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MAKE AMERICAN GREAT FOR MEXICANS? THE EFFECTS OF DONALD TRUMP'S  
POLITICAL CAMPAIGN ON PUBLIC OPINION OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Humanities Department  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

in

The Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures

by  
Brooke Ann Biolo  
B.A., Salve Regina University, 2014  
May 2017

## **Acknowledgments**

For my wonderful parents and sisters who have tirelessly supported me in my own dreams and who have encouraged me to speak out in the name of truth and justice.

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## **Abstract**

The present study examines the effects that U.S. President Donald Trump's political campaign has had on public opinion of Mexican immigrants. By examining the long history of oppression of Mexicans on U.S. soil and even prior to the establishment of the U.S., the study creates a base and then employs a discourse analysis that proves that Trump's rhetoric is perpetuating some of the same stereotypes that have followed Mexicans since Europeans began settling in the Americas. Public opinion was gauged using a carefully constructed survey and the results show that overall, Trump's harsh stereotypical rhetoric has spurred a narrative of defiance in U.S. citizens. They are hearing Trump's harsh words and outwardly opposing them, choosing inclusivity and love as a response to exclusivity and hatred. Among the more negative responses there were a few stereotypical themes that did come up including language discrimination, allusion to various stereotypes and assumed difference. Though there were some participants that clearly took a dominant decoding of Trump's rhetoric and are indeed perpetuating his negative stereotypical ideals, the vast majority of participants in the present study showed a great defiance and acceptance for difference, a trend that has clearly arisen in the U.S. as a result of Trump's campaign and now presidency.



## **Chapter One: Introduction**

The present thesis uses four categories of data to analyze the effects Donald Trump's political campaign has had on public opinion about Mexican immigrants in the U.S. This first introductory chapter serves to introduce the topic, define essential vocabulary and outline the entire thesis.

Eight years after the U.S. elected their first African-American president, U.S. citizens watched as President Barack Obama's term came to an end. With the turn of 2015 to 2016, a new race began, and, as is the case with all political candidates, republican president Donald Trump is constantly in the public eye. With various new technologies and the ability to share, obtain and create information at our fingertips—Americans can access details about the candidates' policies, practices and ideologies more readily than ever.

Having worked in the realm of media studies, I am acutely aware of the information I am presented with through various news outlets, peers and even social media. Throughout this entire presidential campaign, I noticed some frightening patterns in Donald Trump's proposed treatment of Mexican immigration and even of the Latino community as a whole. His ideas are a cause for concern, specifically because they are so widespread and radical. Mexico is a country that has been plagued by constant conflict with the U.S. throughout its history and I believe Trump is perpetuating deep-seated stereotypes in the course of his campaign. I fear the effects that his words could have on public opinion toward Mexican immigrants and Mexican immigration.

To test my theory, the present study employs a cultural analysis of public opinion. The study is organized into four categories of data: history to set the scene and paint a picture of a long and still standing history of oppression of Mexicans by Anglos; literature to depict the experience of becoming and being Mexican in the U.S. from its establishment; a discourse analysis to prove the danger of an influence of Trump's words; finally a survey to speak the minds of the public and deduce the effects of Trump's rhetoric. The second chapter (the literature review) begins with a history of what used to be part of the Mexican territory and the beginnings of relations between the U.S. Mexico. This portion helps to form a clear concept of who inhabits the territory that is Mexico and why relations between the U.S. and Mexico have been so complex. In this section I refer to Himilce Novas' *Everything you Need to Know about Latino History*, Gary Clark Anderson's *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land*, David Montejano's *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas* and various other historical works that help to depict the complicated and diverse history of the territory that now makes up Mexico and parts of the U.S.

The next section uses Chicano literature and other works to detail the experience of living in the U.S. as a Chicano. The word "Chicano" comes from "mexicano" meaning Mexican and it originated as a "pejorative term used by both Anglos and Mexicans to refer to unskilled workers in America, particularly recent immigrants" (Novas 55). As time progressed the term has come to refer to all Mexican Americans, despite their time in the U.S. or immigration status. Another distinction important to make in this portion of the present study is the difference between Mexican American, Mexican and Mexican immigrant, as these words will be used consistently throughout

this paper. A Mexican American refers to a U.S. citizen of Mexican descent. This could mean they have immigrated here and received citizenship status or they are first, second or even third generation Americans born to Mexican immigrants. A Mexican immigrant refers one who has passed into the U.S. from Mexico to live and here a distinction must be made between those who come legally, that is they have acquired the proper visas and paperwork to legally stay in the U.S., and those who come illegally. Those who come illegally cross the border without completing the appropriate paperwork and are not considered U.S. citizens nor are they here on a visa, rendering them “illegal” immigrants. Finally, Mexican refers to the people of Mexican origin who remain in their country. In some instances in this paper the word Mexican refers to all three of these groups and it is explicitly noted in the study when that is the case.

Something central to understanding this study is that Trump does not separate the legal from the illegal nor the citizen from the non-citizen, as chapter three of this study shows, his rhetoric takes an exclusive and derogatory stance towards Mexican immigration and the Mexican population in the U.S. in general. Other words that come up in chapter two of this study are Texans and Tejanos. Texans describe Anglos like Davy Crockett, Sam Houston, Mirabeau Lamar (all white and male) and many others that arrived in what they saw as “Texas wilderness” and carved a state out of it (Anderson 4). However, in his anthology *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land*, Anderson points out that this land was not theirs for the taking and it was actually populated by various American Indian tribes. When the Spanish arrived in Texas in 1514 the region’s written history began. These Spaniards saw themselves as separate from those settled in Mexico City, given the geographical distance and many

residents began to identify as Tejanos, or Spanish Texans (Anderson 5). The term continued to be used to describe Texas Mexicans after Mexico was freed from Spanish rule.

In the same chapter, Chicano writer Tomas Rivera, paints a picture of the life of Mexican farm laborers and their families. Men were forced to work long hours in the gruesome desert heat for low wages. The children were ostracized and bullied by their peers and their teachers for speaking in their native tongue or even just for their Mexican appearance. Cherrie Moraga's plays paint a picture of the identity conflicts she experienced from the displacement of growing up Chicana. *Aztlán* compiles the voices of various Chicano poets and intermingles these voices with news articles and various other sources to paint a picture of the racial tensions and daily struggles Mexicans have faced in the United States. *Stand and Deliver* and *Zoot Suit* show how Chicanos were seen as inferior and even criminalized by mainstream society. The section following gives a brief chronology of U.S. immigration policy to date to explain the laws that have governed immigration patterns. In 1924 the U.S. imposed a law that established quotas for immigrants entering the U.S. and border patrol began requiring Mexican immigrants to provide proper documentation to obtain legal entry into the U.S. Many Mexicans viewed this as an obstacle and the roots of illegal immigration were sewn. The laws are followed by an integral part of the present study, public opinion on immigration before Trump's presidency. This section contains various studies that have polled the public and tried to come to some conclusions about how U.S. citizens feel about immigrants and immigration and further, what are some possible social constraints that can affect

public opinion. The studies in this section serve as a basis of comparison in this paper, are people more or less accepting of Mexicans after Trump's campaign?

Which leads right into the next literature review section of the present study, Trump's opinions and commentary on Mexican Immigrants/immigration. This section details the radical public statements Trump has made and the following section explains why it is so crucial to complete a study of this nature, because of the large impact the media has and has had on its consumers. To explain the potential effects of Trump's rhetoric, chapter three contains a discourse analysis of a speech he gave in Phoenix, AZ in 2016. Using a methodically reduced and annotated transcription of the speech given I analyzed Trump's use of repetition, voice raising, gesture and silence (or what is not said). All of these unique parts of discourse have an effect on the audience and I use them together to show that Trump's messages to the public are exclusive and generally derogatory in terms of his opinions on Mexican immigrants and immigration.

