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The Material and Psychological Effects of Executive Order 13769

MIKAELA G. WALKER
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Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Gregory J. Kruczek, PhD
Assistant Teaching Professor of Political Science and International Affairs
Thesis Supervisor

Michael Berkman
Professor of Political Science
Honors Adviser

* Electronic approvals are on file.

ABSTRACT

After Executive Order 13769 was enacted in 2017, there were many repercussions felt all over the United States and many other countries. For many people from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, travel to the U.S. became quite difficult. This research study explores the physical and psychological impacts of the executive order on Muslim international students through an examination of visas given by country, as well as through personal accounts from Muslim international students and university administrators. The comparison of student visas to immigrant visas demonstrates similar patterns, but it is not until an examination of the monthly breakdown for Muslim majority countries and an evaluation of the refusal rates for student visas that the negative impact can be explicitly seen. These findings illuminate the policy implications of non-traditional security measures and how they impact more than just national security.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Many Americans may not know the origins of U.S. relations with Islam, which dates back to just after the United States declared its independence from Great Britain in July 1776. Indeed, the first nation to formally recognize the United States was a Muslim country: Morocco (U.S. Relations with Morocco, 2020). President Thomas Jefferson held an iftar dinner during Ramadan at the White House in 1805 (Koku and Osman, 2017). Critically, “freedom of religion” is also written into the Constitution. Based on this history, many people would think that the U.S. had very positive relations with its Muslim population. Sadly, this has not been the case. The U.S. history has since been plagued by accusations of discrimination against Muslim-Americans.

Muslims in America have felt the need to assimilate to American culture and identity upon immigrating to the United States. Prominent sociologist, Ibn Khaldun, considers assimilation into a new culture to be damaging because the dominant culture will beat out the other culture trying to fit in, which causes that culture to eventually wear away as they try to assimilate (Bhuiyan, 2017). This effect of assimilation can be seen in many Muslim families that immigrated to the U.S. through families that felt the need to adopt a new religion, new lifestyle, and even a new name at times to become more Americanized. As time went on, Muslims that felt aligned with Americans against the atheist Communists suddenly felt betrayed in the 90s when Americans turned against them as religious terrorism grew (Haddad and Harb, 2014).

Islamophobia and the impact of September 11, 2001 were felt far and wide by Muslim families living in the United States. Muslim scholar and former Georgetown University professor

Yvonne Haddad wrote about the rise of anti-Muslim sentiments after 9/11. For example, civil rights were then called into question due to ‘security concerns’ (Haddad and Harb, 2014).

Haddad even wrote that later on, when Osama bin Laden was finally tracked down and killed, Islamophobia did not go away. Instead, killing bin Laden seemed to “exacerbate” views on Muslims and increase the fear and hatred directed at the Muslim community (2014). One mosque in Louisiana was vandalized following the death of bin Laden, a white man hanging pork from the doors of the mosque, which Muslims do not eat according to their religious customs (Graves, 2011).

On many occasions, politicians and candidates fed this irrational fear and hatred of Muslims in order to gain an advantage with voters. On January 27, 2017, President Donald Trump signed Executive Order 13769 (officially titled “Executive Order Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States”) into law. The Order suspended immigration from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen for 90 days, as well as changed the screening process for visa applications from those countries. Following this executive order, several others were released that amended or added to it. Many visa holders were henceforth affected and were unable to enter the United States, like Dr. Suha Abushamma, who was “an internal medicine resident at the Cleveland Clinic. Although she had an H-1B visa for workers with ‘specialty occupations’, which should allow her to enter, live, and work in the United States, Abushamma was not permitted to enter the country” (Fulwood, 2017). The executive order also put travel for many living in the U.S. at risk, like with Masih Alinejad, an Iranian reporter living in exile in the U.S. for 10 years (Walters et al., 2017). She states that the executive order prevented her from seeing her son, who was studying in the United Kingdom, because to her, “Trump has built a wall between me and my son. We are both in limbo. He

cannot come and see me and nor can I go to the UK to see him” (Walters et al., 2017). People like Abushamma were affected by the executive order, including Muslim international students from the countries impacted. Hearing these stories caused me to want to investigate the stories of Muslim international students further.

The purpose of this study is to examine the effect that Executive Order 13769 had on the visa process for international students. I focus both directly on the number of visas issued and on the mental health and safety effects of Executive Order 13769. In order to look at the number of visas given out to international students, I will examine quantitative data from the U.S. government. In order to examine the psychological effects of the executive order, I will interview international students and ask questions about the visa application process and life as an international student.

This topic is very important for many reasons. First, it is a current and ongoing issue, which means not much is known about how the EO affected the immigrant community from the named countries. The executive order was only enacted in early 2017, so it is very recent. Second, the status of international students continues to be called into question with the Coronavirus, when there was uncertainty if they would be allowed to remain in the United States if in-person classes were not held. Even in the early days of the Biden Administration, there are talks of reversing Executive Order 13769, but not for all the countries. As the position of Muslim immigrants hangs in a delicate balance in the current America, this topic is more crucial than ever to investigate. Third, since the events on September 11, 2001, relations between the United States and the Muslim community have been tense. Moreover, US reports a rise in hate crimes, as well as a rise in white nationalism. Finally, many of the physical and psychological effects felt by international students come directly as a result of Executive Order 13769 and the later

editions of the order, making the impacts affected by the immigration policy put in place. By pursuing a study specifically centered around Muslim international students and their immigration to the United States post-Executive Order 13769, I demonstrate non-traditional security measures in immigration and highlight unintended impacts from security decisions.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Leading up to President Trump's election and inauguration, he pledged that he would be restricting immigration into the United States. This included plans for a border wall along the U.S.-Mexico border to stopping foreign terrorists from entering the country. Only one week into office, President Trump signed Executive Order 13769. This executive order is titled *Executive Order Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States*, which was enacted to keep terrorists out of the U.S., is a recent order that went into effect in 2017. The effects of the executive order were felt by many people, including ordinary civilians that were innocently caught up in the aftermath. Since the executive order was only passed in the last three years, not much has been done to examine the effects of that specific executive order. That being said, research has been done on the rhetoric of the current administration, as well as other impacts of immigration policy in general. Several sources have examined the immediate effects of this executive order. For example, many who were attempting to reenter the U.S. in order to work in high-skilled jobs were unable to reenter the country (Fulwood, 2017). Those unable to reenter faced detention and had trouble obtaining legal representation (Lewin, 2017). By gaining a better understanding of the impacts of restrictive immigration policy, the effects of the executive order can be properly examined and compared to the stated goal of protecting the nation from foreign terrorists.

By examining the literature previously done on restrictive immigration policies and the rhetoric of the Trump administration, I am able to understand the potential unintended consequences that can come from restrictive immigration. While the original intent of Executive Order 13769 was to protect the nation from foreign terrorists, it is possible that other unintended

effects occurred, thus impacting other groups, such as Muslim international students. My goal is to study any potential unintentional consequences of the executive order relating to the health and safety of Muslim international students in addition to any physical effects felt on immigration.

Policy Implications

There can also be direct policy implications based on the immigration policies put in place. Once one policy is enacted, many more typically follow, and even more get changed to reflect the newest additions. Regarding the executive order, some new policies like “extreme vetting” and “identity verification” would then need to be put in place, which creates logistical issues and confusion (Panduranga et al., 2017). The new policy implemented can also impact policy down the road. Especially in the legal world, immigration policy changes have significant policy implications immediately and in the future. Because of the severity of the topic within policy, immigration law would dramatically change with any significant immigration policy implementations, which was especially seen following the enactment of the executive order (Wadhia, 2018). This demonstration of the significance that immigration policy has on overall policy implications by the researchers indicates the importance of evaluating immigration policy as a whole and not only the immediate effects.

Mental Health Effects

The rhetoric used surrounding immigration is important to understand in the context of mental health because the perceptions of policies can be affected and can cause an emotional

reaction. The mental health of students in general has become a more common topic of discussion and research in recent years, but the mental health of international students specifically is something that not much research has been done on. However, one study examined how Muslim international students especially have difficulty adjusting when studying abroad because not only does their nationality differ from most other students, their religion is also an adjustment to most (Chen et al., 2019). The mental health of students and children could also be observed through the education system after the 2016 Presidential Election campaign, which affected them in school (Costello, 2016). The rhetoric demonstrates how perceptions, even if incorrect, can have a significant effect on mental health. An example of the rhetoric came from then-candidate Trump when he called for a “‘total and complete’ ban on Muslims entering the United States, barring followers of the world’s fastest-growing religion because he considers the faith rooted in hatred and violence” (Johnson and Weigel, 2015). Their findings emphasized how fear became a prevalent reaction to hearing the negative rhetoric surrounding immigration and religion, specifically Islam. Researchers have demonstrated the importance of considering an individual’s perceptions of immigration policy and how those perceptions might affect their mental health, even if those perceptions are incorrect.

