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**GLOBAL CONFLICT AND REFUGEE CRISES:
THE ROLE OF ANTI-IMMIGRATION RHETORIC**

A Thesis in

Communications
by

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ABSTRACT

Immigrants, as a group, are frequently described in ways, such as criminals or savages, that portray them as less than human. Donald J. Trump, the current President of the United States of America has described illegal immigrants as criminals, rapists, smugglers or simply as “illegals.” The dehumanizing language which the President has used to describe the group can lead to negative emotional responses and negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The aim of this thesis is to examine how language influences the attitudes of the citizens of America with respect to their perception of immigrants and the general attitude towards immigration policies. I will use discourse analysis to analyze how Trump’s rhetoric functions, and original experimental data to show that the construct of the “illegal alien” has led to negative immigration attitudes. I further find that the rhetoric of political leaders is crucial to determine the immigration attitudes towards immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The construct of the “illegal alien” dehumanizes them, thereby denying them their human rights, and legitimizing their deportation from America.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Henry Steele Commager, scholar and author described immigration as the oldest theme in our history. For long, the United States of America has been known as the country of immigrants. It comprises of more than forty-three million immigrants, which is roughly fourteen percent of the total population.

For more than a century, the identity of the United States has been grounded in the notion that we are a “nation of immigrants.” Immigrants have made innumerable contributions to the American economy, infrastructure, and culture. They have brought innovation and new ideas which has made the American society thrive. The United States of America would not be what it is today if not for the contributions of immigrants.

Given the role of immigration in U.S. history, “it is perhaps not surprising that the immigrant has often been associated not only with the story of the nation’s origin but also with something more ephemeral yet nevertheless central to the country’s national character: a hopefulness enacted through hard work and a belief in egalitarianism and unlimited opportunity.” (Beasley, 2006)

The phrase “nation of immigrants” was popularized by a book authored by President John F. Kennedy. Throughout his presidency, John F. Kennedy was passionate about the issue of immigration reform. In his book, *A Nation of Immigrants*, he said, “Perhaps our brightest hope for the future lies in the lessons of the past. The people who have come to this country have made America, in the words of one perceptive writer, 'a heterogeneous race but a homogeneous nation.’”

Given that all of the colonists and settlers were immigrants, over time many positive characteristics came to be associated with the essence of American character itself during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Max Lerner has suggested that the immigrant might have been represented then as “the small boy with his nose pressed against the shop window whose sweets were out of his reach unless he could come in with a fistful of coins. He was full of wonder at the miracles of science and mechanical inventions, at the headlong course of progress, at the dizzying peaks of wealth and power. He was full of a sense of promise and possibility which renewed the pioneer stock.” This sort of representation benefited the growing nation, of course. As Lerner has noted, “the immigrant’s obsession with rising living standards was something he gave to American life as well as something he took from it. He was a man in a hurry, not only to make money but to show he had made it, not only to sow the crop of his labor and ingenuity but to reap the harvest of his success.” What was good for the immigrant, according to this logic, was also good for the country. (Beasley, 2006)

Thus, there has been a long-standing tradition of viewing the immigrant as a self-made man, full of hope and of opportunity. Sadly, there are other contradictory views which portray the immigrant as an economic strain and a security risk.

Alan Kraut noted, that “strangers are regarded with suspicion in most societies” (Beasley, 2006). In the United States this suspicion is especially noteworthy because it has historically gone hand-in-hand with the nation’s dependence on strangers to satisfy its ever-expanding need for a labor force since the swift industrialization which the country witnessed in the 18th century. Nevertheless, a deep vein of xenophobia and nativism has been inherent, wherein both the sentiments aim at protecting the interests of the native-born American or established inhabitants against those of immigrants.

According to a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center, fewer than half of Americans know that a vast majority of immigrants in the U.S. are in the country legally. Lawful

immigrants accounted for about three-quarters (76%) of all immigrants in the U.S. in 2016. But in a survey conducted in June 2018, only 45% of Americans correctly said most immigrants are in the country legally. Around 35% said that they believed that most immigrants are in the country illegally. (Gramlich & Gramlich, 2019)

The mission statement of the USCIS has changed. No longer does its mission speak to “America’s promise as a nation of immigrants” that promotes “an awareness and understanding of citizenship” along with “ensuring the integrity of our immigration system.” Now, the new version focuses on “adjudicating requests for immigrant benefits” while “protecting Americans” and “securing the homeland”. (Tropp, 2018)

This is in contrast to the welcoming attitude of the previous administrations. Earlier administrations tended to support immigration policies, which they viewed as beneficial for business. During the 1980 presidential election, Ronald Reagan famously said, “rather than putting up a fence, why don’t we...make it possible for them to come here legally with a work permit and, then, while they’re working here and earning here, they pay taxes here. And when they want to go back, they can go back. Open the border.”

The United States of America has been famously known as the land of immigrants, where people from any country, social and economic background are welcome to work hard and make a good life for themselves. However, the reception towards immigrants has dramatically altered since the election campaign for the 2016 presidential elections started. The primary reason behind this is the divisive rhetoric of the President, Donald J. Trump.

Merriam Webster has defined, “rhetoric” as the language that is intended to influence people and that may not be honest or reasonable. The world has witnessed orators and leaders who with the power of their words have advanced in diverse fields. The words of leaders have enthralled the masses, they have inspired and motivated nations during wars, economic depression, disease, famine, etc.; they have spearheaded revolutions and educated those seeking

inspiration. Much like Lincoln, a leader equipped with the skill of powerful rhetoric is an indispensable tool to a country, whether it be a developed nation or one which is developing.

“Aristotle’s definition, on the other hand, states that rhetoric is a means of education as well as persuasion through public discourse. Aristotle believed that any conversation that led to new knowledge, the discovery of new ideas, the advancement of purpose, or even the achievement of goals, qualified as “rhetoric”. A speech is an act of giving the message, while rhetoric is the hope the message will be heard.” (Powell, 2017)

Therefore, rhetoric is the covert message being communicated. It is the emotional attachment (pathos), in the message. “Leaders use their rhetoric as a force of change. Charismatic leaders challenge the status quo and act as agents of radical reform (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). Charismatic leaders provide the force for change by focusing on the intolerable state of the status quo while advocating future goals as idealized and attractive.” (Tan & Wee, 2002)

The election of Trump to the Presidency came as a pretty big surprise. A controversial reality television star and a real estate mogul was elected as the forty-fifth President of the United States of America. With Trump’s campaign came the promises and the ideology he espoused to “Make America Great Again”. The aim of this study is to analyze Trump’s rhetoric and examine the power his rhetoric holds on Americans.

It has been hypothesized that it is the economic discontent, particularly in the working-class white Americans which has led to a vast majority of people from the same class to rise up in overwhelming support of a man whose political rhetoric has been condemned. Trump’s campaign has been largely polarizing. This is the heart of the assertion of the Trump Hypothesis as well: immigrants are either entering the country already as criminals or they are highly criminally prone.

Trump has much to offer to his readers and his listeners, the academia and journalists too have much to write about his rhetoric. The discourse on immigration is clamored with many

voices, what is missing though are the voices of the immigrants and that of the Americans. The latter, an issue which this study aims to address.

The aim of the study is to investigate the effects of Trump's rhetoric which has been termed divisive and anti-diversity. It first aims at analyzing Trump's rhetoric, both the covert and overt messages it encapsulates. The study will then try to understand the immigration attitudes of the people, and particularly, if the said attitudes have changed as a direct or indirect result of Trump's rhetoric.

Different countries around the world, especially in Europe, have protested to the immigration of refugees. Political parties like the AfD (Alternative for Germany) in Germany, have sported the anti-immigrant mandate. This goes on to portray that racist resentment and anti-immigrant sentiments can be an important factor which swayed the election in favor of Trump.

Trump has also been a critic of being "politically correct." He has famously criticized his opponents for their rhetoric calling it too polished, academic and sophisticated. Whereas on the other hand, Trump has insisted on employing a speech pattern which is quite similar to everyday speech. Unlike his predecessors who possessed a more refined approach to language and rhetoric, he is critical of "political correctness" in both rhetoric and his behavior. (Major, Blodorn, & Blascovich, 2018)

The President has described himself as a "straight talker," a term which seems to earn the trust of the people. It has been predicted that support for Trump and his policies stems from anger against the previous political establishment and rejection of traditional politics (De Jonge, 2016).

Therefore, as it pertains to immigration, it is not the indifference towards this issue which is alarming, it is the rising fear, xenophobia, racism coupled along with neo-nationalism which is causing deep rifts within the nation. There is a surprisingly large number of nations who have declared hostile stances against immigrants and have protested policies which have been suspected of being favorable to refugees, and asylum seekers.

The political, economic and social climate is largely hostile to refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants escaping war and persecution in the hope to seek asylum. This is due to the current anti-immigration rhetoric and the rise of the conservative and right-wing political parties around the world.

Thus, this study will analyze Trump's anti-immigration rhetoric as the first part of the study, and the distinct categories which are encapsulated in it. It will then examine the effect of Trump's rhetoric on the immigration attitudes of the public and its subsequent repercussions.

Since Trump's anti-immigrant and anti-diversity rhetoric gained popularity, conservative fringe groups have committed various crimes against minorities both in the USA and around the world. Hence, analyzing Trump's rhetoric is important, as it holds the key to developing counter strategies to combat hate-filled speeches and divisive rhetoric, which has both directly and indirectly claimed the lives of innocent civilians.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The literature review will be divided in two sections. The former will provide a brief historical review, wherein the policies and the rhetoric of Trump's predecessors will be discussed. The latter will consist of a literature review on three suppositions which Trump has used widely in his anti-immigration rhetoric widely. These will include threat of increasing diversity, immigration and crime, and immigration and economy.

A brief historical review

For the purpose of comparison, the study will briefly look into the history of policies and rhetoric pertaining to immigration with respect to Trump's two predecessors. It is to be noted that the history of immigration in America is not limited to that of Obama and Bush. For practical purposes the overview will include Obama and Bush. This is due to the fact that Obama was his Democrat predecessor, and Bush his Republican predecessor.

Trump made immigration a hot button issue in America during the 2016 presidential campaign. He made immigration the focal point of his campaign, offering a more detailed policy agenda than on any other issue. (Pierce & Selee, 2018)

He is not the first president to talk about border security, illegal crossing, and immigration, refugee admittance, etc. In fact, every US president since Bill Clinton has given the issue much consideration. He is, however, the only president to make it an "urgent national crisis" and spend so much time designing policies concerning "criminal illegal aliens." (Gaudefroy, 2019)

According to scholars, Trump's anti-immigration rhetoric has played a significant role in swaying the vote in his favor. His anti-immigration rhetoric has portrayed those fleeing political and economic crisis, as a threat to the American society. He has repeatedly addressed the exodus of asylum seekers arriving at the borders as "caravan." By employing a hyperbolic anti-immigration rhetoric, Trump has manufactured a crisis.

It is important to look at the history of political rhetoric surrounding immigration in the United States of America before Trump. For this reason, I will consider the rhetoric and immigration policies under the administration of Barack Obama and George W. Bush.

The Trump administration has received severe criticism for some of its immigration policies. According to reports, almost 2,000 children were separated from their parents under a new protocol that refers to adult unauthorized border-crossers for prosecution on a charge of illegal entry.

In retaliation, Trump tweeted the following response on Jun 18, 2018

"It is the Democrats fault for being weak and ineffective with Boarder Security and Crime. Tell them to start thinking about the people devastated by Crime coming from illegal immigration. Change the laws!"

But it is to be noted that neither the Obama nor the Bush administrations systematically split up families at the border, even though their own immigration strategies faced harsh criticism and upheld the policy of 'zero tolerance'.

In 2014, Obama declared a humanitarian crisis at the southwest border after a surge of unaccompanied minors mostly from Central America arrived at the borders. As thousands of Central American mothers and children streamed across the border in 2014, many seeking refuge from gang violence, President Barack Obama began a crackdown to try to stop the surge. Obama called for immediate action to fix the country's immigration system. Officials were concerned that immigrants were taking advantage of the asylum process to gain entry. Under U.S. protocol,

immigrants who tell federal authorities that they fear for their safety are allowed to pursue asylum claims and are not subjected to ordinary deportation proceedings. (Chiquillo, 2018)

Although the initial plan of action to discourage illegal immigration was to separate children from their parents, the Obama administration called it off on ethical and moral grounds. The Obama administration also focused on deporting people quickly and put some through criminal proceedings, but it chose to hold families together in administrative not criminal detention. Instead, the detention facilities were expanded so that families could wait for their cases to be processed.

Nevertheless, Obama remained aggressive on illegal immigration and was dubbed “deporter-in-chief” by critics. According to the ICE statistics, deportations under his presidency reached an all-time high in 2012 when about 410,000 immigrants were removed from the U.S. In his final year in office, about 240,000 people were removed. (Chiquillo, 2018)

Let us consider Obama’s rhetoric on immigration from a speech on immigration reforms delivered on November 2014. Unlike Trump, Obama’s rhetoric is not hate-filled, it acknowledges the value which immigrants add to the American society. The following excerpt from his speech will further consolidate my argument:

“For more than 200 years, our tradition of welcoming immigrants from around the world has given us a tremendous advantage over other nations. It’s kept us youthful, dynamic, and entrepreneurial. It has shaped our character as a people with limitless possibilities – people not trapped by our past, but able to remake ourselves as we choose.”

Obama’s speech encapsulates the idea of America as the land of opportunities. He makes a marked difference between legal and illegal immigration. He identifies the harassment of illegal workers in the workspace as a key issue. Obama does not villainize the ‘immigrant,’ rather he views the broken and obsolete immigration system as the problem. He does not denounce the undocumented immigrants and demand for their swift deportation, rather he promises to treat

them fairly and responsibly. It is also important to note that Obama describes the immigrants as ‘undocumented,’ unlike Trump who has termed them ‘illegal.’

In 2005, President George W. Bush launched Operation Streamline along the Texas border. The program eventually expanded to more border states. The program called for criminally prosecuting all illegal migrants. (Fellow & Plesset, 2018)

It can be deduced that the idea of zero tolerance took root during Bush and it is what Trump has used to model his policy after. The Bush era meant that migrants who were caught in certain border states were put through the criminal system, not civil immigration courts. It made exceptions for adults traveling with children but others were ushered through mass trials aimed at deporting them quickly. The system employed the method of, “catch and release” wherein an immigrant is released to the community while he or she awaits hearings in immigration court, as an alternative to holding them in immigration detention. Trump administration, however, does not practice the system of “catch and release,” preferring to detain the immigrants in detention centers.

Early this year former President Bush too criticized Trump’s rhetoric on the issue of immigration. He described immigration as “a blessing and a strength.” He urged policymakers in Washington to “dial down the rhetoric” and work toward modernizing the country’s immigration laws. He said, “The United States of America is the most successful of nations. Historically, where immigration is concerned, we’re also the most welcoming of nations. And these two facts are related,” a message which is a direct contradiction of Trump’s rhetoric.

In early 2019, President Donald Trump claimed without evidence that past presidents have privately confided to him that they regret not building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border. However, as discussed above the reality is quite contradictory to this assertion.

Trump’s rhetoric paints an alternate reality. Consider his tweet previously mentioned in this section, Trump wrote, “It is the Democrats fault for being weak and ineffective with Boarder

Security and Crime.” Trump routinely shifts the blame on the previous administration, however, when faced by criticism he also claims that his predecessors too followed the similar tactics to check illegal immigration.

According to an article in *The Independent* (2016), Obama has consistently criticized Trump’s pledge to build a border wall. In a commencement address at Rutgers University in May 2016 Obama said, “Suggesting that we can build an endless wall along our borders, and blame our challenges on immigrants — that doesn’t just run counter to our history as the world’s melting pot, it contradicts the evidence that our growth and our innovation and our dynamism has always been spurred by our ability to attract strivers from every corner of the globe.”

It is to be noted that the evidence from the above policies introduced by Trump’s predecessors and the resulting deportations proves that the previous two administrations introduced stringent policies which checked illegal immigration without divisive and hate-filled rhetoric.

Recently released data on the number of arrests by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) shows that they are arresting many fewer illegal immigrants under Trump’s administration than under President Obama’s, at least through June of 2018 (Nowrasteh, 2018). Therefore, contrary to the claims made Trump his administration is not breaking immigration arrest records.

The aim of equipping this study with a brief historical review is to depict that actions towards reforming the immigration system do not always come at the cost of hate-filled and hostile rhetoric. Responsible action can be taken to reform the immigration system without having to alienate a significant section of society. The following sections will discuss the three main suppositions in Trump’s rhetoric when it comes to immigration.

The threat of increasing diversity

Research has shown that the changing racial demographics of America play a crucial role in Trump's success as a presidential candidate. It is to be noted that when it comes to white Americans race/ethnicity is central to their identity.

Reminding white Americans high in ethnic identification that non-white racial groups will outnumber whites in the United States by 2042 led them to become more anxious about the declining status and influence of white Americans as a group (i.e., experience group status threat), and in turn caused them to report increased support for Trump and his anti-immigrant policies, as well as greater opposition to political correctness. (Major et al., 2018)

To understand this better it is important to look into group threat theory. Group threat theory, also known as group position theory, is a sociological theory which proposes that the larger the size of an outgroup, the more the corresponding ingroup perceives it to threaten its own interests, resulting in the ingroup members having more negative attitudes toward the outgroup (Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010).

The U.S. Census Bureau (2012) predicts that the national population of non-white racial groups will exceed that of whites before the middle of this century. The belief that whites are losing out in numbers to other ethnic minorities is particularly prevalent among Trump supporters (De Jonge, 2016). "Theories of identity and intergroup relations predict that this demographic shift is not only likely to be threatening to White Americans, but also will cause them to endorse more conservative political positions and discriminate more against outgroups." (Tajfel & Turner, 1986)

Furthermore, Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) also predicts that increasing diversity poses a threat to white Americans, as an increase in minorities represents a real threat to the values, and culture of white Americans. Due to this, there can be an increased

prejudice against immigrants. Trump through his various speeches, interviews, and tweets shared false statistics and numbers generating anxiety amongst the white Americans of changing racial demographics, due to the influx of refugees and immigrants. He claimed that an influx of ‘others’ is not only an issue of American security but also a burden to the American economy, as according to Trump, immigrants not only steal American jobs but those in the lower strata are parasites to the country’s welfare program.

Consider this tweet with false numbers which Trump shared about the supposed rising crime against the whites by the blacks on the 22nd of November 2015:



Figure 1

By reminding white-Americans of changing racial demographics he, directly and indirectly, gained supporters because of his explicit anti-immigrant and anti-diversity rhetoric. Trump’s rhetoric generated fear, racism, and xenophobia. When the previously discussed three elements are combined with the issue of group threat Trump is an ideal candidate to white-American working-class men and women of America who fear that their way of life is under threat. Therefore, Trump’s rhetoric holds a characteristic appeal to those working-class white-Americans who are threatened by the idea of reverse discrimination.

Immigration and Crime

When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they're beating us economically . . . The US has become a dumping ground for everyone else's problems. These aren't the best and finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. . . They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems to us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.

Donald Trump, June 16, 2015 campaign speech (Washington Post, 2015)

In the above tweet Trump singles out Mexicans, immigrants saying that they, “bring crime,” “bring problems”, bring drugs”. It is important to understand what immigration and crime are in Trump’s lexicology. Trump’s rhetoric does not specifically define whether immigrants coming to the United States are documented or undocumented. Rather, Trump asserts that Mexico “sends its people.” This could include both documented and undocumented immigration. Trump notes that immigrants are “drug dealers” and “rapists.” This provides some indication of the nature of crime Trump has in mind. According to his hypothesis, immigrants would not be prone to committing white-collar crime, the only crime they are capable of is one which is violent in nature. (Green, 2016)

Since his bid to run for the 2016 presidential elections Donald Trump notably alleged that immigrants are responsible for bringing violence and drug-related crimes in the United States of America. Host countries have always held a deep-seated prejudice when it comes to immigrants. The Trump administrations assertions that immigrants are a threat and a menace to America only serves to solidify the previously held prejudices and biases of the immigrants, and refugees.

Trump has popularized xenophobic attitudes by sharing unsubstantiated facts and claims which he made throughout the campaign via campaign rallies, interviews, and Twitter. Some of

his most popular claims were that immigrants fuel crime, terrorism and are an economic liability to the United States of America. But the biggest question is, Is there really a connection between immigrant population size and increased crime and violence? Evidence, however, points to the contrary.

Consider this, a longitudinal investigation was conducted into the effect of unauthorized immigration on violence between 1990 and 2014. The findings suggest that undocumented immigration during the above-mentioned period is generally associated with decreasing violent crime (Light & Miller, 2018). Thus, there is no significant association between immigration and crime.

While academia and the corresponding research has shown that immigration is not associated with crime, the popular perception associated with immigrants and crime is quite prevalent. Therefore, it can be said that Trump's anti-immigration rhetoric is not based on facts or data, rather it is driven heavily by his ideology and rhetoric. Immigrant advocates claim that such rhetoric demonizes an entire class of people. It can be safely deduced that as a candidate to the presidential elections Trump sought to distinguish himself by employing attention-grabbing anti-immigration rhetoric, and needless to say, his rhetoric ensured his success.

Right from the beginning of the 2016 presidential election campaign, Donald Trump, the Republican candidate built his political rhetoric on two main issues: immigration and economic inequality. Trump's rhetoric on the issue of immigration has been so successful that according to a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center most of Trump supporters view immigration as an issue in the U.S. Furthermore, 66% of registered voters who support Trump in the general election called immigration a "very big problem" in the country. In contrast, 17% of Hillary Clinton backers say the same. (Gramlich & Gramlich, 2019)

Trump's main election campaign promise was to "build a great wall," paid for by Mexico. The promise became an extremely crucial part of the campaign trail. Trump supporters

rallied together to chanting, “Build that wall!” at rallies. It is to be noted that this chant has not died out. Instead, the chant has become an ideology which derives its reasoning from neo-nationalism, and xenophobia. The chants have gained further momentum since Trump assumed office. Earlier in 2019, the proposed border wall became the focus of a government shutdown, the longest in U.S. history.

It might seem that the Trump administration has not delivered on their promise to drastically alter the immigration policies. But it is to be noted that the administration has introduced stringent reforms when it comes to the issue of immigration.

The administration has made crucial changes to immigration policies since Donald J. Trump was sworn in as the President of the United States of America. The administration achieved this in five steps. The administration banned nationals of eight countries, most majority-Muslim, from entering the United States. They then went on to reduce refugee admissions. Presently, the refugee resettlement program has the lowest number of intakes since the program was created in 1980. The Trump administration also increased arrests of unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. The government canceled the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which is currently providing work authorization and temporary relief from deportation to approximately 690,000 unauthorized immigrants brought to the United States as children. Finally, it put an end to the designation of Temporary Protected Status for nationals of Haiti, Nicaragua, and Sudan. This shifts in policies have helped in creating an atmosphere of fear for immigrants, both legal and illegal. (Pierce & Selee 2018)

The Trump administration has justified these changes in immigration policies as national security concerns and an effort to protect American jobs. In several of his rallies and interviews, Trump has vowed to bring about “extreme vetting” and to keep out those who don’t share “our values.”