Once his negative messages about Mexican immigrants are established, chapter four refers to the results of a survey created to gauge public opinion of Mexican immigrants and immigration. Tables and charts provide visual aid as I discuss the results and the possible implications of them. These results lead to the overall findings—the effects Trump's rhetoric has had on public opinion of Mexican immigrants and immigration policy. Overall, the data shows the majority of participants disagree with Trump's harsh statements, support more liberal immigration policies, and have more positive attitudes toward Mexicans in the U.S.

Finally, chapter five of the present study compares how the various pieces of demographic information collected have influenced public opinion. The study use

Language Variation Suite to analyze how gender, current location, age and education level affected the survey responses (Scrivner and Manuel Díaz-Campos). Education level and age proved to have the largest effect on public opinion toward Mexicans, a word that here encompasses immigrants, U.S. citizens and any one of Mexican descent in the U.S.

The study's sixth and final chapter reinforces the central finding that Trump's rhetoric has helped to improve public opinion. Considering the survey responses, the majority of participants disagree with Trump's stereotypical stances that perpetuate existing racist notions. In fact, the surveys received in this study show something that goes beyond disagreement and moves towards a defiance of Trump's harsh words toward Mexicans. The following study is highly replicable and can serve to gauge U.S. public opinion of Mexicans in similar studies to come.

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

### **History of the Mexican territory**

In this chapter, I want to trace a history of the land that now is Mexico because it is relevant to know the geographical history of the land. This chronology helps to form an idea of exactly who inhabits the land that is Mexico and how these people came to be there. As Himilce Novas points out in his novel *Everything You Need to Know about Latinos*, this is not simply an ethnic minority that crossed a border and slowly became incorporated into the American mosaic (55). The Mexican people have ancestral roots in regions that now constitute the United States.

There are certain words essential to the understanding of Mexican history in the U.S. One is Chicano, a term derived from “mexicano” which translates as “Mexican” in English (Novas 55). The word was originally used to refer to unskilled Mexican-born workers in America (typically recent immigrants). This word came to be used to refer to all Mexican Americans, despite how long they have lived in what is now U.S. territory (Novas 55). However, during the 1960’s, civil rights leader César Chávez led a labor movement and Mexican Americans began identifying as Chicanos to rid the word of its negative connotations. The racial slur became a source of ethnic pride for Mexican-Americans. A second term that will come up constantly in the history of Mexican Americans is “Anglo.” The term refers to all European Americans, not just Anglo-Saxons as it implies. These words will be used frequently in this history.

Beginning as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Aztecs arrived in Mesoamerica; a large geographic area that spans from what is now central Mexico all the way to northern Costa Rica. The tribe was thought to be nomadic prior to 1325 A.D. when they

constructed their capital city of Tenochtitlan (an area that later became Mexico City). They developed an intricate society with a strict caste system spanning from nobles at the top to serfs, slaves and servants at the bottom. The civilization was devoted to various Aztec gods and believed in human sacrifice. Spanish and European settlers would come to recognize this belief in sacrifice as something barbaric; they would come to frame the Aztecs and their descendants as uncivilized, senseless killers. On the contrary, “sacrifice” to the Aztecs did not mean murder, but rather an exchange to honor the Gods (Cartwright). Aztec sacrifice was far from senseless killing and was actually a highly ritualized practice and was seen as a necessity for human prosperity. Often, human sacrifice was as simple as bloodletting or self-harm (Cartwright). The Spanish conquest of the Aztecs led to Spanish captives, who were sometimes offered to the Gods, but this type of human sacrifice was only a small part of these sacrificial rituals (Cartwright). Human sacrifice did not entail an endless slaughter of their enemies, as Spaniards and other Europeans would come to recognize it. So, the barbaric image of natives as crazed murderers is grounded in little actual fact. Nonetheless, this uncivilized reputation would follow the Aztecs and their descendants (Chicanos) for years to come.

In 1519, Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés arrived in Aztec territory where the natives taught him all about their civilization. He founded the city of Veracruz, trained his army and made alliances within the Chichimecas. The Aztecs, who thought Cortes was one of their own gods, greeted him and his men as guests in Tenochtitlan.



The Aztecs did not know about gunpowder were eventually defeated by Cortes and his army, despite their greater numbers. Cortes then built Mexico City on the ruins of Tenochtitlan.

In the years that followed, Spain maintained control over the colonies in the new world. Many American Indians were forced to convert to Roman Catholicism and to work on Spanish farms and mines. Many of the Indians died off due to overexertion and Spanish disease. Other Indians converted to Catholicism and learned to speak Spanish. Since there were very few Spanish women in the new world, the Spanish men began to procreate with the native women, beginning this mingling of Indian and Spanish blood in New Spain.

The colony of New Spain stretched from what is now Mexico all the way into the southwestern part of the U.S., however, “resources did not suffice to settle in those regions” so many of those areas served as military garrisons (Teja Zabre 194). The period of colonization stretched from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth and by the 1800’s, the colony of New Spain was in pursuit of freedom from Spanish rule (Teja Zabre 194). At this time various indigenous groups populated the area that is now Texas, but by 1820 European disease had taken its toll on these tribes as well. Their numbers had become so small that they could no longer challenge early American settlement (Anderson 26). Before and after Mexico gained its independence, various other Indian tribes migrated to this area. A number of Anglos came and went through the towns populated by the immigrant Indians; sometimes they even married into the various tribes, instilling their different political and economic views on other members of the tribe. However, some of these tribes blamed Americans

for their troubles and many of them came to despise Texans (Anderson 28). Overall, these immigrant Indians, “...who lived in perhaps twenty to thirty large and small communities, were a diverse lot” (Anderson 27).

Indians, Mestizos, criollos and their descendants had had enough of the frequent abuses, blunders and absurdities of the Spanish authorities and the clergy (Teja Zabre 227). “From the beginning of Spanish colonization and domination in the region, the peoples of Mexico had suffered social and economic injustice and had rebelled on numerous occasions” (Novas 71). Finally, in September of 1810 a criollo parish priest named Miguel Hidalgo uttered the famous *Grito de Dolores*, a call to action that ignited Mexico’s revolution for independence. For the next ten years various battles were fought between the Spaniards and the oppressed Mexicans (Novas 71). In 1821, the colony of New Spain was freed from Spanish control and became its own self-governing body. The new territory was named Mexico and it spanned from modern day Mexico to the U.S. southwest.

By the time Mexico established an independent government in Mexico City, various ethnic groups with varying cultural, political and economic values populated Texas. “Pressing in the east were the Anglo-Americans, mingling with the few Tejano [or the first successful European settlers of the region] inhabitants who remained” (Anderson 31). Immigrant Indians began crossing into Texas from Arkansas and the original Indians of this land, many of whom were wiped out by disease, populated the western and central parts of the region. In his novel, *The Conquest of Texas*, Anderson hypothesizes that if the newly established Mexican government could have offered all of these people “...a stable government, law, and order, perhaps the later clashes could

have been avoided” (32). But of course, this was not the case. These various ethnic groups began fighting over land in Texas almost immediately after the establishment of an independent Mexican government.

In the years that followed, an increasing number of Anglos began to migrate into this area and they immediately positioned themselves atop the social ladder. These people looked down upon the darker-skinned Mexicans and the Indians currently inhabiting this land. Due to the intense cultural divisions among these various settlers, the newly arriving Anglos had an advantage as they had the clearest sense of identity (Anderson 34). Due to these conflicting identities, the Anglo community, which originally hailed from the United States, began to view themselves as “Texans” because they felt that their struggle was separate from that of the rest of America.