One consequence of immigration policies can be the effect on the mental health of those involved or targeted in the policies. Many studies dedicated to the health of immigrants, specifically undocumented immigrants, find that mental health issues are correlated with immigration policies in place (Martinez et al., 2015). The direct causes are debated, from the conditions immigrants are placed under to the opinions and views of others in the area, if not in issues not relating to immigration itself. Thus, Martinez et al. (2015) observe mental health

issues present with both poor conditions the immigrants were in and in locations with anti-immigration policies in place as opposed to “sanctuary cities”.

Safety and Security Effects

The security of individuals affected by immigration policy is important to understand because livelihoods can be at stake. Job security, as well as educational security, are just two examples that were highlighted with the enactment of the executive order (Redden, 2017). Often the suddenness of immigration policies catches affected individuals off guard and unprepared for the immediate repercussions. Even the more long-term effects can impact an individual’s security if it changes their planning and future (Johnson, 2017). Research has demonstrated the importance of an individual’s safety and security regarding immigration policy, even if those feelings are based on the individual’s perceptions.

Relating to mental health effects, immigration policy can impact the feelings of safety and security among those involved or targeted in the policies. The feeling of safety and security can also involve peoples’ perceptions, even if incorrect. The investigation of how religion addresses immigration, specifically with refugees, demonstrates how perceptions can differ. Social media posts involving two different “sides” of religion reveal that both parties focus on protecting “human lives”, but approach the idea from different views (Farrington, 2017). These differing perceptions, while both focusing on the same idea, can be argued as complete opposites, making perceptions important to how policy is received.

The physical safety of international students is also threatened by seemingly targeting one specific religion. Especially with Muslim women that veil, which is a common Islamic practice,

that means that individuals can more easily recognize that someone is of a certain religion. This ability to quickly identify someone as a minority religion can also make them an easy target for hate crimes, which is another risk international Muslim students face (Spalek, 2002). The physical safety and security of Muslim international students can be called into question when it comes to the risk of hate crimes.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Approach

Hypotheses

The purpose of this study is to examine the material and psychological effects that Executive Order 13769 (the E.O. that limited immigration from listed countries) had on Muslim international students. My goal is to shed light on the unintended effects from the executive order that impacted the targeted countries and non-targeted countries. My independent variable is Executive Order 13769 and the later editions of the order, while my dependent variables are the material and psychological effects. I break these dependent variables by including the success of applications through the rejection rate, as well as the number of visas given out as the material effects. The psychological effects include the feelings and attitudes of Muslim international students when it comes to comfort and safety.

My hypotheses are:

H_{1A}: Muslim international students were more likely than were other international students to have difficulty with the visa application process.

H_{1B}: The difficulty faced by Muslim international students was likely to be greater after the E.O. than before it.

For H₁: the executive order most likely made the visa application process more difficult for Muslim international students from the listed countries, I aim to understand how the executive order created unintended material and psychological consequences for Muslim international students attempting to obtain a student visa for studying in the United States. While the goal of the executive order was to “prevent infiltration by foreign terrorists” (“Executive

Order 13769”), my theory is that Muslim international students were unfairly caught up in the blanket restrictions put in place. Many Muslims from the seven countries were stopped at the border when trying to enter the United States, some even returning as visa holders. Even though those visa holders had gone through the visa application process and successfully received a U.S. visa, the Executive Order still prevented them from entering. The Executive Order, which was aimed at preventing foreign terrorists from entering the United States, seemingly was directed at any citizen of the seven countries, not just suspected terrorists. Because of this, many innocent people were caught up in the aftermath of the executive order, one group being international students.

H₂: International students were more likely to have their visa application turned down after the executive order was enacted than before.

For H₂: international students were more likely to have their visa application turned down after the executive order was enacted than before, I aim to understand how the executive order limited the ability of international students to obtain a U.S. student visa and how it had previously been easier to obtain one before the executive order was in effect. My theory is that if the number of visas issued went down, it would be due to more visa applications being refused, not fewer applications being sent.

H₃: Muslim international students were more likely than were other international students to have psychological stress and feelings of unsafety relating to the visa process and the aftermath of the Executive Order.

For H₃: Muslim international students were more likely than were other international students to have psychological stress and feelings of unsafety related to the visa process and the aftermath of the Executive Order, I aim to understand how the immigration policy and

subsequent visa application process affected the mental health of Muslim international students.

As demonstrated in the literature, restrictive immigration policies can correlate to mental health concerns, as well as concerns over the immigrant's safety and security. My theory is that if the visa application process became more difficult and the attitudes surrounding the restrictive immigration policy were negative towards immigrants, Muslim international students faced more psychological stress than other international students.

I aim to explain how Muslim international students were affected by the executive order and evaluate the material and psychological impacts felt specifically by Muslim international students from the countries listed in the executive order, as well as international students from Muslim majority countries as a whole.

In order to outline my conceptual model, I must first define several terms for clarification. Executive Order 13769 "suspended for 90 days the entry of certain aliens from seven countries...that had already been identified as presenting heightened concerns about terrorism and travel to the United States" ("Executive Order Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States", 2017).

Executive Order 13769 was the first executive order implemented that restricted immigration for individuals from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. Additional executive orders and proclamations that also restricted immigration came later, including Executive Order 13780 and Proclamation 9645. I would define the listed countries as the seven that were initially listed in Executive Order 13769, not including any that followed in subsequent executive orders. These countries include Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen.

When examining the hypotheses, I define the visa application process as the process an international student goes through to obtain an F-1 Student Visa from the U.S. Department of State. This process includes completing the online visa application, which is the DS-160 form, paying an application fee, and successfully completing a visa interview (“Student Visa”). The DS-160 form is typically the same for all countries, although the order of steps may vary by embassy or consulate. The application fee is \$160 and depending on the applicant’s nationality, they may also have to pay an issuance fee (“Student Visa”).

The applicant must first schedule a visa interview in order to complete their visa application process. The wait times can range from “same day” to “emergency appointments only”, or even “temporarily closed” (“Student Visa”). Some countries do not have an embassy listed, like Iran, and applicants must go through another embassy to schedule a visa interview, but must “be aware that it may be more difficult to qualify for a visa outside of the country where [they] live” (“Student Visa”).

Prior to the visa interview, the applicant must gather and bring documentation, such as their passport, DS-160 confirmation page, application fee receipt, photo, and “certificate of eligibility for nonimmigrant (F-1) student status-for academic and language students, form I-20 or certificate of eligibility for nonimmigrant (M-1) student status for vocational students, form I-20” (“Student Visa”). More documentation may be required by the consular officer, which could include evidence of the applicant’s academic preparation, intent to depart the U.S. after completing the program, or ability to pay educational, living, and travel expenses (“Student Visa”). Evidence of academic preparation might include transcripts or standardized test scores. The visa application process is successful and completed when digital fingerprint scans are taken, and the applicant’s visa and passport are returned. Finally, I will define “psychological

stress” as demonstrated mental health concerns, as well as concern over the student’s safety and security, including but not limited to educational security, job security, food security, and physical safety.

Justification

The justification for conducting this research study is to examine an effect from the executive order that no one has looked at before. Since the executive order was enacted in early 2017, the timeline is still fairly new and would be something good to investigate now. Understanding unintentional effects from the executive order would possibly allow for a change in foreign policy to account for more unintended consequences. The topic of international students and their ability to come to the U.S. to study is very relevant because Executive Order 13769 was only enacted in the past few years. Even in 2020, international students were potentially at risk for not being able to study in the U.S. because of COVID-19 restrictions. The social climate of the U.S. and arguably the world is very different because people are calling for racial and social justice more and more. In addition, ever since 9/11, there have been tensions between the U.S. and the Muslim community. During the Obama Administration, attempts were made to repair the damaged relations. However, during the Trump administration, there have been opportunities missed to continue strengthening the relationship. Instead, we have seen an increase in anti-Muslim sentiments, and it has appeared that Muslims are considered enemies to some.

Chapter 4

Background

Upon release of Executive Order 13769 in January 2017, Trump administration officials explained the reasoning behind the block on immigration to the United States. Part of the reasoning that was cited was the San Bernardino terrorist attack that occurred in 2015. However, neither of the two terrorists involved in the attack would have been impacted by Executive Order 13769, as one was a U.S. citizen and the other was from Saudi Arabia, a country not listed in the order (Jones, 2017). This example of an inaccurate justification of the executive order demonstrates that the order was not intended to prevent terrorists from entering the United States. If it were, using the San Bernardino example, Saudi Arabia would have been included in the listed countries, as well as mentions of U.S. citizens committing acts of terror.

