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Introduction

The year before the presidential elections has been filled with programs which are targeted to promote the sitting president's evaluation. The political development of 2019 seems to follow this pattern. A boost in the ratings can be achieved via two diametrically opposite tools: promoting the benefits to the supporters or damaging the interests of the opposing groups. Previous presidents often relied on the former approach by increasing certain economic benefits for their core groups, but also increased those for a wider range of people so as to reach for a potential circle of support. Under the current administration, the latter approach has been taken, with the most vulnerable in the society being targeted by the President's attacks to the pleasure of his supporters.

When we shift our focus to the corresponding state-level political developments though, we realize that the current situation is not simply the product of the character of the current President, but rather is deeply rooted in the historical development of ideological formation. Challenging the early 20th-century realignment of parties under the Roosevelt Coalition, the Republican Party tried to recruit ideologically synchronized white Southerners to their own party through its Southern Strategy in the 1970s. At the federal level, it was not until the mid-1990s that Republican Party could establish control by

constituting a majority status of the House, which in turn accelerated the conversion of Southern conservatives into the Republican column.

Such shifts in national electoral composition influenced the power balance of federal-state relations over time, which then influenced the transformation of the political landscape in the individual states. Since the state governments, either the legislature or the governors, possess the power of redistricting, including the federal level districts, the change of the party in power from the Democrats to the Republicans turned an increasing number of districts into safe Republican districts at the cost of the Democrats, and *vice versa*. Moreover, starting around the turn of the 21st century, polarization rather than integration of political ideology became the trend at both federal and state levels. It is not by chance then, that 22 state governments are currently under solid Republican control as opposed to only 14 states under solid Democratic control. This new reality of party division at a state level is accelerating the impact of the divisive messages put forth by President Trump.

While stable Republican control at the state level continues to dominate the national political landscape, there exist considerable concentrations of liberals in urban areas, thus constituting liberal cities. This phenomenon of internal ideological enclaves constitutes the second set of dividing lines along the geographical-turned-ideological features. It is in this division that conservative state governments started to strategically use preemption against the municipalities with a high concentration of minorities and tried to stop the implementation of liberal policies by city governments, including the policy area of immigrant welfare, which is the main focus of this article.

Having pointed out such worsening geographical/ideological polarization and the dominance of white conservatism against the encircled minority at a state level, though, it is important to mention that there are actors who are working to integrate the different positions in the local communities. In the last section, let us shed some light on such activities supported by the local government and civil society members and discuss how the idea of integration, in place of segregation, provides the answer to the current political polarization.

1. DIVERSITY AMONG/INSIDE STATES

a. Changes of Federalism over Time

As the United States had started its independence as a confederacy with wide-ranged sovereignty preserved at the state level, even after it changed into a federal system, the policy areas under exclusive state jurisdiction still include a wide spectrum of matters compared to those regional rights typically granted under centralized nations. What is more, the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution was added aiming at limiting federal jurisdiction while reserving those powers not specifically granted to the federal government to the states. Specifically, the amendment maintains state control through the

language of delegation and prohibition. The Constitution also stopped short of controlling the internal affairs of each state, except for requiring the form of the state government to be republican (Article 4, Section 4).

Looking back at the actual development of federal-state relations, however, the balance between the two levels of government has never been static. For most of the early days in the nation's history, the territory of the United States expanded to cover the continent via the addition of new states, while the federal government restricted its exercise of power to the so-called "night-watchman" style. At this stage, it was not only the understanding of the original federalism but also the practical lack of resources that had kept the federal government from exercising a wider power.

The field of immigration control also fell under this category of passive exercise of federal power until the late 19th century. As the origins of immigrants expanded and their number increased, the local governments with ports of entries were faced with the burden of managing the uncontrolled landing of foreign persons. Despite the fact that immigration control was outside of state/local jurisdiction, they found it prudent to take certain actions in order to protect the safety of the local residents. Once states or municipalities started to make laws and policies to control immigrants, however, the federal government reacted by denying such local movements based on Constitutional arguments and launched more active policies in immigration control, replacing the local initiatives (see Kitagawa Oturu 2019, 39).