Another important facet to Anglo-domination in Texas was the cultural assumptions these people brought with them. Their strong commitment to material gain was intrinsically linked to the institution of slavery. “To defend the institution, a code emerged that led to extremely racist views regarding people of color. The code was perceived as righteous and morally correct because it helped to define a higher form of civilization deemed superior...” (Anderson 36). By this point, the Mexican government had outlawed slavery so that became another source of friction between the Anglos and Mexicans. Slavery further divided the fair-skinned Anglos from the darker skinned Mexicans, who were thought of as inferior. At the same time, a negative portrayal of the Indian began to take effect in America. They came to be thought of as a people who “...lacked law, order and a sense of moral purpose” (Anderson 37). With the help of American literature, this image of the Indian eventually evolved into one of

savagery (Anderson 38). This was only the beginning of prejudice toward these cultures that would continue for centuries to come.

At first the Texans were tolerant of the Tejanos and the indigenous groups of the region. However, “[a]s they became demographically stronger, Texans were far less willing to tolerate other cultural groups” (Anderson 35). As the Texans gained power, tensions arose between a more liberal, anti-slavery Mexico and a republican pro-slavery Texas until March 2, 1836 when Texans declared their independence from Mexico, forming the Texas Republic (Anderson 105). The declaration included several charges against Mexico and called for a separate and independent Texas, but Texans would have to earn their right to separate from Mexico on the battlefield (Anderson 105).

In February of 1836, Mexican General Santa Anna marched his army north to San Antonio to prevent just that. Santa Anna’s troops seized the Texan military garrison known as the Alamo. Santa Anna demanded the Texans surrender, which Texan Lieutenant Colonel Travis refused to do. Santa Anna grew frustrated with the Texan’s refusal to cooperate and his troops invaded the Alamo from all directions in the early morning of March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1836. Approximately one hundred eighty Texans were up against thousands of Mexicans, who eventually turned their own cannons in on them as they huddled inside the barracks. By sunrise, “...the Alamo was a mass of smoke and dead bodies” (Anderson 109). In *Borderlands*, Gloria Anzaldúa points out that this was the beginning of the Mexican’s reputation as “brutal” persons, even though they were fighting to keep their own land (Anzaldúa 6). Now not only is Mexican ancestry linked

to brutality (through the writings of the Spaniards about the Aztecs), but now the Mexicans themselves have gained this same reputation.

However, losing the Alamo ignited a spirit of revenge in the minds of the Texans. Houston and his troops retreated north, but other U.S. generals were ready to fight, though they knew they stood no chance without the aid of U.S. troops (Anderson 114). On April 15<sup>th</sup>, Santa Anna and his troops captured Harrisburg and shortly after, they were met by Houston's army. The confrontation surprised Santa Anna who assumed that armed resistance in Texas had collapsed. Santa Anna defensively positioned his troops along the San Jacinto river (Anderson 117). Despite their smaller numbers, the Houston's men slaughtered the Mexicans, attacking them during their traditional siesta. Six hundred thirty Mexicans were slaughtered in the battle of San Jacinto compared to the Texan's nine men killed. At the end of the gruesome battle, Santa Anna was brought before Houston and granted Texas its independence (Anderson 118).

In addition to independence, Santa Anna promised to work toward permanent peace between the two, now sovereign, nations; but the Mexican government quickly rejected this request and the two nations would continue to be at war for the next nine years (Anderson 118). Anderson even claims the constant feuding created a "culture of war," instilling in the people that violence was an essential component in the construction of a nation (5). He describes the decade to follow as "an ethnic and racial feud that resulted in unimaginable destruction and the loss of thousands of lives" (7). Full blown racial prejudice had come to surface.

During this time "[M]any ex-soldiers carried out raids that claimed the land, stock and lives of Mexicans, ally and foe alike" (Montejano 26). Even pro-Texas

Mexicans were discriminated against solely for being Mexican. War-crazed Texans, who distrusted and even hated Mexicans, drove them from their homes. “During the brief tenure of the Texas Republic, Texas Mexicans suffered from forced marches, general dispossession, and random violence” (Montejano 27). In 1839, hundreds of Mexican families were forced to abandon their land and homes in what is now East Texas (Montejano 27). As Anzaldúa puts it, Texas became a republic and the Tejanos (Mexican Texans) became foreigners in their own land overnight (6). This is only the beginning of narrative of exclusion that would follow Mexicans for years to come.

The constant fighting over ownership of territory turned Texas into a militant nation (Anderson 6). Texans were not the only ones who had their eye on Mexico’s land. As manifest destiny gained speed, the U.S. soon sought a large tract of land to expand from “sea to shining sea.” However, much of that land already belonged to Mexico, but the United States did not let that stop them. (Novas 75) Relations between the two nations started off being civil as American merchants brought goods to New Mexico, which the Mexican government couldn’t supply. However, Americans considered themselves superior to the Mexicans, who they considered “lazy and uncivilized,” a critique reminiscent of the Indian’s earlier reputation and another stereotype that would come to perpetuate for centuries to come (Novas 74).

The fighting would continue for two years, but by the end of December 1845, Texas was annexed to the U.S. as a slave state. As a results, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the U.S. (Novas 81). On May 13, 1846 the U.S. declared war on Mexico.

Mexico itself was “torn by civil strife” and the United States capitalized on this; they recruited an army of 50,000 men and appropriated \$10 million for the war effort (Novas 86).

In 1848, the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ended the war between the U.S. and Mexico. As a result, the U.S. gained landmasses that are now Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and California from the Mexicans. As Novas puts it, “[b]y the single stroke of the pen, a large group of Mexican citizens, right in their very own homes, found themselves smack in the middle of another country” (Novas 83). The Mexicans on this territory had a year to choose whether they would become U.S. citizens or move to Mexican territory and remain Mexican citizens. About 8,000 Mexicans opted to become U.S. citizens as compared to the 2,000 who didn’t (Novas 86).

. The treaty was supposed to protect those Mexican citizens and “assured” “the ‘equality’ of Mexicans in the territory and pledged that their ‘property of every kind’ would be ‘inviolably respected’” (Valdez 102). However, the U.S. did not honor the terms of the treaty and Anglos seized many Mexican homes. Anzaldúa comments on this betrayal in *Borderlands*. “The Gringo, locked into the fiction of white superiority, seized complete political power, stripping Indians and Mexicans of their land while their feet were still rooted in it” (Anzaldúa 7).

Additionally, the treaty made no provision for the use of Spanish in territories where the language was dominant. . “El tratado garantizaba los derechos de los antes ciudadanos mexicanos en el Nuevo territorio estadounidense, pero no incluyó una

provision que garantizara el uso del español” (Escobar & Patowski 7). This early form of language exclusion is a thread that would be continuously woven into the lives of Mexican Americans.

As a response to the unjust treatment and to being forcibly removed from their land by the Anglos, Mexican rebels from a small town in Texas set forth the Plan of San Diego. The plan called for independence from “yankee tyranny” and proposed the culmination of an independent republic that would include Texas, New Mexico, California, Colorado and Arizona (Montejano 117). In protest and defense of their property, Mexicans began raiding Anglo-owned properties. In fact, many raiders had joined in order to regain land that was taken from their parents and grandparents (Montejano 125).

In response, Anglo vigilante groups began lynching Chicanos. The lynchings became so common that the *San Antonio Express* reported that the finding of Mexican bodies was no longer a topic of interest. Instead only reports of Mexican raids or American deaths were of significance (Montejano 123). These battles were fought all along the Mexico-Texas border (Montejano 124). Anzaldúa asserts that “race hatred, had finally fomented into an all out war” (Anzaldúa 8). Chicanos were insulted and not taken seriously in the newly American society. As was the pattern among Anglos, Texans viewed them as racially inferior and used that to justify their ways. Many Chicanos fled to Mexico to escape the abuse.

Various political and cultural conflicts led Mexico to a revolution in 1910 when liberal leader Francisco I Madero organized a revolt against Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz and a year later, Madero became president of Mexico. His general Victoriano



Huerta then overthrew him in 1913 and became the next dictator of Mexico. A series of revolts led by Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa broke out and according to Novas, “All hell broke loose south of the border” (96). As a response to the chaos in Mexico, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson ordered a blockade against Mexico in 1913. Thankfully, war with the U.S. was avoided and the Mexican Revolution ended in 1917.