Similarly, the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001 were also mentioned to argue for the executive order to prevent immigration from certain countries. However, none of the hijackers were from any of the seven countries listed in the executive order. Fifteen were from Saudi Arabia, two were from the United Arab Emirates, while Lebanon and Egypt had one each (Friedman, 2017). Once again, if the previous terrorist attacks truly played a role in deciding which countries to include in the executive order, many different countries would have been selected instead.

The argument that Executive Order 13769 is “protecting the nation from foreign terrorist entry into the United States” is misleading (“Executive Order Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States”, 2017). While it may be preventing foreigners from entering the United States, the greater threat of terrorism seems to be coming from within.

Another important thing to note is that a staggering majority of terrorist attacks in the United States are actually carried out by U.S. citizens. According to a report done by New America, 83% of all terrorist attacks have been committed by U.S. citizens or permanent residents (Bergen et al.). Arguably, U.S. citizens seem to be more of a threat to commit terrorist attacks than any immigrants or visitors from other countries.

On January 27, 2017, President Donald Trump signed Executive Order 13769, which banned foreign travelers from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen from entering the United States for 90 days, as well as suspended refugees coming from Syria indefinitely and all other refugees for 120 days (“Timeline of the Muslim Ban”). Many courts struck down the ban, which was then followed by Executive Order 13780 in an attempt to continue to push more restrictive immigration policy.

Executive Order 13780 was the adaptation of the original executive order with several changes, including removing Iraq from the countries listed, as well as removing the Syrian refugee suspension and exempting certain visa groups if they were already active (“Why President Trump’s New Executive Order Is Still a Refugee and Muslim Ban”, 2017). Courts once again struck down this executive order, which caused President Trump to issue Proclamation 9645 for Executive Order 13780, which added North Korea to the list of affected countries, as well as Venezuelan government officials working within Venezuelan intelligence (“Timeline of the Muslim Ban”). Even though the proclamation added two countries that did not have a majority Muslim population, the number of individuals affected were far greater for those from Muslim majority countries since the amount of visas issued to North Koreans and Venezuelan government workers has always been small. While many courts ruled to block the

third version of the travel ban, the U.S. Supreme Court eventually upheld the third version and announced their decision in late June 2018 (“Timeline of the Muslim Ban”).

Even though there were later executive orders and proclamations that went into effect, the focus on the first executive order was intentional. Executive Order 13769 went into effect with hardly any warning, which created chaos at airports across the country, confusion for government workers, and worry for countless Muslim Americans and international students. Executive Order 13769 also included the most groups, including international students, refugees, and more groups. While future executive orders and proclamations would make changes that would eventually lead to the third version being upheld in the U.S. Supreme Court, the damage was already done to include all of those groups in the initial decree.

Chapter 5

Data and Analysis

Methodology

The research study examines both quantitative and qualitative data in order to understand the material effects that would be demonstrated in the quantitative data, as well as the psychological effects that would be demonstrated in the qualitative data. The quantitative data was found through the U.S. Department of State website as the department releases monthly and yearly reports on the number of visas given out. I examined data collected about immigrant and non-immigrant visas.

The qualitative data was collected from January to March 2021 in the form of surveys and interviews. Subjects who completed the survey were international students found through contacting various clubs and organizations at Penn State University. The organizations contacted were chosen through the club's connection to the countries involved in the executive order or Islam. I then used a partial snowball sample by encouraging organizations and individual subjects to send the survey to anyone they knew that might be interested in participating. All subjects who completed the survey did so voluntarily and were able to opt out of answering any question at any time. The survey responses that were collected were completely anonymous.

Before any questions were asked, a project description, as well as the IRB protocol was stated so that informed consent would be given. The survey then started out by asking questions about the subject's nationality, as well as travel to the U.S. before they became an international student (see Appendix B). The questions then led to asking about the visa application process, as

well as how the subject felt as a current international student in the United States. The survey ended with questions about the subject's knowledge and opinions of Executive Order 13769, as well as their religious affiliation. Some questions had choices listed, while others had a short answer option.

The university administrators I contacted for an interview were selected based on their position within the university and their proximity to working with international students. I also utilized a partial snowball sample to get in contact with other individuals working with international students at the university. Before any questions were asked, I would read through a brief project description, as well as the IRB protocols so that informed consent would be obtained. The interviews then began by asking about the subject's background and how they started working at Penn State (see Appendix C). The questions then continued into their role while working with international students, then ended by asking about their experience working with international students after Executive Order 13769 was enacted.

There were several limitations of this research study, most involving the data used. First, the quantitative data used were collected and published by the U.S. Department of State. Because the Department of State issues visas from embassies, the department is considered to be a primary source for the data, as they log the numbers of visas given out themselves. There were several issues with how the data was categorized in relation to how I used the data for my research study. The visa refusal data was only available for non-immigrant visas, which meant I was unable to demonstrate a comparison of adjusted refusal rates between non-immigrant and immigrant visas. The visa refusal data was also only categorized by the type of visa that had been applied for and did not break down the data by country, therefore I was unable to separate the refusal rate data for Muslim majority countries, as well as the countries listed in the executive

order. While I was still able to reach conclusions about the data and the effect Executive Order 13769 had on Muslim international students, being able to compare more specific data would have made for a stronger conclusion.

In addition, the Department of State collects and publishes visa data monthly, however the end result changes by the time the department releases its report for the fiscal year. While the department acknowledges that the data is subject to change, when the final report is released that includes numbers from the entire year, the data is not separated by month, making the preliminary monthly data the most accurate when finding the differences between months. The department suggests not to total the data up from the monthly numbers in order to combat people getting the wrong understanding of the data, which is why I used the final reports to compare the visa data totals and only used the monthly numbers to illustrate the effects felt from the subsequent executive orders and proclamation.

Lag time in the effect of the executive order also limited the data because it is nearly impossible to know the exact time it took for the effects of the executive order to take place. For example, after Executive Order 13769 was released, chaos immediately ensued at airports around the country as travelers and workers were unsure of what to do in response. In contrast, the drop in visas given out that occurred well after the third edition was enacted also had a lag time compared to when the Supreme Court announced its decision to uphold the travel ban. While I attempted to account for the possible lag time for the effects to take hold, the exact time was unclear due to the lack of specific data available by the Department of State.

There were also limitations in the qualitative survey data collected. Only eight international students responded to the survey and none were able or willing to sit for an interview where questions could be elaborated on. The original method I intended to use was a

full analysis of the qualitative data, but instead I had to use the qualitative information I collected and found from other secondary sources to support the quantitative data collected by the Department of State. The qualitative data were able to illustrate the real-life impacts on international students from the executive order when compared to the quantitative data, but a full qualitative analysis would have been more impactful.

The data and information made available by universities also limited the ability to conduct much analysis. For example, the university did not release any detailed data on the countries that international students come from, instead just reporting the top ten countries. I attempted to obtain a full report that included the number of students from which countries, but I was not able to get it from the university.

Quantitative Analysis

In order to evaluate the physical impact of Executive Order 13769 and the subsequent editions had on Muslim international students, I had to analyze the immigration data from the U.S. Department of State, specifically focused on F-1 visas and data from Muslim majority countries.