The turn of the century was also the time for the federal government to expand its jurisdiction into the areas not enumerated in the Constitution, by utilizing the "necessary and proper" clause of Article One, Section 8. As the settlers reached the West coast, thus covering the expanse of the entire continent, nation-wide systems of transportation and various markets were built. Such infrastructure finally integrated the states into one nation in practice, not just by name. The creation of a direct tax system through the addition of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution also provided the federal government with the financial support required for its desired wider exercise of power for the first time in history since its inception.

Besides substantializing institutional and financial elements, there were several incidents which brought about turning points in the history of the United States government which resulted in a much stronger federalism. One of such points corresponds with the Great Depression and the federal responses to this. Under the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, the power of the federal government was significantly expanded, both in terms of programs and institutions. Programs aimed at supporting the hard-hit nation were funded by federal appropriation, launching a so-called "big government" period which continued until the late 20th century.

The big government policies under the Democrats aimed to promote the welfare of the people, especially those at the periphery of society, and the states were integrated into this federal project as responsible players. It was such expansion of federal involvement in the

welfare of people that triggered the challenge from conservative states that regarded such policies as federal intrusion into their autonomous jurisdiction.

Besides such challenges, the federal government was also burdened with the big government responsibilities, which, with the advent of the Vietnam War, created a budget deficit. The worsening deficit problem led the Congress to cut funds for many domestic programs, but the mandates for states to implement the programs continued to be written into law without federal appropriation; the so-called unfunded mandates.

When the Republicans regained control of Congress in the mid-1990s, the congressional majority handed over the responsibility to fulfill the programmatic mandates to the states by introducing the block grant system. Under the block grant system, each state can set its own priorities in implementing the programs, thus allowing states to regain power over their own programs. The block grant system, however, had a possibly negative side as well. Even when the economy took a downturn and the states needed to provide more financial support for their residents, unlike the itemized grant system, no additional budget could be expected from the federal government.

As shown above, the relationship between the federal and state level politics has shifted constantly, with positive and negative impacts on both sides of the power sharing. The general trend has been set by the controlling party at each level of the government, with an increasing number of states under Republican control in recent decades (See Figure 1).
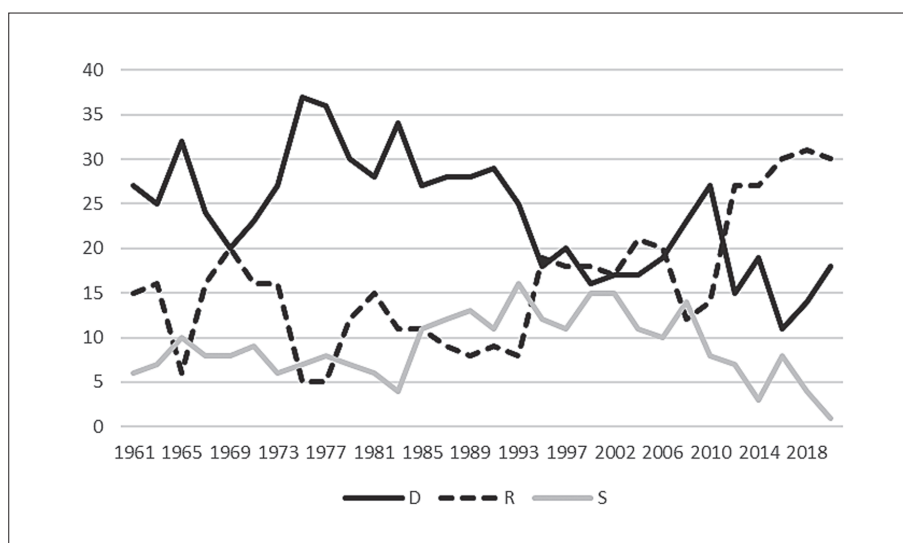

Figure 1. Party Control of State Legislatures

Source: National Conference of State Legislature, at http://www.ncsl.org/research/about-state-legislatures/partisan-composition.aspx (last accessed 2019/08/20).

b. Changes Inside of the States

As the historical political development above indicates, the characteristic division of the federal and state jurisdictions can be traced back to the way the United States of America was created as a nation in the 18th century. Such historical distance original states created from the federal government was shared among those states which were created years after the founding of the nation.

