmopolitan models tend to focus on rights to movement and reception alone, categories like justice-in-relation, the global common good, or restorative justice contextualize the individual acts of migrants and underscore social dimensions of justice and sinful complicity alike. Relational frameworks rightly signal it is not merely those who overstay visas or unscrupulous employers who bear responsibility for an undocumented presence; they orient analyses toward root causes of displacement and shared accountability. Several authors have generated criteria to help communities negotiate relative duties to migrants. Applying the Kew Gardens principles and elements of the just war tradition, David Hollenbach offers norms that help account for histories of relationship and complicity.⁵⁸ Expanding criteria

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53. De La Torre argues that the virtue of hospitality "masks the complicity caused by the consequences of empire building . . . it would historically be more accurate to speak about the responsibility of restitution." De La Torre, *The U.S. Immigration Crisis*, 159. See also his *Trails of Hope and Terror: Testimonies on Immigration* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2009), 9–14.
54. Tisha Rajendra, "Justice Not Benevolence: Catholic Social Thought, Migration Theory, and the Rights of Migrants," *Political Theology* 15 (2014): 290–306, <https://doi.org/10.1179/1462317x13z.00000000007>; and Rajendra, *Migrants and Citizens: Justice and Responsibility in the Ethics of Immigration* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017), chap. 4.
55. Rajendra, "The Rational Agent or the Relational Agent: Moving from Freedom to Justice in Migration Systems Ethics," *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 18 (2014): 355–69, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10677-014-9522-z>.
56. Rajendra, *Migrants and Citizens*. William Barbieri reconsiders questions of justice in how communities' boundaries are constructed and how they are susceptible to human agency proposing an account of "constitutive justice." Barbieri, *Constitutive Justice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
57. See, e.g., Alexander Betts's proposal of the term "survival migration" to characterize new forms of displacement that do not fit current legal categories for refugees in *Survival Migration: Failed Governments and the Crisis of Displacement* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).
58. David Hollenbach, "Borders and Duties to the Displaced: Ethical Perspectives on the Refugee Protection System," *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 4 (2016): 148–65 at 153, <https://doi.org/10.14240/jmhs.v4i3.66>.

of intellectual or psychological proximity to need to include “moral proximity,” he suggests countries that have gained economically from their colonies or with histories of military involvement in another nation “have special obligations to people in flight from that nation.”⁵⁹ Beyond particular duties to refugees from wars in Vietnam and Iraq, Hollenbach notes benefits gained by the United States through its dominant role in nations like Guatemala, Haiti, and the Philippines also lead to particular duties to those countries: such duties “include making significant contributions to the development of these countries and admitting migrants in ways that will benefit both the migrants and those remaining in their home countries.”⁶⁰ Existing economic relationships also confer relative duties for Hollenbach, indicating that guest workers who “contribute through their work to the life and well-being of the society they have entered” should be welcomed as citizens.⁶¹

In terms of familial relationships, Victor Carmona’s retrieval of Aquinas’s order of charity for determining a nation’s duties to immigrant families offers another application of relational justice to migration ethics.⁶² Carmona proposes that Congress grant priority to regularizing undocumented Mexican immigrants who belong to mixed-status families “out of a sense of beneficence toward the US citizens who love them.”⁶³ Drawing upon the priority Aquinas grants to kin’s claims, Carmona argues that the mixed-status relationships that developed as a result of US recruitment of undocumented labor and the nation’s “back door preference system” make regularization claims on the commonweal.⁶⁴ Beyond general duties of justice, he draws attention to violations of “the particular duties that Americans and undocumented immigrants from Mexico owe each other as husbands and wives, parents and children, and employers and employees,” undermined by Congress’s “impartial, nationally blind admission policy.”⁶⁵ The Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) program might have offered a mode of honoring these relational duties. Hence migration occurs within relationships—historical, geopolitical, familial—that issue responsibilities. Dominant theories and policies too often bypass or obscure these dimensions of relational justice.