The aim of this thesis is to examine the importance of language and how it has shaped immigration attitudes and altered immigration policies. President Trump's speeches, tweets, and interviews have been filled with racism, neo-nationalism and xenophobia. Early in 2018, in discussion with lawmakers about protecting immigrants from El Salvador, Haiti, and African countries as part of a bipartisan immigration deal, Trump asked, "Why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?"

The above is not a singular occurrence, it is one in a series of offensive comments Trump has made about refugees, immigrants, and their homelands. In 2015 while announcing his Presidential bid he spoke extensively about illegal immigration and border security by infamously stating, "When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems. ... They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people."

Consider this tweet by Trump on July 27, 2016

Crooked Hillary Clinton wants to flood our country with Syrian immigrants that we know little or nothing about. The danger is massive. NO!

In the above Tweet, Trump argues that Hillary Clinton wants to "flood" the United States with Syrian immigrants. In this comment, Trump not only takes a tone opposed to Clinton's (supposed) policy position but dehumanizes Syrian immigrants by referring to their arrival to a "flood." This comparison of individuals with a natural disaster is a frequent way political elite use dehumanization. By using analogies to disasters, vermin, or disease, political elites are able to deny dehumanized individuals or groups some level of humanity, which makes it easier for the American public to support harsh and punitive action against them. (Utych, 2018)

Philosopher Martha Nussbaum explains dehumanization by explaining that people find a group of humans onto whom they can project the discomfort they feel about their own bodies, by

calling them smelly, slimy, disgusting. Media portrayals of immigrants have long followed this formula. (Cisneros 2008; O'Brien 2003)

Despite Trump's often inflammatory rhetoric, dehumanization of a section of society is not new in American political life. In the early twentieth century, dehumanizing language was used frequently to describe immigrants entering the country (O'Brien 2003). "Dehumanizing language creates both cognitive and emotional responses in individuals. Directly, dehumanization should lead to more negative attitudes toward immigrants, as it provides a moral justification for punishment of out-groups." (Utych, 2018)

Language is touted to play a crucial role in determining political attitudes. The language an individual speaks or the language in which an interview is conducted have shown to have consequences in ascertaining profound attitudinal responses. Therefore, an analysis of Trump's rhetoric is crucial to this study. (Pérez 2016)

Politicians like Trump frequently use words or language that they believe will increase public support of their preferred policies (Riker 1996). Needless to say, such rhetoric has catastrophic effects for the groups or section of society which is at the receiving end. Such rhetoric, along with its associating attitudes and responses not only alienates the section which is the target of the denigrating and dehumanizing language but also makes them insular.

"Dehumanization allows individuals to morally disengage from reprehensible conduct by changing how they look at the victim of the conduct (Bandura 2002). When groups are dehumanized, they are excluded from the typical moral consideration given to other human beings (Haslam 2006). This, in turn, reduces the worth or the value of the person or the group that is dehumanized, this process ensures justification of harsh punishments meted out to the targeted group." (Utych, 2018)

Since the early 1900s, analogies used to dehumanize immigrants as invaders or diseased organisms have been prevalent in the American media. (O'Brien 2003)

Trump's rhetoric has largely been built on unscripted speeches, tweets at unusual hours immersed in unfounded allegations and statements. Trump has broken away from the rational, logical and coherent rhetoric of his predecessors. He heavily relies on hearsay, and gets most of his information from Fox News, a news channel which champions him, he not only creates but also distributes false information, and when called upon, he refuses to be held accountable for his actions.

“By communicating in a seemingly spontaneous, improvisational fashion and in unusual ways and at unusual hours, Trump increases his control of the media agenda, circumvents media gatekeepers, and distinguishes his rhetoric from the scripted, poll-driven messaging of his campaign rivals and presidential predecessors.” (Hall & Taussig, n.d.)

Trump's rhetoric is largely unorthodox when compared to that of Obama and Bush. It is to be noted that Trump is not groomed to be a politician. He is a real estate mogul and a reality television star; both these facets of his personality are quite evident in his rhetoric. His speeches along with his tweets have entertainment value and possess potential newsworthiness. According to an analysis by SMG Delta, a firm that tracks television advertising estimated that candidate Trump had garnered close to \$2 billion worth of unpaid media access, twice the amount accorded to Hillary Clinton.

Trump's policies have often been quite contradictory and opaque. Trump has more often than not unveiled his ideas on various policies including immigration in long rambling speeches and interviews or in 250-character tweets. These have largely been viewed incoherent and contradictory by nature. Yet besides all this, Trump has made a discernible change to the immigration policies.

Trump's worldview combines a deep uncertainty of America's foreign entanglements with a profound faith in America's power. It is a Manichean view of the world in which there are winning and losing countries, good and bad actors, strong and weak leaders. (Macdonald, 2015)

Considering the current anti-immigration rhetoric and the rise of the conservative and right-wing political parties around the world the political, economic and social climate is largely hostile to refugees escaping war and persecution in the hope to seek asylum.

Immigration and economy

On December 4th, 2018 Trump tweeted the following:

Could somebody please explain to the Democrats (we need their votes) that our Country losses 250 Billion Dollars a year on illegal immigration, not including the terrible drug flow. Top Border Security, including a Wall, is \$25 Billion. Pays for itself in two months. Get it done!

Whether the immigrant is a burden or a boon to the economy of the USA has been debated by several scholars. Trump's rhetoric, however, heavily relies on the former. On numerous occasions, President Donald Trump has used various estimates about the cost of illegal immigration in the past few months as he still tries to gain support from Congress to build a wall on the southern border. The tweet above is one amongst many.

In addition to the above tweet in a cabinet meeting on Dec 19th, Trump said, "It's so insignificant compared to what we're talking about. You know, I've heard numbers as high as \$275 billion we lose on illegal immigration." Numerous facts checking agencies have found Trump's numbers to be highly exaggerated.

The Heritage Foundation, a conservative research organization, released a report in 2013 about the costs of illegal immigration. The study found there were 3.7 million undocumented households and the costs were an estimated \$54.5 billion per year — five times less than Trump's estimate. (Richwine, 2013)

There are conflicting ideas about how immigration affects the economy of the USA. Michael McDonald, Assistant Professor in Finance at Fairfield University in an article titled, *10*

Ways Illegal Immigration Affects You Financially, highlighted several ways immigration affects the citizens. In the article, he says that illegal immigration reduced wages as the unregulated workers are often underpaid. Secondly, he says that illegal immigrants are a financial burden on local and federal law enforcement. Thirdly, he says that illegal immigration creates an area for the black market for goods and services. Finally, he argues that illegal immigrants come from another country, so financial problems can arise when there are excess amounts of emigration. Such a trend can destabilize foreign countries and reduce the ability of U.S. firms to export goods to those nations. (McDonald, 2018)

In the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy (ITEP) in Feb. 2016 report, “Undocumented Immigrants’ State and Local Tax Contributions, the authors have a contrasting opinion. The report claims that undocumented immigrants contribute significantly to state and local taxes, collectively paying an estimated \$11.64 billion a year. It further states that granting legal status to all undocumented immigrants in the United States as part of comprehensive immigration reform and allowing them to work legally would increase their state and local tax contributions by an estimated \$2.1 billion a year. (Christensen et al., 2016)

Throughout his campaign and well into his presidency, President Trump promised to implement new immigration policies that will help eliminate immigrants from the job market. A motivating factor behind Trump’s proposed policies, including the construction of a new U.S.-Mexico border wall, more border patrol agents, and stricter deportation policies, comes along with his belief that immigrants are stealing job opportunities from American workers. As he said in July 2015, “They’re taking our jobs. They’re taking our manufacturing jobs. They’re taking our money. They’re killing us.” (Hoban, 2018)

Felbab-Brown explains in her essay, “The Wall,” (2017) that immigrants may not actually be “stealing” as many U.S. jobs as Trump thinks. As she put it, “the impact of immigrant

labor on the wages of native-born workers is low... However, undocumented workers often work the unpleasant, back-breaking jobs that native-born workers are not willing to do.”

Thus, due to the contrasting discourses on illegal immigration and the corresponding effects of Trump’s anti-immigration rhetoric the economic dimension of the debate is important to ascertain the perspectives and the attitudes of the populace towards immigration.

Trump in his rhetoric has chronically misquoted and misrepresented facts, and when the media strives to check him, he negates and falsifies them by consistently branding them, “fake news.” Such terms which were neologisms have now penetrated the masses and are currently popular use. This, if left unchallenged could have serious repercussions to the very democratic fabric of the country. This study will analyze his rhetoric through CDA keeping in mind “the threat to diversity,” “immigration and crime,” and “immigration and economy.” It will then analyze the attitude of the public with respect to immigration using the three pillars mentioned above.

The study will investigate these three suppositions to analyze and investigate Trump’s rhetoric in its qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis will consist of a pilot test study which will determine the degree to which the President’s rhetoric has an influence on its audience. The study will add to the existing body of literature by portraying the ideology, the discourse and the power of the President’s rhetoric and its wider implications.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Foundation

The theoretical foundation will provide a framework to analyze Trump's anti-immigration rhetoric. It will provide varied lenses through which I will evaluate my research. For the purpose of this, I will borrow from Stuart Hall's Theory of Articulation, Hall's Encoding and Decoding, Van Dijk's Racism, and Barker's New Racism. Hall's theory of articulation encompasses the triangulation of ideology, discourse, and power; three important factors in discourse analysis. Similarly, Hall's Encoding and Decoding will aid in understanding the formation and the effect of discourse. Van Dijk's racism and Barker's New Racism are important in understanding the covert processes and prejudice inherent in the system. I will also explore the concepts of Nationalism, Othering, and Framing, which inform the above discussed theories and are a critical factor in Trump's rhetoric.

Theory of articulation

It is to be noted that Hall viewed the theory of articulation as a site of ideological struggle and a tool to examine social formations through analyzing discursive practices (Clarke, 2015).

“Central to the theory of articulation is the notion of ‘subjectivity’, where specific political subjects driven by an ideological conception forge the social representation of other groups through the discursive practice. Ultimately, the theory of articulation would be employed by this research to investigate the ways in which discursive elements are articulated by elite social institutions through means of the discursive practices (media texts) to shape the debate around the issue of immigration.” (Clarke 2015)

Articulation, according to Hall, can be explained as the various ways a person or group of people who have specific interests try to connect other people, groups, economic arrangement, and ideas, to carry out their interests. It is important to note that articulation ensures that a reductionist approach to analyzing rhetoric is avoided. It examines how different elements like race, economics, sexuality, and language combine and the effects it has. (Hall, 1996)

The analysis of articulation consists of various steps which will be employed in this study. Articulation, according to Hall, is an analysis of hierarchy. The first step is determining who the leader or leaders are. Then it is important to determine as to who the person/organization is and what interests they hold. The next step is to identify the factors which the speaker is trying to bring together. This could include the people, discourse, subsets of speech and practices. The next step is to analyze the overall effect of the articulation. The next step is important, as it aims to determine the differences which are being erased, which in turn is generated by stressing and inventing commonality or the use of generalizations. This arrangement also silences discourses which could be contrary to the discourse of the articulator. Gayatri Spivak terms this as epistemic violence.

According to Hall, culture plays a primary role in how we construct meaning. It consists of our shared conceptual maps. Hall propounded his belief that the capacity to classify is a basic genetic feature of human beings. The system of classification or the way we conceptually group information, this is a learned behavior. Hall believes the key to understanding how we construct meaning as a culture is through representation. Representation, Hall explains, is constitutive. It involves multiple interpretations and does not have a fixed meaning. (Hall, 2012)

Language externalizes the meaning we are making of the world. Hall refers to language in the general sense of the word. It is anything that communicates meaning. This could be through speech, written texts, dance, images, etc. Considering the fact that this research examines and analyzes language and rhetoric, Hall's theory is imperative to it.

Hall also developed his Theory of Encoding and Decoding. This approach to textual analysis focuses on the scope for negotiation and opposition on the part of the audience. This means that the audience does not simply passively accept a text.

The Encoding/decoding model of communication was first developed by Stuart Hall in 1973. Titled 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse', Hall's essay offers a theoretical approach of how media messages are produced, disseminated, and interpreted. In the essay, Hall brought the reader and the listener to the forefront. According to Hall, the reader and the listener are not passive receivers of information, rather their social contexts play a vital role in determining how they decode the message. The social context here refers to the individual's social and economic standing, background, political affiliations, and personal experiences. (Hall, 1980)

According to Hall, encoding of a message is the production of the message. It is a system of coded meanings, and in order to create it, the sender or the speaker must apprehend how the world is comprehensible to the members of the audience. On the other hand, the decoding of the message is how an audience member makes sense or interprets the message. Hall says that decoding is a process of interpretation and translation of coded information into a comprehensible form. Hall's encoding and decoding will play a crucial role in understanding the methods by which Trump encodes his anti-immigration rhetoric in his tweets, addresses and interviews, and how the audience decodes and interprets his messages. (Hall, 1980)

Crime statistics, in Hall's view, are often manipulated for political and economic purposes. Moral panics (e.g. over mugging) could thereby be ignited in order to create public support for the need to "police the crisis". The media play a central role in the "social production of news" in order to reap the rewards of lurid crime stories. Consider this with respect to Trump's rhetoric, he has constantly termed the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers and immigrants as a

‘national emergency’, and a ‘crisis.’ He has resorted to such rhetoric to draw attention towards the minorities and to justify their policing and deportations. (Hall et al, 1978).

Considering that discursive systems play an important role in determining the decoded message in Critical Discourse Analysis I will employ Hall’s theory as it pertains to racism. Hall in an essay titled, *Reflections on ‘Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance*, argued that “race is a discursive system, which has real social, economic and political conditions of existence and real symbolic and material effects.” Hall’s notion of race as a discursive system is on the notion that race is never purely ideological or cultural but situated in everyday social and economic relations. This explains the detailed way in which Hall seeks to show both that race cannot be reduced to other sets of social relations and at the same cannot be fully understood outside of these very same relations. (Hall, 2002)

To illustrate how media representations have helped to shape public understanding and attitudes toward immigrants and refugees the paper will employ theoretical foundations which bring forth, the triangulation between ideology, discourse, and power as the base of the discursive practice under study. Furthermore, it will examine the scholarship’s position on the role of media as a social institution in perpetuating such ideological discourses. The research will borrow from Stuart Hall’s theory of articulation to conceptualize the triangulation of discourse, ideology and power as it pertains with the issue of immigration.

The first corner of the triangulation is the notion of ideology that is in the Western Marxist tradition has been long perceived as one of the embodiments of the hierarchical system of domination. Notions of ideology are central to the representation of racial discourse. Ideology is the mental framework we use to make sense of our world. Therefore, it is our worldview which comprises of language, imagery, concepts, and systems of representations. (Ibrahim, 2017)

Similarly, Neo-Marxist theorist, Antonio Gramsci notes in his *Prison Notebooks* that ideology is used as means to 'organize human masses and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position and struggle' (1971). Therefore, Gramsci conceptualizes a relationship between ideology and hegemony. It is to be noted that ideologies act as strategic tools controlled by dominant groups in the society to shape individuals and subordinated groups' to eventually influence and modify their actions within the processes of social struggle (Hall, 1988). Van Dijk's said that discourses contribute to build narratives within ideologies through language (Van Dijk, 2006). (Ibrahim, 2017)

Therefore, 'discourse,' 'ideology' and 'power' converge. These concepts not only refer to the way people comprehend the social world through language and other systems of sign but also empower an individual or a group who attempts to fix meaning-making systems.

In *Representation and the Media*, Stuart Hall said that the question of power can never be bracketed out of representation, as media is one of the most powerful and widespread circulators of meaning. Furthermore, technologies have empowered the media to communicate their meanings to a wider audience.

Consider this, a study from Western University suggests that the news media take advantage of an already existing uncertainty and unease around immigration policies and the treatment of immigrants and refugees to create a crisis mentality in which these groups are portrayed as "enemies at the gate" attempting to invade western nations. The adjectives used to describe the arriving new population has always held negative connotations. They are described as, 'flood', 'horde', 'deluge', etc. (Esses, Medianu, & Lawson, 2013)

In "Uncertainty, Threat, and the Role of the Media in Promoting the Dehumanization of Immigrants and Refugees," the authors examine the effects of common media portrayals of immigrants and refugees and the resulting dehumanization and its consequences. These portrayals include suggestions that immigrants spread infectious diseases, that refugee claimants are often

bogus, and that terrorists may gain entry to western nations disguised as refugees. Trump actively perpetuates this discourse. "In the current global climate, immigration and refugee policies are a hot topic of debate and there is little direct information available to the public to answer their questions. This creates an opportunity for the media and political elites to grab the public's attention, alerting them to supposed physical, economic, and cultural threats from immigrants and refugees as they transform relatively mundane episodes into newsworthy events that can be sold to the public and serve as support for relatively extreme political platforms." These underlying concepts are an important factor in this study. (Esses et al., 2013)

Therefore, language plays an extensive role in how we view the world. Saussure (1962) argued that the use of language is individualistic and asocial, Fairclough (1995) explains that language is a social practice that articulates a dialectical, ideological relationship between discourse and various social structures (political, social, economic). Whereby, ideological 'discourse is shaped by structures, but also contributes to shaping and reshaping them' (Fairclough, 1995). Hence, discourse production by social structures appropriates an ideologically biased use of language (Van Dijk, 2006). Nonetheless, Fairclough stresses those critical approaches to study linguistics ought to engage with wider social contexts and broader notions of power and hegemony (1995). (Ibrahim, 2017)

Racism

"The theoretical framework explained above will look at how racial ideologies are being appropriated by the media, to construct social representations of migrants and refugees. Evidently, Van Dijk (1993) explains that racism is the articulation of ideologies, acts, structures, processes and institutions that directly or indirectly contribute to the dominance of one group and the subordination of the other. He also argues that media 'defines, legitimates, and manufactures

ethnic and racial consensus' (Van Dijk, 1993). Therefore, racism has been systematically enacted and pre-formulated in elite discourses of social institutions despite official assurances on values of inclusion and tolerance (Van Dijk, 1993). It is to be noted that racism as a form of ethnic dominance and inequality is, in fact, a social practice reproduced through discourses of elite institutions. Thus, the concept of 'elite racism' coined by Van Dijk (1993) looks at the subtle ways in which elite discourses reproduce racism through discursive practices." (Ibrahim, 2017)

This points towards the development of a new form of racism, 'New Racism,' conceptualized by Barker in 1981. 'New Racism' transcends traditional biological conception of race onto capitalizing on certain ethnic, religious and cultural differences as decisive boundaries between social groups (Van Dijk). Public discourse of media and politics constantly denies 'new racism' as a form of covert discrimination in salient efforts to normalize such discursive practices as natural and commonsensical. (Ibrahim, 2017)

In such narratives the past is represented as 'white' into which racialized others have infiltrated and gained a disproportionate advantage. Hence, the claim broadcast primarily to white audiences in each place is 'to take our country back'. (Bhambra, 2017). This is quite evident in Trump's sloganeering of "Make America Great Again."

Refugees and migrants as social groups face multiple forms of marginalization within the public discourse of social institutions as a result of their race, ethnicity, and lack of citizenship rights (Georgiou, 2012). The rise of neo-racist sentiment amidst the emergence of an anti-refugee discourse demonizing asylum-seekers by portraying them as 'bogus' and 'illegal' (Fekete, 2010). Framing migrants as others, parasites and threats is a common practice within media discourses (Waters, 2015). The immigrant is portrayed as a parasite on the host country who has infiltrated and corrupted it. Therefore, the exclusion of the immigrant is a condition for America to regain its greatness.

Nationalism

Sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists have been interested in the formation of collective identities like national identities for a long time. Collective identities refer to the idea that a group of people accepts a fundamental and consequential similarity that causes them to feel solidarity amongst themselves (Cooper 2000). This sense of collective identity is socially constructed. Therefore, it is a consequence of one's social interactions. Collective identity is also by definition about the construction of an 'other.' Our idea of who we are is often framed as a response to some 'other' group (Barth 1969). (Fligstein et. al, 2012)

Anderson wrote one of the seminal works concerning national identity, *Imagined Communities: The Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (1983). He defines a nation as an imagined political community -- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. Nations are imagined because members of even the smallest nation do not know or meet more everyone else within the nation. When connected to a state, nations establish limits and boundaries. The state creates rules that define who citizens are, and who foreigners. Thus, nationalism can have any cultural root, as long as that culture can be used to forge a cross-class alliance around a nation-building project. (Anderson, 2016)

So how does nationalism pertain to this study? Trump's most popular mantra has been, "America first." He has also famously claimed that he is a "proud nationalist," a term he has used to contrast himself from his predecessors who negotiated economic and immigration deals which he claims were exclusively for the benefit of the others, whereas on the other hand, he would give first priority to his fellow Americans. Consider the following statement he made in October 2018:

"I love our country, and our country has taken second fiddle. Other countries, rich as well as poor, are taking advantage of the U.S. They got the better of trade and paid less for the

common defense. All I want is for our country is to be treated well, to be treated with respect, so in that sense, I'm absolutely a nationalist, and I'm proud of it."

The above statements by Trump criticize and question the motives of other countries, while at the same time they indicate a sense of victimhood. Nationalism in this context is not ground in a country's identity, its value and its history; it is rather divisive, as it separates the rhetoric in terms of 'us' vs 'them.' Trump uses the word nationalism in place of patriotism, but patriotism which purports that America is superior to other nations.

Nationalism in the Trumpian era does not allude to inclusion, it has tones of racism and ethnocentrism, a factor which will be become clearer in the critical discourse analysis part of this study.

The framing of the "illegal immigrants"

The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. (Scheufele & Dietram, 1999)

The theory was first put forth by Goffman, "Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience." According to Goffman framing theory suggests that the way something is presented to the audience (called "the frame") influences the choices people make about how to process that information. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the information they convey. They are thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience, in this way it could be construed as a form of second level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting), but also how to think about that issue. (Goffman, 1974)

Consider this message by President Trump which he tweeted on January 12th, 2019:

“ICE officers made 266,000 arrests of criminal aliens, including those charged or convicted of nearly 100,000 assaults. 30,000 sex crimes and 4,000 killings or murders.”

Numerous fact-checkers have reported that the above-reported numbers by Trump are misleading and are false. As mentioned earlier, illegal immigration does not increase the prevalence of violent crime or drugs and that undocumented immigrants are actually less likely to break the law than legal US residents.