The aftermath of the revolution devastated Mexicans. This misery spurred the first significant wave of Mexican immigration to the United States (Novas 96). In fact, between 1910 and 1930 almost ten percent of Mexico’s citizens fled the country in search of a better life. In 1924, U.S. Immigration laws were put in place that established quotas for people entering the U.S. (Novas 97). Due to its proximity to the U.S., Mexico became the primary source of immigrants and cheaper labor for the United States. To gain legal entry, U.S. border control required Mexicans to provide proof of identity, but some viewed the paperwork as an obstacle and began avoiding border control. This was the origin of the “illegal immigrant” in the U.S.

Mexican immigrants spread all over the southwest and provided cheap labor in various fields such as mining, railroad expansion and agriculture. Many women came to work in factories, leaving their children in their homes alone. Anzaldúa uses this example to explain that this infusion of white cultural values combined with their exploitation of the Mexican culture is changing the Mexican way of life. “For many mexicanos del otro lado, the choice is to stay in Mexico and starve or to move north and live” (Anzaldúa 10).

However, when the Great Depression hit the United States, hundreds of thousands of those Mexican Americans were left to compete with white men for jobs

that traditionally belonged to the Mexicans. Again, white superiority overcame the Mexican people and many Anglos grew bitter about a New Deal Act that put many unemployed Mexican Americans to work. "Many Anglos considered both Mexicans and Mexican Americans to be foreigners or itinerant laborers, who in their view, had no right to take the few existing jobs from 'real' Americans at such a time of extreme economic duress" (Novas 105). This racist Anglo notion does not distinguish between actual American citizens who are of Mexican origin and actual Mexican immigrants who are not. This is to say that all people who appear Mexican do not belong in the U.S.; despite being legal citizens in the U.S. This theme of homelessness and displacement is resurfaced here as large quantities of Mexicans were deported to Mexico during the 1930s, many of whom only had permanent homes on U.S. soil.

The pattern of stripping the Mexicans of their land continued into the 1950s as large corporations began to irrigate land that was previously populated by Mexicans and use it to grow crops. Many of the deported Mexicans made their way back to the U.S. to help fill a job shortage brought on by World War II. The Bracero Program was established in 1942 to address this labor shortage (Novas 107). During the first wave of the Bracero Program, a quarter of a million braceros were hired to work seasonally in agriculture in the U.S. under contracts that lasted about a year. By 1948, Bracero workers accounted for twenty five percent of all farmworkers in the United States, and they were dispersed throughout Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Arkansas and Michigan.

Linguists Ana María Escobar and Kim Potowski point out that, "el programa trajo también discriminación y abuso...especialmente en los campos agrícolas de Texas y

California y en la industria ferroviaria...” (Escobar & Potowski 8). This quote captures the reality of discrimination and abuse that Mexican workers experienced in the United States. This pattern of abuse and oppression of Mexicans is reflected in the works of many Chicano writers, for example Tomas Rivera. One of his short stories tells the story of young Mexican children being forced to work in the fields all day in the brutal heat until many of them fainted of sun poisoning. Rivera’s works will be discussed in further detail in the following section, but it is clear from this example that his works of fiction have a base in reality.

At this point, Mexicans had a distrust of Anglos who kicked them off their land and the tensions between these two groups intensified. (Novas 105). Anzaldúa comments on the difficulties these tensions brought about for the Mexican people and explains, “[t]hose who make it past the checking points of the Border Patrol find themselves in the midst of 150 years of racism in Chicano barrios in the Southwest and in big northern cities” (12). Despite being ensured “basic rights” by the U.S., many of these workers were treated terribly by the prejudiced Anglos. They were promised “...adequate, sanitary, and free housing; decent meals at reasonable prices; occupational insurance at employer's expense; and free transportation back to Mexico at the end of the contract” (“About The Bracero Program”). Tomas Rivera describes the rigorous work the Chicano farmhands were forced to do in the debilitating heat for minimal pay. In one Rivera story, a Chicano man explains to his son “only death brings us rest” (113). The housing quarters were frequently a far cry from sanitary and often crammed several family members into a small space. Another story of Rivera’s talks of a family of five living in a chicken shack and the difficult conditions resulted in the entire shack

burning down and two of the children dying (124). Working conditions were so bad in Texas that the Mexican government banned its citizens from working there (Novas 109).

Anzaldúa continues to describe this “no-man’s-borderland” in south Texas as a place where the immigrants are caught between being able to eat and being treated as criminals, and between deportation and resistance. She goes on to say that these illegal refugees are some of the poorest and most exploited people in all of the U.S.; Novas even refers to their treatment as “sub-human” (109). So while these Mexicans have little choice but to immigrate to the U.S. for a better life, dating back to the first Anglo settlers, citizens of the United States have historically stripped them of their land, incriminated them, discriminated against them and abused them, leaving them to feel like strangers in a place that was once their home. In the following section I will elaborate further on the details of this experience for Mexican immigrants in the U.S.

### **The immigrant experience**

These specific details of the history of Mexico help me to trace this chronology of oppression on Mexican soil. Beginning with the Spaniards and the Aztecs, the natives of Mexico have been repeatedly conquered and forced off their own land. They are often made to feel like strangers in a land that they once inhabited. The chronology also helps to organize and set the scene for the various Chicano works of literature that will be examined in this section.

Before beginning the film analysis, I must define the term Pachuco. “Pachuca/o was a subculture created by Mexican youth in the 1930’s and 1940’s. Pachucas were the

female zoot-suiters (males zoo-suiters were called pachucos) who rebelled against social conventions” (Rios). Many Pachucos sported the high-waisted baggy pants, long jackets and chains common of the Pachuco style of dress (Novas 98). This group was also known for their speech, which combines aspects of both English and Spanish and, by their rebellious attitudes (Cortazar 19). To preface the following film analysis, “The Story of a Vato” details the life of a Southern Californian Pachuco. “They formed a closely knit group that regarded the Anglos as their natural enemies” leaving tensions between Mexican and Anglo cultures at an all time high. Despite banding together out of a need for self-protection, these Mexicans/ Mexican Americans were seen as criminals, regardless of whether or not they were actually affiliated with a gang lifestyle.

In September of 1969, Superior Court Judge Gerald S. Chargin even publicly condemned Mexicans in his court room, calling them miserable, rotten and lousy people, saying they should commit suicide and even insinuating that was right to destroy the “animals in our society” who “have no right to live among human beings” (Valdez 175). With the legal system clearly pitted against Mexicans and tensions between them and Anglos at an all-time high, the scene was set for inter-racial conflict in Southern California.

In the 1940’s in southern California a group of Mexican youths were accused of murder. The boys were found guilty despite a serious lack of evidence. For many, this case was considered “...uno de los más bochornosos en la historia penal del estado de California, por su eminente grado de racismo implicado...” (Cortazar 20).

After two years incarcerated, the boys were eventually let out of prison thanks to civic and economic support from different groups of people, but this did not stop the

violence in Los Angeles (Cortazar 20). The attacks that followed in Los Angeles in 1943 became known as the Zoot Suit riots. Cortazar points out that the negative image of the Chicano generated by the press and radio paired with transcendent racism and the chaos of the war created a great sense of hostility toward the Pachuco (21). The 1981 Luis Valdez movie *Zoot Suit*, although part fiction, provides an interesting take on these riots and the murder at the Sleepy Lagoon (*Zoot Suit*). While the movie does allude to these events, Cortazar points out that Valdez's decision to fictionalize the story is in fact what led to the film's success. He recreated the story to avoid controversy and to gain the acceptance of the Anglo-Saxon community (Cortazar 26).