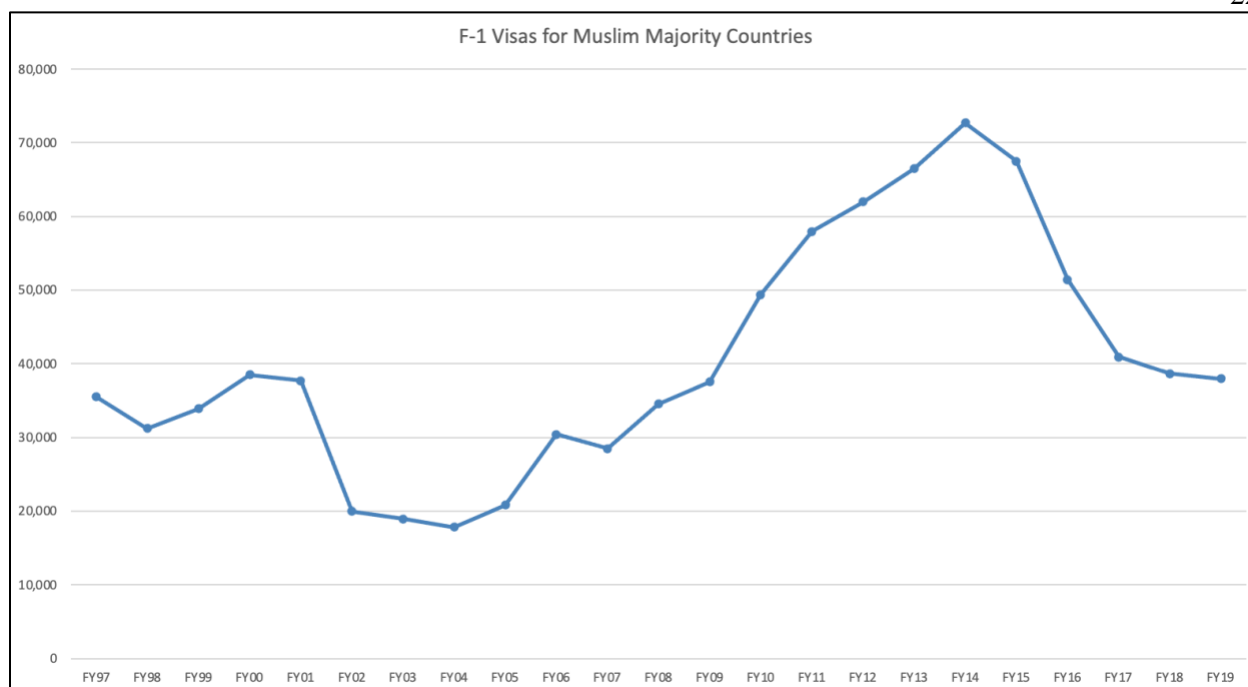


Figure 2. F-1 Visas for Muslim Majority Countries

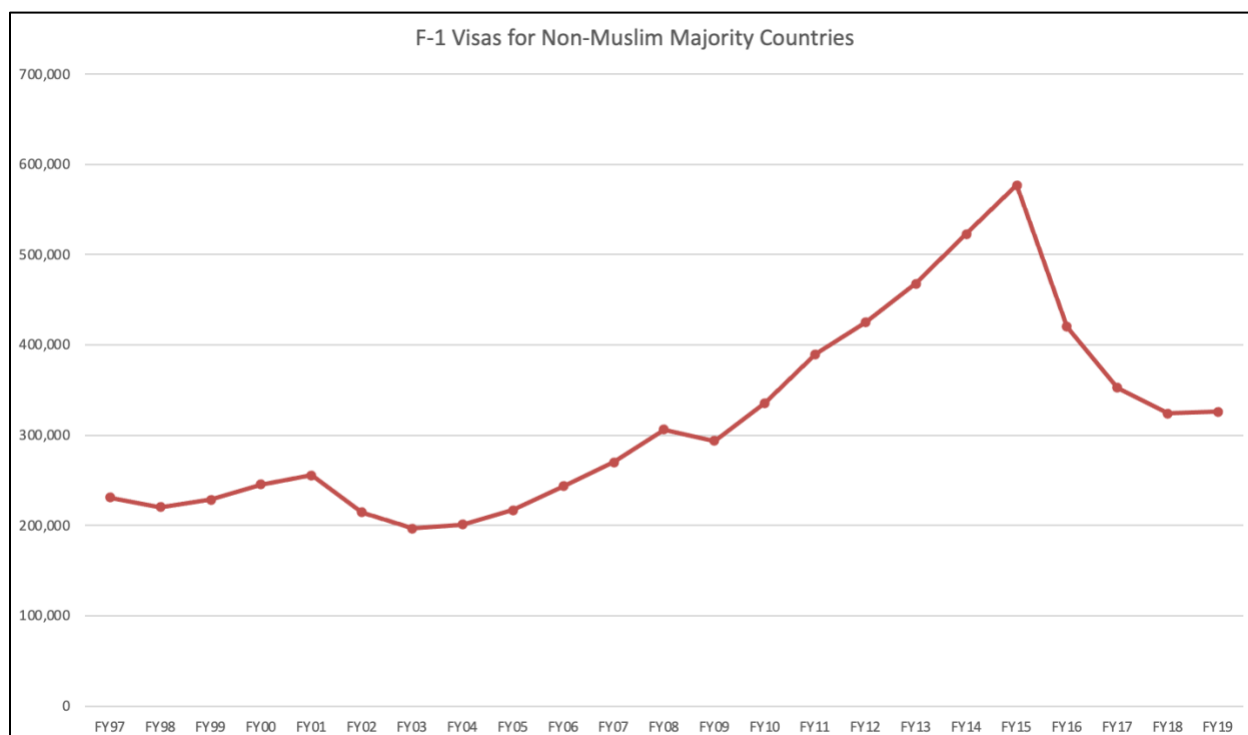


Figure 1. F-1 Visas for Non-Muslim Majority Countries

When focusing on the F-1 student non-immigrant visa, the trends between Muslim majority countries and non-Muslim majority countries seem similar, but differ when it comes to the peak number of visas given out. As seen in Fig. 1 and Fig. 2, both saw an increase until their peaks in FY14 and FY15 respectively, where Muslim majority countries saw a dramatic drop since FY15 to the lowest point in FY19, which is to the end of the data illustrated. The number of visas given out for Muslim majority countries peaked at 72,728, which was then followed by the drop up until 2019 with 37,959 visas given out. This difference in yearly visa distribution demonstrates how the number of visas given out have decreased significantly in the last five years.

As for non-Muslim majority countries, there was a dramatic drop to FY16, followed by a gradual decrease to FY18 before a small increase in FY19. These trends are similar to that of Muslim majority countries because both graphs illustrate a large change between the fiscal year of 2015 to the fiscal year of 2016. That being said, the number of visas given out to non-Muslim majority countries peaked in 2015 with 576,734 visas given out. Over the next few years, that number drops all the way to 324,238. While these numbers are significantly larger than those of Muslim majority countries, there are many more non-Muslim majority countries in the world, which means there are significantly more visas to be given out.

The initial Executive Order 13769 was enacted on January 27, 2017, which occurs in the first half of the 2017 fiscal year. The second edition of the executive order was put into effect only two months later, while the third edition was issued at the end of the fiscal year of 2017. The data highlight a drop in visas given out the year before the executive order was enacted, followed by a continued decrease. The data for F-1 visas can be compared to the data for immigrant visas, which demonstrate similar trends. The differences in graphs between Muslim

majority and non-Muslim majority countries also demonstrate that the number of visas for non-Muslim majority countries is beginning to increase again. While it is too early to determine if the number will continue to increase over the years, it does demonstrate a quicker recovery for non-Muslim majority countries than Muslim majority countries. That being said, only a broad yearly examination of the number of F-1 visas given out is not enough to completely analyze the effects of Executive Order 13769.

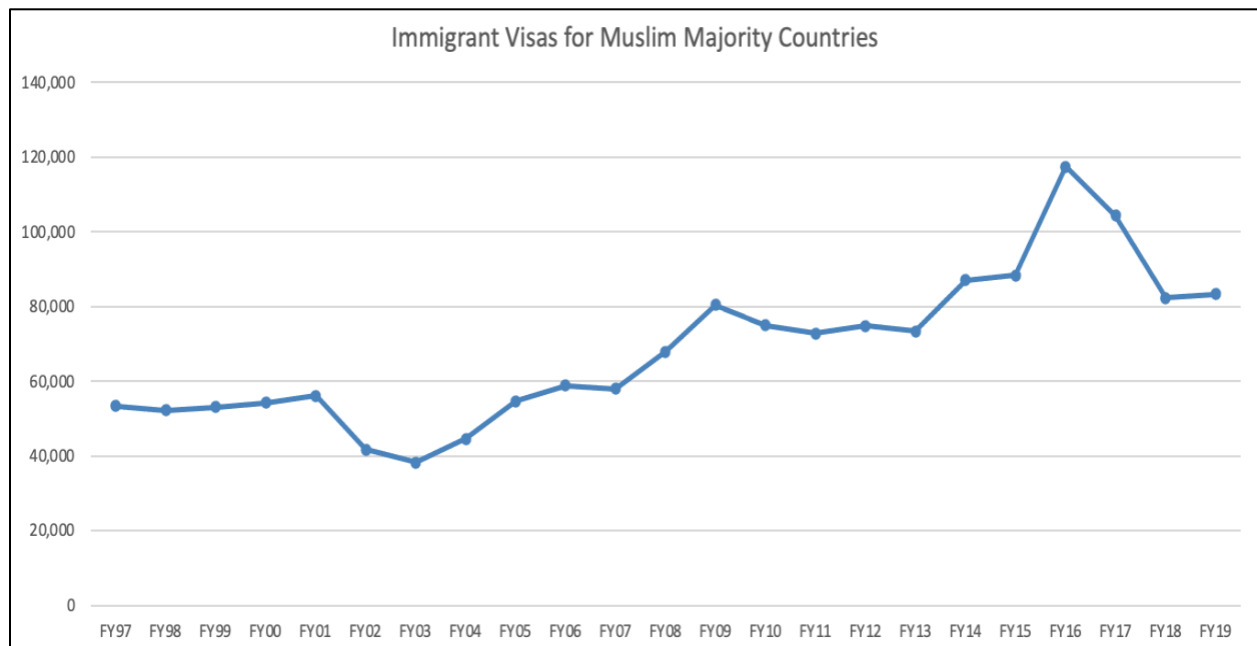


Figure 3. Immigrant Visas for Muslim Majority Countries

According to Figure 3, immigrant visas for Muslim majority countries as a group saw a gradual increase since 2003 with a few ups and downs, ending with a peak in 2016 of 117,444 immigrant visas given out. There was then a sharp drop to FY18, with a small recovery in FY19. The trend for non-Muslim majority countries was similar, but slightly different. As illustrated in Figure 4, non-Muslim majority countries saw a small increase in visas given out, but with many ups and downs before reaching the peak in FY16. Following the peak in FY16, the number

gradually decreased to 82,260 in FY18. Since then, the number has slightly increased, but it is too early to determine if the increasing trend will continue.