“Framing” is a communication technique that consists of using specific language to portray a topic negatively or positively by relying on biased mental representations. For instance, by calling undocumented immigrants “criminal illegal aliens”, the US president explicitly implies that even individuals who have not yet crossed the US-Mexico border (such as those in the “caravan” of immigrants traveling to the US from Central America) have already broken the law. (Gaufrey, 2019)

By using the term “illegal aliens” rather than “undocumented immigrants” is more likely to sway a more conservative person against immigration because of “their greater support for order and structure, which is offended by illegality.” (Nowrasteh, 2017)

Framing is an inescapable part of human communication, we all bring our own frames and perspectives to our communication. Framing is in many ways tied very closely to Agenda Setting theory. In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues—that is, the media may set the “agenda” of the campaign. (Shaw & Day, 1966)

The following framing techniques by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) will be utilized in the qualitative analysis section of this study:

- Metaphor: To frame a conceptual idea through comparison to something else.
- Stories (myths, legends): To frame a topic via narrative in a vivid and memorable way.
- Tradition (rituals, ceremonies): Cultural mores that imbue significance in the mundane, closely tied to artifacts.
- Slogan, jargon, catchphrase: To frame an object with a catchy phrase to make it more memorable and relate-able.
- Artifact: Objects with intrinsic symbolic value – a visual/cultural phenomenon that holds more meaning than the object itself.
- Contrast: To describe an object in terms of what it is not.
- Spin: to present a concept in such a way as to convey a value judgment (positive or negative) that might not be immediately apparent; to create an inherent bias by definition.

Thus, the following analysis will employ the above-discussed theories and concepts to demonstrate how Trump's rhetoric on immigration steeped in racism, xenophobia, and ethnic nationalism constructs the image of the "illegal immigrant" which serves to further his divisive rhetoric. It is also to be noted that each of the above theories discussed in this chapter will be employed individually in the qualitative analysis, rather than all the theoretical pillars culminating into a larger model.

Chapter 4

Methodology

For the purpose of research, I will divide my methodology section into two parts- qualitative and quantitative analysis. The first part of the methodology will consist of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which I will conduct on a few chosen tweets and the Presidential State of the Union Address of 2019.

I will demonstrate how Trump's rhetoric on immigration laced with racism, xenophobia, and ethnic nationalism constructs the image of the "illegal immigrant" which serves to further his divisive rhetoric. It is to be noted that CDA will be performed only to the part of the speech which addressed the immigration issue.

The second part of the methodology section will consist of two surveys. The surveys will consist of 15 questions and will, in turn, be administered to 15 people each. Both the surveys will consist of questions which will aim at determining the immigration attitude of the respondents. Both the surveys will have the same questions, however, there is a characteristic difference between the two surveys. Every question in the first survey will be supplemented by a tweet by President Trump. The content and the tone of the tweet will be exclusively anti-immigrant and will complement the question being asked to the respondent. The aim of the survey is to compare and contrast the difference in immigration attitudes of the respondents.

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. Drawing on the work of Norman Fairclough, this research employed critical discourse analysis to examine Trump's address and a purposeful sample of his tweets as a part of a larger discourse which frames and reports the anti-immigration rhetoric in the United States of America. CDA was specifically chosen as a methodology for this study due to the nature of data that is being examined. This research differs from other studies dealing with the representation of immigrants in the discursive practice as it tries to assimilate both ideological and social relations in the analysis of discourse.

It is to be noted that the reason CDA was chosen was because social and political issues are constructed and reflected in discourse. It is through discourse where power relations are negotiated. Discourse reflects and reproduces social relations. Thus, CDA as a methodology is suitable to serve this purpose as it is grounded in theory providing direct engagement with the theoretical triangulation of power, hegemony, and discourse (Ibrahim, 2017).

Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of critical discourse analysis focuses on the text, discourse practices and sociocultural practices. These three levels of analysis are crucial to investigate the occurrence of nationalism, xenophobia, racism, etc. in Trump's rhetoric.

Furthermore, CDA examines the various approaches through which discursive practices are socially shaped and their social effects (Fairclough, 1995). "CDA's distinctive contribution as the sociolinguistic approach is the study of how discourses work to constitute knowledge and power relations in particular ways that 'mask, marginalize or totally exclude other ways of knowing and doing' (Phillips, 2008)." (Ibrahim, 2017)

Accordingly, this research requires a tool that studies linguistic variations of media texts and conceptualizes recurrent discourses. Thus, CDA was chosen for its particular interest in the

relationship between power and language as a social practice which uses is considered to be of high importance for this approach (Fairclough, 1995). Evidently, Fairclough argues that ‘texts constitute a major source of evidence for grounding claims about social structures, relations, and processes’ (Fairclough, 1995). While CDA has strong ‘textual orientation’ (Fairclough, 1995), it goes beyond the boundaries of the language syntactic and semantics to understand how discursive practices are socially shaped as well as highlighting their social effects (Fairclough 1995). CDA is thus a three-tiered sequence, beginning with a description of textual features as the starting point, proceeding to the interpretation of institutional effects on the text as the next level of analysis, culminating in an explanation of the social and cultural influences that surround the text and shape its discursive power (Pitman et al., 2012).

For the purpose of the study, I will employ the following analytical tools: naming, reference, negation, hyperbole, metonymy, abstraction, transitivity, lexicalization, modality, and thematization. Naming and reference are processes where the speaker uses/introduces a noun or a name, or refers to a particular instant with the aim of generalizing. Negation is positive self-representation, and the negative representation. Hyperbole is the exaggeration of facts and numbers. Metonymy is the process wherein a word or phrase denoting an object is substituted with a word or phrase denoting one of its characters. Lexicalization is the process of choosing specific words over the available words. Modality focuses on modal verbs and modal auxiliaries. Finally, thematization is the process of selecting specific themes to form a discourse.

Hence, the research will dwell on two questions.

Research Question 1: Is Trump’s rhetoric on immigration steeped in racism, xenophobia, and ethnic nationalism responsible for the present-day construct of the “illegal immigrant”?

Research Question 2: If the answer to the above question is affirmative, then to what degree have the immigration attitudes of the Americans changed (as a result of Trump’s rhetoric)?

Chapter 5

Qualitative analysis of an excerpt from The State of the Union Address 2019

As discussed previously, for the purpose of the research, excerpts from President Trump's speech which deal with immigration will be evaluated. This will be done in association with tweets which the President tweeted during the last week of January 2019. The tweets will help us understand the discourse practices, i.e. the processes of the production of the text, distribution, and consumption.

President Donald Trump delivered his 2019 State of the Union address on February 5th, 2019. This study aims at conducting a linguistic analysis which will illustrate how he utilizes language to draw the audience's attention and persuade the Congress to favor him when it comes to allotting the funds required to construct the wall at the southern border.

A descriptive-analytic method of research based on critical discourse analysis model presented by Norman Fairclough and also van Dijk's ideological discourse analysis framework will be utilized throughout the study to demonstrate how Trump's rhetoric on immigration laced with racism, xenophobia, and nationalism constructs the image of the "illegal immigrant" which serves to further his divisive rhetoric.

To better analyze Trump's rhetoric, I will code his address for key nouns and adjectives and the frequency with which he employs.

Key words/Phrases	Frequency	Related words or vocabulary items that project the meaning	Frequency
Immigration	5	National crisis	2
		Dangerous	4
		Illegal immigrant	5
		Ruthless	1
		Coyotes	1
		Cartels	1
		Drug dealers	2
		Sex trafficker	2
		Human traffickers	3
		Caravan	1
		Onslaught	1
		Lawless	1
		Security	1
		Safety	1
		Violent	1
		Crime	3
		Overburdened	1
		Savage	1
		Gang	2
		Murdered	2
		Illegal	3
		Aliens	2
		Sadistic	1

Table 1: Analysis of the State of the Union Address for anti-immigration rhetoric

The words immigration and immigrants are ideologically contested through applying some nouns, adjectives, and adverbs as rewording, which make ideologically significant meaning relations by using synonyms, and projection (foregrounding) (Mohammadi, 2017). For example, dangerous, ruthless, coyotes, cartels, drug dealer, sex trafficker, caravan, lawless, violent, crime, overburdened, savage, gang, illegal, alien. According to the discourse of the speech, these are the words and phrases which are mutually substitutable with little effect on the meaning of immigrants and immigration.

Trump describes immigrants with words like “illegals”, ‘gangs”, “savage”, “criminals”, “sadistic”, etc. They arrive “illegally” in America, and commit “violent crimes” and “murder”. Hence stopping them is absolutely necessary. It is to be noted that Fairclough said that a text’s choice of wording helps create, social relationships between participants (1995).

Trump’s rhetoric employs several instances of abstraction. For example, there is no record or reports of the criminals which he claims are penetrating the USA border. Further abstraction can be seen in his statement: “Tens of thousands of innocent Americans are killed by lethal drugs that cross our border and flood into our cities -- including meth, heroin, cocaine, and fentanyl.” The exact number is not mentioned, in its place is an abstract number, “tens of thousands.” Trump also resorts to nominalization as he assumes that all “illegal immigrants” increase the crime rate and are an economic burden to the American society.

He further claims that there is an “organized caravan marching to the United States.” This phrase is particularly important as it portrays the idea of the illegal immigrant according to President Trump. The caravan is no ordinary caravan, it is

‘organized.’ An organized caravan is planned, coordinated and conducted by people working together on a continuing basis. Further, the caravan is not ‘walking’, or ‘crawling’, rather it is ‘marching’. Trump uses the term ‘marching’, a military phrase which is known to be purposeful, synchronized, ordered, planned and practiced. All of this makes it seem that the borders will not only be infiltrated by the ‘outsider’ and by the ‘others’ who are seeking asylum; but that these others will overthrow the political, economic and social status-quo of the country.

Trump utilizes the three rhetorical appeals in his speech successively. He uses ethos which helps him build credibility as perceived by the audience. For example, he claimed that the issue of the border wall was not just about border security but rather “a moral issue.” He employs pathos wherein he persuades the audience by making them feel certain emotions. For example, he brought up the issue of sex traffickers and human traffickers who take advantage of open areas between ports. Finally, he uses logos wherein he persuades the audience by the use of arguments that are perceived as logical. For example, he uses statistics for this, “In the last 2 years, our brave ICE officers made 266,000 arrests of criminal aliens, including those charged or convicted of nearly 100,000 assaults, 30,000 sex crimes, and 4,000 killings.” This part of his speech uses logos as he explains the legitimacy of the process.

Trump also employed the above statistics in a tweet on January 12, 2019. The above statement makes his argument more persuasive as it makes the situation objectively critical. The Washington Post noted, the problem is that these are fuzzy and misleading numbers. They include, for instance, “serious and nonviolent offenses” and the totals cover “all types of offenses, including illegal entry or reentry” (Gaufrey,

2019). Even if you just look at the core of the argument (that illegal aliens commit more crimes), it is contradicted by independent academic studies.

Unlike several world leaders, Trump does not use we-referencing language, rather the speech is laced with references to himself as the sole actor/agency who will protect and safeguard a nation under immediate threat. For example, “I have ordered another 3,750 troops to our southern border to prepare for the tremendous onslaught,” “I want people to come into our country, but they have to come in legally.” Trump inadvertently uses the personal pronoun “I” instead of the collective noun ‘we’. Also, in this sentence, Trump uses words like ‘tremendous’, and ‘onslaught,’ to symbolize chaos and stoke fear. According to Trump, what is at stake is law, order and ultimately civilization itself, and he is its sole protector. He further adds, “We have a moral duty to create an immigration system that protects the lives and jobs of our citizens.” In the statement, the modal auxiliary “have” carries implicit power relation. By applying the modality “have” as an auxiliary verb, Trump tries to emphasize on the importance of the problem.

On January 26, 2019, Trump tweeted the following:

“We have turned away, at great expense, two major Caravans, but a big one has now formed and is coming. At least 8000 people! If we had a powerful Wall, they wouldn’t even try to make the long and dangerous journey. Build the Wall and Crime will Fall!”

He incites paranoia and fear when he claims that a caravan, a ‘big one’ is ‘now coming.’ Then he offers the only solution which he has designed- “Build a wall.” Trump then states his maxim, “Build a wall, and crime will fall.” The wall is depicted as the nation’s only defense, and the failure of its construction will, in turn, will mean a failure of the country, and therefore of civilization itself.

He also employs the technique of contrasting, wherein there is a constant comparison of ‘us’ vs ‘them’. For example, “The lawless state of our southern border is a threat to the safety, security, and financial well-being of all Americans.” The apparent “lawless state” is Mexico, but Trump does not mention it by name but he uses it as a reference to illustrate the differences. He portrays Mexico as “lawless” whereas the USA is “lawful.” Trump uses the word as a transitive which strengthens his argument while at the same time, he appeals to his fellow Americans to follow his vision.

His address uses the rhetorical elements of ethos and pathos heavily. It is a call to the arms wherein he individually addresses each American to protect the idealistic qualities and values which the country stands for. His rhetoric propounds that the country is under siege at the hands of the “criminal aliens.”

Trump further claimed that illegal immigration will not be tolerated as it is not a compassionate act. He asserted that one in three women were sexually assaulted on the long journey north and that smugglers use migrant children as human pawns to exploit the laws and gain access to their country. With this argument, Trump effectively cuts off aid to marginalized and the minority. According to his claims, women should not be on the journey north because they could be sexually harassed, hence, they should stay where they are. Further, if women are accepted into the country then other women will be encouraged to take the perilous journey, therefore, for their safety the administration will not accept them. On the other hand, children can be used as “pawns”, and since their safety too is in danger the USA will not accept them either.

Trump then specifically addresses how illegal immigration would harm the working class. He said that it leaves “working class Americans” to “pay the price for

mass illegal immigration: reduced jobs, lower wages, overburdened schools and hospitals, increased crime, and a depleted social safety net.” Therefore, the issue of immigration directly affects the well-being of the working class.

He further highlights the issue of crime and the effects it has had on American families. He said, “Year after year, countless Americans are murdered by criminal illegal aliens. I've gotten to know many wonderful Angel Moms, Dads, and families -- no one should ever have to suffer the horrible heartache they have endured.” The section portrays Americans and their families as victims and the illegal immigrant as preparators of crime who have soiled the values of American society and have torn apart its fundamental- American family. He frames the topic in a vivid and memorable, thus, an attack on an American individual is an attack on the country itself.

To lend credibility to his abstractions, Trump resorted to the technique of ‘naming.’ He names and identifies one woman, Debra Bissell whose parents were burglarized and shot to death by an “illegal alien.” The story of Debra Bissell works as a reference which is then used as a generalization as it serves to further strengthen his anti-immigration rhetoric.

Trump then specifically names and addresses a law enforcement officer, Special Agent Elvin Hernandez. Trump introduced Hernandez by saying, “When Elvin was a boy, he and his family legally immigrated to the United States from the Dominican Republic.” He further said, “Thanks to his work and that of his colleagues, more than 300 women and girls have been rescued from horror and more than 1,500 sadistic traffickers have been put behind bars in the last year.” It is important to note that he uses Hernandez as an example to characterize the difference between an American and an “illegal

immigrant.” It is the civilized and just society of the former which raises and nurtures a man who protects and safeguards women and girls despite the fact that he is born outside. It is his ‘legal’ status and his nurture in a civilized, educated and lawful society which has redeemed him to be addressed as a “law enforcement hero” in contrast to the “sadistic traffickers.”

He further posits a binary opposition in his words. It is a unified House of democrats and republicans which will come to the aid of all the citizens of the USA. He invokes the binary opposition when it comes to addressing the divide between wealthy philanthropists who advocate for open border policy and working class who lack all the privileges and are under threat by the “illegal immigrant” who will rob them of what is rightfully theirs. He thus delegitimizes the perceived ‘other.’

He supplemented, “My Administration has sent to the Congress a commonsense proposal to end the crisis on our southern border.” The word “commonsense” implies that the solution he has offered is the only resort when it comes to dealing with illegal immigration. Here the listener would assume that Trump is the only leader who can effectively deal with the “threat” at the southern borders. He employs El Paso as an example, wherein he explains that the barriers around the city have helped to keep a check on the crime rate. Here again, Trump resorts to nominalization.

The ideas that the immigrant is a threat to security and a parasite on the tax payer’s money is key to the whole anti-immigrant rhetoric. The idea that the immigrants and the supporting social programs will drain the nation of its wealth is an idea propagated by the Trumpian rhetoric.

In Trump’s rhetoric there is an inherent dichotomy between the words he uses for immigration and the ones he employs when it comes to referring to America and Americans. I will illustrate this by enlisting the words he uses as nouns and adjectives, and the frequency with which he uses them as it pertains to the latter.

Key words/Phrases	Frequency	Related words or vocabulary items that project the meaning	Frequency
Americanism	10	America(n)	10
		Homeland	1
		Committed	1
		Our Citizens	1
		(Our) Rules	1
		(Our) laws	4
		(Our) Country	3
		Innocent	1
		(Our) Nation	1
		Brave	2
		Heroes	2
		Safety	1
		Moral	1

Table 2: Analysis of the State of the Union Address for Americanism rhetoric

Merriam Webster defines Americanism as “attachment or allegiance to the traditions, interests, or ideals of the U.S.” and, “the political principles and practices essential to American culture.” Trumpism has a completely different approach to Americanism. According to Trump, it is, “America First,” hence, he declares, “We have a moral duty to create an immigration system that protects the lives and jobs of our citizens.”

It is crucial to note that in his rhetoric Trump constructs a collective identity of America/Americans. He uses words like “brave,” “heroes,” “Homeland,” “morals,” etc. These contrasting depictions are crucial to understanding the systematic way Trump’s rhetoric brutalizes immigrants and idealizes America/American

Discussion

The speech was what is ‘classic’ Trump. It was surprisingly measured but was notably prejudiced, unclear, incompetent and biased. Trump speaks clearly utilizing simple and short sentences. This keeps the attention of a varied audience. At the discursive level of the CDA, the form is a speech which Trump delivered at the 2019 State of the Union. It was a direct address about the various challenges in American society and the immigration crisis. The Congress had refused to give Trump the access to the funds which he needs to construct a wall.

As mentioned previously his rhetoric portrayed the immigrant as regressive, barbaric, uneducated, criminals and rapists. The common modality aims to establish a firm cognitive connection between the perpetrators of the acts and a specific social group namely illegal immigrant (Ibrahim, 2017). In this case specifically, those trying to enter the country from the southern border. The crimes committed by minorities within such a social group are emphasized and generalized to the entire group.

Furthermore, the dehumanization of immigrants as ‘illegal’, ‘savage’, ‘gang’, ‘mass’, ‘thousands’, ‘smugglers’, ‘traffickers’, etc. resonates xenophobic and racist discourses used in past texts to describe black people under slavery and natives under colonialism, who were similarly dehumanized, held to possess dangerous mass characteristics which justified their persecution, and in this case their forced deportation.

Therefore, the consistent recurrence of certain representations of some social groups in the media reproduces stereotypes that confirm the dominant social and political hierarchies (Georgiou, 2012). There are a generalization and the accompanied stereotypical portrayal of the immigrants.

It is also crucial to look at the phrase, “illegal alien”, which Trump so often employs in his rhetoric. It can be debatable whether the USA faces “refugee” crisis or a “migrant” crisis. In this context, it is crucial to define the following terms and the political implications they hold considering the fact that the paper employs CDA.

The glossary provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines a migrant as someone who moves, temporarily or permanently, from one place or country to another. A refugee, on the other hand, is forced to move because of persecution, or they are displaced by war or a humanitarian disaster or some other external and compelling factors. States are obliged to provide them with protection under international law. Finally, asylum seekers are refugees seeking protection from war or persecution who apply for refugee status under international and national laws.

It is to be noted that the people approaching the USA border are fleeing war, persecution and economic crisis. Therefore, the right term to employ in such a case would be refugees. Trump’s rhetoric has failed to address them as refugees, rather portraying them as not just immigrants, but “illegal”.

By addressing undocumented immigrants “criminal illegal aliens”, the US president explicitly implies that even individuals who have not yet crossed the US-Mexico border (such as those in the “caravan” of immigrants traveling to the US from Central America) have already broken the law. The possibility that some are refugees and may request asylum is excluded, in which case, they are not technically immigrants, much less illegal, at least until their claims are possibly denied. (Gaudefroy, 2019)

By employing such catchphrases Trump's rhetoric has dehumanized those who are seeking aid from the country, thereby making their removal from the country acceptable.

Trump's discourse and the corresponding right-wing nationalism has gained a substantial foothold in the American politics by invoking ethnic and racial nationalism to strengthen a unique American identity, one which cannot be bestowed on the immigrants, hence strengthening their 'otherness'.

The negative imagery when it comes to illustrating immigrants only serves to strengthen Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric which has been his trump card since his election campaign. His rhetoric is sensationalistic as it focuses entirely on the perceived threat of immigrants rather than providing a balanced report. Trump clubs all the immigrants together as he uses the tactics of nominalization, generalization, and abstraction. Tolerance and compassion are criticized, while anti-immigration sentiment is presented as the only valid opinion.

Brief content analysis shows that the discourse is constructed on the following themes: national security, terrorism, societal tensions, security of America, rising unemployment and economic crisis. The immigrants were largely framed as a homogeneous mass of people, who constitute a "problem", a "crisis" for the integrity of American societies. It is also crucial to point out that such discourses never contain the voices of the immigrants themselves, this very move creates a deep rift between the two groups.

The first recurring theme identified through the analysis was a 'dichotomized articulation' aiming at constructing the 'other' by focusing on the boundaries to distinguish between two different social groups, 'us' and 'them'. This formation has been outlined to historicize the discourses that constitute contemporary social representations and investigate the ideological interests they serve. (Hall, 1996)

Trump constructs the 'other' on a textual level in his rhetoric through what refers to as, 'binary system of representation' whereby, racial discourse defines 'symbolic boundaries

between racially constituted categories... naturalizes the difference between belongingness and otherness (Hall, 1992). The texts possess clear signifiers drawing the boundaries between two distinct social groups within the following dichotomous themes: criminality/victimhood, progressiveness/backwardness, whiteness/dark-skinned, wealth/poverty. These dichotomous themes converge to build a language modality aiming at drawing racial boundaries between two distinct groups, a 'universal' group with a certain set of attributes and an 'other' group with a contrasting set of attributes. (Ibrahim, 2017)

Trump's rhetoric portrays the disparate social relations between the hosts (Americans) and 'others' (immigrants). His rhetoric has the privilege of being circulated without any review in the society. This has allowed him to popularize his prejudice and his divisive ideology against immigrants. Therefore, his rhetoric constructs the immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees as hostile, backward and uncivilized, in contrast to the identity of the American which is constructed as a forward-thinking, civilized, educated, ethical and moral.

Therefore, I have successfully answered the first research question and demonstrated how Trump's rhetoric on immigration immersed in racism, xenophobia, and ethnic nationalism constructs the image of the "illegal immigrant" which serves to further his divisive rhetoric. Since the study has now established that Trump's rhetoric is anti-immigrant and anti-diversity, it will now examine the effects such a rhetoric has on the general populace. The quantitative section of this study will perform the latter function.

Chapter 6

Quantitative analysis of the effects of Trump's rhetoric

In the qualitative section, I used CDA to demonstrate that Trump's rhetoric on immigration steeped in racism, xenophobia, and ethnic nationalism has led to the construction of the "illegal immigrant." The answer to the first research question is an affirmative. Therefore, the pilot study investigated if the immigration attitudes of the Americans changed as a result of Trump's rhetoric.