When we shift our focus from the federal-state relations to the ones among actors inside of state politics, we notice another combination of actors requiring closer examination, especially under the current situation. As we have seen, the Constitution only stipulates the power and autonomy of the state, and thus each state is left to set its own internal political institutions, the so-called Dillon's Rule. According to this rule, municipalities can only possess powers which are explicitly granted, necessarily implied or incident to the powers expressly granted, those absolutely essential to declared objects and purposes, or if the fair doubt against the power is resolved by the courts (See Merriam *v.* Moody's Executors, 25 Iowa 170 (1868)).

The National League of Cities compiled data which shows that 32 states employ Dillon's Rule, eight states employ it for certain municipalities, and one state, Florida, employs it only in the area of taxing authority, while 10 states employ home rule instead (NLC n.d.). Under Dillon's Rule, the power relations between the state government and municipalities within the state are set in such a way that the range of autonomous rulemaking by the municipalities is quite limited. Even the municipalities under the home rule do not enjoy full autonomy (Dean 1976).

Beside Dillon's Rule, states are increasingly utilizing preemption to control the policies adopted by municipalities (Dupuis, Langan, McFarland, Panettieri, and Rainwater 2018). This was partly caused by inaction at the federal level due to partisanship, which delayed the creation of necessary nation-wide policies, especially in the field of immigration. In the absence of necessary policies, an increasing number of cities started developing progressive policies, which in turn triggered state preemptions. Those preemption laws currently observed prohibit local governments from making liberal laws and regulation in order to protect their minority population (Riverstone-Newell, 2017).

Restrictions placed on the municipalities' rule-making by the states weighs more heavily on the policy areas relevant to minorities, including immigrants. Immigrants tend to settle in urban areas as opposed to rural areas, especially in places where their compatriots reside, or cultural diversity exists. Municipalities which receive an influx of people are responsible for their residents' welfare, irrespective of nationality or legal status. If the host societies have been regularly absorbing multicultural populations over time, their reaction to immigrants tends to be more welcoming than those of political units which are mostly comprised of non-immigrants.

Assembly members at the state level are mostly from non-urban areas, and as the trends in Figure 1 show, an increasing number of them are turning Republican and

therefore less supportive of minority's rights. Such state-level politicians are actively overturning municipalities' efforts to reflect their minority residents' interests by way of Dillon's rule and preemption. What is more, as federal decision-making stagnated due to partisanship, the focus of policy confrontation subsequently shifted from the federal level to the state level, putting more pressure on the decision-making by urban municipalities.

It is this division of roles between the state and local governments that lies beneath the current political struggle over controversial issues, including immigration policies. As undocumented people are some of the most vulnerable in society, their treatment provides the clearest example of the structure and result of state-municipality power relations.

c. Polarization as a New Challenge

Even under a divisive political situation, if the ideological stances of the different levels of the governments are consistent inside the state, the resulting effects of partisanship may remain uncontroversial. For example, the historical background of the United States development made certain states more Republican or Democratic, thus electing majority Republican or majority Democratic legislatures along with co-partisan governors over time. However, a different trend started to be observed at the end of the 20th century, where the historical Democratic dominance rooted in the time of the Great Depression shifted toward Republicans, especially in the south and mid-west. There, liberal municipalities were increasingly under attack by the conservative state government, and not *vice versa*.

While the state/local shift emerged but remained unnoticed, an obvious shift toward a polarized political situation was seen at the federal level. One typical example was found in the Senate which, as the result of the year 2000 elections, was evenly divided between the Democrats and the Republicans, inviting the Vice President to cast the decisive final vote. The lock up in the Senate essentially ended when Senator Jim Jeffords, who was a Republican, left the party and caucused with Democrats, but politics at the federal level have continued to suffer from an extreme partisan divide and still lack the spirit of bipartisanship to this day.

In the background of this federal-level struggle is the constant spread of partisanship at the state/local level of politics. Given the different length of terms of the upper and lower houses, the partisan division falls under three patterns; both houses are under either one party or the other or a bipartisan power sharing situation exists. In addition to that, the governor as the final participant to the legislative process also joins this partisan confrontation, making it a triangular confrontation rather than a one-on-one opposition.