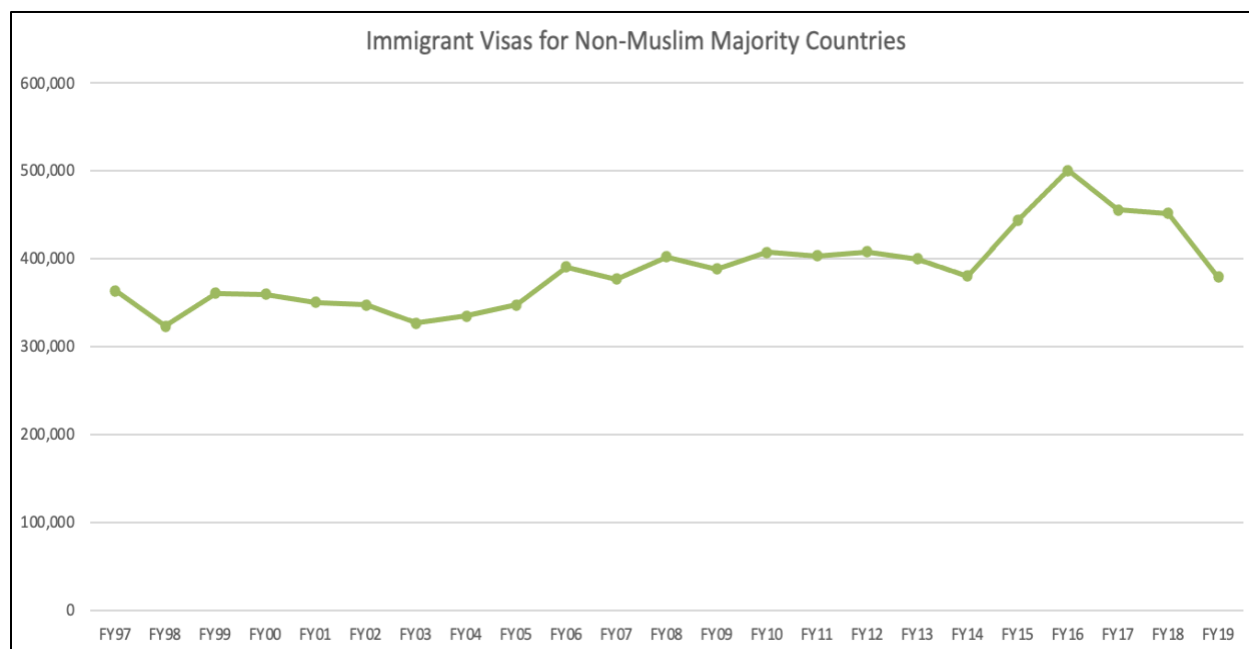


Figure 4. Immigrant Visas for Non-Muslim Majority Countries

As seen in Figure 4, immigrant visas for non-Muslim majority countries follows a similar trend of peaking in FY16, just at a higher number of 500,308 visas. One difference is that instead of a gradual increase through the years leading to the peak, the number of visas generally stays about the same until a large increase from FY14 at 380,358 to the peak in FY16. Another difference is that while there was more of a gradual decline since FY16, the data was trending downward as of FY19. This graph demonstrates that immigrant visas even for non-Muslim majority countries have been affected since 2017. This effect felt on immigrant visas is supported through the initial executive order being enacted during the 2017 fiscal year, as well as both the second and third editions.

The trend in immigrant visa data for both Muslim majority countries and non-Muslim majority countries mirrors that of non-immigrant visas but has different peaks in the number of

visas issued. The non-immigrant visas peak slightly before the immigrant visas issued. This difference in peaks follows the idea that immigrant visas were directly affected from the multiple executive orders, while the non-immigrant visas were already impacted before the executive orders were established. The dip in numbers of F-1 student visas in 2015, for example, demonstrate how international student numbers were already declining. When asked if President Trump had any effect on the continued decline of international students during his term, head of research, evaluation, and learning at the Institute of International Education (IIE) Mirka Martel pointed out that numbers of international students had dipped in 2015, which was before President Trump was elected (Moody 2020). While this dip in 2015 cannot be directly related to any of the executive orders, it can still be linked to the rhetoric used in President Trump's campaign.

On December 7 2015, then candidate Donald Trump stated that he “is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on” (Krieg, 2017). One PhD international student Divyansh Kaushik, moved from India to study in the U.S. in 2017, just as President Trump's term was beginning. Kaushik said that “it wasn't clear at the time what changes the Trump administration might make over the years” (Moody, 2020). In addition, Kaushik said that “some political rhetoric comes across as unwelcoming to international students” (Moody, 2020). This first-hand knowledge of the effect President Trump's rhetoric had on international students demonstrates how the drop in F-1 student visas could have come from the rhetoric used during Trump's campaign.

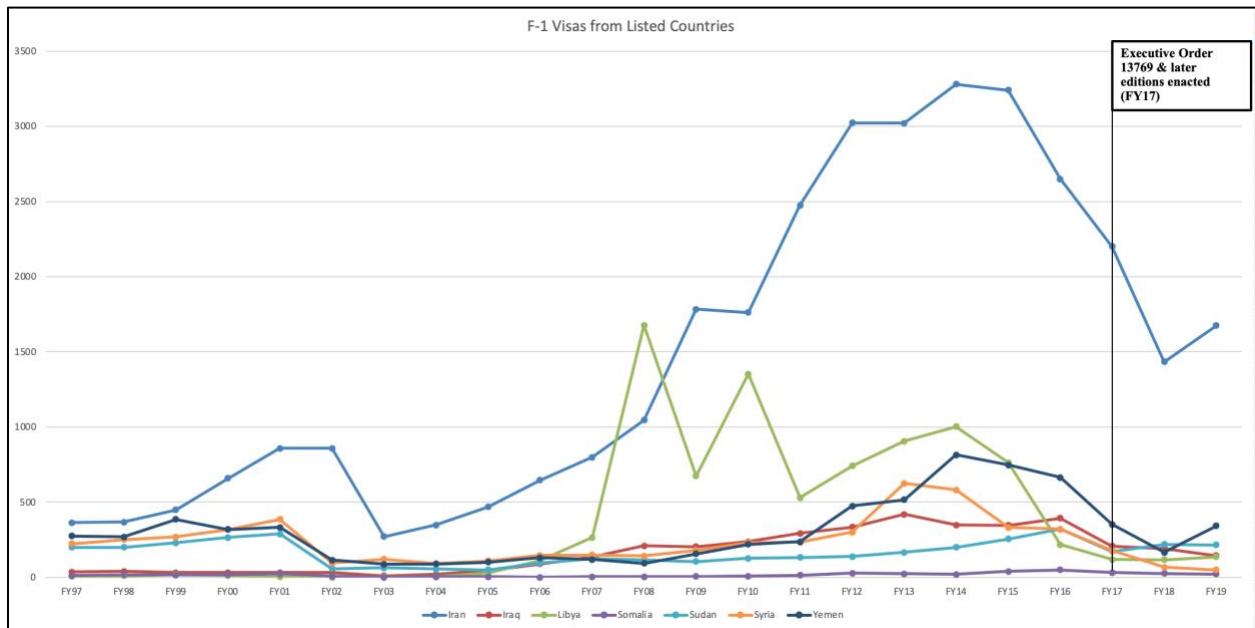


Figure 5. F-1 Visas for Countries Listed in Executive Order 13769

In order to completely understand the similarities and differences in visas given out as it relates to Executive Order 13769, as well as later editions, the countries directly listed need to be evaluated.

As seen in Figure 5, the number of visas given to international students from the listed countries is significantly less than many others. That being said, most of the countries follow a similar trend that the other Muslim majority countries. Iran has the most visas given out and the data follows the trend of the lowest point in FY03, a gradual increase to the peak in FY14, followed by a dramatic drop until FY18. Iraq, Sudan and Yemen also follow a similar trend to Iran. The Libya data trend is the most different from all the others, being very low before a sharp increase in FY08, followed by several dramatic ups and downs until FY16. In the past few years, however, Libya has begun to follow a similar pattern that the other countries have. Somalia has been consistently low through the years, with an increase in FY12 to a sharper decline in FY16. Syria is also slightly different, with a peak in FY13 followed by a gradual decrease since, hitting the lowest point since before the data begins in 1997.