The plot follows the story Henry Reyna, the American born son of two Mexican immigrants who is one of the accused in the murder case of the Sleepy Lagoon (Novas 98). In a confusing flurry of events at a party, a fight breaks out between the 38<sup>th</sup> Street Gang (Reyna and his friends) and another local gang and a man is murdered. It was Henry's sole request that he be able to change his clothing for the court date and this request was denied by the court, even though he had been in jail for two months. When the public defender of the Pachuco boys brings this up in court he gets into a tiff with the district attorney and ends up shouting, "you're trying to make these boys look disreputable, like mobsters" (*Zoot Suit*). The judge then deems the clothing "necessary" for identification purposes and addresses the refusal to allow the boys to change clothes saying "these boys didn't go to jail looking like marines" and cautions that it is too late to try to change their appearance (*Zoot Suit*).

The judge alludes to stereotypical undertones with his mention of appearance, negatively connoting this style of dress as being criminal when in reality it was a part of

the Pachuco culture. Additionally, the judge is working with the district attorney to incriminate these boys to the jury and this is not the only time this happens in court. The judge even forces each boy to stand when his name is said because the jury is “having trouble telling them apart” and the public defender’s objection to this motion is denied. The boys are further incriminated by being referred to as a gang by a witness and again, the defender’s objection to this incrimination is overruled. The story of the boys’ innocence is reenacted in the movie through Reyna’s girlfriend’s first-hand account of the events, while the stories accusing them are told without visual aid by an LAPD officer. This distinction between the two portrayals of the events combined with the court’s incriminations helps to frame the boys as innocent by providing visuals for the story of their innocence. By framing them as innocent to the film’s audience, *Zoot Suit* emphasizes the apparent discrimination in the courtroom, rendering their conviction seemingly unjust. This filmmaking decision was conscious effort by the movie directors, acknowledging the reality of this type of discrimination.

This courtroom scene is only the beginning of the obvious racial segregation that manifests in this movie. A white Jewish woman named Alice is working with the incarcerated Pachuco boys, fighting for their freedom. When she comes to visit, Henry’s “Pachuco voice” (played by a man in a zoot suit) cautions him not to trust her and Henry calls her a white “broad” who is “using Mexicans to play politics” (*Zoot Suit*). In an emotional fit, Alice recounts to Henry all of the awful things that have been said about her for defending the Mexican boys. The two share a laugh and Henry decides (against the advice of his Pachuco voice) to trust her.

This scene is particularly interesting because it is only after Alice exposes her experience with exclusion and marginalization that Henry feels as though he can trust her. After hearing what she has been through, he feels as though she has an understanding of the unjust exclusion and racial profiling Mexicans are experiencing in Los Angeles at this time.

When several Navy men return to Los Angeles, a fight breaks out between them and a group of Pachucos. While they are all equally involved in the fight, the scene freezes on a Mexican man holding a knife to a frightened looking white man in uniform (*Zoot Suit*). This portrayal represents how the media is framing these incidents, generating hatred and fear toward Mexicans.

In a later dream-like scene, a white reporter solidifies this negative media image. The man who plays Henry's "Pachuco voice" is seen chasing the reporter around a theatre (*Zoot Suit*). This reporter represents media portrayal and he insults the Zoot Suit style of dress comparing it to the style of hoodlums. He goes even further saying that if these boys are going to wear a uniform it should be a military uniform, proving media hostility toward these "Zoot Suiters." The Pachuco man begins to question the reporter incessantly whether he is considering Mexicans as "enemies to the American way of life" and after running and evading the question, he tells several navy men who appear in the scene to "kill that Pachuco bastard" (*Zoot Suit*). The evident racism in this scene is representative of the media's portrayal of these events, which the movie frames as being completely unjust, prejudiced and oppressive. Several different endings are proposed regarding Henry's fate but the media's version of the story involves him returning to prison while alternate endings paint a much more optimistic picture.



The film as a whole paints a picture of the extensive racial profiling and oppression Chicanos were experiencing in the U.S. at this time, especially in areas that were previously Mexican territory. These Los Angeles students were incriminated by the media, which generated civilian hatred toward them and eventually the tension fomented into full out race riots. This unique perspective makes blatant the unmerited abuse that Mexicans received in 1940's America.

In 1970, a detailed Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights was published and the enumerated sections each detail individual sources of tension between Mexican Americans in the Southwest and the agencies of justice in those states (Valdez 177). Among them are issues of police misconduct, inadequate protection, and underrepresentation on juries; and these are only a few of the types of discriminations that systems of control have made against Mexicans, justifying Mexican distrust and skepticism toward these sectors of control.

In 1982, Bolivian educator Jamie Escalante inspired his Garfield high school students to learn calculus, and when 18 of his students passed the AP exam that year, the Educational Testing Service questioned the results from the lower tier Los Angeles public school. Following the accusation, twelve of the students had their scores reinstated after retaking the exam and passing a second time. In 1988, Cuban director Ramón Menéndez turned the story of Jamie Escalante into a movie titled *Stand and Deliver*.

In addition to being an obvious manifestation of this "criminal Mexican" figure, there are several other notable patterns of discrimination and stereotyping that take place in the film. One Chicano student corrects Mr. Escalante's Spanish pronunciation of

his last name, suppressing an essential component to his culture- its language.

Escalante refuses to call him by the “English” version of his name, pointing out the ridiculousness of a correction regarding his Spanish accent. However, for the student this pressure to assimilate to the dominant Anglo culture is a reality, even if it means abandoning his own heritage. Here, director Ramón Menéndez is playing with the inseparable bond between language and identity. The language one speaks is a means of identifying one’s cultural background so for this southern California student, he is confronted with the struggle that comes with being Mexican, and having a Mexican last name, so he chooses to negate the correct original pronunciation.

This theme resurfaces when one of the female students expresses that another Mexican American classmate supposedly thinks she’s “so hot” because she dates white guys, insinuating that they are superior and being with one could help her to climb the social ladder. The students cannot become white, so dating someone of the dominant culture becomes her only way to fit in. An *El Clamor Publico* article reinforces the validity of this need to assimilate, “...let us divest ourselves of bygone traditions, and become Americanized all over- in language, in manners, in customs and habits...” (Valdez 104). This shows the reality of the pressure to assimilate in language and even more generally, in culture.

The plot of the film centers around those individual students being accused of cheating on their AP Exam after they all received passing scores. While they are being questioned about the incident by the school’s administration, the administrators start the conversation by saying “we’re not the cops” (*Stand and Deliver*). Though this remark is meant to coax the students into admitting to cheating, it assumes that these students

are accustomed to confrontations with the police, showing that even the school administration believes these kids are capable of criminal behavior. At this point, one of the students makes mockery of the administrators, “admitting” to the accusations and then proceeding to detail a ridiculous murder scenario to emphasize how ridiculous and insulting the accusations are. Before the fake admission reaches the point of ridiculousness, the administration believes the student immediately, showing no doubt that they cheated.

While defending his class to the school’s administration, Mr. Escalante gives way to his frustrations and sharply comments about the injustice saying “They learned if you try really hard, nothing changes” (*Stand and Deliver*). This expression of anger gives some perspective and allows for the audience to see the bigger picture, that this is an issue of inequality. Society is falsely accusing these students and knocking them down, maintaining them in the lowly sectors of the socioeconomic system, and assuming they do not have the capability to be anything more than blue-collar criminals. Even when the students are afforded the chance to retake the exam, Mr. Escalante gives them specific instructions on how to dress so as not to leave any room for additional false accusations and criminalization. It is clear from this film that the criminal stereotype and the feeling of exclusion are prominent threads deeply woven into the experience of being Chicano in the United States.

Before diving into specific works of Chicano literature, I refer to an anthology titled *Aztlan*. “Migration is the failure of roots. Displaced men are ecological victims. Between them and the sustaining earth, a wedge has been driven” (Valdez 127). Another excerpt from the anthology elaborates on the division this displacement has

caused for Mexicans in America who are “...exile[s] and native[s], newcomer[s] and founding father[s]...guest[s] in [their] own house” (Valdez 140). This feeling of exclusion goes hand in hand with the need to assimilate to a dominant Anglo culture, which seems to be the only option for a chance at inclusion. The short stories and plays that follow examine this sentiment in greater detail and on a more personal level.