The following table shows how the power shift among the three parties at state level corresponds with the national political trend. The election of President Obama, with an African background combined with his liberal policy stance, ignited the opposing movement, which adopted the name of the ancient movement against British colonial rule that started the Revolutionary War, i.e. the Boston Tea Party. The spread of the Tea Party

Movement caused the loss of Democratic majority in the House in the mid-term election in 2010, a severe loss for the president. The same result was found among the state legislatures, giving 18 gains in the three-party combination for Republicans at the cost of only three. The second mid-term elections under the Obama administration in 2014 caused the loss of the Senate majority for Democrats at the federal level. At the state level, the three-party combination further shifted toward the Republicans, with 10 more gains at the cost of two losses. Altogether, during the eight years of the Obama administration, the collective state political climate clearly shifted toward Republican dominance with 34 gains at the cost of 11 losses. The Democrats faced the reverse case.

Especially troubling is the change in the power sharing structure among the three key actors, namely the upper and lower houses and the governorship. The number of states with shared power, in which compromise is required to move forward, declined from 23 states to 19 states, while the number of one-party dominances of both houses of legislature as well as the governorship increased from 26 states to 30 during the Obama presidency. The most conspicuous change of all was the increase of states under Republican dominance from 9 to 23.

Table 1. Shift of Party Control of State Government

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Alabama	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Alaska	S	S	S	S	R	R	S	S	S	R
Arizona	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Arkansas	D	D	D	D	S	S	R	R	R	R
California	S	S	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Colorado	D	D	S	S	D	D	S	S	S	D
Connecticut	S	S	D	D	D	D	D	D	S	D
Delaware	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Florida	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Georgia	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Hawaii	S	S	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Idaho	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Illinois	D	D	D	D	D	D	S	S	S	D
Indiana	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Iowa	D	D	S	S	S	S	S	S	R	R
Kansas	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	S
Kentucky	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	R	R
Louisiana	S	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	S	S
Maine	D	D	R	R	S	S	S	S	S	D
Maryland	D	D	D	D	D	D	S	S	S	S
Massachusetts	D	D	D	D	D	D	S	S	S	S
Michigan	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	S

Minnesota	S	S	S	S	D	D	S	S	S	S
Mississippi	S	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Missouri	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	R	R
Montana	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Nebraska	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nevada	S	S	S	S	S	S	R	R	S	D
New Hampshire	D	D	S	S	S	S	S	S	R	S
New Jersey	D	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	D
New Mexico	D	D	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	D
New York	D	D	S	S	D	D	S	S	D	D
North Carolina	D	D	S	S	R	R	R	R	S	S
North Dakota	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Ohio	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Oklahoma	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Oregon	D	D	S	S	D	D	D	D	D	D
Pennsylvania	S	S	R	R	R	R	S	S	S	S
Rhode Island	S	S	S	S	S	D	D	D	D	D
South Carolina	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
South Dakota	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Tennessee	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Texas	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Utah	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Vermont	S	S	D	D	D	D	D	D	S	S
Virginia	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Washington	D	D	D	D	D	D	S	S	D	D
West Virginia	D	D	D	D	D	D	S	S	S	R
Wisconsin	D	D	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	S
Wyoming	S	S	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

Note: darker shade—Republican gain, lighter shade—Democratic gain

Source: Compiled by the author based on National Conference of State Legislature data at http://www.ncsl.org/research/about-state-legislatures/partisan-composition.aspx (last accessed 2019/08/20).

While federal-state relations showed ebbs and flows over time, the constant shift of state governments in a conservative direction caused the state resistance against the liberal federal policies under the Obama administration. As the positions have now reversed under the Trump administration, it is time for liberal states and municipalities to stand against the conservative federal policy stance. In either case, though, an increasing power of Republicans at the state level has put the progressive municipalities continuously on the defensive.

2. MULTICULTURALIZATION OF HOST SOCIETIES

a. Factors Accelerating Multicultural Composition

The United States, a nation of immigrants, tends to show a relatively high geographical mobility among the population compared with other nations. Many people take it for granted that they move in search of good education opportunities or better work/living conditions during their lifetime. Others with deep roots in a certain community tend to stay where they were born and have grown up, without venturing too far from their hometown. The more diverse the community is, the more likely it attracts a greater flow of newcomers, most likely immigrants. Some members of a stable community, on the other hand, may not welcome newcomers among themselves.