While the data demonstrate a decrease in the number of visas given out in FY17, which is when the different versions of the executive order were enacted, many of the countries saw decreases before, which is similar to the trends seen in the data from other Muslim majority countries and non-Muslim majority countries with F-1 student visas. Based on the data shown, there is not enough information to determine whether or not Executive Order 13769 played a direct role in the decrease in F-1 visas for the listed countries, as well as Muslim majority countries as a group. In order to determine that, the monthly visa data must be evaluated.

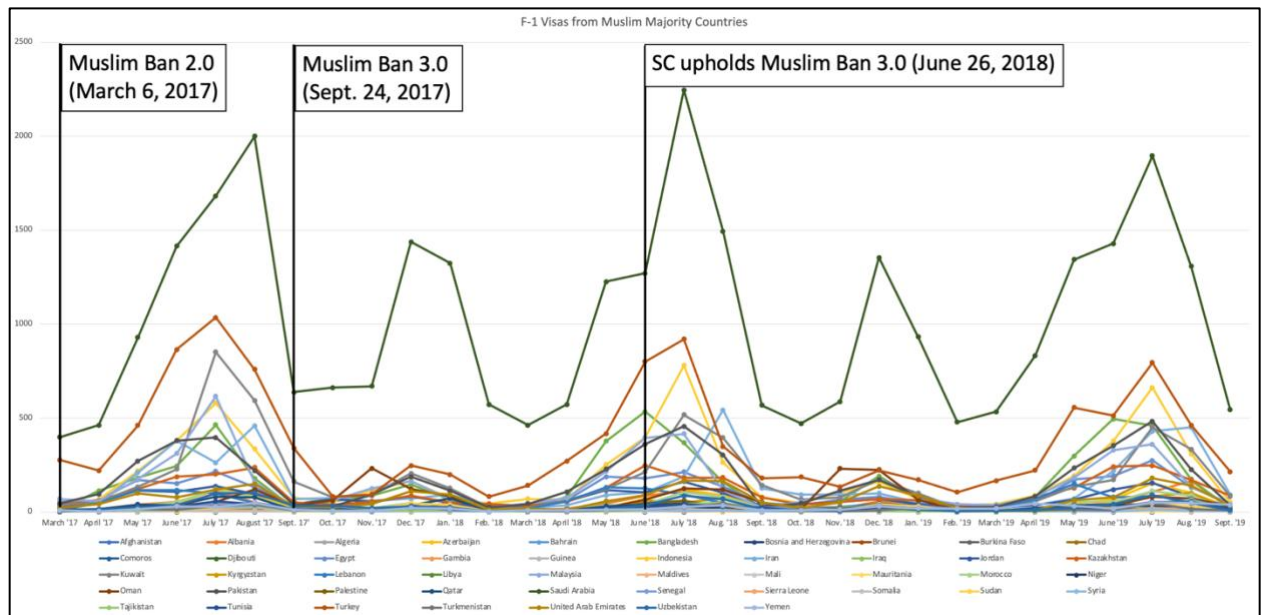


Figure 6. Monthly F-1 Visa Data from Muslim Majority Countries

Figure 6 illustrates the variance in F-1 visas given out to students from Muslim majority countries from March 2017 to September 2019 (the end of FY19). The distribution of this data highlights the ups and downs of the number of visas given out, but also sheds light on the impact the executive orders limiting immigration and travel from certain countries had on international students from Muslim majority countries.

On March 6, 2017, President Trump released the second executive order that limited immigration for foreign travelers from six countries listed in the original executive order (Iraq

being the only country left out in the second edition). As marked by the first flag in Figure 6, March 2017 was one of the lowest points for all Muslim majority countries in terms of visas given to students seeking an F-1 student visa. Over the next few months, there was an increase in the amount of visas given out, which can be explained by several U.S. courts ruling against the ban in May 2017. The increase was then followed by a decrease and subsequent low point for all countries in September 2017, which is also when President Trump released a proclamation that made more changes to his travel ban, this time excluding international students from the decree (“Timeline of the Muslim Ban”). Nevertheless, September 2017 was followed by mostly low numbers of visas given out, with a few scattered increases included. The numbers then seemed to be increasing later on, only to be followed by a decrease after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled to uphold the third edition of the travel ban.

These changes in the number of visas given out reveal a direct response to executive orders and proclamations being passed regarding the travel ban. Each decree was followed by a negative impact felt by most Muslim majority countries and their international students. Even though the proclamation on September 24, 2017 was not supposed to include international students from the listed countries, their F-1 visas were still impacted. These unintended impacts reveal that while the goal might have been to stop foreign terrorists from entering the country, students were hurt by the decreased number of F-1 visas given out.

Table 1. F-1 Visa Refusal Rate

<i>F-1 Visa Refusal Rate</i>							
	FY13	FY14	FY15	FY16	FY17	FY18	FY19
F-1 Refusal Rate	14.85%	14.98%	18.04%	27.86%	27.10%	43.15%	34.01%

In addition to the monthly breakdown of F-1 visa data, the number of applications and refusals of F-1 visas also demonstrate a negative impact on international students. As seen in Table 1, the F-1 visa refusal rate went up significantly in FY16 and FY17, then nearly doubled in FY18, which began just after the third edition of the travel ban was put into effect and includes the time surrounding the Supreme Court decision to uphold the most recent edition. The refusal rate for the F-1 visa was calculated by adjusting for the waived visa applications. This refusal rate data demonstrates that the changes in number of visas given out to international students is not because of a change in applications, but instead because more F-1 visa applications were rejected, especially after the executive orders were enacted.

Based on the quantitative data from the U.S. Department of State, there is support for my second hypothesis. While the data does not demonstrate any difficulty in the visa application process, there is evidence that more F-1 student visas were being rejected after the editions of the executive order were put in place. The rejection rate demonstrates how there was not necessarily a lack of applications, but there were more applications being rejected, meaning more international students were likely to not be able to obtain an F-1 student visa. The third hypothesis was not examined through the quantitative data, but instead was evaluated during the qualitative analysis.

Qualitative Analysis

The psychological impact of Executive Order 13769 is only highlighted by the stories from real students affected by the executive orders and proclamations, even several years after they went into effect.

When asked in the survey what their thoughts were on Executive Order 13769 when they first heard of it, many students from Muslim majority countries thought it was racially motivated and unfair to target specific countries because of the primary religion. Issues are also arising regarding stories of visa applications being held up for long periods of time that do not allow international students to obtain their visa in enough time to effectively utilize it. According to a Bloomberg Law report, many visa applications in FY19 were not being processed, which caused many students to be stuck in a situation where they did not know their status, or have the ability to check (Francis, 2019). According to one university administrator, once a student is in processing, there is not much that the university can do because the university does not handle the distribution of visas, only the U.S. Department of State does (Unnamed University Resource 1). The same administrator said that the only thing university administrators can do is to email the visa office in the Department of State and mention the student's application, in the hopes that the office will move the process along. In several instances, the unnamed university administrator was able to reach out to the visa office and soon after, the student's application was approved (Unnamed University Resource 1).

Students also reacted to the executive order by considering other universities. One student from Pakistan was asked after Executive Order 13769 was enacted if they would have done anything differently, knowing what would happen in the future with the travel ban. The student responded that they would have applied to additional universities in Canada if they would have known how international students would be impacted by the executive order (Sultan, 2017). Another Iranian PhD student had his visa application suspended, which made his Harvard acceptance revoked due to the time-sensitive experiment he would have been working on (Simauchi, 2020).

Student and Community Impact

Part of my qualitative research included interviewing various university resources to understand more about the university's role in the visa process for international students, as well as hear about the university's response to Executive Order 13769 and the later editions. A university resource explained the different policies surrounding certain countries when it comes to the visa process. For example, Iran has always been a difficult country for international students because there is no longer a U.S. embassy in the country. This means that international students must leave Iran and travel to another country in order to obtain a U.S. visa. The same university resource also mentioned the U.S. policy that students with a background in oil from Iran would not be able to obtain a visa. This policy would rule out any student relating to an oil industry background, which is very large in Iran.

One university resource talked extensively about reaching out to the students that were impacted and offering support by getting them in contact with immigration attorneys. For example, one student's spouse was supposed to be arriving from Iran, so the university resource reached out to an attorney in the area the spouse was flying in to, who eventually got through. Another resource at the university recognized their inability to do much because the visa process is decided with the U.S. Department of State. However, they mentioned their ability to reach out and inquire about a student's application, in the hopes that it could be moved to the front, or at the very least brought to the person in charge's attention. The university also supplies students with a sheet of information that explains the visa process and what they need to do for their application process. Another university resource spoke about the local community outreach that was done after the executive order was enacted, as well as prepared fact sheets for the community to read in order to understand the implications of the executive orders.