Confronting Underlying Idolatries: Social Sin and Immigration

Beyond identifying structural forces demanding relational justice, probing the migration question entails interrogating more ideological dimensions of social sin that

59. Hollenbach, “Borders and Duties to the Displaced,” 160.

60. David Hollenbach, “A Future Beyond Borders: Re-imagining the Nation State and the Church,” in Brazal and Dávila, *Living With(out) Borders*, 223–35 at 232–33.

61. Hollenbach, “A Future Beyond Borders,” 232.

62. Victor Carmona, “Theologizing Immigration,” in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Latino/a Theology*, ed. Orlando Espín (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 365–85.

63. Carmona, “Theologizing Immigration,” 377.

64. Carmona, “Theologizing Immigration,” 379–80.

65. Carmona, “Theologizing Immigration,” 380–81.

harden resistance to newcomers. Another mode of misdirection propagated by the new administration has been its effort to undercut a Catholic normative position on immigration. Former White House Chief Strategist Steve Bannon publicly criticized the US bishops' defense of immigrant rights as mere economic self-interest in the face of declining members, distinguishing the immigration issue from "matters of doctrine" to undermine the authority of their opposition to the administration's measures.⁶⁶ Such charges reveal ongoing efforts to "drive a wedge in the Catholic church, keeping white Catholics who voted for Trump afraid and politically mobilized, while squelching the power of an emerging generation of Latino Catholics who threaten his end game."⁶⁷

By contrast, the long-standing doctrinal body of migration teaching protects the rights to remain and to migrate. Rooted in biblical injunctions to welcome the stranger, its robust human rights tradition, and concern for global solidarity, the Catholic social tradition "recognizes that the wellbeing of the person is tied to both the good of the bounded community and a prior recognition of a meaningful global citizenship through membership of the universal human family."⁶⁸ In sharp contrast to dominant discourse, sovereignty and hospitality are understood in the tradition to be mutually implicating: legitimate sovereignty must be exercised in reference to the universal destination of created goods and a "requirement to regulate borders according to basic conditions of social justice."⁶⁹ In various encyclicals, Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI widened analyses of migration to treat deeper roots of displacement such as food security, global inequality, and governance.⁷⁰

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66. Speaking on CBS' "60 Minutes," Bannon noted, "But immigration policy is not about doctrine. It's about the sovereignty of a nation. And in that regard, they're just another guy with an opinion." Steve Bannon, "Steve Bannon Says Catholic Church has 'Economic Interest' in 'Unlimited Illegal Immigration,'" interview by Charlie Rose, *60 Minutes*, September 10, 2017, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/steve-bannon-on-trump-daca-decision-60-minutes/>.
67. John Gehring, "Steve Bannon Tries to Drive a Wedge in the Church: Amateur Theologian, Shrewd Strategist," *Commonweal*, September 8, 2017, <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/bannon-tries-drive-wedge-church>.
68. Anna Rowlands, "After Lesvos and Lampedusa: The European 'Crisis' and its Challenge to Catholic Social Thought," *Journal of Catholic Social Thought* 14 (2017): 63–85 at 71–72, <https://doi.org/10.5840/jcathsoc20171416>.
69. Rowlands, "After Lesvos and Lampedusa."
70. See, e.g., Pope John Paul II's discussion of isolationism, imperialism, neocolonialism, the arms trade, and harmful forms of economic development that prevent pursuit of an international common good protective of people on the move in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (December 30, 1987) 22, http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_30121987_sollicitudo-rei-socialis.html; his discussion of food security and violent conflict threatening rights to remain in his "Migration with a View to Peace," (message, 2004 World Migration Day); and Pope Benedict XVI's treatment of global inequalities and underdevelopment in relation to migration in his "One Human Family" (message, World Day of Migrants and Refugees, September 27, 2010), https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/messages/migration/documents/hf_ben-xvi_mes_20100927_world-migrants-day.html.