Such geographical polarization, i.e. those constituting white, conservative, non-urban areas versus those constituting non-white, liberal, urban areas, was added to the traditional factors of socio-economic status that explain the different political stances people come to take. The life experiences of Americans, thus, are becoming quite polarized. On one side you have those who have never heard life stories different from theirs, and on the other, those who constantly encounter people of various backgrounds and are accustomed to such diversity. Globalization accelerated the latter life experiences among the urban population, while the former remains more defensive when faced with the same developments.

What seemed like a constant accommodation of American society for globalization, however, quickly changed direction due to the terrorist attack. After the 9-11, safety became the topmost priority of the government, including state and local officials. People had to carry officially-issued identification with them at all times. If stopped by an immigration officer, they had to show official documents to prove their lawful residence in the United States. Those who failed to do so could be detained and deported.

Most Americans could acquire such documents with ease. Besides, if you do not look like immigrnts, you were not stopped by immigration officers from the beinning. For many undocumented immigrants, though, such official identification was impossible to obtain. The undocumented had been weakly positioned in the society, but 9-11 worsened the situation, making them not only deprived of the necessities to support their daily lives, but also threatened by heightened attempts of the government to secure their deportation. In order to expand their capacity, immigration officers asked local law enforemnet officers to make agreements for cooperation, even though they are not granted such a role under the constitutional framework.

While local law enforcement's cooperation with Immigration Control was enhanced as a perceived fear that immigrants could be a threat to public safety, such cooperation had been authorized by a federal law in advance of the 9-11 incident. In response to the bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (PL 104-208) authorized such coopeation under

the Clinton administration. This law revised the former statute and added the following section:

> Section 287 (g) (1) … the Attorney General may enter into a written agreement with a State, or any political subdivision of a State, pursuant to which an officer or employee of the State or subdivision, who is determined by the Attorney General to be qualified to perform a function of an immigration officer in relation to the investigation, apprehension, or detention of aliens in the United States (including the transportation of such aliens across State lines to detention centers), may carry out such function at the expense of the State or political subdivision and to the extent consistent with State and local law.

The full implementation of this clause did not take place until after the 9-11 incident. The Department of Homeland Security was also created after the 9-11. Since jails are under the jurisdiction of state governments, in order to re-arrest the undocumented as they get out of the jail, immigration officers needed to be given notice of the release and be present or ask the state government to detain released prisoners even after they had been released from state custody. Such cooperation is based on a memorandum of agreement, with two distinct types of cooperation conducted between them: the Jail Enforcement Model (JEM) and the Warrant Service Officer Model (WSO). As of September 2019, there exist 79 JEM agreements with 21 states and 10 WSO agreements; all in the state of Florida (see ICE, coutinuously updated).

As the time passed after the 9-11 incident, an increasing number of local authorities started to rethink these agreements, with many opting out. The reason for the dissolution of these agreements was quite simple. Local law enforcement officers need to cooperate with local residents in order to perform their public safety duties well. If local residents start fearing the police because they themselves or somebody who happens to be their family member, friend or neighbor is arrested, members of the community might become defensive and refrain from reporting the information on potential crimes to the police.

Tough stances taken by the federal government, such as standardizing the security of driver's licene through the Real ID Act of 2005 (PL 109–13), have also induced local/state government to make proactive policies to support the undocumented. Official identification is not just required for moving around via public transportation, but every aspect of life—regular activities such as renting a house, opening a bank account, entering public offices, and the like require documentation. Moreover, without a legal status, the undocumented cannot obtain a driver's license, in-state tuition, a library card, and so on. Since the federal government did not ban local governments from issuing their own forms of identification, local/state governments started issuing their own identification cards for residents, including the undocumented.

The first city that issued city identification was New Haven, Connecticut in 2007, and its municipal ID was named the Elm City Resident Card. New Haven then had the third

largest Latino population in the state, including a large proportion of undocumented persons. Those without official documents could not open bank accounts to deposit their earnings, thus keeping them in fear of theft at home or on the way from work. The local police were also afraid that residents might avoid reporting crimes, since immigrants without official documents would likely avoid contact with the police (Junta for Progressive Action and Unidad Latina en Accion 2005). It was not just New Haven, but also an increasing number of cities, counties, as well as states joined this movement and tried to support the undocumented immigrants through positive actions. For example, the City and County of San Francisco issued the San Francisco City ID Card in 2009, and Washington, D.C. issued the DC One Card in 2014.