That being said, many students in the survey stated that they did not have any support from the university through the process. One student thought that “the response by a number of universities has been a little disappointing” (Sultan, 2017). Other students across the country complained that their schools were not doing enough to reach out to the local communities, nor were they recognizing the true impact the executive order had for Muslim international students that saw the decree as a ‘Muslim ban’ (Sultan, 2017).

These results from on campus research are essentially mirrored across the country. For example, families of students have also played a role in the impact of the executive order. Many students have expressed fear over what would happen if they left the U.S. to travel to see family, or uncertainty over whether or not their family would be able to come to America. One student had been set to fly back to the Middle East to see their parents only a few months after Executive Order 13769 was enacted, only for their parents to cancel the tickets because they were just too afraid of what could happen (Sultan, 2017). Another student from Syria was able to get a visa before the third edition went into effect but could not see his family in three years for fear that he would be unable to travel back (Simauchi, 2020). This fear was widespread over the Muslim and international student communities all across the country, mostly due to the unknowns.

Another instance of family struggles relation to Muslim international students occurred at the University of Oklahoma, where an Iranian graduate student was attempting to have family visit when his pregnant wife gave birth in order to help take care of the baby (Fife, 2020). Not only were the family’s visas rejected, according to the student “the officer told them that it was...directly because of (President Donald Trump’s) travel ban that they couldn’t give them visas to come to the United States” and that “they didn’t reject their application – they said that because of this travel ban, now...(they) are not eligible for getting a visa” (Fife, 2020). While it

is unclear what type of visa the family was attempting to get, the situation demonstrates the direct impact of the executive order on international students, even with someone else's visa.

Many students' mental and physical well beings were dramatically impacted, like an aspiring MBA student from Syria, Moayed Kossa. Kossa was accepted into an MBA program and got ready to leave for the U.S., only to discover shortly before he left that the initial Executive Order 13769 had been enacted and prevented him from going to the U.S., even going as far as canceling his student visa that he had already obtained (Gutierrez, 2021). Kossa described the experience as having "changed him as a person" because of the negative impact a life-changing event has on a person's psyche (Gutierrez, 2021). Kossa said that he "never forgot this moment, the extreme sadness and the frustration as a human being [he] felt because [he] was deprived from the right of education" after his visa was revoked so suddenly after the executive order was announced (Gutierrez, 2021). The same Iranian student that had issues with family coming to visit also faced mental health issues because of the situation. The student said that he and his wife "experienced psychological problems because, first of all, we did need help [with the new baby]" (Fife, 2020). Even after getting a note from the wife's OB-GYN to show their need for help, the embassy did not give the family visas to go visit (Fife, 2020).

Many international students also feared for their own safety if they tried to go to any protests that erupted after the initial executive order was announced (Sultan, 2017). The fear of the unknown surrounding students' safety came to fruition for one Iranian student with an F-1 visa, who, in a report by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), said that she was treated harshly, both verbally and physically when she was searched roughly (Department of Homeland Security, 2018). She cited feelings of unsafety and discomfort as she was held by Customs and Border Protection when she was unable to wear a shawl, as well as when she was offered to be

moved to a separate holding cell that “had a metal bench and a metal toilet, the contents of which included human waste, which had not been flushed” (Department of Homeland Security, 2018).

The wife of the Iranian student that experienced issues getting family into the U.S. to help after she gave birth also experienced issues with her own visa. She “had trouble changing her visa status from F2 – a nonimmigrant dependent visa – to F1 – a nonimmigrant student visa – to study at OU in the fall of 2018, even though she was already accepted by the university and had received scholarships” (Fife, 2020). Her story is specific to the timing that the visa process takes; she did not hear about her status until the scholarships and admission deadlines had already passed, and even then she had gotten her F-1 student visa application rejected (Fife, 2020). This difficulty continues to demonstrate the struggles faced by Muslim international students after the executive order was enacted.

The stories from many Muslim international students demonstrate support for all three hypotheses. The story of the Iranian husband and wife having struggles with her visa after the executive order, as well as the many students held in administrative processing highlights how the timing of the process causes difficulty for Muslim international students to know their status and understand the timeline for obtaining a visa. The second hypothesis is also supported because the stories add to the quantitative data in highlighting the likelihood that F-1 student visas are more likely to be rejected. The third hypothesis is especially supported because many students have told their stories about the mental and psychological effects the outcomes of the executive order have had on their well beings. These stories from real international students affected by Executive Order 13769 illuminate the many ways students have been negatively targeted by the travel ban in more ways than just obtaining a visa or not. The stories highlight the impacts seen in the quantitative data and elaborate in order to show the full picture, which is that

their lives were suddenly altered just because they grew up in a certain country or had family still there.

Chapter 6

Results and Conclusion

Results

Based on the mix of quantitative and qualitative data collected and analyzed, there is a negative material and psychological impact on Muslim international students from Executive Order 13769 and later editions. When examining the data relating to H_{1A} and H_{1B}, it is the stories that the international students tell that demonstrate the difficulty Muslim international students had to obtain a U.S. F-1 student visa. The stories are specific enough to determine that the aftermath of Executive Order 13769, as well as the subsequent editions, created the situations the Muslim international students were put in that created the difficulty to obtain a student visa. Not many stories went into detail about the visa application process specifically, however, which means there is the opportunity to further examine the difficulty created from the aftermath of the executive order.

The quantitative data completely demonstrated support for H₂. While the visa data between non-immigrant and immigrant visas, as well as between Muslim majority and non-Muslim majority countries, is similar, the impact highlighted in the monthly visa data and the refusal rates is a negative impact. Visa rates may have been going down before Executive Order 13769 was enacted, the refusal rates demonstrate how many more applications were getting refused for F-1 visa international students, which was not a group that was supposed to be affected after the third edition of the travel ban was put in place. The monthly data from Muslim majority countries also demonstrates how those countries specifically saw a negative impact around the time a new edition of the executive order was enacted, or when the Supreme Court

upheld the presidential proclamation. By the time the third edition of the travel ban was put in place, not all countries listed were Muslim majority countries, but because most of them were initially, all Muslim majority countries were negatively impacted.

The true stories from international students from Muslim majority countries also demonstrate how negative of an impact the executive order was on their safety, wellbeing, and education in support of H₃. Many students have demonstrated a mental and psychological impact on their well beings as a result of the executive orders and the effect they had on their visa journey.

Implications

The implications of the results of this research study revolve around non-traditional security measures involving travel bans. While it is difficult to measure the number of terrorist attacks that were prevented because of this ban, it is simpler to see the unintended negative effects of the executive order. By the time the third edition of the travel ban was enacted and eventually upheld in the U.S. Supreme Court, Muslim international students had already been negatively impacted, while some continue to be as their applications are stuck in limbo. The confusion and fear that came with the first two executive orders sent a message to people around the world that even if the decree does not hold up in court, for a time the policies will go into effect and will impact many people, even if only indirectly.

Another implication of these non-traditional security measures is the appearance of the executive order. Whether President Trump truly wanted to ban Muslims from entering the U.S. or not, to many people that is how the action appeared when the countries that were singled out

had majority Muslim populations, and when countries that had historical terrorist connections were not included in the ban. In addition, when 83% of terrorist attacks are committed by U.S. citizens or permanent residents, focusing solely on foreign terrorists would be a huge disadvantage in terms of national security. Hate crimes in the U.S. have also been rising the last several years since the lowest number of 5,479 in 2014 (Balsamo, 2020). An increase in white nationalism has also been seen over the past three years, rising around 55% during that time (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2019). These rises in hate crimes, as well as white nationalism, demonstrate how there are many other concerns with national security, especially dealing with U.S. citizens as opposed to foreign nationals.

After examining and analyzing the data collected regarding visa totals for countries, as well as hearing stories from international students and university resources, it is clear that the executive order had a negative effect on international students from Muslim majority countries. This finding can help influence policymaking when it comes to non-traditional security measures by reminding policymakers that there are real people affected by executive orders and proclamations that can be caught up in the negative effects, even if they are not in the groups listed in the decree. It also serves as a warning that there can be executive orders focused on targeting race and religion, even if only in the way it appears.

Conclusion

On January 27, 2017, the lives of many people around the world would be changed, seemingly forever. While Executive Order 13769 only listed seven countries, all Muslim majority countries would be negatively impacted, resulting in changes to lives for many of their

citizens, including the lives of international students. The first two editions of the executive order did include international students, but the eventual third edition issued as a proclamation did not include those same international students. That being said, international students from Muslim majority countries still saw the negative effects of the executive order, whether it was through their visa application being stuck in administrative processing, or through a dramatically increased refusal rate. These effects were felt by many international students from Muslim majority countries, even though they were supposed to be exempt from the travel ban that was upheld in the U.S. Supreme Court.