As mentioned earlier the survey consisted of two sets of questionnaires with the same questions. The difference between the two surveys was that the questions in Survey 1 were preceded by tweets from President Trump which were specifically about immigration. Survey 2 on the other hand only had the questions and not Trump's tweets about immigrants and asylum seekers. The two sets of surveys were administered to fifteen people each. The sample size consisted of 30 people who were eighteen years of age and above and were citizens of America. It is to be noted that the survey was a pilot study. The results will determine whether there is any scope to conduct a full-fledged analysis using a similar pattern. The survey was conducted using the Qualtrics software, by sharing an anonymous link with the respondents. The respondents could choose to answer the surveys either on their mobiles or personal computers.

The survey aimed to ascertain whether Trump's rhetoric affects the perception of Americans pertaining to their immigration attitudes.

Hypothesis 1: The results from Survey 1 in which the questions were preceded by tweets from President Trump will portray a neutral or negative attitude towards both legal and illegal immigration.

Hypothesis 2: The results from Survey 2 will portray a neutral or a positive stance towards both legal and illegal immigration.

For measuring attitudes towards immigration, measuring political trust was crucial. Political trust was measured by means of three questions that focused on the following- if the respondents trusted the ‘facts’ shared by Trump, if the respondents have confidence in Trump’s dealing of immigration, and if they have confidence with his decisions pertaining to the economy. The latter was used to compare the trust the public had in two issues which Trump has popularized.

To measure anti-immigrant sentiments, the study relied on three survey questions that asked the respondents to indicate whether America had the right number of immigrants, if they believed undocumented immigrants were more likely to commit serious crimes when compared to Americans, and if they viewed the construction of the border wall along the US- Mexico border as important to the immigration policy.

The survey also investigated the threat to diversity and the rise of ethnonationalism amongst the respondents. For this, the respondents were asked if they viewed their ethnic identity as an important reflection of who they are, and if they had discussed the immigration policy debate with your friends, family, and co-workers since Trump became President.

The following tabular column summarizes the results of the two surveys.

Question	Distinct Categories	Results of Survey 1 (%)	Results of Survey 2 (%)
Do you trust the statements and the facts shared by President Trump?	Same as the predecessor- Less than the Predecessor- More than the predecessor-	61.5 38.5 0	15.4 61.5 23.1
Have President Trump's policies on immigration made America safer?	Yes- Maybe- No-	0 53.8 46.2	21.4 21.4 57.1
Pick a key element which will decide President Trump's success during his presidential tenure	Negotiate favorable trade agreements- Make good decisions about economic policy- Designing effective immigration policies- Work effectively with congress-	7.7 38.5 15.4 38.5	28.6 21.4 28.6 21.4
Trump's greatest achievement as a president will be the construction of the wall	Yes- Maybe- No-	23.1 23.1 53.8	14.3 28.6 47.1
Do you think that The United States of America has the right number of immigrants?	Right number- Too many- Too few-	63.6 27.3 9.1	57.1 28.6 14.3
What do you think is the biggest problem in the USA today?	Illegal immigration- Terrorism- Job for working class Americans- Gun violence-	30.0 0 20.0 50.0	15.4 7.7 15.4 61.5
Under the current government which situation has been addressed and solved effectively	Economy- Illegal immigration- Crime- Terrorism-	62.5 37.5 0 0	50 25 8.3 16.7
Do you have confidence in president Trump when dealing with illegal immigration?	A great deal- A fair amount- Not too much- Not at all-	0 53.8 7.7 38.5	14.3 42.9 14.3 28.6
What percentage of immigrants do you believe reside in the USA legally?	25-50% 50-75% Hard to say-	30.8 30.8 38.5	14.3 35.7 50.0
I support building a wall across the southern U. S. border to prevent immigration	Yes- Maybe- No-	25 16.7 58.3	21.4 28.6 50.0
The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am	Yes- Maybe- No-	43.8 30.8 25.4	28.6 28.6 42.9
Have you discussed the immigration policy debate with your friends, family, and co-workers since Trump became President?	Yes- Maybe- No-	75.0 16.7 8.3	78.6 14.3 7.1

Table 3: Results of Quantitative Analysis

While measuring attitudes towards immigration, it was important to measure political trust. The respondents were asked if they trusted the ‘facts’ shared by Trump. In Survey 1, 61.5% of respondents said that they trusted Trump’s word the same as his predecessors. On the other hand, in Survey 2 only 15.4% of respondents said that they trusted Trump’s word the same as his predecessors. Also, in Survey 2, 23.1% said that they trusted Trump more than his predecessors.

In Survey 1, 53.8% respondents said that maybe Trump’s policies on immigration made America safer; to this only 21.4% in Survey 2 said that maybe Trump’s policies on immigration made America safer. Similarly, in Survey 1, 53.8 % of the respondents said that they have ‘a fair amount’ of confidence in Trump’s dealing of immigration; in comparison 42.9% of the respondents in Survey 2.

In Survey 1, 37.5% of the respondents said that under the current government the issue of illegal immigration has been addressed and solved effectively; in comparison to the 25% of the respondents in Survey 2. A majority of the respondents in both survey 1 and 2 said that the government was working effectively to improve the economy.

To measure anti-immigrant sentiments, we relied on two survey questions. In Survey 1, 63.6% said that undocumented immigrants mostly fill jobs which Americans do not want; whereas 28.6% said so in Survey 2. Also, in Survey 2, 35.7% of the respondents said that undocumented immigrants were as honest and hardworking as the immigrants; to this, 0 respondents said so in Survey 1. In Survey 1, 25% of the respondents said that support building a wall across the southern U. S. border to prevent immigration; to this 21.4% said so in Survey 2. Also, in Survey 1, 58.3% said that they do not support building a wall across the southern U. S. border to prevent immigration; to this, 50.0% of the respondents agreed in Survey 2. It was also investigated to determine if the respondents believed in Trump’s statistics pertaining to immigrant numbers he shared via Twitter. The respondents were asked as to what percentage of immigrants they believe reside legally in America. In Survey 1, 30.8% of the respondents said that America

had the right number of immigrants, 38.5% were undecided. Whereas in Survey 2, 14.3% of the respondents said that America had the right number of immigrants, 50% were undecided.

The survey investigated the threat to diversity and the rise of ethnonationalism amongst the respondents. In Survey 1, 43.8% answered in the affirmative saying that they viewed their ethnic identity as an important reflection of who they are, in contrast, 28.6% of the respondents said the same in Survey 2. On the other hand, 25.4% of the people answered in the negative to the same question in Survey 1, whereas, 42.9% of the people said the same in Survey 2.

In Survey 1, 75% of the people said that they had discussed the immigration policy debate with your friends, family, and co-workers since Trump became President; to this 78.6% of the respondents said the same in Survey 2.

Discussion

From the above results, it can be implied that Trump's tweets and his played a significant role in the decision-making skill of the respondents. Trump uses statistics and numbers in several of his tweets, and his numbers are precise to the point that one might think they are drawn from a report or a database. But the source of these numbers is pretty unclear. The readers, however, perceive these numbers to be true, as numbers are believed to be objective and supported by facts. Therefore, it can be seen that more respondents in the survey view his numbers as facts and trust his rhetoric.

Consider this tweet by Trump on 31 Jan 2019

“More troops being sent to the Southern Border to stop the attempted Invasion of Illegals, through large Caravans, into our Country. We have stopped the previous Caravans, and we will stop these also. With a Wall it would be soooo much easier and less expensive. Being Built!”

Trump's tweets are pretty much like his everyday speech. They are rambling, incoherent and often grammatically incorrect. He uses words like 'Invasion', 'Illegals,' 'Large caravans'. And phrases like 'large wall would be soooo much easier.' He encodes his messages with select words which have negative connotations. When these messages are decoded by the readers or the listeners, they view immigration as a security threat. The message, therefore, operates in the dominant code. Trump's discourse on the issue of immigration is steeped in the ideology of 'othering', and 'racism.' This discourse, in turn, lends him more power over the narrative as he claims to have the only solution to the 'invasion' of the 'illegals'. He ends his message with a short catchy message, 'Being Built!' Around one-third of the respondents from Survey 2 said that undocumented immigrants were as honest and hardworking as the immigrants; to this, 0 respondents said so in Survey 1.

Therefore, we can see that a majority of the respondents said that his policies on immigration made America safer when they were exposed to his tweets. On the other hand, the number reduces to more than half when the respondents are not exposed to his tweets. This does imply that Trump's rhetoric holds significant power over its readers and listeners. Similarly, a larger percentage of respondents who read his tweets believed that the government was working towards resolving the issue of illegal immigration when compared to those who did not. Therefore, there is substantial proof that the respondents trust Trump and take a negative stance over the issue of immigration when they come across his rhetoric.

Further, the respondents were asked as to what percentage of immigrants they believe reside legally in the USA. Around 30-38% of the respondents said they believed that America had the right number of immigrants, and around 50% of the populace were undecided in both the surveys. Therefore, it can be inferred that although the respondents acknowledge that illegal immigration is an issue, they do not necessarily possess aggressive anti-immigrant sentiment. This can be proved by further results- 63% of the respondents in Survey 1 said that

undocumented immigrants mostly fill jobs which Americans do not want; whereas 28.6% said so in Survey 2. These results are despite Trump's claims that undocumented immigrants stole jobs from working-class Americans.

Similarly, 50-58% of the respondents in both the surveys said that they do not support building a wall across the southern U. S. border to prevent immigration. Further, 75-78% of the respondents in both the surveys said that they had discussed the immigration policy debate with their friends, family, and co-workers since Trump became President. As mentioned earlier, although Trump has brought the issue of immigration to the center, his rhetoric has not entirely swayed the public in his favor. This brings Hall's theory of decoding to the fore, wherein how a message is interpreted by an individual depends on the social context of the person, and not entirely on the speaker or writer.

When it comes to ethnic nationalism, a majority of the respondents aligned their identity to that of their ethnicity when exposed to his tweets. Trump's tweets frame the immigrant as 'outsider' and a 'threat.' As a response to this, the respondents invariably rely on their ethnicity for safety and security. This, in turn, promotes insularity in society and leads to the propagation of divisive rhetoric. In comparison, 43% of the people who did not read his tweets said that they did not view their ethnicity as crucial to their identity.

The results discussed above do not entirely prove both the hypothesis completely. Hypothesis 1 predicted that the results from Survey 1 in which the questions are preceded by tweets from President Trump will portray a neutral or negative attitude towards both legal and illegal immigration. Although this remains true to a degree, it cannot be generalized. Consider the following examples from Survey 1- Around 64% of the respondents said that America has the right number of immigrants, more people said identified gun violence as the biggest problem in the USA, 59% said that they do not support the construction of the wall across the southern U. S. border to prevent immigration.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the results from Survey 2 will portray a neutral or a positive stance towards both legal and illegal immigration. This is true to a certain degree. However, consider the following example: Around 23% of the respondents said that they trusted the statements and the facts shared by President Trump, and 42.9% said that have a fair amount of confidence in president Trump when dealing with illegal immigration.

Therefore, it can be concluded that Trump's rhetoric has brought immigration to the center, and this helped him win the presidency. He has, however, not entirely converted the masses or impaired their decision-making ability. The respondents did identify that illegal immigration was a problem, but their responses do not support an extreme view on the matter as propagated by Trump. A majority of them do not believe that all undocumented immigrants are guilty of taking away Americans jobs or that they are criminals, and hence are a threat to the security of the country. The positions which both the hypothesis proffer is too simplistic. The results portray that the attitudes of the Americans towards immigration is not a Manichean, it is complex and cannot be justified by a dichotomy.

The first part of the methodology established that Trump's rhetoric on immigration is buried in racism, xenophobia, and ethnic nationalism and has constructed the image of the "illegal immigrant" which serves to further his divisive rhetoric. The second part of the methodology was a pilot test which proved that Trump's divisive rhetoric has a significant impact on the audiences and their understanding of immigration. Through his aggressive rhetoric he has gained the political trust of a significant portion of the populace.

Trump's rhetoric is radical and is reshaping American politics. His words have the power of turning administrative reform issues, like immigration into a 'national crisis.' Immigration for years remained a marginal political topic, but Trump has strategically refashioned it as a question of national identity and security. He has essentially dragged immigration from the fringes of the political debate to the center.

His rhetoric has not only drastically altered the public opinion but has also radicalized the positions of republicans and democrats. His lexical influence not only culminates into executive orders but has greater implications. This was seen when his policies separated kids from their parents at the borders, and when he held the government hostage demanding the budget for the construction of the border wall.

According to The Washington Post, which has made a project of tracking the president's claims, said that Trump had cleared 5,000 false or misleading statements during his nearly two years in office. His addresses, interviews and his tweets have ruptured the very idea of shared political truth. Hence, it is the need of the hour to investigate his rhetoric and contend it. (Oprysko & Weaver, 2018)

Therefore, the pilot study has successively investigated the effects of Trump's rhetoric. The study proves that Trump's rhetoric has a significant impact on the development of anti-immigration attitudes amongst the respondents

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The study thus proves that Trump's rhetoric is distinctly anti-immigrant and that it exerts a significant influence on Americans. Trump's rhetoric views the immigrants as 'criminals,' 'rapists,' 'savages,' 'smugglers,' 'drug traffickers,' etc. His rhetoric basically dehumanizes the undocumented immigrant and asylum seekers.

Philosopher Martha Nussbaum explains dehumanization by saying, "People find a group of humans onto whom they can project the discomfort they feel about their own bodies, calling them smelly, slimy, disgusting." Media portrayals of immigrants have followed a similar formula. (Utych, 2018)

This dehumanization of immigrants by portraying them as 'savages' and 'rapists' leads to negative attitudes toward immigrants and restrictive policies which ensures that this section of the minority remains on the fringes. As depicted by the quantitative analysis the chronic dehumanization of immigrants leads to negative attitudes toward immigrants and more restrictive policy preferences.

The study is not without its limitations. Although, care was taken to ensure an equal number of men and women, and to include second-generation Americans, however, the sample size was a not a subsistent one. It was small, consisting of only 30 respondents. The findings from this study cannot be generalized as it aimed at investigating the immigration attitudes of people from a small local region.

The quantitative section of the study was a pilot test conducted to learn if there is scope to conduct similar research on a wider scale. Also, the participants of Survey 2 would have

inadvertently come across messages from Trump in their everyday life, although the survey did not contain any messages from Trump. It is also to be noted that a pre-test for the attitudes was not conducted.

This research has implications for scholars of political psychology and language in politics. The use of language which stereotypes and generalizes a set of negative characteristics towards certain out-groups leads to harsher opinions of its members (Utych, 2012). Thus, resulting in the blatant violation of human rights, violence, and abuse.

It is clear that dehumanization leads to a negative affective response to outgroups, but it is unclear which responses are triggered in which types of individuals (Utych, 2018). Trump's false defamatory rhetoric has brought the whole immigrant community into scrutiny. The word 'immigrant' has now become synonymous with the word 'illegal.'

Irrespective of their position political leaders should be held accountable for their words. Currently, hate crimes are on the rise, and politicians like Trump must understand the values their messages carry. When the president calls the migrant caravan an "invasion" filled with "many gang members and some very bad people," such an inaccurate, dehumanizing, anti-immigrant discourse sends powerful signals to hateful fringe groups. These rhetorical attacks pave the way for contemptible policies like the separation children from their parents, or the attempts to imprison asylum-seeking families indefinitely, or proposal to end birthright citizenship. This undermines rights of immigrants. It further negates the contributions which immigrants have made to the United States.

The hateful and discriminatory language of the President is unsubstantiated and his 'facts' uncorroborated. His everyday speech in rallies, press conferences, twitter and interviews has had a divisive effect in society. The synagogue shooting in Pittsburgh is one such example. News media reported that the alleged shooter was motivated by hatred for Jews. Additionally, the shooter had also raged against immigrants on social media. Just before the attack, the alleged

shooter, Robert Bowers, posted on social media accusing HIAS of bringing violent "invaders" into the country (Rose, 2018). Trump's rhetoric has started a hate-fueled reaction and his choice of words has now infiltrated the public. It is to be noted that the acceptance and use of a few of his words and phrases is also the acceptance of his ideology and his discourse, this further empowers the influence he wields.

When it comes to the synagogue shooting immigrant-rights advocates say that debate has been swamped by disinformation and fearmongering. The alleged synagogue shooter, for example, shared conspiracy theories on social media about Jews supporting the migrant caravan. Trump's rhetoric has created an imaginary 'other' upon whom he has foisted fears and anxiety.

Therefore, the question is- How do we combat such rhetoric to ensure that the violence committed on those who are helpless, vulnerable, and disenfranchised is effectively terminated?

It is important to fight such rhetoric with an alternative rhetoric which rechecks and reevaluates the former. What we need are narratives of integration and tolerance. Another way to ward off the anti-immigration rhetoric is to finally enable the immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers to speak for themselves.

I find that the rhetoric on the immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers contains everyone's voices but that of the immigrant himself. Recognizing this silencing of the voices is crucial, as it is a violence of its own kind. An individual is termed as an 'illegal alien' even before he/she has the opportunity to approach the border and plea for sanctuary or seek asylum. Contradicting Trump's rhetoric with that of the immigrants will aid in better understanding the minority which has long been silenced. Therefore, creating an alternative narrative and enabling the voices of immigrants on various social media platforms is important. It will provide the Americans with the opportunity to interact with the 'others.' This, I believe, could effectively check hate speech and will effectively narrow the gap between the two groups. Thus, generating a better understanding, and every individual can thrive in a pluralistic environment.

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Appendix A

Excerpt from The State of the Union Address 2019

Now, Republicans and Democrats must join forces again to confront an urgent national crisis. Congress has 10 days left to pass a bill that will fund our government, protect our homeland, and secure our very dangerous southern border. Now is the time for Congress to show the world that America is committed to ending illegal immigration and putting the ruthless coyotes, cartels, drug dealers, and human traffickers out of business.

As we speak, large, organized caravans are on the march to the United States. We have just heard that Mexican cities, in order to remove the illegal immigrants from their communities, are getting trucks and buses to bring them up to our country in areas where there is little border protection. I have ordered another 3,750 troops to our southern border to prepare for this tremendous onslaught. This is a moral issue.

The lawless state of our southern border is a threat to the safety, security, and financial well-being of all Americans. We have a moral duty to create an immigration system that protects the lives and jobs of our citizens. This includes our obligation to the millions of immigrants living here today who follow the rules and respected our laws. Legal immigrants enrich our nation and strengthen our society in countless ways.

I want people to come into our country in the largest numbers ever, but they have to come in legally. Tonight, I'm asking you to defend our very dangerous southern border out of love and devotion to our fellow citizens and our country. No issue better illustrates the divide between America's working-class and America's political class than illegal

immigration. Wealthy politicians and donors push for open borders, while living their lives behind walls and gates and guards.

Meanwhile, working-class Americans are left to pay the price for mass illegal immigration, reduced to jobs, lower wages, overburdened schools, hospitals that are so crowded you can't get in, increased crime, and a depleted social safety net. Tolerance for illegal immigration is not compassionate, it is actually very cruel.

One in three women is sexually assaulted on the long journey north. Smugglers use migrant children as human pawns to exploit our laws and gain access to our country. Human traffickers and sex traffickers take advantage of the wide-open areas between our ports of entry to smuggle thousands of young girls and women into the United States and to sell them into prostitution and modern-day slavery.

Tens of thousands of innocent Americans are killed by lethal drugs that cross our border and flood into our cities, including meth, heroin, cocaine, and fentanyl. The savage gang MS-13 now operates in at least 20 different American states, and they almost all come through our southern border.

Just yesterday, an MS-13 gang member was taken into custody for a fatal shooting on a subway platform in New York city. We are removing these gang members by the thousands, but until we secure our border, they are going to keep streaming right back in.

Year after year, countless Americans are murdered by criminal illegal aliens. I've gotten to know many wonderful angel moms and dads and families. No one should ever have to suffer the horrible heartache that they have had to endure.

Here tonight is Deborah Bissell, just three weeks ago her parents were burglarized and shot to death in their Reno, Nevada, home by an illegal alien. They were in their 80s and are survived by four children, 11 grandchildren, and 20 great-grandchildren. Also here tonight are Gerald and Sharon's granddaughter Heather and great-granddaughter Madison. To Deborah, Heather, Madison, please stand. Few can understand your pain. Thank you and thank you for being here. Very much.

I will never forget and I will fight for the memory of Gerald and Sharon, that it should never happen again. Not one more American life should be lost because our nation failed to control its very dangerous border. In the last two years, our brave ICE officers made 266,000 arrests of criminal aliens, including those charged or convicted of nearly 100,000 assaults, 30,000 sex crimes, and 4000 killings or murders. We are joined tonight by one of those law enforcement heroes, ICE special agent Elvin Hernandez.

Thank you. Well, Elvin was a boy, the end his family legally immigrated to the United States from the Dominican Republic. At the age of 8, he told his dad he wanted to become a special agent. Today, he leads investigations into the scores of international sex trafficking. He says that if I can make sure these young girls get their justice, I've really done my job. Thanks to his work and that of his incredible colleagues, more than 300 women and girls have been rescued from the horror of this terrible situation and more than 1500 sadistic traffickers have been put behind bars. We will always support the brave men and women of law enforcement, and I pledge to you tonight that I will never abolish our heroes from ICE. Thank you.

My administration has sent to the Congress a commonsense proposal to end the crisis on our southern border. It includes humanitarian assistance, more law enforcement,

drug detection at our ports, closing loopholes that enable child smuggling, and plans for a new physical barrier, or wall, to secure the vast areas between our ports of entry. In the past, most of the people in this room voted for a wall — but the proper wall never got built. I'll get it built.

This is a smart, strategic, see-through steel barrier — not just a simple concrete wall. It will be deployed in the areas identified by border agents as having the greatest need, and as these agents will tell you, where walls go up, illegal crossings go way down.

San Diego used to have the most illegal border crossings in the country. In response, a strong security wall was put in place. This powerful barrier almost completely ended illegal crossings. The border city of El Paso, Texas, used to have extremely high rates of violent crime — one of the highest in the country, and considered one of our nation's most dangerous cities. Now, immediately upon its building, with a powerful barrier in place, El Paso is one of our safest cities. Simply put, walls work and walls save lives.

So, let's work together, compromise, and reach a deal that will truly make America safe. As we work to defend our people's safety, we must also ensure our economic resurgence continues at a rapid pace.

Appendix B

Tweets by President Trump used in this study

1) President Trump on Jun 18, 2018

“It is the Democrats fault for being weak and ineffective with Boarder Security and Crime. Tell them to start thinking about the people devastated by Crime coming from illegal immigration. Change the laws!”

2) President Trump on June 16, 2015

“When do we beat Mexico at the border? They’re laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they’re beating us economically . . . The US has become a dumping ground for everyone else’s problems. These aren’t the best and finest. When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. . . They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems to us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.”

3) President Trump on July 27, 2016

“Crooked Hillary Clinton wants to flood our country with Syrian immigrants that we know little or nothing about. The danger is massive. NO!”

4) President Trump on December 4th, 2018

“Could somebody please explain to the Democrats (we need their votes) that our Country losses 250 Billion Dollars a year on illegal immigration, not including the terrible drug flow. Top Border Security, including a Wall, is \$25 Billion. Pays for itself in two months. Get it done!”