The movement to assist undocumented persons was accelerated as Trump was elected President in the fall of 2016, declaring that he would stop the flow of illegal immigrants and put an end to the DACA program. Many state/local governments disagreed with the new President's stance. Chicago is one of several municipalities that reacted by issuing the Chicago City Key in 2017. The granting of municipal IDs and other positive measures which offer protection of the undocumented are called "pro-sanctuary policies," whereas certain states who take a negative stance toward the undocumented have "anti-sanctuary policies," as shown in Figure 2 below.
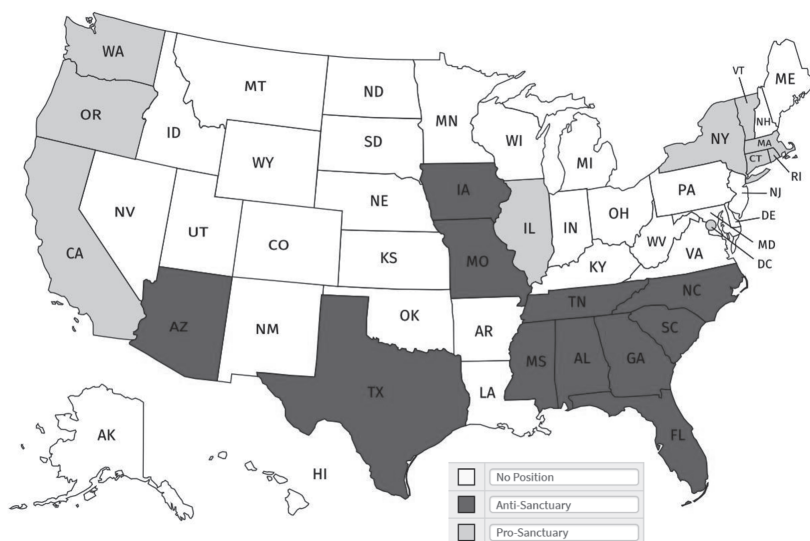

Figure 2. States with Pro/Anti Sanctuary Policies (as of April 2019)

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, at http://www.ncsl.org/research/immigration/sanctuary-policy-faq635991795.aspx (last accessed 2019/09/25).

Note: South Carolina is categorized under Pro-Sanctuary states at NCSL site, but the opposite is shown in CNN site. The author has taken the latter version.

b. Factors Encouraging Resilience

 An increasing number of large cities along with liberal states with a substantial minority population continue to stand against the restrictive moves by the federal government under the leadership of President Trump. At the same time, clear support of his policies to restrict the rights of minorities at the federal level has been seen among the white conservative states as shown above.

 The Tea Party movement explains that it is fighting against a distant power, namely the federal government, which represents an intrusion into the autonomy of the states. This movement is said to have been deliberately mobilized by two conservative activists, the Koch brothers, rather than spontaneously taking place. The nation-wide spread of the movement within the months of Obama's inauguration, however, indicated the existence of a resilient feeling against the liberal policies that had been promoted since the last quarter of the 20th century.

 Symbolic challenges against Obama's proactive liberal federal government programs included strong opposition to the universal health care system and immigration reform. Both constituted important campaign promises which were widely supported among the Democrats. When the former promise was touched on by the Democratic-majority Congress, the above-mentioned conservative waves of the Tea Party Movement spread through the United States. By the time a compromised version of his promise passed both houses and was signed into law as Obama Care (Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, PL111-148), President Obama had used up his political capital. The subsequent loss of a Democratic majority in the House deprived him of the chance to push through his latter promise of immigration reform in Congress.

 While Congress failed in repeated attempts to reform immigration control, the front-line states tried to set their own laws to control the inflow of undocumented immigrants. The State of Arizona, one of such border states, passed a state law in 2010 (S.B. 1070) and started to remove those who appeared to be illegal immigrants, based on their lack of official documents, treating them as criminals (see Kitagawa Otsuru 2015).

 Since this state law, along with similar state laws enacted by Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, and Georgia, undermined federal authority over immigration as well as civil rights law, the Obama administration intervened and brought the issue to the federal court. The case moved up to the Supreme Court, and it found most articles to be unconstitutional and upheld the federal authority but allowed the State of Arizona to continue demanding official documents from persons suspected to be undocumented (*Arizona v. United States*, 567 U.S. 387 (2012)).