Pope Francis's gestures of solidarity with migrants have been central to his papacy, from his repentance in the "graveyard of wrecks" of Lampedusa to his lived example returning from Lesbos with refugee families. His theological and pastoral emphases are well suited to addressing systemic and ideological barriers to justice for immigrants: he underscores structures of injustice that treat migrants like pawns on a chessboard and repentance from harmful idolatries with a re-cognition of our fundamental relatedness in light of the harm borders wreak. On Lampedusa he lamented the pervasive idolatry that facilitates migrants' deaths and robs us of the ability to weep, a theme he revisited in Manila and then Juárez, insisting "only eyes cleansed by tears can see clearly."⁷¹ Amid his admission that even he remains "disoriented," he did not merely condemn "the world" for this indifference and its consequences, but repented: "Forgive us Lord!" whether for being closed in on our own well-being in a way that leads to anesthesia of the heart, or making global decisions creating situations that lead to these tragedies.⁷² Hence, as Anna Rowlands puts it, Francis juxtaposes the "disorientation of the settled in relation to the orientation of the displaced," grounding the disorientation "not only in a classic account of the Fall, but also in the particular conditions of late modernity," such as cultures of well-being that insulate and breed indifference.⁷³ Isolation from immigrants' realities allows citizens to commodify, politicize, scapegoat, or ignore them.

Intersections of structural injustice with harmful ideologies have also concerned Pope Francis with respect to the global economy. In *Evangelii Gaudium* he warns that our "economy of exclusion and inequality kills."⁷⁴ Idolatries focused on having over being impede solidarity with immigrants as much as nationalistic ones. Not only harmful structures and practices but certain attendant ideological currents of neoliberal globalization—fatalistic understandings of the "price of progress" or "Market Fundamentalism"—configure coordinates for what becomes normal or conceivable.⁷⁵ The tendency within and beyond US culture to understand the freedom of the markets as a categorical imperative rather than instrumental good⁷⁶ can contribute to the "expulsions" traced above. Pope Francis connects this logic of exclusion based on materialism to perceptions and treatment of migrants as disposable.⁷⁷

71. Francis, "No Border Can Stop Us from Being One Family."

72. "Pope on Lampedusa: 'The.... Indifference,'" The Globalization of Indifference," *Vatican Radio*, July 8, 2013, http://en.radiovaticana.va/storico/2013/07/08/pope_on_lampedusa_the_globalization_of_indifference/en1-708541.

73. Rowlands, "After Lesvos and Lampedusa," 74.

74. Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium* (November 24, 2013), 54, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html.

75. Timothy Jarvis Gorringer, "Invoking: Globalization and Power," in *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Ethics*, ed. Stanley Hauerwas and Samuel Wells (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 346–59 at 353.

76. Robert W. McElroy, "Market Assumptions: Pope Francis' Challenge to Income Inequality," *America*, November 3, 2014, <https://www.americamagazine.org/issue/market-assumptions>.

77. Jorge E. Castillo Guerra, "'A Church without Boundaries': A New Ecclesial Identity Emerging from a Mission of Welcome. Reflections on the Social Magisterium of Pope Francis as Related to Migration," *Journal of Catholic Social Thought* 14 (2017): 43–61 at 51, <https://doi.org/10.5840/jcathsoc20171415>.

Idolatries of security and invulnerability also facilitate susceptibility to exclusionary temptations. Roberto Goizueta's reflections on how fear and self-loathing cause individuals to avoid the wounds of others illuminates the depth and lure of such dynamics. He notes we construct identities, institutions, and belief systems to shield us from the "terrifying truth" that our lives are ultimately not in our control.⁷⁸ Susanna Snyder's work has shown how an isolating ecology of fear conditions responses to migration "crises" in virtually every world capital, illuminating the dynamic via strands in the biblical tradition rooted in ecologies of fear and of faith.⁷⁹ An idolatry of security and culture of comfort conspire to desensitize and to estrange those settled from those driven from home.