5) President Trump on January 12th, 2019

“ICE officers made 266,000 arrests of criminal aliens, including those charged or convicted of nearly 100,000 assaults. 30,000 sex crimes and 4,000 killings or murders.”

6) President Trump on January 26th, 2019

“We have turned away, at great expense, two major Caravans, but a big one has now formed and is coming. At least 8000 people! If we had a powerful Wall, they wouldn't even try to make the long and dangerous journey. Build the Wall and Crime will Fall!”

7) President Trump on January 31st, 2019

“More troops being sent to the Southern Border to stop the attempted Invasion of Illegals, through large Caravans, into our Country. We have stopped the previous Caravans, and we will stop these also. With a Wall it would be soooo much easier and less expensive. Being Built!”

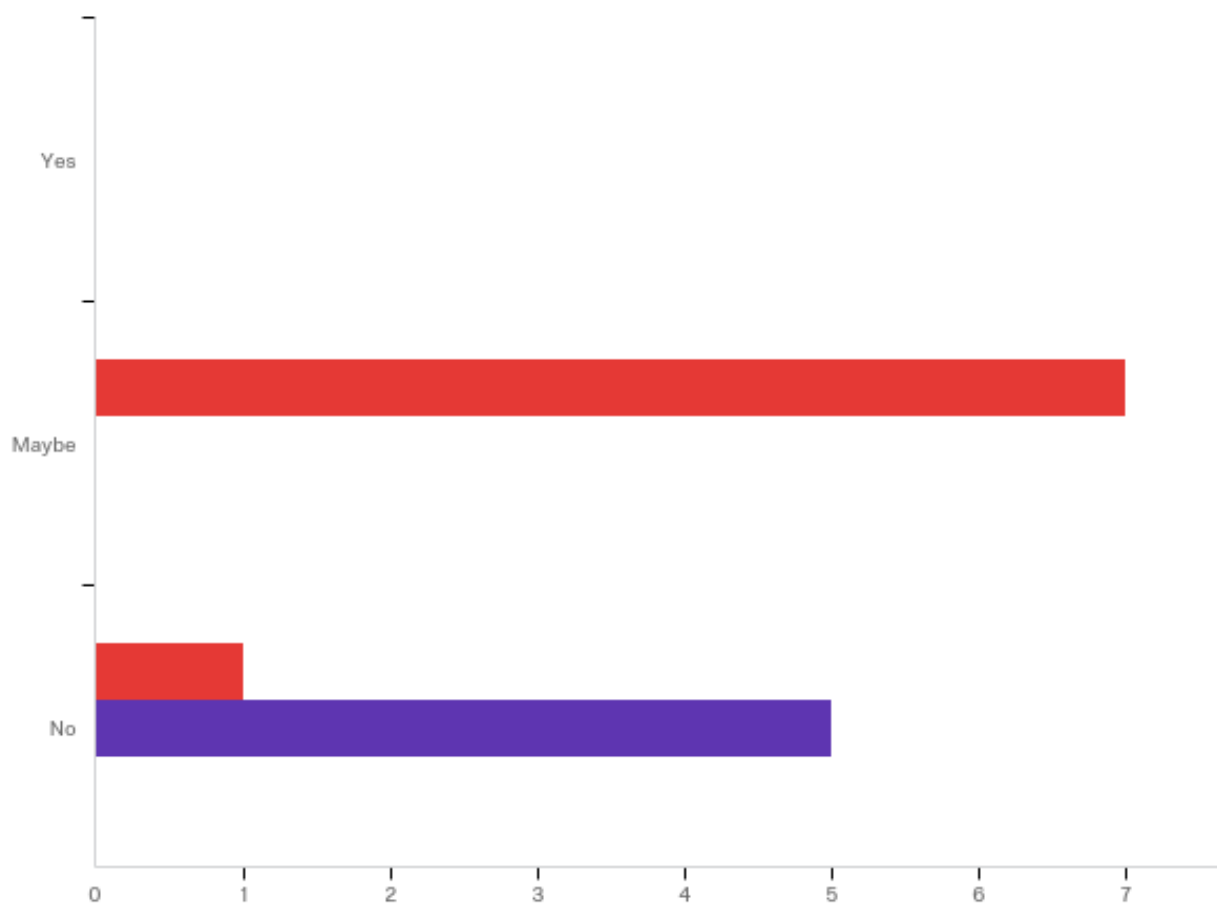
Appendix C

Graphical results of quantitative analysis

Survey 1

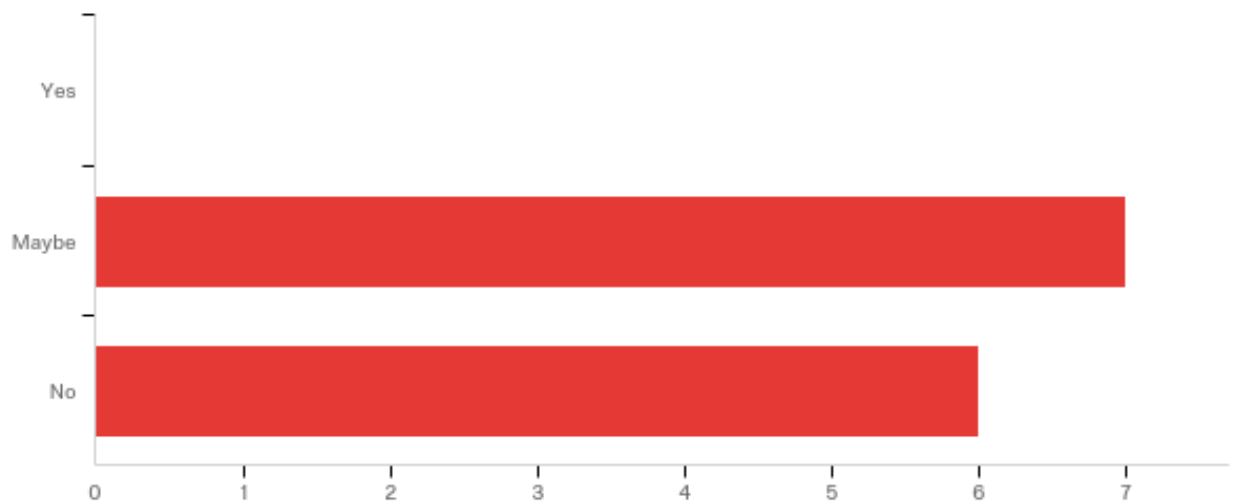
Q1 - "We are not even into February and the cost of illegal immigration so far this year is \$18,959,495,168. Cost Friday was \$603,331,392. There are at least 25,772,342 illegal aliens, not the 11,000,000 that have been reported for years, in our Country. So ridiculous! DHS." - President Trump, in a tweet, January 27, 2019.

Do you trust the statements and the facts shared by President Trump?



#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	Same as the predecessor	0.00%	0	87.50%	7	12.50%	1	8
2	Less than the predecessor	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100.00%	5	5
3	More than the predecessor	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0

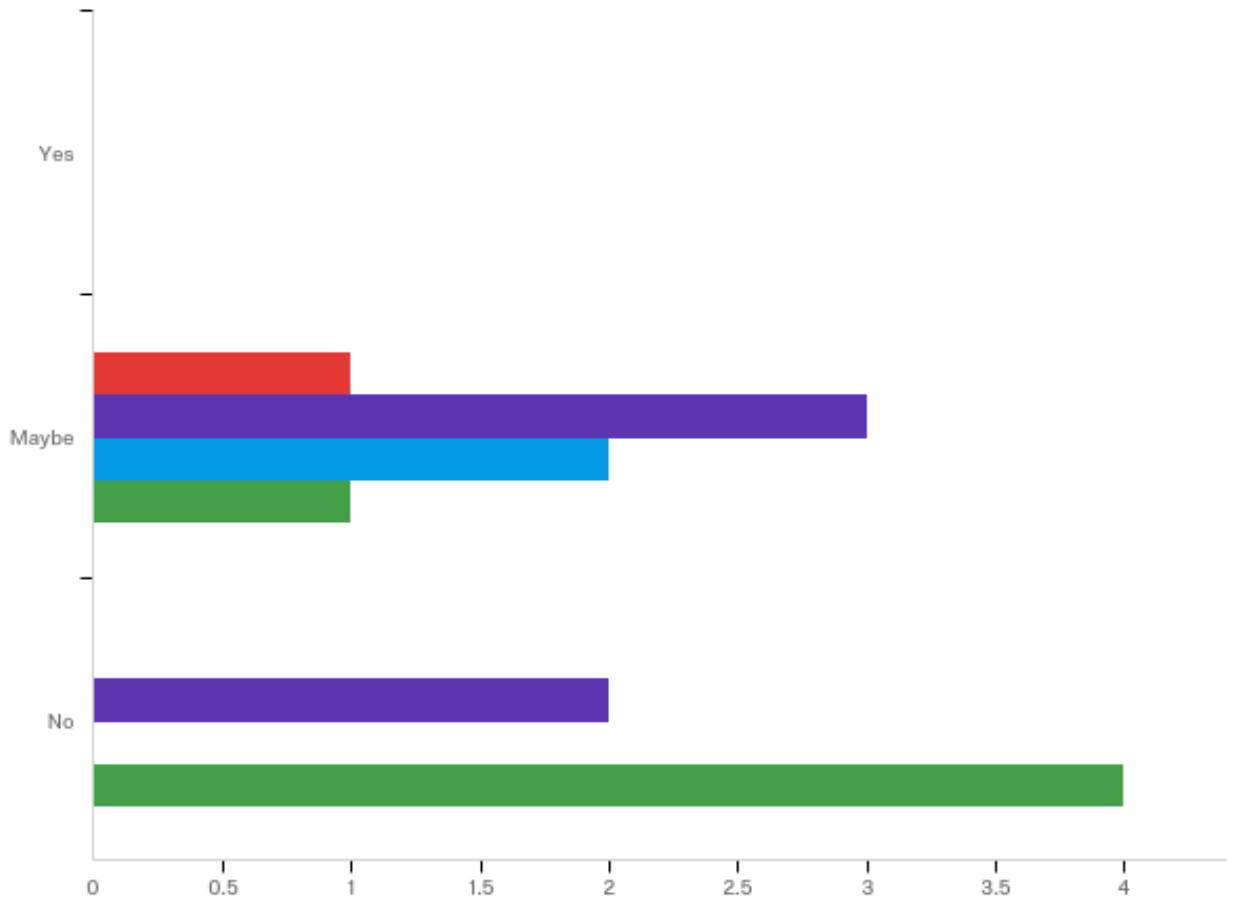
Q2 - "We have turned away, at great expense, two major Caravans, but a big one has now formed and is coming. At least 8000 people! If we had a powerful Wall, they wouldn't even try to make the long and dangerous journey. Build the Wall and Crime will Fall!" - President Trump, in a tweet on 26 Jan 2019 Have President Trump's policies on immigration made America safer?



#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	0.00%	0
2	Maybe	53.85%	7
3	No	46.15%	6
	Total	100%	13

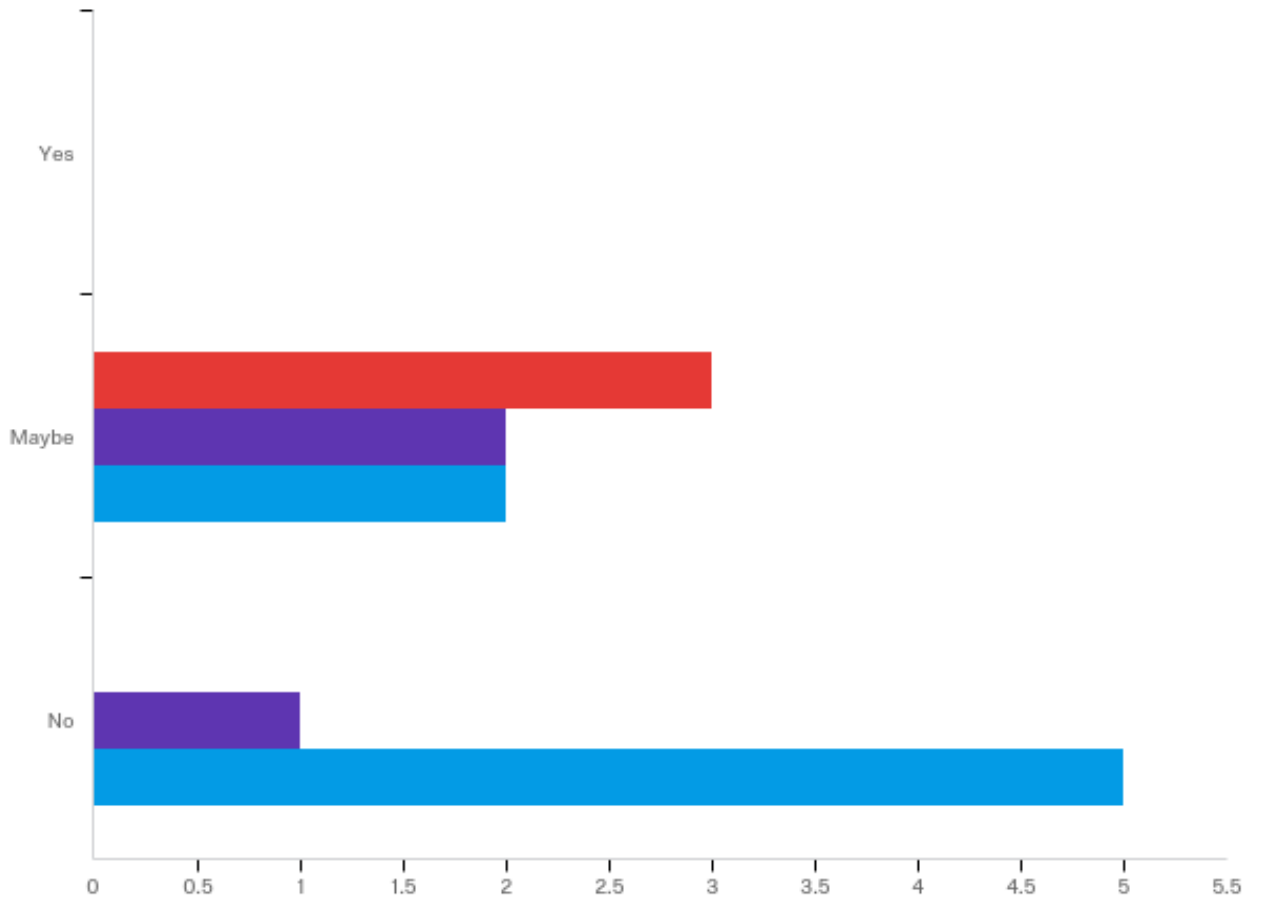
Q3 - “More troops being sent to the Southern Border to stop the attempted Invasion of Illegals, through large Caravans, into our Country. We have stopped the previous Caravans, and we will stop these also. With a Wall it would be soooo much easier and less expensive. Being Built!”
 — President Trump, in a tweet, 31 Jan 2019

Pick a key element which will decide President Trump's success during his presidential tenure



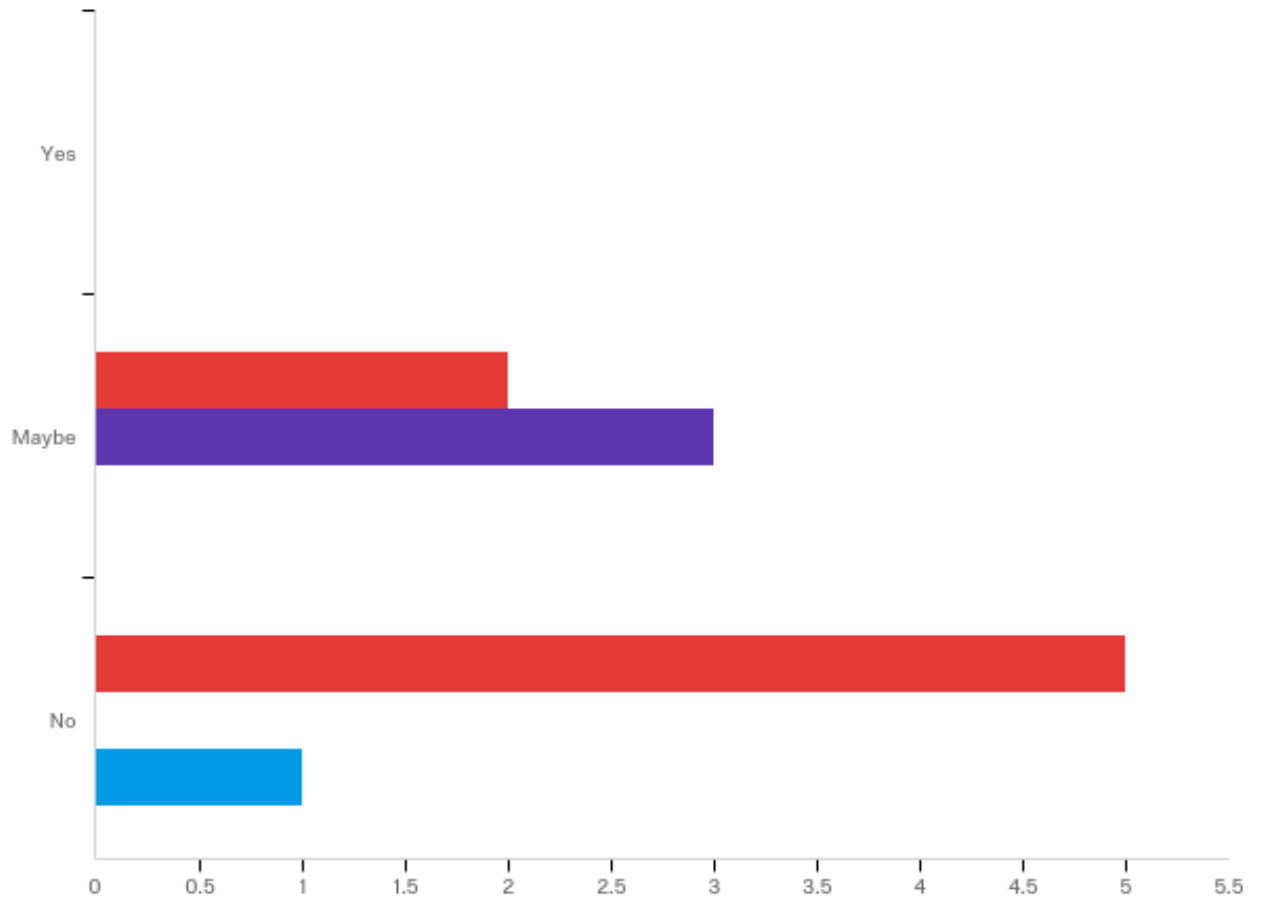
#	Question	Yes	Maybe	No	Total
1	Negotiate favorable trade agreements	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	1
2	Make good decisions about economic policy	0.00% 0	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	5
3	Designing effective immigration policies	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	2
4	Work effectively with congress	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	80.00% 4	5

Q4 - Trump's greatest achievement as a president will be the construction of the wall



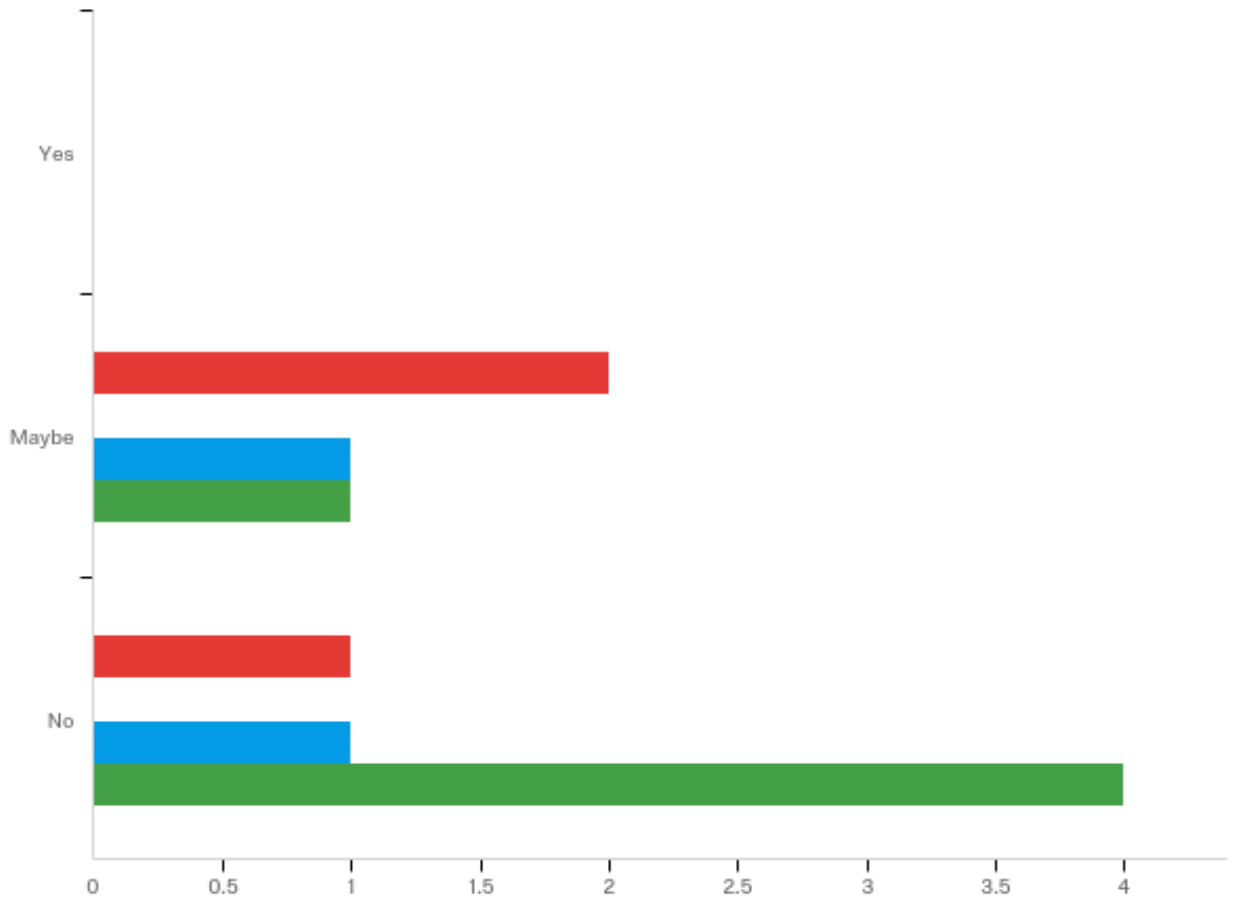
#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	Yes	0.00%	0	100.00%	3	0.00%	0	3
2	Maybe	0.00%	0	66.67%	2	33.33%	1	3
3	No	0.00%	0	28.57%	2	71.43%	5	7

Q5 - Do you think that The United States of America has the right number of immigrants?