 As seen above, during the Obama administration, major confrontation took place between the federal government and conservative state governments. The start of the Trump administration with a clear message against the undocumented immigrants put an end to this liberal federal-conservative state confrontation pattern. Since Trump's election, though, liberal-conservative confrontation has continued within the states, namely the

resistance of liberal municipalities inside conservative states. While the liberal states and municipalities stood against the Trump administration, internal fights within the conservative states increasingly ended with the state regulation overriding the local protest under the name of preemption.

Given the steady move toward protection of liberal rights among the American society since the mid-20th century, the developments under the Trump administration seem to represent a grave setback and thus are given a negative evaluation. This may lead us to an evaluation that the voters who elected him were narrow-minded or internal looking, and responsible for these negative consequences. By broadening the perspective along time and space, however, there seem to exist some other ways to interpret their vote casting.

Those who supported President Trump's attack on the minority population targeted their criticism against the cause of the problem, i.e. policies, rather than the victim of the problem, i.e. minority populations. Moreover, the Trump supporters are not dreaming about the performance of President Trump, but rather have a sound understanding of what he has achieved thus far as President (Cf. Kanari 2019). It is more important to look into the reason why they wanted to use the Trump phenomenon as their cause, even though they are not expecting any solutions coming out of him, when examining the current American society.

3. PROACTIVE DIRECTIONS

a. Fighting against Polarization

Although polarization has been accelerated by the national political leadership and continued by some of the conservative state politics, many cities with large minority populations stand with these minorities and seek to protect their rights, while also attempting to prevent further polarization.

One of the specific attempts, which aims at connecting, rather than dividing different groups of the society, is turning debt into assets. In other words, capacity building should be the targeted policy rather than handing out perpetual assistance. Especially when we look at the situation of the young undocumented, the best solution for both the undocumented and the host community is when undocumented individuals get an education and then a good job, which allows them to pay tax and contribute their share to the society through premiums for health insurance, and social security. In that way, the undocumented youth come closer to their goal, while the society also is supported by their lasting financial and social contributions.

Congress first started considering the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act as early as in 2001, which represents above-mentioned constructive inclusion of the undocumented youth. However, repeated bipartisan efforts failed and no immigration reform, including improved standards for the treatment of undocumented immigrants crossing the border at a young age, has been achieved. In the absence of

federal initiatives, states assumed their roles to initiate the policy efforts. For example, an educational initiative like the Illinois Dream Act (H.B. 60) in 2003 made it possible for undocumented youth to receive in-state tuition at public colleges and universities. Instead of relying on the federal educational budget, the state of Illinois established the Dream Fund, thus granting the undocumented an independent status and financial support to pursue a degree.

Since education is categorized as being under the state jurisdiction, states were able to provide substantial support for the undocumented, but not the lawful status in terms of their presence in the United Sates. When the Obama administration announced Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), and refrained from exercising its immigration control role toward those under this category, the situation changed. It became possible for the Dreamers (those who qualified under DACA) to exercise their right to obtain an education, apply for a driver's license, open a bank account, or receive in-state tuition without the fear of deportation.

Since the financial resources used for the benefit of undocumented youth belong to the state or localities, it is quite logical that as long as the state or local governmet decides to continue to pay for the costs, their policies do not need to cease even if the federal government's deportation policy on undocumented youth was restarted.

Helping the undocumented youth earn the power to support themselves through education results in a better condition for them, but also for the society. By depriving them of the tool of empowerment based on their immigration status only lead them to depend on public assistance, thus burden the society. Given the current discrepancy between the conditions of US-born students and undocumented students, narrowing the gap of financial support is one of the ways to help boost the undocumented population from the bottom up over a prolonged period of time. This is one of the proactive approaches that addresses the issues surrounding the undocumented population.

Another example of proactive programs to promote improvements in the lives of immigrants is "City for Citizenship (C4C)." In 2014, New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio, Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel (till May 2019), and Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti collectively launched this project. By 2019, the number of participating cities and counties increased from three to 86 (Barrett, 2019), supporting those who were eligible to become citizens by providing the necessary resources.