Given the nonvoluntary dimensions of social sin, Christian migration ethics entails not only negotiating relative duties of reception, but also addressing more diffuse and complex structures and ideologies that abet complicity in injustice and apathy. Whether in forms of fear-mongering narratives, cultural superiority, or profiteering, social inducements to personal sin in the immigration context abound. Portraying immigration through a lens of individual culpability alone obscures these multileveled, subtle dynamics at play.⁸⁰

Civic Friendship and Political Justice

Given the reach of exclusionary global dynamics and these isolating, insulating temptations of civic life heightened in times of flux, migration ethics will need to treat not only the implications of political and economic structural shifts, but also attend to shaping attitudes and tutoring affections to negotiate shifting identities. Jonathan Haidt's insights about the moral challenges spurring anti-globalist movements as well as about the role nonrational factors play in the apprehension and pursuit of goods more broadly alert us to the importance of cultivating civic friendship and healing broken communities.⁸¹ Religious practices, narratives, and symbols hold potential to (re)shape believers' moral imagination and counter the collective delusion that we are not responsible. The *mitzvah* of loving the stranger, the Christian counternarrative of subversive hospitality, and the Buddhist teaching of "interdependent co-arising,"

78. Roberto Goizueta, "To the Poor, the Sick, and the Suffering," in *Vatican II: A Universal Call to Holiness*, ed. Anthony Ciorra and Michael W. Higgins (New York: Paulist, 2012), 62–79 at 73.

79. Susanna Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 85–87, chap. 7. See also Jorge Castillo Guerra, "A Church without Boundaries," 49–50.

80. See Kristin Heyer, "Radical Solidarity: Migration as a Challenge for Contemporary Christian Ethics," *Journal of Catholic Social Thought* 14 (2017): 87–104 at 90–91, <https://doi.org/10.5840/jcathsoc20171417>; Heyer, "Social Sin and Immigration: Good Fences Make Good Neighbors," *Theological Studies* 71 (2010): 410–36, <https://doi.org/10.1177/004056391007100207>.

81. Jonathan Haidt, "When and Why Nationalism Beats Globalism," *American Interest*, July 10, 2016, <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/07/10/when-and-why-nationalism-beats-globalism/>; Haidt, *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion* (New York: Vintage, 2012).

meaningfully challenge outlooks shaped by economic functionalism or xenophobic resistance.⁸² The work of many Latinx theologians charts a path away from harmful frontier myths and forward toward an ethics of encounter and accompaniment.⁸³ Some religious institutions have embodied commitments via offering sanctuary and education to undocumented immigrants.⁸⁴ Cultivating empathy and civic virtue will require we resist “the pervasive distortions that cloud our moral imagination,”⁸⁵ re-contextualize migrations, and draw near to the realities of immigrant communities marked by vitality and precarious vulnerability alike.

Trump’s migration rhetoric and policies are of a piece with a “growing tendency to replace collaboration for the international common good with pursuit of an illusory understanding of national self-interest,” due to cultural backlash against unfamiliar intrusions or responses to economic suffering.⁸⁶ Beyond manipulative narratives, senses of real and perceived loss—and accompanying grief and resentment—foster receptivity to exclusionary rhetoric and measures. Addressing not only nativism and debasing rhetoric, but also deeply seated fears perhaps complicates the path forward. Ah Noorani captures the unexpected nature of the challenge immigrant activists faced in recent legislative battles: most waged a political battle, attempting to change minds with data, and neglected to appreciate that the country was having a cultural debate about identity and values.⁸⁷ Given the deepening tribalization of partisanship and

82. Moses L. Pava, “Loving the Stranger and Moral Myopia at Agriprocessors,” in Collier and Strain, *Religious and Ethical Perspectives on Global Migration*, 131–47 at 135; Christine Pohl, *Making Room: Recovering Hospitality as a Christian Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) Charles L. Strain, “The Migrant, My Mother: Buddhist Ethical Perspectives on Migration,” in Collier and Strain, *Religious and Ethical Perspectives on Global Migration*, 185–208.

83. Roberto Goizueta, *Christ Our Companion: Toward a Theological Aesthetics of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009).