#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	Right number	0.00%	0	28.57%	2	71.43%	5	7
2	Too many	0.00%	0	100.00%	3	0.00%	0	3
3	Too few	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100.00%	1	1

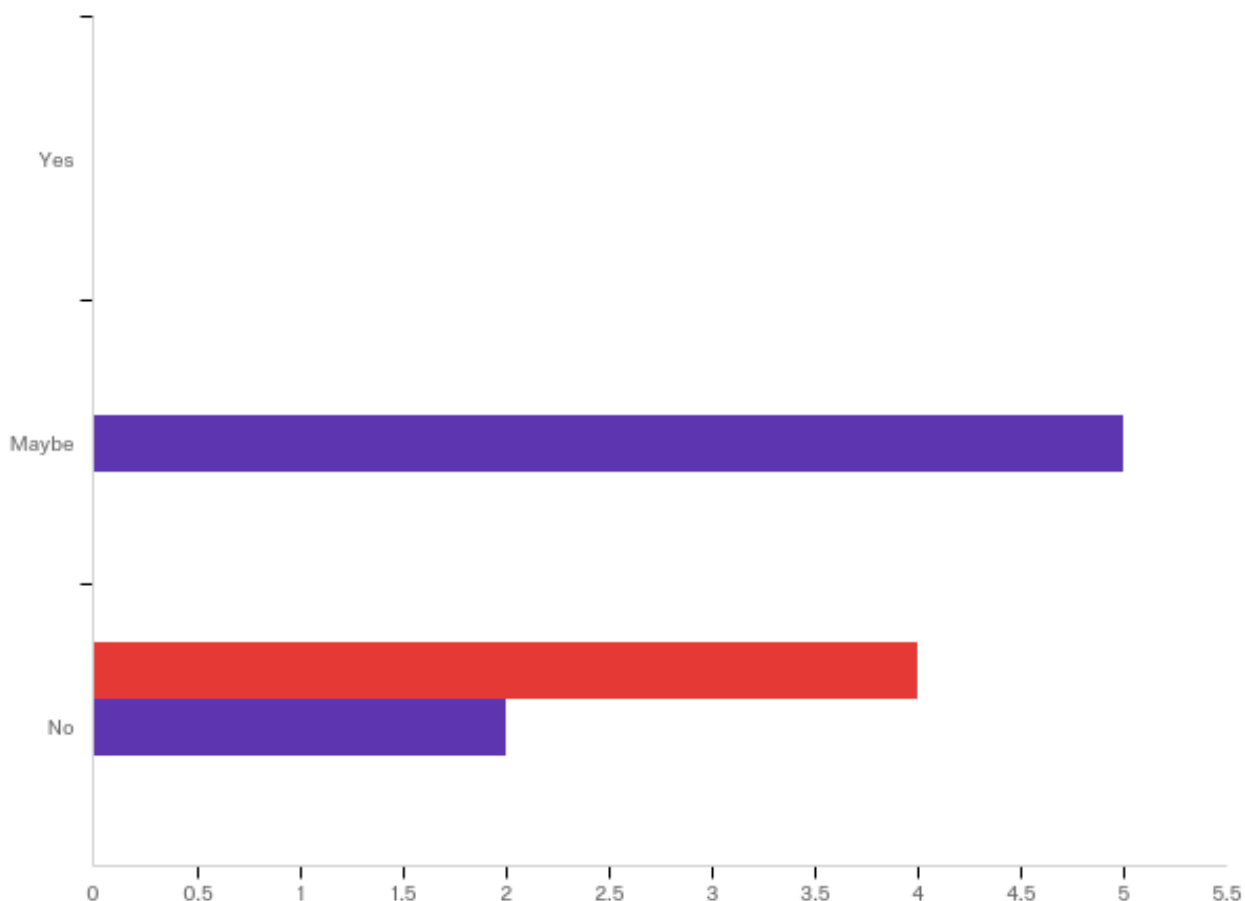
Q6 - What do you think is the biggest problem in the USA today?



#	Question	Yes	Maybe	No	Total
1	Illegal immigration	0.00%	66.67%	33.33%	3
2	Terrorism	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0
3	Less job opportunities for working class Americans	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%	2
4	Gun violence	0.00%	20.00%	80.00%	5

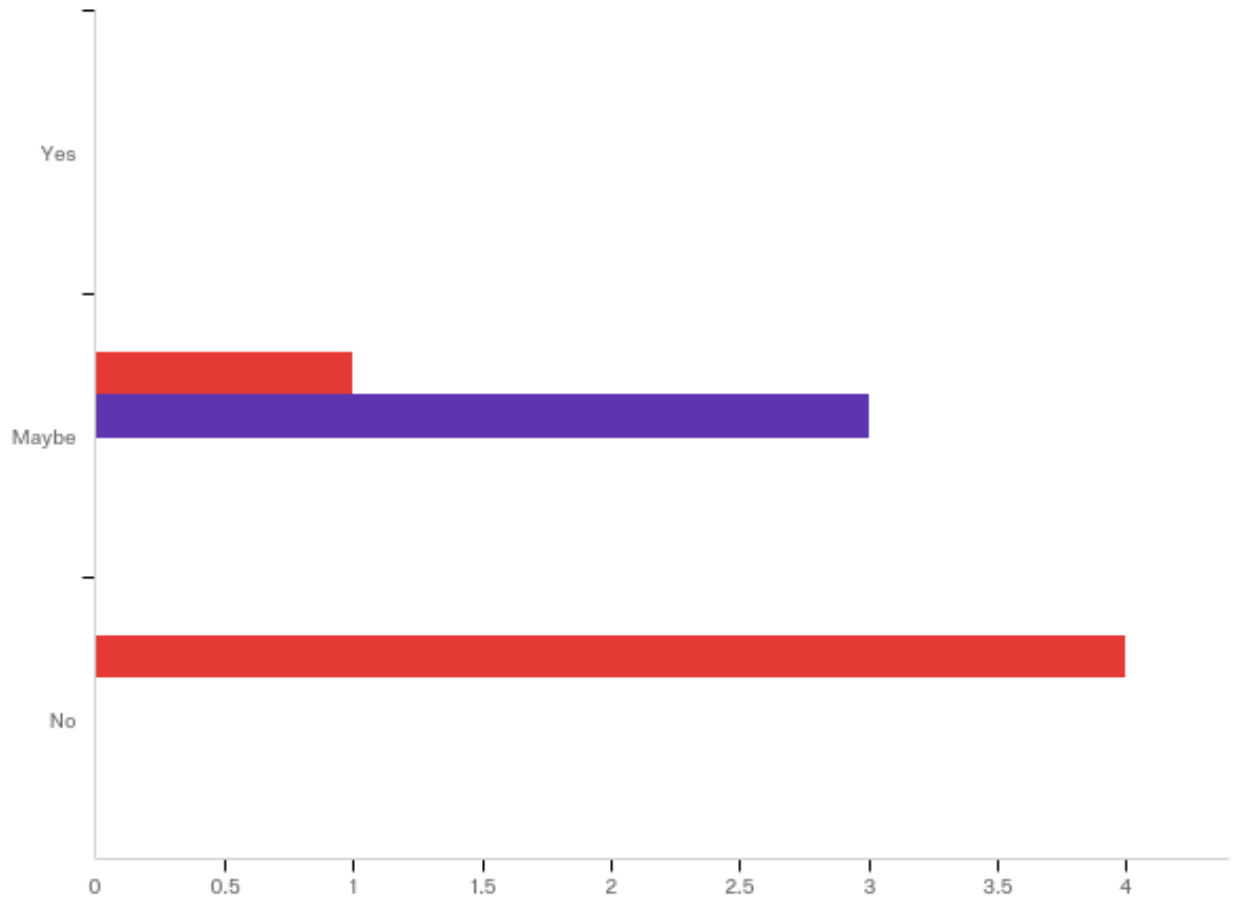
Q7 - “Very sadly, Murder cases in Mexico in 2018 rose 33% from 2017 to 33,341. This is a big contributor to the Humanitarian Crisis taking place on our Southern Border and then spreading throughout our Country. Worse even than Afghanistan. Much caused by DRUGS. Wall is being built! — President Trump, in a tweet, 31 Jan 2019

Choose a statement which you believe to be true



#	Question	Yes	Maybe	No	Total
1	Undocumented immigrants are as honest and hardworking as American citizens	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	100.00% 4	4
2	Undocumented immigrants mostly fill jobs American citizens don't want	0.00% 0	71.43% 5	28.57% 2	7
3	Undocumented immigrants are more likely than American citizens to commit serious crimes	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0

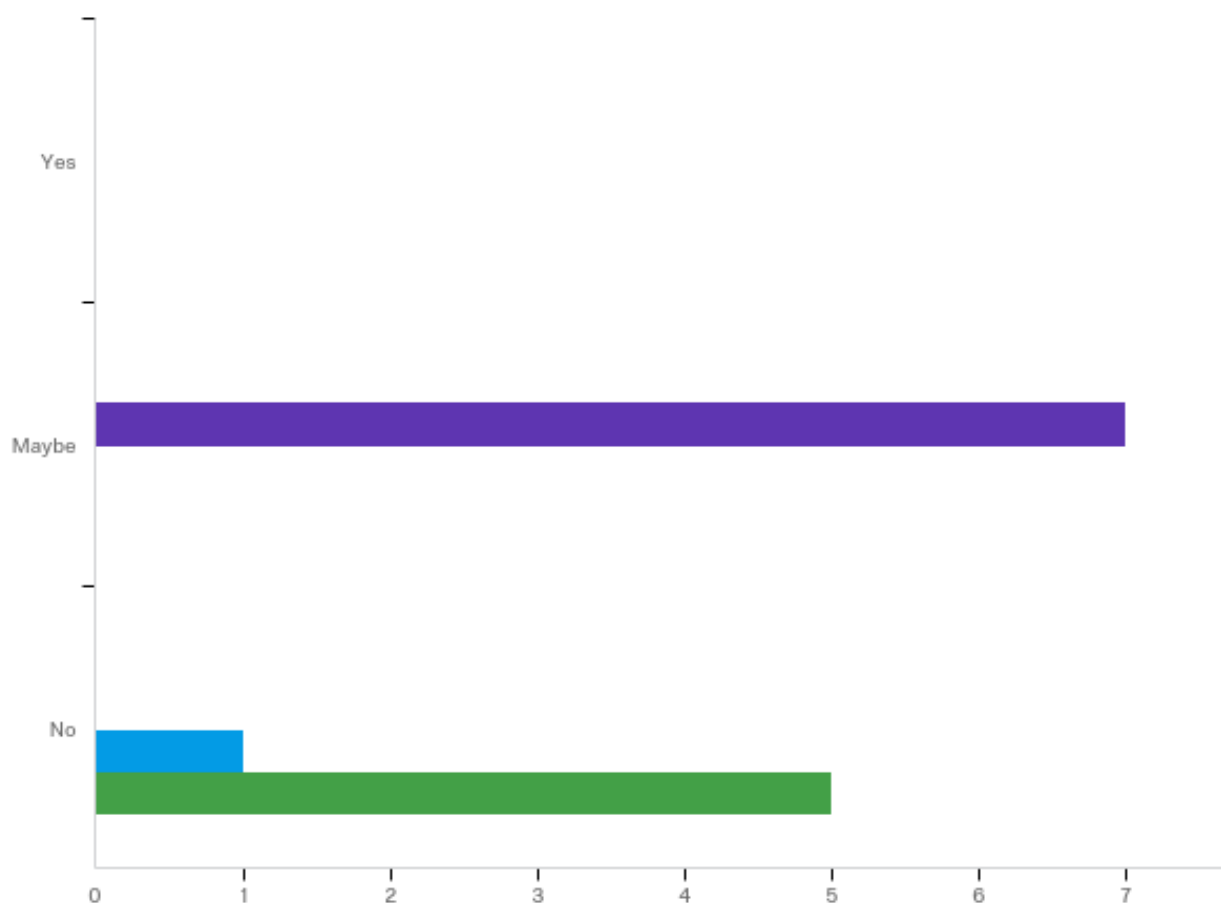
Q8 - Under the current government which situation has been addressed and solved effectively



#	Question	Yes	Maybe	No	Total
1	Economy	0.00%	20.00%	80.00%	5
2	Illegal immigration	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	3
3	Crime	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0
4	Terrorism	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0

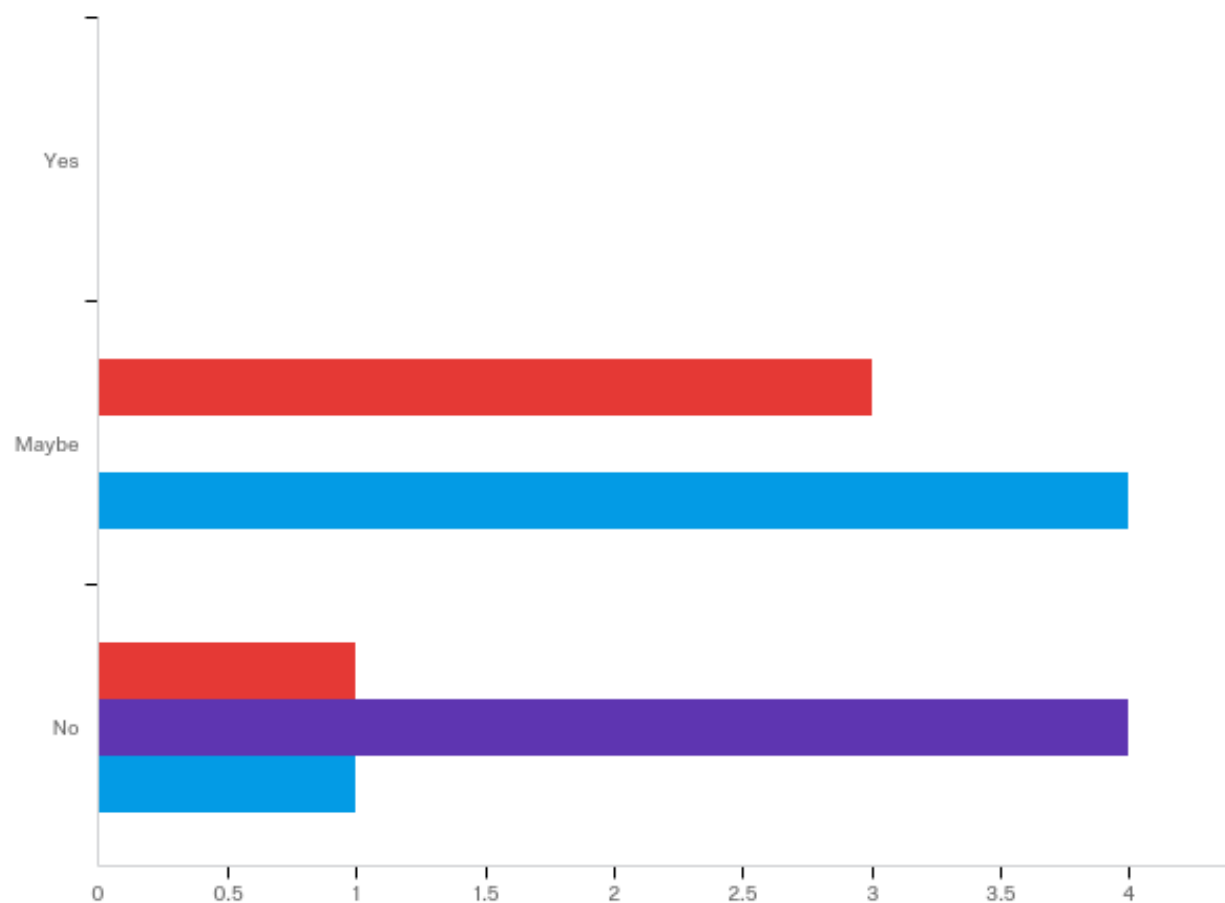
Q9 - “With Caravans marching through Mexico and toward our Country, Republicans must be prepared to do whatever is necessary for STRONG Border Security. Dems do nothing. If there is no Wall, there is no Security. Human Trafficking, Drugs and Criminals of all dimensions - KEEP OUT!” — President Trump, in a tweet, February 3, 2019

Do you have confidence in president Trump when dealing with illegal immigration?



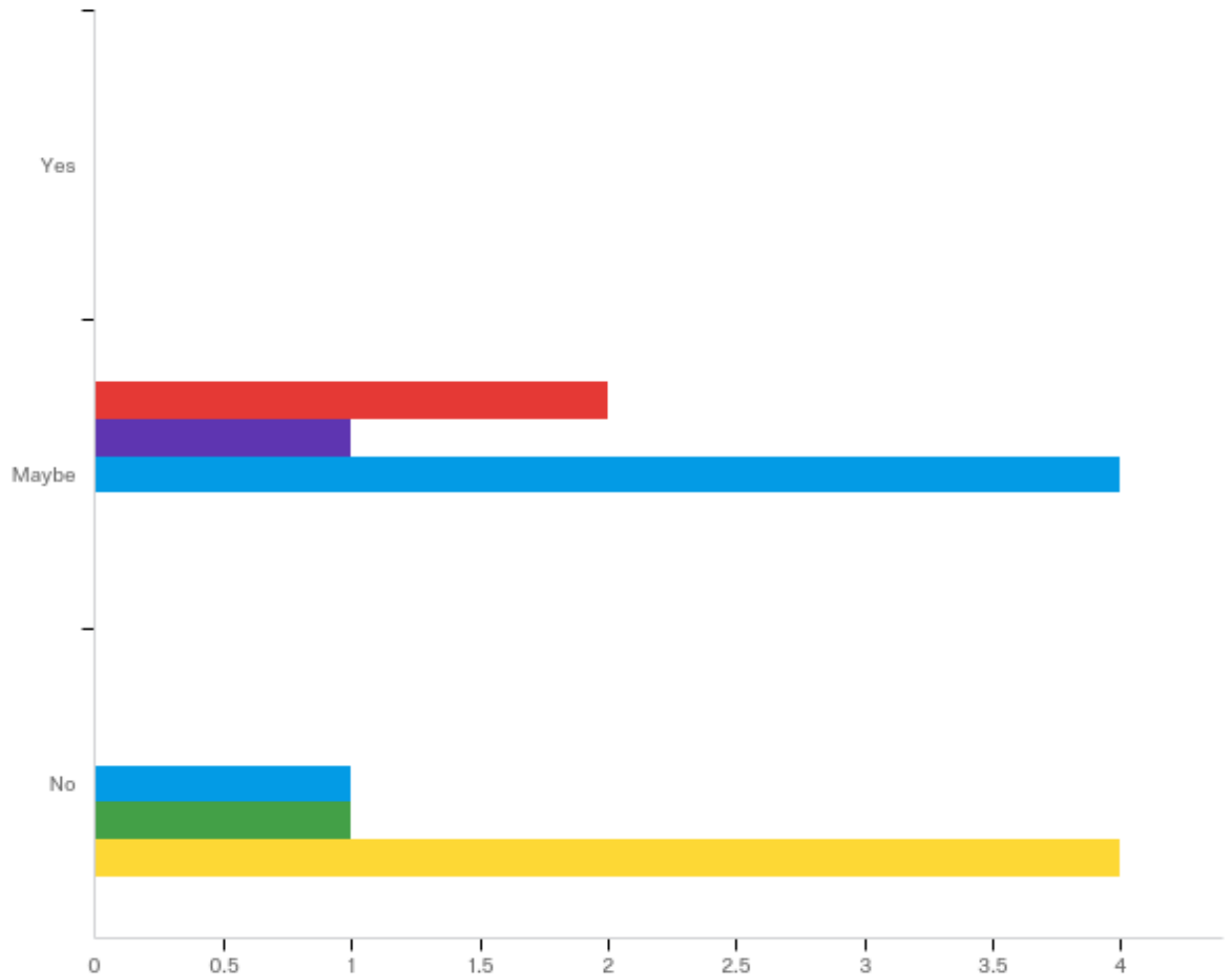
#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	A great deal	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0
2	A fair amount	0.00%	0	100.00%	7	0.00%	0	7
3	Not too much	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100.00%	1	1
4	Not at all	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100.00%	5	5

Q10 - What percentage of immigrants do you believe reside in the USA legally?



#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	25-50	0.00%	0	75.00%	3	25.00%	1	4
2	50-75	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100.00%	4	4
3	Hard to say	0.00%	0	80.00%	4	20.00%	1	5

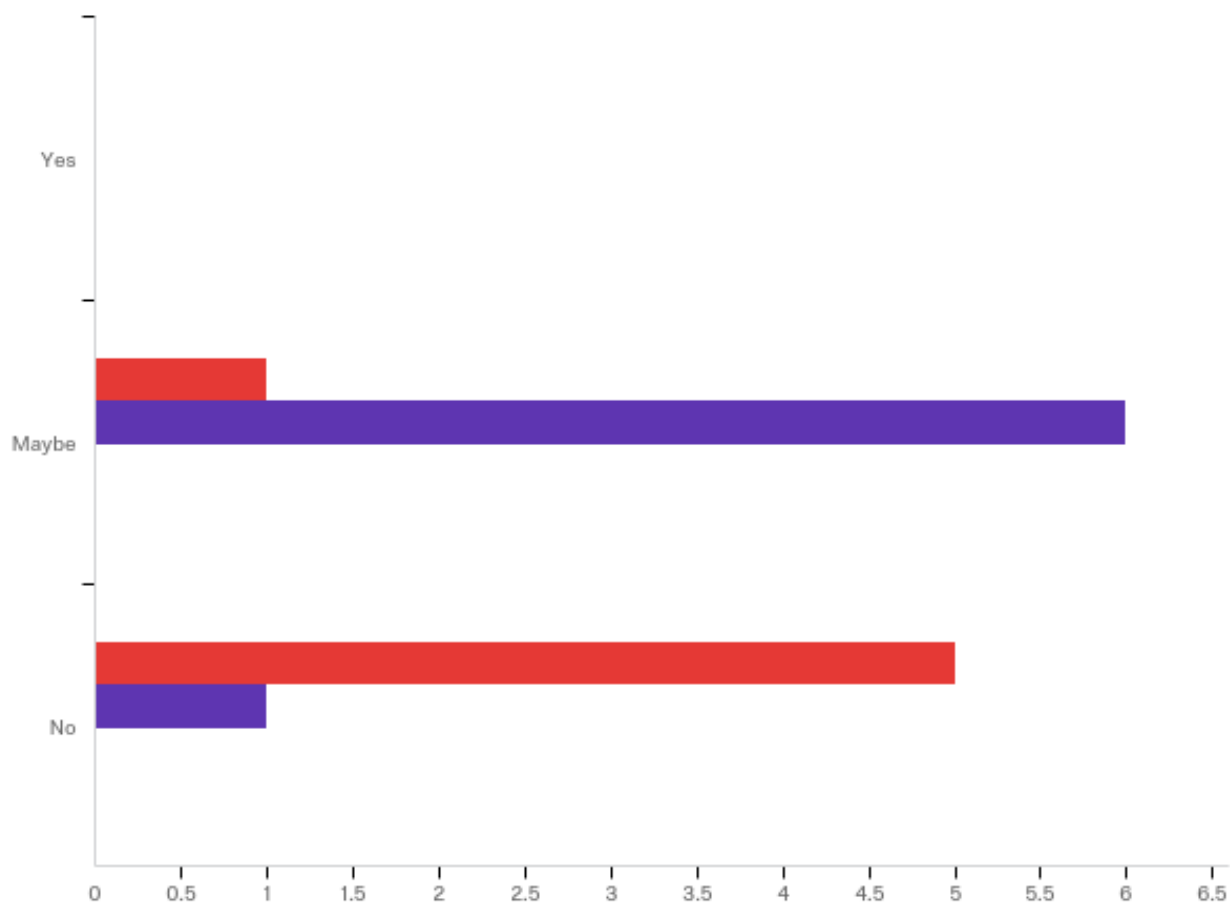
Q11 - Do you have confidence in President Trump when dealing with Economy?