The 1986 play *Giving Up the Ghost* by Cherrie Moraga is a more recent work that reflects the Chicano experience in the U.S. The play is set in L.A. and tells the story of a young Chicana woman struggling with her self-identification. The protagonist of the play is portrayed as two characters; Corky, her younger self and Marisa, her older self. In her essay on the play, Catherine Wiley discusses the theme of nostalgia and how it is a common aspect in Chicano literature. She defines this nostalgia as a yearning for a time and space “...in which the subject finds origin, a womb-like entity which is irretrievably lost except in memory” (Wiley 2). Wiley also points out that Chicano’s in the southwest are particularly interesting because they are essentially returning to a land that once belonged to them. She points out that despite this ancient connection to the land, “...the forces of history have severed irrevocably the once united lands” and that “...Mexican-Americans embody this severance.” Moraga’s character Amalia demonstrates this conflict through her two love interests mentioned in the play. She tells Marisa of Alejandro, a now deceased Mexican fisher she once loved very much. Amalia even admits that she loved Alejandro for “...the way he made México [her] home again” (Moraga 25). However, what strikes me in this is that Alejandro has deceased, metaphorically severing Amalia’s connection to Mexico. She then takes up a love interest in Marisa, who is on the opposite side of the spectrum. Though she has strong

Mexican roots, Marisa was born and raised in the U.S. The death of Alejandro and Amalia's turning to Marisa is symbolic of her realizing that though she will always love Mexico (as she will always love Alejandro) it is no longer her home, a complicated emotion that plagues many Mexican-Americans.

The Wiley article goes on to offer a physical description of Corky/ Marisa as bearing strong Indian features but dressing "cholo" style (pressed khakis and a white undershirt; slicked back hair)" (Wiley 7). In this way, Corky's physical description represents her conflicting identity. Her physical characteristics connect her to her native roots, while her style of dress is reminiscent of a US Mexican gangster stereotype. Corky's conflicted physical appearance is representative of this tension that many Mexican-Americans face between their roots and the place they currently call home.

Wiley discusses two other Chicano plays in this same article and makes some notable claims about the nature of these works in general. "Not only does the American landscape owe a literal debt to Mexican territorial losses, but the traditional American dream of assimilation into the mainstream depends upon Mexican-Americans knowing what aspect of themselves they must negate" (Wiley 8). As is also shown in the previous works analyzed, this it clear that "assimilation" into mainstream culture for Mexican-Americans actually means denying a part of themselves. The tensions that arise as a result of this conflict are common themes in contemporary Chicano theatre.

Chicano author Tomas Rivera wrote *...Y no se lo trago la tierra*, which tells the story of a young boy who lives the life of a migrant farmworker, living under the difficult conditions detailed above. He faces many hardships throughout the novel. In one scene in particular, the boy talks about his experience at school in the U.S.,

describing the experience as embarrassing and angering. “Todos nomás mirándote de arriba a abajo. Y luego se ríen de uno y la maestra con el palito de paleta o de ésquimo *pie* buscándote piojos en la cabeza” (Rivera 13). Again, this theme of being made an outsider comes out in Chicano literature. The boy is made a spectacle of, and the way the teacher checks his head for lice is an insulting gesture driven by the assumption the boy is unkempt and likely has poor hygiene. As Montejano explains, this particular characterization of Mexicans was a common among Anglo farmers, who used the “dirty Mexican” as an excuse to quarantine and separate Mexican laborers (225). Montejano mentions that being “dirty” even carries broader connotations, referencing the brown color of Mexican skin as well as a marker of inferiority on the farms where Mexicans were given the most grueling jobs and lived in run down shacks (227).

Returning Rivera’s ...*Y no se lo trago la tierra*, the boy accused of being “dirty” later tells a story of being bullied by a gringo in school who referred to him as “mex” and repetitively told him that he “doesn’t like Mexicans because they steal” another manifestation of the “Mexican criminal” figure (Rivera 15). This instance of the white boy belittling a Mexican is far from the only example in this novel.

The young boy’s family lives on a farm owned by a white man. The working conditions are very rough; they are worked very hard all day in the sweltering heat and not allowed many breaks for water. The danger of becoming “sunstruck” is constant in these conditions and they have to work strategically to avoid passing out. The boy recalls a time when his 9 year-old-brother passed out from working too hard and he begins asking why they are given such a fate (Rivera 35). This scene is moving and emotional and really depicts the difficulty of life on these migrant farms where the

Mexican immigrants are forced to slave in the fields at the mercy of the white American man.

From these works, it is clear the life of a Mexican immigrant in the U.S. is one plagued by a confusion of identities and many hardships. The immigrants are not received by their Anglo peers in a positive way, despite the fact that most of them are occupying land that belonged to their own ancestors. Bringing this all to the present, I have noticed frightening parallels between these accounts of Chicano oppression and the radical statements of Donald Trump during the course of his political campaign. To name a few, Trump has referred to Mexican immigrants (a term for him that encompasses any Latino who crosses the U.S./ Mexico border) as rapists, killers and drug dealers. I discuss a similar accusation above from Tomás Rivera's *...Y no se lo trago la tierra*, when the young boy's classmate says he does not like Mexicans because they steal. In an August 24<sup>th</sup>, 2015 tweet, Trump is quoted saying, "...this is America, English!!" and this specific statement was something that came up quite a bit in my research (Moreno). In Rivera's work, even the boy's father cautions him about not knowing English yet on his way to a new school for the first time (Rivera 13). Anzaldúa talks about the intrinsic link between language and identity, so this idea of forcing a different language onto people is, in a way, stripping them of their own identities.

Language discrimination is another theme that has arisen among Mexican Americans. During the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, President Roosevelt spoke about monolingualism (or the speaking of one language), deeming it "the natural state of human beings," the president attests,

“We must have but one language [...] The greatness of this nation depends on the swift assimilation of the aliens she welcomes to her shores. Any force which attempts to retard that assimilative process is a force hostile to the highest interests of our country” (Porcel 623).

According to an article by Jorge Porcel, “[t]his overt declaration of war against languages... has been the unstated language policy of the U.S. toward language minorities” (Porcel 623). So, while the U.S. claims no official language, tradition leans toward monolingualism in the dominant language, English. In fact, many American citizens believed English was the official language until the “English Only” movement resurfaced (Porcel 637). Twenty-seven states have made English the “official language” encouraging language discrimination in public sectors such as healthcare, the courts and the education systems. Remarkably, among these states are California, Oklahoma and Colorado, states that were originally Mexican territory.

In *El Español de Los Estados Unidos*, authors Escobar and Patowski point out that many U.S. citizens fear that English will not remain the majority language in the U.S. and for this reason, many discriminatory generalizations have arisen about the use of other language in the U.S. (215). For example, low English proficiency or English spoken with an accent can be interpreted as a lack of desire of a person to integrate into U.S. society or that the assumption that these speakers are less intelligent than people whose native language is English. As language is intrinsically linked to culture, the use of the Spanish language carries these same pressures to assimilate as is seen in the *Stand and Deliver* and many other Chicano works.



Additionally, in a study done in 1999, investigators Idsardi Purnell and John Baugh placed calls about an apartment for rent and in each call they spoke in a different dialect; once in AAE (African-American English), once in standard hegemonic English and once in English with a Chicano accent (Escobar and Patowski 216). The results of this study showed obvious linguistic discrimination towards those who did not speak the dominant, standard English and the responses to the speaker with the Chicano accent was the most negative. A factual finding that is reminiscent of Rivera's character, who worries about his sons English speaking ability as he drops him off at school because he is aware of the discrimination he will face for speaking Spanish. Language discrimination is a theme that consistently comes up in Trump's rhetoric so analyzing public response to this particular theme is essential to this study.