The reason why C4C was launched was due to the fact that about 8.8 million legal permanent residents who are eligible for citizenship had not taken the naturalization step but remained as non-citizens. If a little help is extended to them, they may be able to move through the citizenship acquisition process, the city officials thought. It is not just legal status as a citizen that changes by naturalization. Citizenship also helps boost individual earnings by 8 to 11 % and increases home ownership rates by 6.3 %. Newly turned citizens can improve their economic situation with the help of many benefits that are only available for citizens. According to the Partnership for New Americans, 52 % of

eligible immigrants currently remain low-income status, and by acquiring citizenship, thy can move up and join the mainstream of the society.

In addition to such financial resources and other help from municipalities, civil society organizations are also working on the ground to support the minority population. Since every government runs its program with a limited amount of resources, allocating the budget among a larger number of beneficiaries, including the immigrants or the undocumented, may certainly reduce the share of resources for each. What civil society organizations are tyring to do is to replace such simplistic zero-sum perception with a larger picture. In a long run, inclusion, rather than exclusion, of the immigrant population and subsequent strengthening of their power will bottom them up, resultling in the increase of the total resources.

b. Search for a Middle Ground

Protecting and empowering the weak, as seen above, is one of the ways to balance power relations in a society. As long as each person looks at the society from his/her own viewpoint, and not through others', it is difficult to notice the story of the other. When we look back at the fight along the dividing line of the society during the presidential elections of 2016, and increasingly more after Trump's victory, the society as a whole remains far from finding such a middle ground. A middle ground cannot be reached only by one side moving toward the other, but by both sides moving to some agreeable points. Agreeable points may not be the best for each side, in terms of satisfying their political desires, but are nonetheless within the acceptable range for both sides.

During the elections, both sides fight over the issues important for themselves, and as long as democracy reflects the will of the governed, issue-based voting remains a valid democratic political process. Campaign techniques, however, are fundamentally aimed at emphasizing the differences and attacking the enemy to achieve political gains on one's side. Once the electon is over, though, governing should replace campaining in order for respective sides to reach a middle ground.

Meeting in the middle requires constant efforts by participants on all sides to mutually understand the differences and search for a point agreeable. In that sense, it is the function of civil society actors, including educational actors, that would fit this process the best. Keeping distance from the campaign fighting, civil society actors can provide a longer and more inclusive perspective to the process of solving issues that tend to become the points of contention among various groups.

As is often the case in international law making, where interests of parties do not converge, thus few initiatives are taken, it was NGOs that come in and move the process forward. Such processes, however, should be finalized by national governments in order to become effective. Similarly, in the consecutive building up and establishment of the middle ground by civil society actors, politicians should actively participate to formalize the process. And it is the responsibility of voters to remind the politicians of this

indispensable role.

CONCLUSION—BUILDING A NEW DIALOGUE

"Where you stand depends on where you sit." This often quoted expression from Rufus Edward Miles, Jr. in the mid-20th century still applies to the current American political situation. If you believe multicultural integration of the society to be the goal, the current political direction, both at federal and state levels, must be reversed to make the United States a better place. Alternatively, if you believe that the original composition of the nation should last forever, the current movements of the federal and certain state governments to minimize the right of the minority must be more than welcomed.

As it always is the case with politics, the realistically best answer must lie in between the two poles. Even if you believe in your stance 100-percent, politics still requires you to listen to the different voices and respect such differences.

Having observed the historical and ideological backgrounds of the current situation and attempts made on both sides of the dividing line toward an optimal solution, we may end up with a conclusion that there is no way out of this confrontation. We may agree that the search for the middle ground is the most desired action right now, but the current political environment is pushing the parties in the opposite directions rather than letting them come closer, especially as the United States approaches the next presidential elections.

One of the most recent announcements of a policy change is penalizing those on public charge and excluding those who are on government support from the eligible group for citizenship. It is not just the actual outome of this policy change but the way it was announced threatens the minority population, and discourages them from asking for their legitimate rights in American society.

Less than one year remains until we see whether a positive gear shift takes place in the federal government or another term of polarization continues. Whatever the direction of the politics, the grassroot efforts to connect, instead of dividing the living spaces continues. Such struggles of American civil society to proactivly create the middle ground can make examples to refer for countries like Japan that receive an increasing number of immigrants while little effort is being made toward substantive integration.

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