84. For example, Loyola University Chicago’s Strich School of Medicine became the first medical school in the United States to openly welcome applications from DACA recipients in view of its values affirming universal human dignity and social justice. In its 2018–2020 classes Strich has 28 students currently enrolled in the DACA program, among more than 100 DACA students matriculated across the university’s various schools. See Mark Kuczewski and Sunny Nakae, “Universities Seek DACA Recipient Strategies: Support, Advocacy for Medical Students,” *Health Progress*, July–August 2017, <https://www.chausa.org/publications/health-progress/article/july-august-2017/universities-seek-daca-recipient-strategies>. For a discussion of broader outreach to undocumented students across the network of Jesuit colleges and universities, see Terry-Ann Jones and Laura Nichols, eds., *Undocumented and in College: Students and Institutions in a Climate of National Hostility* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017).

85. Charles Strain, “No More Deaths: Border Enforcement and Moral Devolution,” in Collier and Strain, *Religious and Ethical Perspectives on Global Migration*, 273–96 at 282.

86. David Hollenbach, “The Glory of God and the Global Common Good: Solidarity in a Turbulent World,” *CTSA Proceedings* 72 (2017): 51–60 at 51–52, <https://ejournals.bc.edu/ojs/index.php/ctsa/article/view/10093/8749>.

87. Noorani, *There Goes the Neighborhood*, 23–25.

segmented social media feeds, the need to rebuild public trust and a shared sense of community cannot be underestimated or bypassed.⁸⁸

Understanding immigration dynamics as related to unjust international political and economic divides also requires nations to share accountability in the wake of the Westphalian model's "partial eclipse" and to convert from opportunistic patterns of interdependence. Migrant deaths in the Arizona desert and Mediterranean alike make poignantly clear the stakes of nations failing to understand themselves as collectively responsible for these shared challenges. Given the systemic culpability emphasized herein, some have proposed an "instability tax" be levied upon private and governmental entities that destabilize migrant and refugee-producing regions—whether hedge funds profiting off of commodity-trading in African minerals or weapons manufacturers profiting from selling arms to the Middle East, or multinationals who profit from degrading or destabilizing poor nations.⁸⁹ Structural analyses suggest that US migration policy should consider its economic and political complicity in generating migrant flows rather than prioritize merit-based points systems or perpetuate amnesic scapegoating. A retreat from shortsighted and enforcement-only approaches should entail policy steps toward offering undocumented immigrants a viable path to citizenship (with a "clean" DACA reinstatement in the interim, if needed); adjustments of visa caps to reflect actual labor needs; continued recognition of family relationships; unlinking health, education, and public safety from immigration status;⁹⁰ expansion of refugee caps; reform of judicial review and discretion in removal practices; extension of Temporary Protected Status where home country conditions warrant; the establishment of responsive immigration integration measures;⁹¹ and meaningful global financial reform.

Expedient political rhetoric masks wider complicity, abets human rights violations, and betrays the nation's founding principles. The deportation and deportation-by-attribution efforts the new administration champions may be only beginning to unfold. Immigrants themselves "announce an important moral message," witnessing both to imbalances and abuses and to transformative possibilities worthy of the unity of the human family.⁹² Pope Francis's preference for bridges over walls and unwavering attention to ideologies that inhibit kinship offer a way forward.

88. Noorani, *There Goes the Neighborhood*, 235.

89. Ian Almond, "The Migrant Crisis: Time for an Instability Tax?" *Political Theology Today* (blog), September 22, 2015, <http://www.politicaltheology.com/blog/the-migrant-crisis-time-for-an-instability-tax/>.

90. Mark G. Kuczewski, "Here's What We are Supposed to Believe about Immigration as Catholics," *America*, September 29, 2017, <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2017/09/29/heres-what-we-are-supposed-believe-about-immigration-catholics>.

91. Els de Graauw and Irene Bloemraad, "Working Together: Building Successful Policy and Program Partnerships for Immigrant Integration," *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 5 (2017): 105–23, <https://doi.org/10.14240/jmhs.v5i1.76>.

92. Silvano Maria Tomasi, "Migration as a Challenge to the Catholic Church," *Journal of Catholic Social Thought* 14 (2017): 29–41 at 41, <https://doi.org/10.5840/jcathsoc20171414>.

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