#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	A great deal	0.00%	0	100.00%	2	0.00%	0	2
2	A lot	0.00%	0	100.00%	1	0.00%	0	1
3	A moderate amount	0.00%	0	80.00%	4	20.00%	1	5
4	A little	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100.00%	1	1
5	None at all	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100.00%	4	4

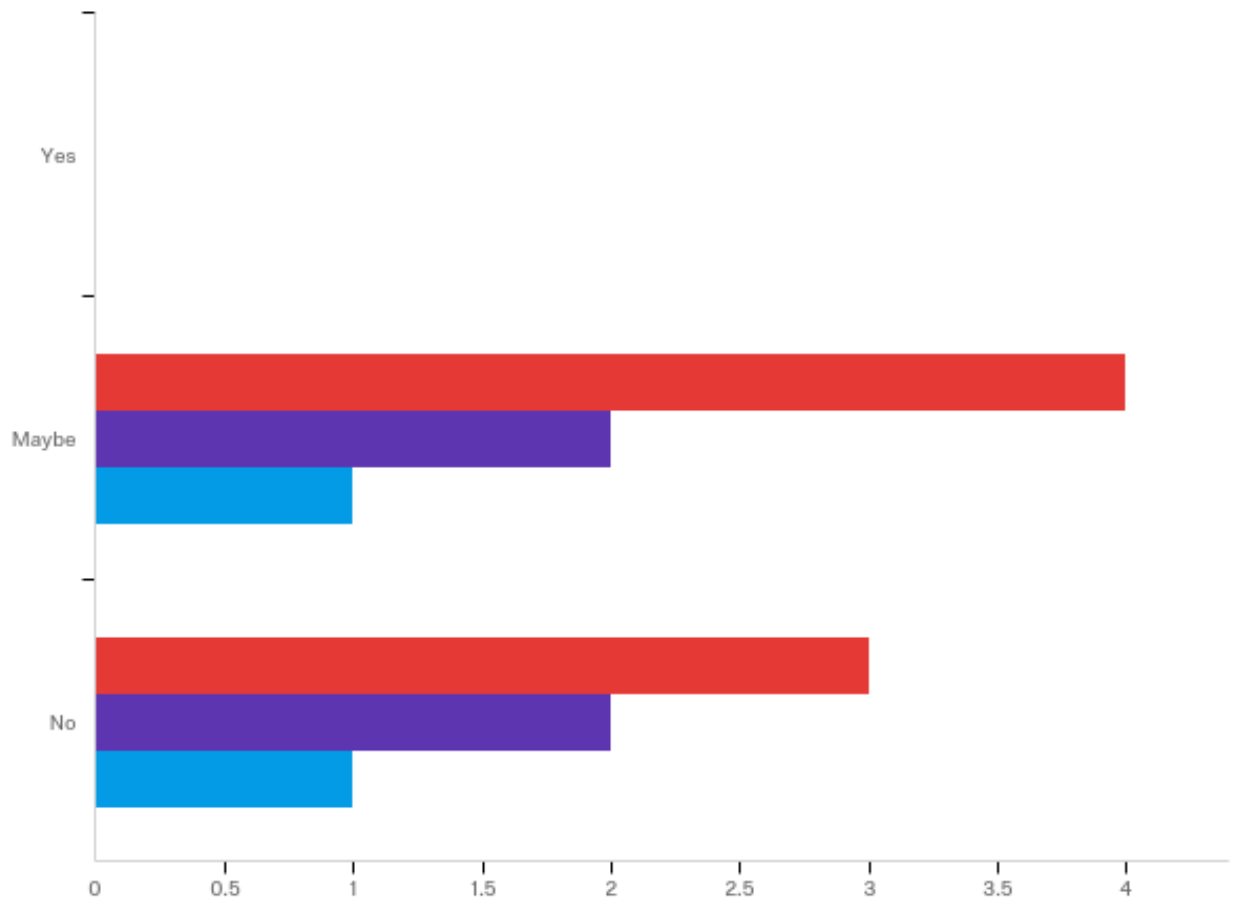
Q12 - “Very sadly, Murder cases in Mexico in 2018 rose 33% from 2017, to 33,341. This is a big contributor to the Humanitarian Crisis taking place on our Southern Border and then spreading throughout our Country. Worse even than Afghanistan. Much caused by DRUGS. Wall is being built! — President Trump, in a tweet, 31 Jan 2019

Do you view the construction of a wall along the US- Mexico border as important for immigration policy?



#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	Not at all important	0.00%	0	16.67%	1	83.33%	5	6
2	Moderately important	0.00%	0	85.71%	6	14.29%	1	7
3	Very important	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0
4	Extremely important	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0

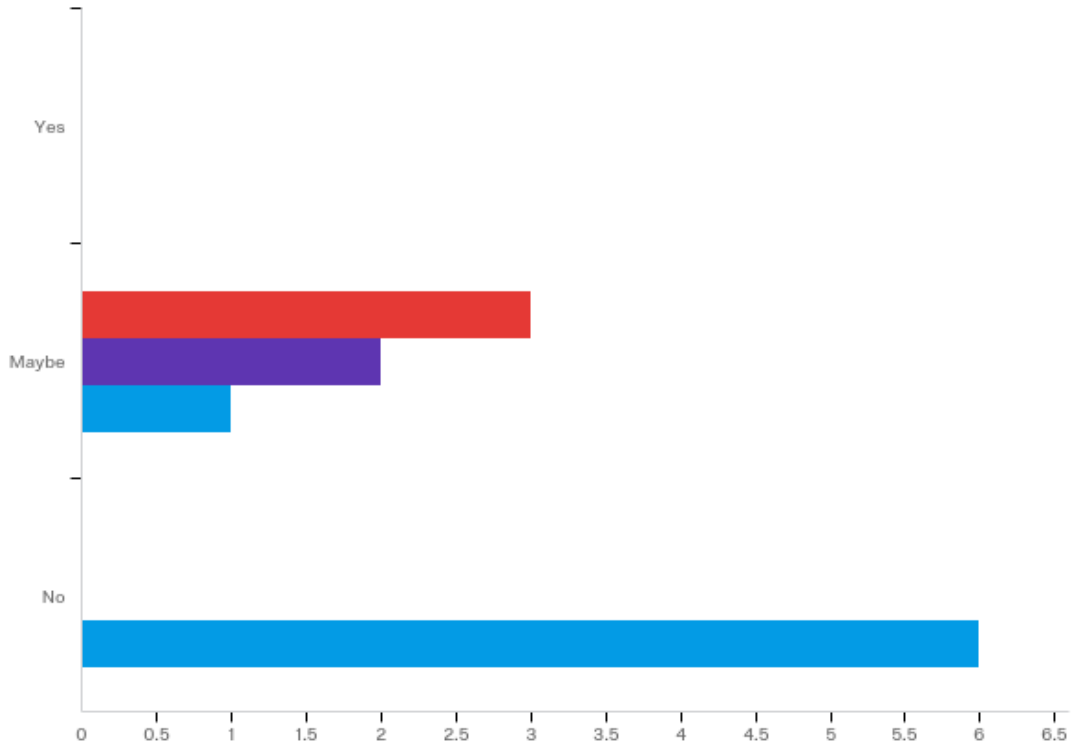
Q13 - The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am



#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	Yes	0.00%	0	57.14%	4	42.86%	3	7
2	Maybe	0.00%	0	50.00%	2	50.00%	2	4
3	No	0.00%	0	50.00%	1	50.00%	1	2

Q14 - "It is becoming more and more obvious that the Radical Democrats are a Party of open borders and crime. They want nothing to do with the major Humanitarian Crisis on our Southern Border. #2020!" - President Trump in a tweet, Jan 16, 2019

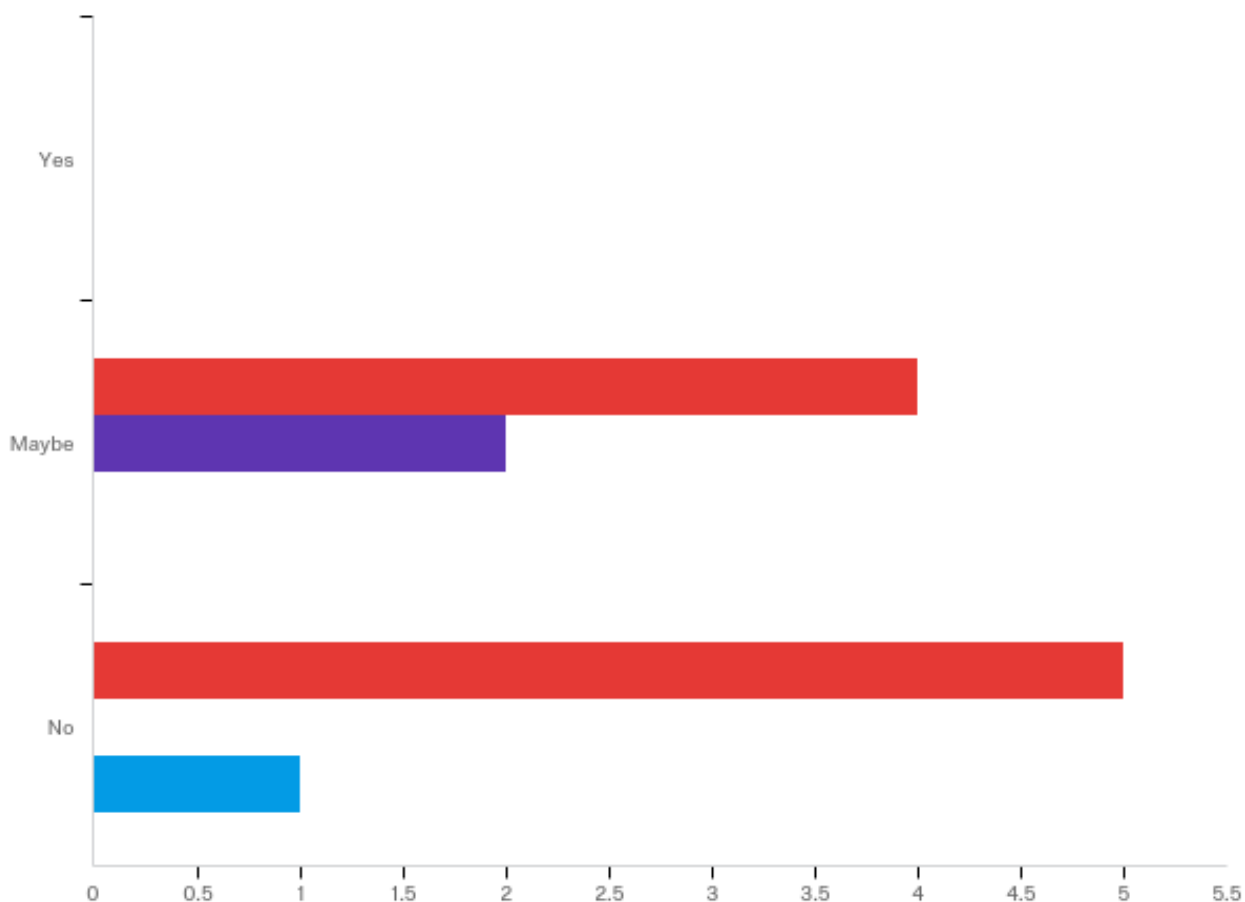
I support building a wall across the southern U. S. border to prevent immigration



#	Question	Yes	Maybe	No	Total
1	Yes	0.00%	100.00%	0	3
2	Maybe	0.00%	100.00%	0	2
3	No	0.00%	14.29%	85.71%	7

Q15 - "We need the Wall for the safety and security of our country. We need the Wall to help stop the massive inflow of drugs from Mexico, now rated the number one most dangerous country in the world. If there is no Wall, there is no Deal!" - President Trump in a tweet, 18 Jan 2018

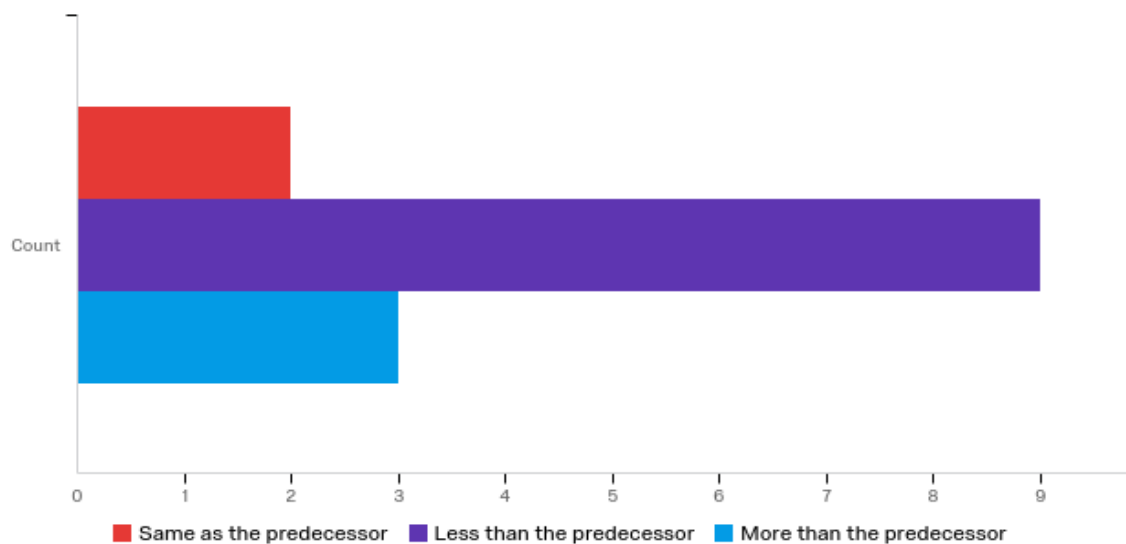
Have you discussed the immigration policy debate with your friends, family, and co-workers since Trump became President?



#	Question	Yes		Maybe		No		Total
1	Yes	0.00%	0	44.44%	4	55.56%	5	9
2	Maybe	0.00%	0	100.00%	2	0.00%	0	2
3	No	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100.00%	1	1

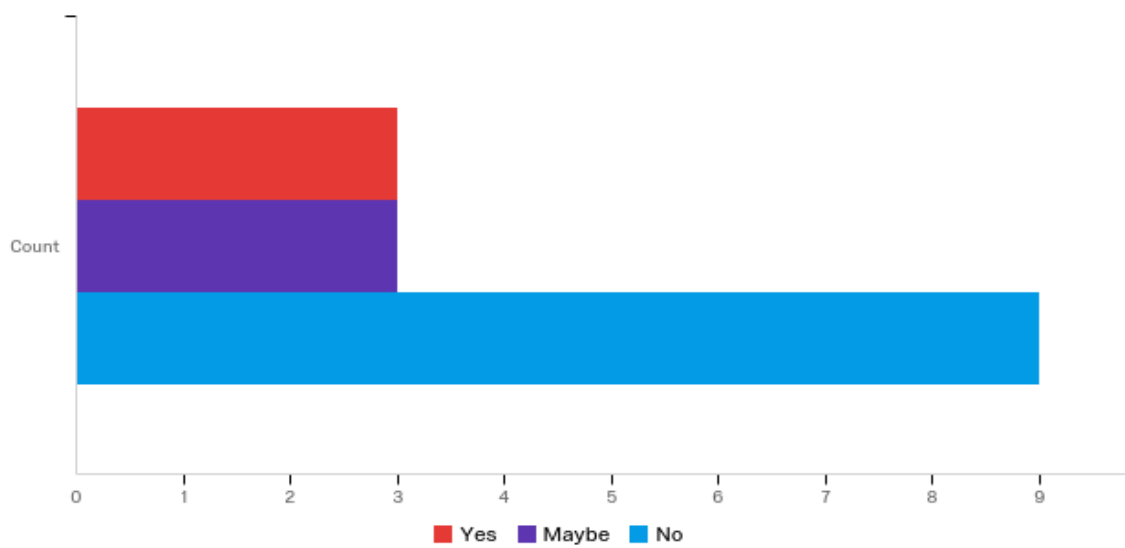
Survey 2

Q1 - Do you trust the statements and the facts shared by President Trump in his interviews, political rallies, and his tweets?



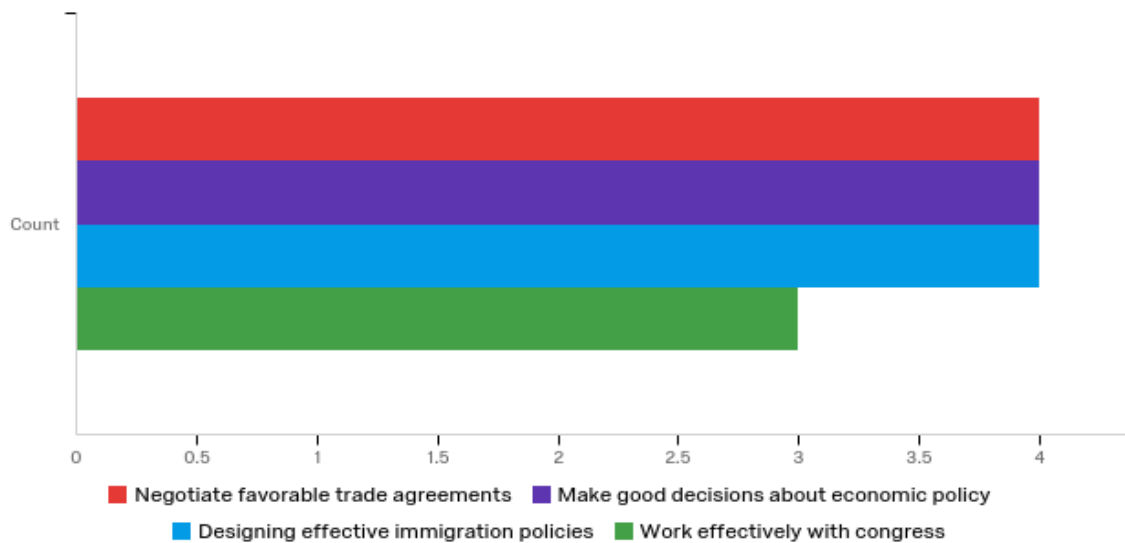
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Same as the predecessor	14.3%	2
2	Less than the predecessor	64.3%	9
3	More than the predecessor	21.4%	3
	Total	100%	14

Q2 - Have President Trump's policies on immigration made America safer?



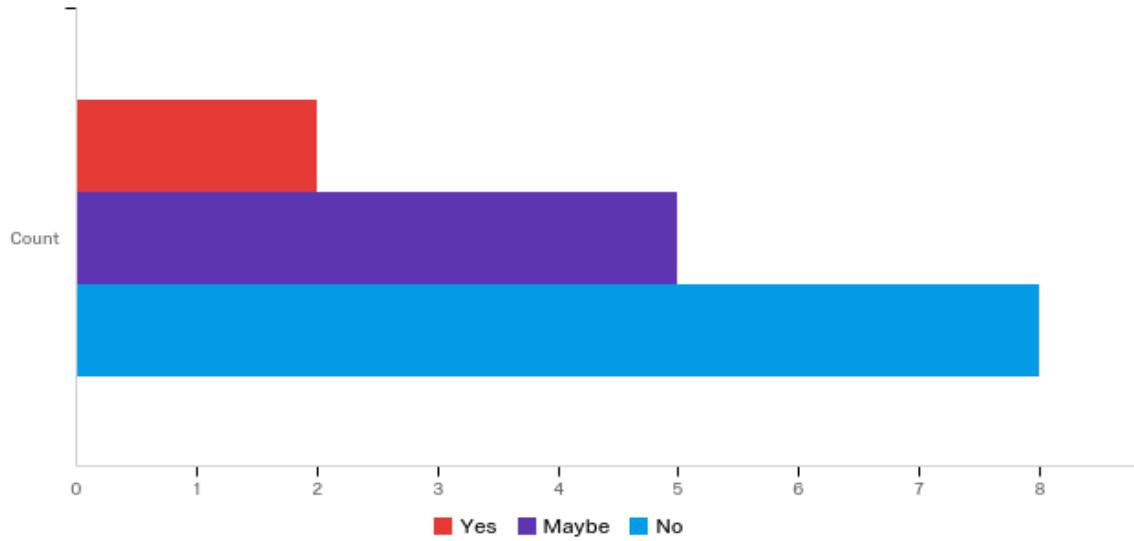
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	20.0%	3
2	Maybe	20.0%	3
3	No	60.0%	9
	Total	100%	15

Q3 - Pick a key element which will decide President Trump's success during his presidential tenure



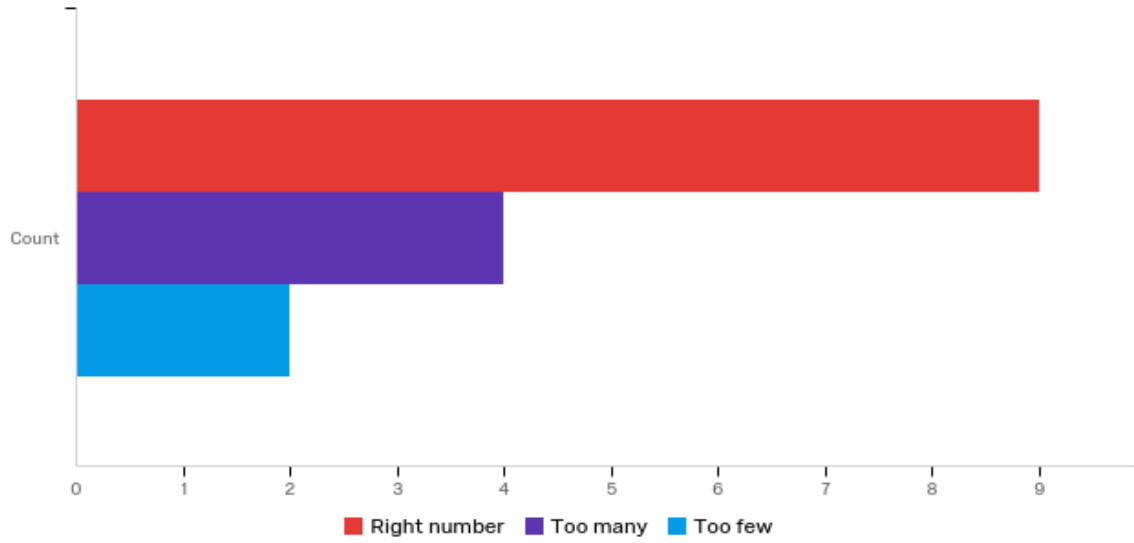
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Negotiate favorable trade agreements	26.7%	4
2	Make good decisions about economic policy	26.7%	4
3	Designing effective immigration policies	26.7%	4
4	Work effectively with congress	20.0%	3
	Total	100%	15

Q4- Trump's greatest achievement as a president will be the construction of the wall



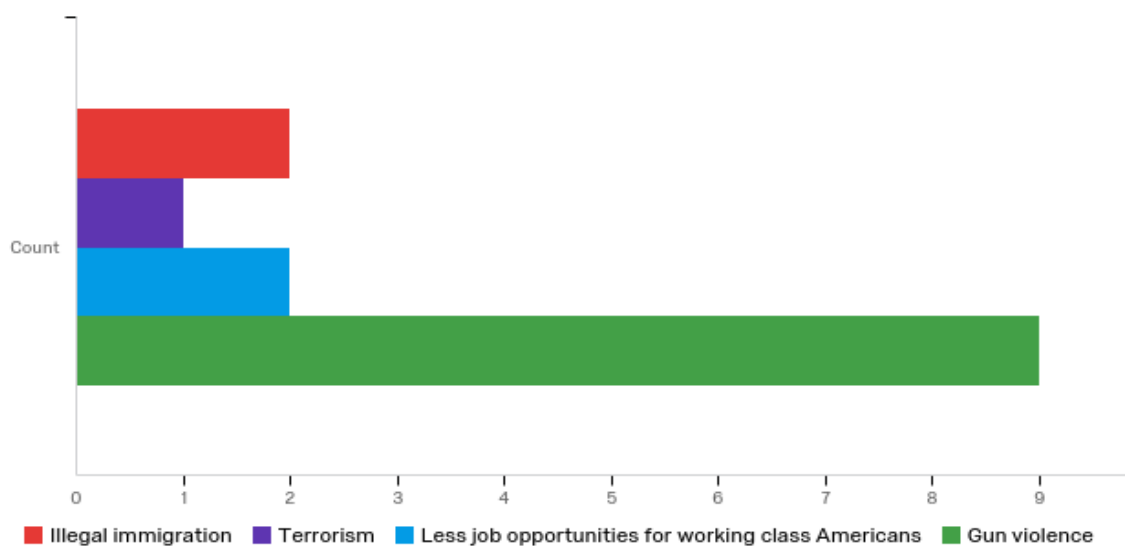
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	13.3%	2
2	Maybe	33.3%	5
3	No	53.3%	8
	Total	100%	15

Q5 - Do you think that The United States of America has the right number of immigrants?