On January 20, 2021, almost four years to the day later, President Biden issued a presidential proclamation that revoked the executive orders and proclamations that limited travel and immigration for many Muslim majority countries, as well as others (“Proclamation on Ending Discriminatory Bans on Entry to the United States”, 2021). This proclamation was one of President Biden’s first actions as President and was seen as a step in the right direction toward ending discrimination in immigration and security policies based on race or religion. It is unclear as of now how this proclamation will change the number of visas given out to those countries that had been impacted, but we can hope that it is the beginnings of progress toward understanding the negative, even if unintended, effects that non-traditional security measures have on people across the globe.

Appendix A

Raw Visa Data from the U.S. Department of State

Table 2. Non-Immigrant Visa Data

	FY97	FY98	FY99	FY00	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06
MMF1	35,395	31,224	33,895	38,507	37,683	19,966	18,933	17,825	20,824	30,417
NMMF1	230,988	220,341	228,647	245,546	255,664	214,356	196,762	201,073	217,066	243,453
MMAO	495,986	450,889	503,719	616,089	579,380	579,380	259,762	301,971	337,737	380,916
NMMAO	5,179,592	5,111,699	5,426,217	6,241,494	6,716,041	6,716,041	4,406,177	4,528,230	4,813,324	5,181,944
Total	5,942,061	5,814,153	6,192,478	7,141,636	7,588,778	7,588,778	4,881,634	5,049,099	5,049,099	5,836,730

FY07	FY08	FY09	FY10	FY11	FY12	FY13	FY14	FY15	FY16	FY17	FY18	FY19
28,494	34,528	37,547	49,407	57,950	60,000	66,512	72,728	67,499	51,442	40,906	38,691	37,959
269,899	306,183	293,661	335,803	389,460	424,900	467,808	522,841	576,734	420,286	352,667	324,238	326,245
402,058	425,034	442,944	479,424	556,501	635,652	677,433	801,860	795,134	809,559	688,270	667,305	692,548
5,743,834	5,837,331	5,030,030	5,558,117	6,504,028	7,804,478	7,952,596	8,535,051	9,452,378	9,100,204	8,600,070	7,997,792	7,685,316
6,444,285	6,603,076	5,804,182	6,422,751	7,507,939	8,927,030	9,164,349	9,932,480	10,891,745	10,381,491	9,681,913	9,028,026	8,742,068

Table 3. Immigrant Visa Data

	FY97	FY98	FY99	FY00	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	FY08	FY09
Muslim Majority	53,358	52,231	53,009	54,251	56,057	41,660	38,278	44,638	54,632	58,797	57,985	67,847	80,435
Non-Muslim Majority	363,561	323,453	360,653	359,270	350,023	347,497	326,490	334,764	347,615	390,306	376,426	402,252	388,335
Total	416,919	375,684	413,662	413,521	406,080	389,157	364,768	379,402	402,247	449,103	434,411	470,099	468,770

FY10	FY11	FY12	FY13	FY14	FY15	FY16	FY17	FY18	FY19
74,863	72,812	74,788	73,381	87,012	88,325	117,444	104,228	82,260	83,229
407,437	403,437	407,512	399,734	380,358	443,138	500,308	455,308	451,297	379,193
476,249	476,249	482,300	473,115	467,370	531,463	617,752	559,536	533,557	462,422

Table 4. F-1 Visas from the Listed Countries

	FY97	FY98	FY99	FY00	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	FY08	FY09	FY10	FY11	FY12	FY13
Iran	365	369	450	658	858	858	272	349	468	646	799	1,046	1,784	1,761	2,475	3,024	3,021
Iraq	36	39	32	33	33	33	11	21	46	90	135	209	204	238	292	335	419
Libya	9	10	19	13	5	1	3	5	28	113	265	1,676	674	1,352	530	741	905
Somalia	12	19	16	19	25	8	1	4	4	1	4	4	6	9	15	28	25
Sudan	200	200	229	266	289	58	63	56	50	95	122	115	106	126	132	138	166
Syria	224	251	269	318	385	96	121	91	109	147	148	143	180	232	233	300	626
Yemen	275	269	386	318	333	115	87	90	102	130	119	93	157	220	237	474	517

FY14	FY15	FY16	FY17	FY18	FY19
3,280	3,241	2,650	2,201	1,433	1,674
348	347	393	207	193	145
1,002	763	217	119	118	136
21	39	50	32	27	22
200	255	320	172	220	215
582	333	320	178	68	49
815	747	665	352	166	343

Appendix B

International Student Questionnaire

1. What country are you originally from?
2. Had you ever been to the United States before attending school here?
3. If 'yes' to the previous question, what was it like to be in the U.S. before? What were the people like? How were you treated? Were you ever targeted for hate?
4. When did you apply to college?
5. Why did you decide to go to college in the United States?
6. If you attended college in the U.S. before Executive Order 13769 was enacted, what was life like on campus before the E.O. was enacted? Were you ever targeted for hate before the E.O.? Did you ever feel uncomfortable about being an international student before the E.O.?
7. How has life changed after Executive Order 13769 was enacted?
8. Have you ever felt uncomfortable about being an international student after Executive Order 13769 was enacted?
9. What did you know about the visa application process before you applied?
10. When did you apply for a visa?
11. What information did you need to complete your visa application?
12. How long did it take to complete the visa application?
13. How long did it take you to obtain your visa (from the time you started your application to the time you physically received your visa)?
14. Did you know anyone else applying for a U.S. visa?
15. If 'yes' to the previous question, what was their process like? Did they get a visa at the same time as you?
16. Did you receive any support from the university during the visa application process?
17. Overall, how would you describe the visa application process?
18. Do you know anyone that tried to apply for a visa but did not receive one?
19. Do you know anyone that applied for a visa to a different country?
20. If 'yes' to the previous question, what was their process like? What country did they apply for a visa to? Did they get the visa at the same time as you?
21. Would you recommend getting a visa to someone trying to study in the U.S.?
22. If you had to do it again, would you apply for a U.S. visa?
23. Have you talked to other international students about their visa application process?
24. If 'yes' to the previous question, how did it compare to your visa application process?
25. Did you know anyone that applied for a U.S. visa prior to you applying?
26. If 'yes' to the previous question, how did their visa application process compare to yours?
27. Were you aware of the executive order entitled "Executive Order Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States"? This executive order limited immigration to the U.S. from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen.
28. If 'yes' to the previous question, what were your thoughts about the executive order?
29. What religion do you identify yourself with?

30. Would you like to be interviewed about your visa application process and experience as an international student?

Appendix C

University Resource Interview Questions

1. How long have you been working at the _____ office at the university?
2. What does your job entail?
3. When you first started working there, what countries were most represented by the international students?
 - a. Has that changed over the years?
4. What is the representation like of Muslim international students at the university?
5. What is the representation like of students from the Middle East or Africa?
6. Do many students from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, or Yemen apply?
 - a. Has that been consistent over the years or only recently?
 - b. Has anyone from those countries ever applied but not been able to get a visa?
7. What resources do you have for students applying for a visa?

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ACADEMIC VITA

Mikaela Walker

Education:	The Pennsylvania State University (PSU), Class of 2022 Master's degree of International Affairs (in progress) BA in International Politics, National Security concentration (in progress) <i>Minors: Russian, Global Security, Security & Risk Analysis</i> College of Liberal Arts College of Information Sciences & Technology South Lakes High School, Reston, VA Advanced Diploma Honors Graduate	June 2017
Honors:	PSU Schreyer Honors College Scholar Thesis: <i>The Material and Psychological Effects of Executive Order 13769</i> Penn State Paterno Fellows Honors Program Dobro Slovo Slavic Language Honor Society American Collegiate Hockey Association Academic All-American FBI Future Agent in Training Summer Program	2017-present 2018-present 2019-present 2019-2020 2016
Skills:	Advanced-level Russian language proficiency Beginning-level Java Microsoft Office (Word, PowerPoint, Excel, Outlook)	
Experience:	Penn State University , 201 Shields Building, University Park, PA 16802 <i>Life@State Mentor: September 2019 – April 2020</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tour prospective students around the university• Bring students to class with me to illustrate college-level curriculum• Act as a liaison between the prospective student and the university Gordon , 4501 Daly Drive, Suite 200, Chantilly VA 20151 (A professional services firm that includes security design) <i>Marketing Intern: Summer 2018, May 2019</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Assisted Marketing Department with promotional projects• Conducted market research on possible upcoming proposals• Focused search for proposals in government databases	
Leadership:	Penn State Dance Marathon (THON) <i>Largest student-run philanthropy in the world, benefits pediatric cancer research</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hershey Kisses THON Organization<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ President & Dancer.....THON 2021○ Treasurer.....THON 2020• Penn State Women's Club Ice Hockey team<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Primary THON Chair.....THON 2020○ Dancer.....THON 2019• Rules and Regulations Committee Member.....THON 2018 PSU Lion Scouts Tour Guide	2017-present 2018-present