In addition to these harsh accusations that perpetuate a culture of hatred toward Mexican immigrants in the U.S., Trump has made other racist comments toward the Latino community. He was quoted telling Jorge Ramos, a successful Hispanic journalist to "go back to Univision," and later in the same press conference actually telling Ramos (who is a US citizen) to "get out of [his] country". These few words speak powerfully to the theme of exclusion from mainstream society that runs through the previously examined works. When two Trump supporters attacked a Hispanic man in his name, Trump spoke out calling the crazed attackers "passionate," although this does not directly show support for the violence, he certainly did not discourage such negative behavior in his name.

Through the course of his presidential campaign, Trump has perpetuated themes of oppression, exclusion and hatred toward the U.S. Latino community as a

whole. With these negative opinions in the public eye I wonder, how is what he is saying affecting the opinions and views of U.S. citizens? What kind of repercussions will this have on how American citizens view Mexican immigrants (documented and undocumented) and the process of legal/illegal immigration as a whole?

### **U.S. Immigration Policy (A Brief History)**

To begin this section I will highlight some of Trump's main ideas for immigration reform in the U.S. His three-point plan includes building a wall along the entire southern border of the U.S., which he claims the Mexican government will be forced to fund. If they refuse, he threatens to withhold remittance payments to Mexico in addition to cancelling visas issued to Mexicans and increasing fees at any points of entry into the U.S. Secondly, during his campaign the then presidential candidate claimed he would take law enforcing actions such as tripling the number of Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agents, deporting all non-citizens, ending all birthright citizenship and raising penalties for those who overstay their visas. Finally, Trump plans to restrict legal immigration and legally require U.S. businesses to hire U.S. citizens over non-citizens ("Trump Policy on Immigration").

Here I think it is worthwhile to cite the U.S. constitution, as it forms the basis of the U.S. law. The 14<sup>th</sup> amendment was ratified in 1868 and it granted citizenship to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" and it forbid states from denying any person "life, liberty or property, without due process of law." As far as matters of immigration go, this is as much as the United States constitution touches on the issue. It is noteworthy that immigration was not even addressed in the creation of the

constitution because it suggests that this was not an issue of great importance to the founders, who were all immigrants themselves.

I am now going to discuss U.S. immigration policy (with a focus on Mexican immigration) to see how compares to that of Donald Trump. This study focuses primarily on Mexican immigrants because of the country's proximity to U.S. and because Mexican migrants do not typically come to the U.S. to stay permanently, so there is a cycle of moving back and forth between the lands, and the resulting displacement, is of interest.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, migration patterns from Mexico and Central America to the U.S. have gone through three main phases that Marc R. Rosenblum and Kate Brick discuss in their essay on migration patterns and immigration policy. This progression begins with limited flows before World War II, followed by primarily Mexican-sponsored guest worker flows during and after the war and finally, illegal flows that began in 1965 and began to accelerate over the next forty years (Rosenblum & Brick 3).

This first period that the article discusses is characterized by short-term, seasonal flows between central Mexico and the US Southwest. Mexicans were employed mainly in railroad construction and agriculture with about 60,000 entering the U.S. per year and returning to Mexico each winter. These migration rates more than doubled during the 1910's and again during the 1920's, influenced by the Mexican Revolution and new technologies in the U.S. (Rosenblum & Brick 3). Due to the support of U.S. businesses, Mexican immigrants were largely exempt from the tough restrictions against Asian and European immigrants passed between the 1880's and 1920's.

However, by the late 1920's U.S. consular officers began tightening the reins on Mexican visa applicants, producing a 75 percent reduction of Mexican inflows between 1928 and 1929. The Great Depression brought a great job reduction and therefore less of a need for migrant workers, so hundreds of thousands of Mexicans, as well as some U.S. citizens of Mexican decent, were deported to Mexico dropping the U.S. Mexican population by forty percent during the 1930's (Rosenblum & Brick 3). While the Great Depression took its toll on all Americans, Mexican Americans were in a particularly challenging situation. Despite the terms of President Roosevelt's New Deal, a repatriation movement demanding Mexican Americans be sent back to Mexico gathered great support (Novas 1726). Anti-Mexican sentiment grew strong in the U.S., especially in the Southwest region.

In 1942, the U.S. and Mexico signed the Bracero Program and its terms were pretty favorable for Mexican immigrants, promising them minimum wage, housing, health benefits and transportation (Rosenblum & Brick 4). This program remained in place until 1964 when it was eliminated by president Kennedy. The details of this program are explained in the previous section, but during the years it ran, it brought millions of Mexicans to the U.S. (Novas 1752). By the 1970's 4.8 million Bracero contracts had been signed and migration was now embedded in the social and economic systems of a growing group of migrant-receiving and migrant-sending communities (Rosenblum & Brick 3). With the demise of the Bracero Program, there was an increase in illegal undocumented "mojado" immigration or "wetbacks." These illegal, undocumented and unsupervised immigrants gained this name for swimming across the Rio Grande River, which forms a part of the U.S. Mexico border. As a

response, to these illegal entries, the U.S. government launched Operation Wetback in 1954, a campaign, which aimed to apprehend and expel undocumented immigrants, with Mexican immigrants being the main target (Novas 1822).

As an additional consequence of the fall of the Bracero Program, major reforms were made to the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act. These changes established the basic outline of U.S. immigration law that remains in place today. The new reforms set a limit on how many visas would be allotted to each country, and they created a seven-tier preference system for rationing visas within countries (Rosenblum & Brick 5). This new system limited the number of employment-based visas and favored family-based migration. The favoring of family-based migration created issues for workers; “...legislation passed in 1952 made it illegal to aid or harbor an unauthorized immigrant, but explicitly exempted businesses from being liable under law for hiring or employing them, creating a strong incentive for unauthorized employment” (Rosenblum & Brick 5). Further problems included inflexible per-country limits on immigration and the inability of the system to respond to the evolving needs of employers (Rosenblum & Brick 5). “For all of these reasons, the ‘illegal alien problem’ became the defining issue for U.S. policy makers within the years of the 1965 reforms” (Rosenblum & Brick 5). The reforms set forth numerical limitations and made it difficult for unskilled workers to obtain U.S. labor certification, leading to an influx in unauthorized immigrants (Novas 113).

In 1986, public pressures led to the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) which included legalization programs, new civil and criminal penalties against employers who hire unauthorized workers and new funding for border enforcement.

Four years later, congress passed the Immigration Act of 1990, which expanded the number of employment-based visas and authorized more spending at the border (Rosenblum & Brick 6). Between 1991 and 1994 approximately 450,000 undocumented immigrants (mostly Mexicans) entered the U.S. annually.

The tragic events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 halted a major bilateral migration reform between the U.S. and Mexico and resulted in six additional laws enacted between 2001 and 2006 that focused on tougher immigration enforcement (Rosenblum & Brick 6). These laws and other reforms have resulted in growth in border enforcement, new worksite enforcement measures, an expansion of enforcement within the U.S. and a modest increase in legal migration (Rosenblum & Brick 6).

As of 2009 the population of unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. was 11.1 million (Rosenblum & Brick 12). The tough immigration enforcement policies have created some unintended consequences. For example, the cost of illegal entry has risen dramatically, attracting organized crime syndicates which were previously not a factor in migrant smuggling (Rosenblum & Brick 13). Additionally, illegal immigration has become more closely connected to narcotic flows than previously, a result of the criminal involvement in aiding Mexicans in border crossing.

### **Public opinion on Immigration**

To form a basis of comparison, the present study examines research on public opinion towards immigration that was pulled from the period of time I will refer to as “before Trump,” which merely means works published prior to the beginning of the 2016 election year.

In 1993, Thomas J. Espenshade & Charles A. Calhoun published “An analysis of public opinion toward undocumented immigration” and in the introduction of their research they point out that analyzing public attitudes toward immigration is important, “...because immigration is the only component of population change over which the US Congress seeks to extend direct and complete supervision” (Espenshade & Calhoun 189). Additionally, the regulations on immigration are notorious for being extremely complex and quite vague.