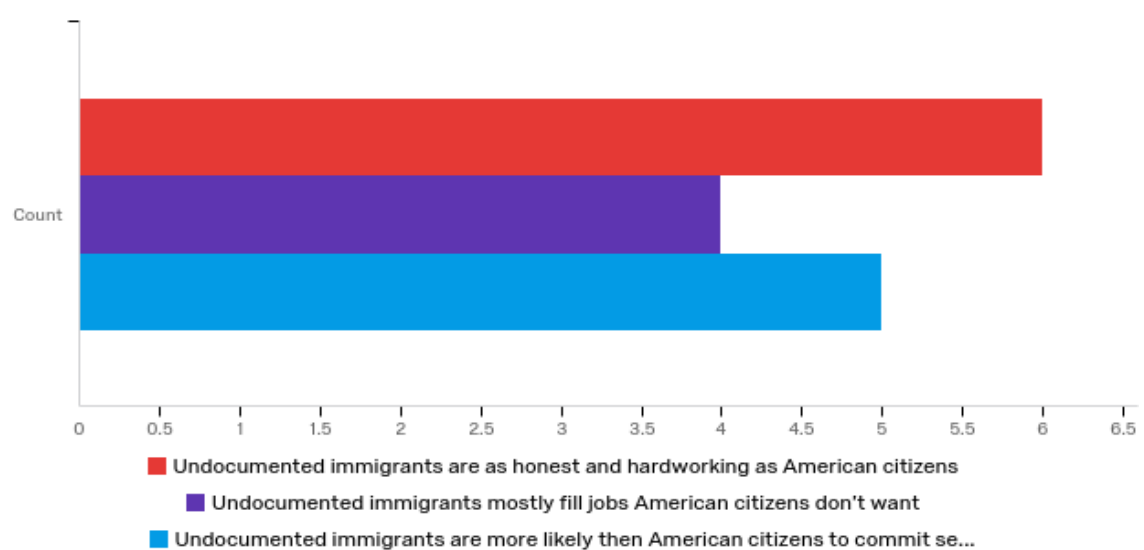
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Right number	60.0%	9
2	Too many	26.7%	4
3	Too few	13.3%	2
	Total	100%	15

Q6 - What do you think is the biggest problem in the USA today?



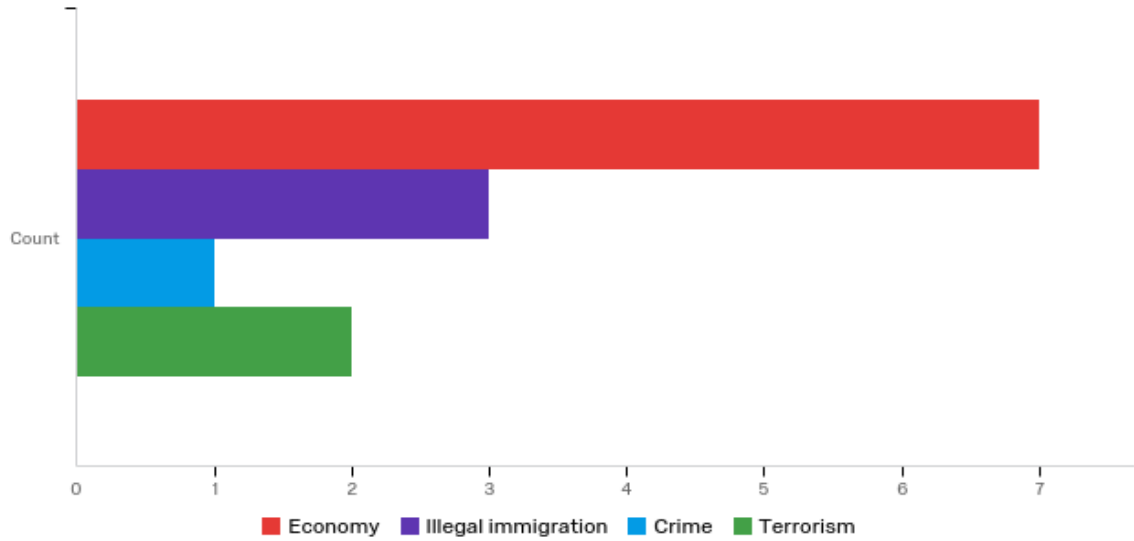
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Illegal immigration	14.3%	2
2	Terrorism	7.1%	1
3	Less job opportunities for working class Americans	14.3%	2
4	Gun violence	64.3%	9
	Total	100%	14

Q7 - Choose a statement which you believe to be true



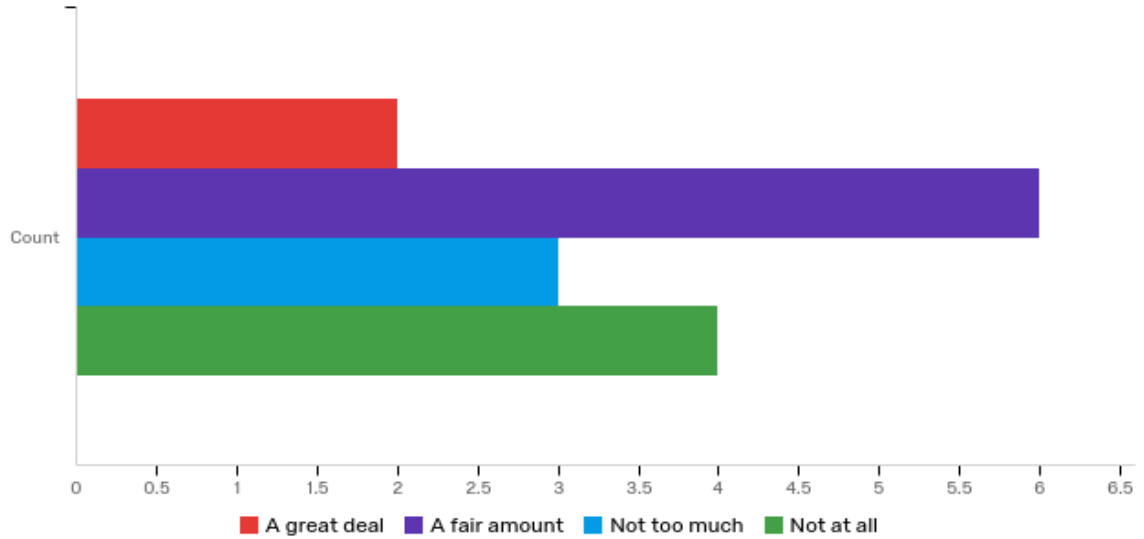
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Undocumented immigrants are as honest and hardworking as American citizens	40.0%	6
2	Undocumented immigrants mostly fill jobs American citizens don't want	26.7%	4
3	Undocumented immigrants are more likely than American citizens to commit serious crimes	33.3%	5
	Total	100%	15

Q8 - Under the current government which situation has been addressed and solved effectively



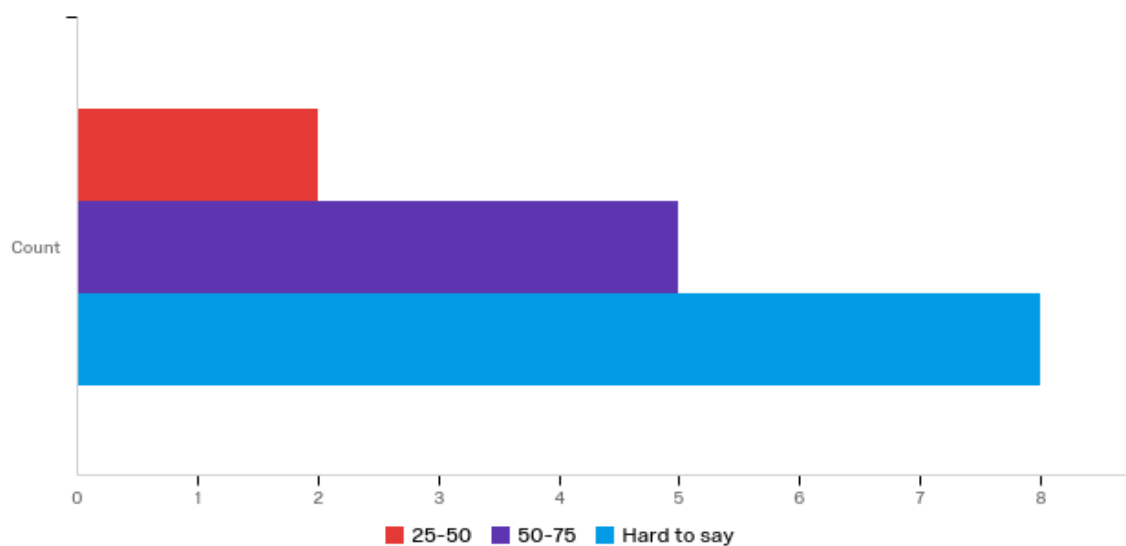
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Economy	53.8%	7
2	Illegal immigration	23.1%	3
3	Crime	7.7%	1
4	Terrorism	15.4%	2
	Total	100%	13

Q9- Do you have confidence in president Trump when dealing with illegal immigration?



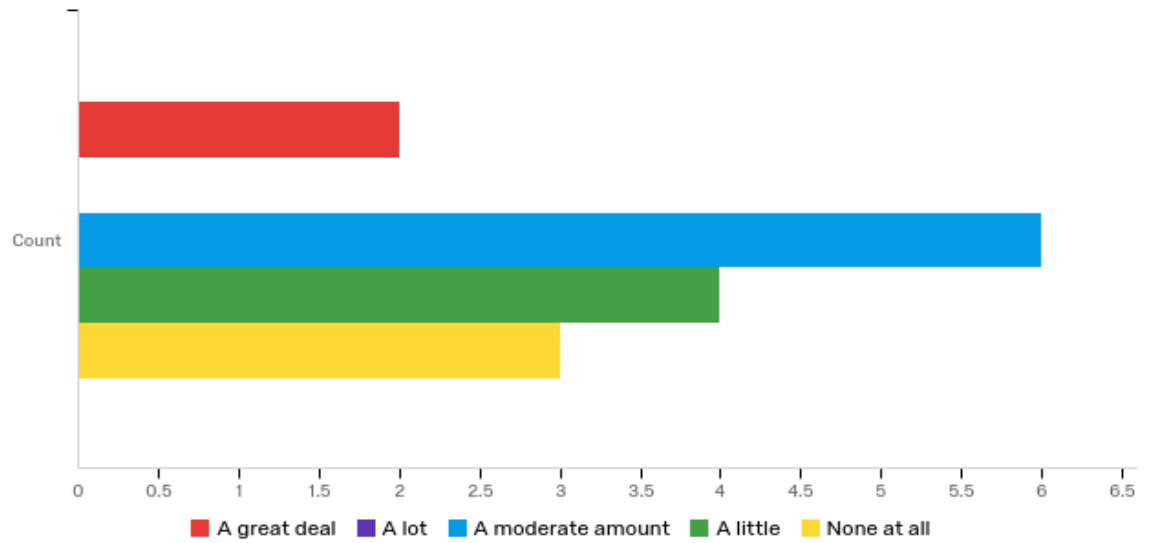
#	Answer	%	Count
1	A great deal	13.3%	2
2	A fair amount	40.0%	6
3	Not too much	20.0%	3
4	Not at all	26.7%	4
	Total	100%	15

Q10 - What percentage of immigrants do you believe reside in the USA legally?



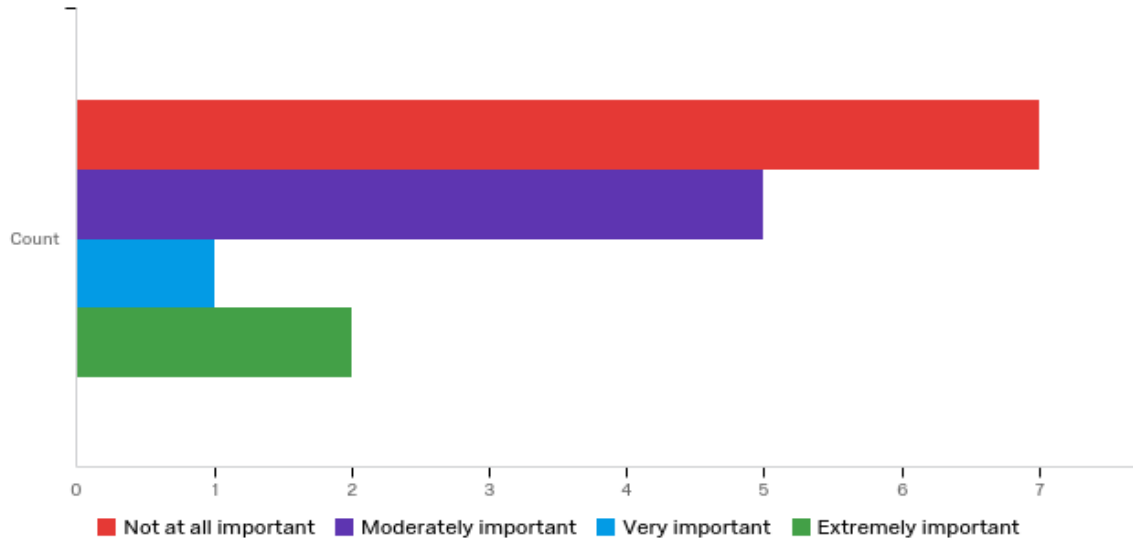
#	Answer	%	Count
1	25-50	13.3%	2
2	50-75	33.3%	5
3	Hard to say	53.3%	8
	Total	100%	15

Q11 - Do you have confidence in President Trump when dealing with Economy?



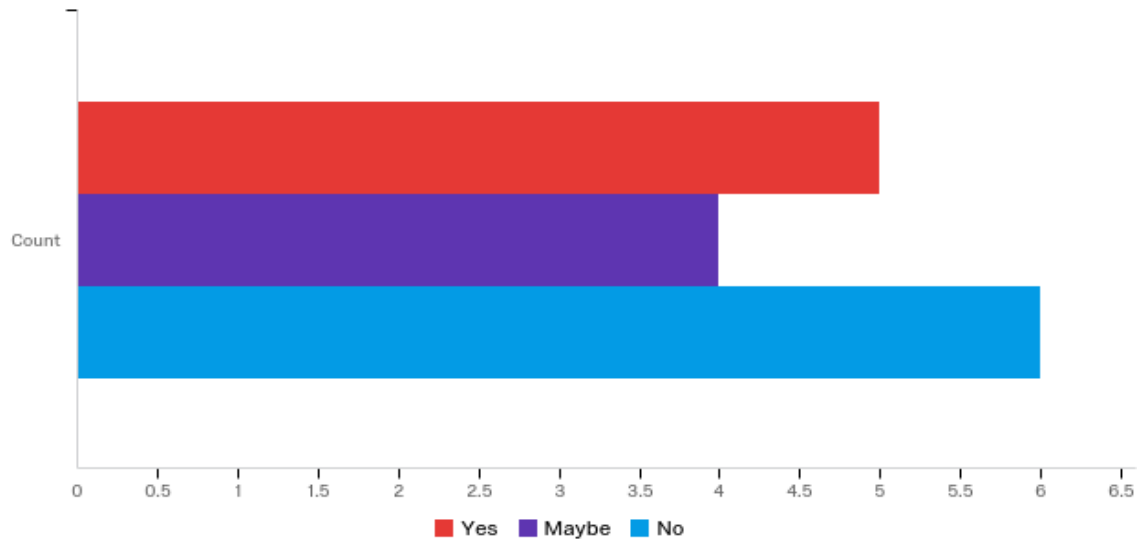
#	Answer	%	Count
1	A great deal	13.3%	2
2	A lot	0.0%	0
3	A moderate amount	40.0%	6
4	A little	26.7%	4
5	None at all	20.0%	3
	Total	100%	15

Q12 - Do you view the construction of a wall along the US- Mexico border as important for immigration policy?



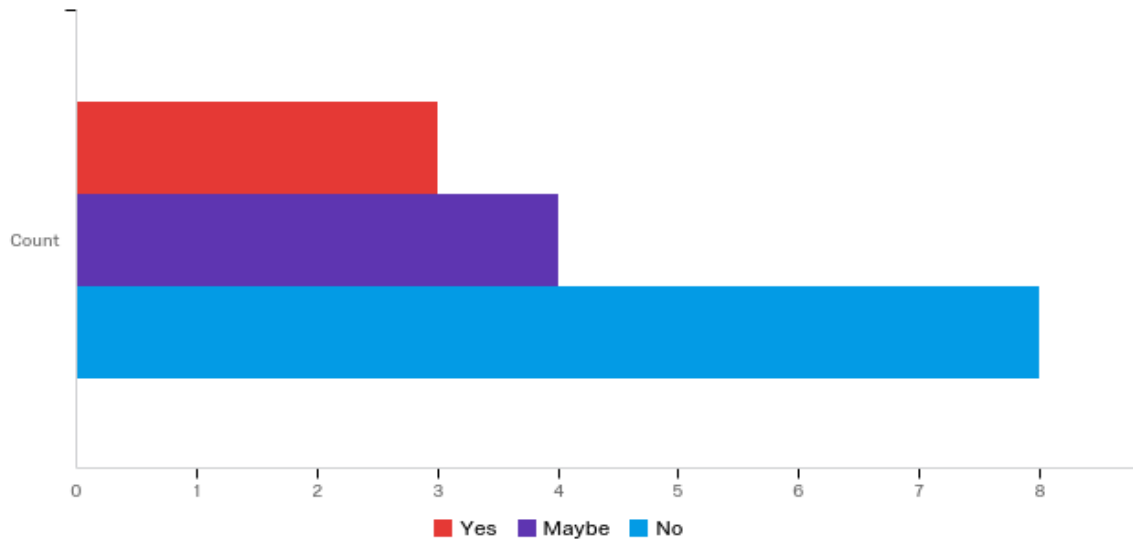
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Not at all important	46.7%	7
2	Moderately important	33.3%	5
3	Very important	6.7%	1
4	Extremely important	13.3%	2
	Total	100%	15

Q13 - The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am



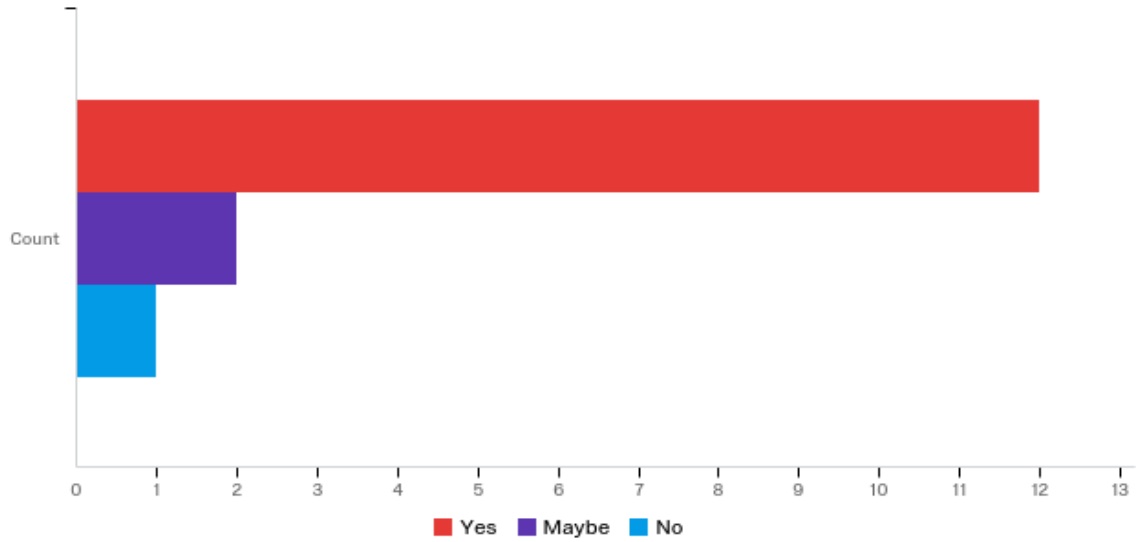
#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	33.3%	5
2	Maybe	26.7%	4
3	No	40.0%	6
	Total	100%	15

Q14 - I support building a wall across the southern U. S. border to prevent immigration



#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	20.0%	3
2	Maybe	26.7%	4
3	No	53.3%	8
	Total	100%	15

Q15 - Have you discussed the immigration policy debate with your friends, family, and co-workers since Trump became President?



#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	80.0%	12
2	Maybe	13.3%	2
3	No	6.7%	1
	Total	100%	15