Starting as early as 1875, an increase in the volume of immigrants paired with an economic recession fueled beliefs about the negative effects of immigration on the U.S. Twenty-five years later; some of the first quantitative restrictions on immigration were made. Though the U.S. saw a bit of liberalization on the issue after WWII, Calhoun & Espenshade point out “a new wave of ‘neo-restrictionist’ sentiment emerged in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s” (191). In fact, two-thirds of respondents to two separate polls from this period opted to reduce legal immigration levels— a proportion double that of a survey taken in 1965 (Espenshade & Calhoun 191). In their analysis, they use data from a June 1983 survey of public attitudes toward undocumented immigration that was conducted in southern California, in order to test several hypotheses and their correlation to these attitudes. I am interested particularly in this survey because the majority of immigrants in this area are of Mexican origin. In this poll, strong links were found between level of education and attitudes; “...results indicate that the more education respondents have, the less likely they are to view illegal immigration as a serious problem” (Espenshade & Calhoun 203). A better attitude toward immigration would also imply more positive thoughts about immigration and immigrants. The

results also provided support for the cultural affinity hypothesis, confirming that an individual's affiliations with the immigrant culture will affect how they feel about undocumented immigration. The authors use Mexico to explain this phenomenon,

Mexico sends more legal immigrants to the United States than any other nation and the vast majority of undocumented migrants in this country are from Mexico and other parts of Latin America... therefore [it is not] too surprising that Hispanics display more pro-immigrant views than non-Hispanics. (Espenshade & Calhoun 194).

Finally, there was a strong correlation between age and attitudes. "Older respondents, typically those beyond age 35 or 45, have a more pessimistic outlook than younger persons regarding the consequences of illegal immigration to California" (Espenshade & Calhoun 208). The article finishes by emphasizing the challenge of incorporating newcomers to this country and findings that, "...imply that greater effort should be made to promote the economic and social integration of the migrants who are already here," an idea clearly foreign to Donald Trump's campaign (Espenshade & Calhoun 211).

In 1983, a Gallup poll found only 41 percent of the public supported a notion to award residence status to illegal aliens who had lived in the U.S. for at least six years (Harwood 206). A Gallup poll the following year showed similar results, with only 34/35 percent of people supporting amnesty for illegal aliens (Harwood 206). This does show that attitudes toward illegal immigration in the early 80's were mostly negative. Despite this being an issue, a 1985 survey showed that only three percent of Californians cited illegal immigration as the most pressing problem in their



communities and the state as a whole (Harwood 208). Together these two studies show how anti- and pro-immigrant sentiment has seen many changes throughout history depending greatly on the state of the U.S. economy and various other factors. Harwood finishes by saying that those lobbying for strengthened immigration controls are not as influential as the pro-alien civil rights and ethnic activist groups, assuming that the more liberal immigration attitudes are taking precedence, an assumption in line with the results of this study.

With this notion of positivity, I move toward slightly more recent studies completed in 1997 and 1998. In their analysis of Anglo public opinion toward immigration M.V. Hood and Irwin Morris work to examine “the effects of racial and ethnic context and various attitudinal and demographic variables on Anglo public opinion toward immigration” (309). The pair uses the American National Election Study (1992) and the 1990 census to piece together some sort of response to their inquiries.

Hood and Morris’ first finding was that racial context does indeed play a part in Anglo attitude formation, indicating that Anglos living in a heavily Hispanic (or Asian) area will generally have a more positive outlook on Hispanic people (315). Their findings supported what was mentioned earlier about those with higher levels of education showing more support for immigration as well as more positive attitudes toward immigrants (Hood & Morris 315). They also found that people more concerned about the future of the U.S. economy tended to view Hispanics in a more negative fashion both culturally and affectively (Hood & Morris 315). This is interesting to me because this is a stance that Trump takes during his various speeches on the topic of immigration. Since the “they’re taking our jobs” stance is being widely consumed by the

U.S. public during the campaign— could it be said that Trump is aiding in the perpetuation of this negative outlook?

Hood and Morris also point out some seemingly obvious findings that I will call to attention. “Anglos who viewed Hispanics and Asians as making a positive contribution to society were more likely to support liberal immigration policies. Likewise, Anglos who viewed Hispanics in a positive light on a more personal level... tended to favor less restrictive levels of legal immigration” (318). I bring up this point because Trump’s statements are perpetuating negativity (ie: “they are drug dealers and rapists”) toward Mexican immigrants. So, for those who do not live within close proximity to immigrants, Trump’s negative images are there for them to take and as the findings of this study implicate, a more negative outlook tends to lead to a more restrictionist attitude toward immigration. This brings me to the danger of Trump’s rhetoric negative rhetoric and it’s potential effect on the people.

Harwood makes an important distinction in his research between illegal immigration as an issue in which the immigrant is “faceless and unknown” and illegal immigrants (209). In my research, I will be looking at how the public responds to the individuals more so than the issue because I do not want the “restrictionist attitude” that Americans tend to take towards “anonymous unknown aliens” to skew my results (Harwood 210). As mentioned previously, this study focuses on Mexican immigrants (legal and illegal/undocumented) and even American citizens of Mexican descent as they are frequently discriminated against and lumped into the category of immigrant due to their physical appearance and customs.

## **Trump's opinions and commentary on Mexican Immigrants and Immigration**

After extensive explanation of the bleak history between the U.S. and Mexico, it is important to create a complete picture of Trump's public stance, which shows some uncanny similarities. This section references several news and social media sources. Trump has a habit of making harsh accusations and perpetuating negative stereotypes that have plagued Mexicans in the U.S. from their earliest days of immigration, a fact that is explored in detail in the discourse analysis chapter of the present study.

First, I refer to a Huffington Post article titled "9 Outrageous Things Donald Trump has said about Latinos." Number 9 on the list occurred when Trump announced his presidential bid in June of 2015. During this speech, the newly recognized presidential candidate stated, "When Mexico sends its people they are not sending their best... They're sending people that have lots of problems, and their bringing those problems with them" (Moreno). He followed up by specifying these "problems" saying, "They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists" (Moreno). This accusation is used in the survey portion of this study. These accusatory statements were followed up by a request for clarification at CNN's state of the union, during which he decided to tack "killers" on to his description of all immigrants (Moreno). In this statement, Trump actually claims, "...and I'm not just saying Mexicans [are killers]..." but by even bringing this population into his statement he is insinuating that he is indeed including them in this accusation. Moreover, they are the only cultural group explicitly mentioned here— leading the viewer or reader to connect "killers" with "Mexicans" just through the cohesion of the sentence, whether or not they agree with accusations like this. Such association are what the present study aims to examine.

In an August 2015 *Fox* news interview, Trump claimed the U.S. government was being out-smarted by Mexico, simultaneously accusing the Mexican government of intentionally sending criminals over the border (Moreno). This statement not only incriminates the Mexican government, but also insults the U.S. government for being of inferior intellect to the Mexicans. Further, Trump accused Latinos of being rapists, even after being told the moment before that he had misread a *Fusion* article that he cited as his source of that information (Moreno). In a CNN segment “The Situation Room”, Trump completely neglects to acknowledge the actual contents of the *Fusion* article that said that 80 percent of women and girls from Central America are raped (Moreno). Trump not only degrades Latinos but also publicly ignores a terrifying statistic about this population. Trump’s negligence to comment renders the problems of these people insignificant from Trump’s stance.

Further, the *Huffington Post* article discusses Trump’s response to discovering that a Hispanic man was beaten senseless in his name (Moreno). He called the Trump supporting abusers “passionate” in their love for America and again completely neglected to acknowledge the minority group being victimized or the victim himself. The final point in this article is one that I have also incorporated into the survey portion of my study. In a June 2013 tweet, Donald Trump stated that Blacks and Hispanics were responsible for an “overwhelming” portion of the violent crime in our major U.S. cities. Although this was tweeted before the beginning of Trump’s campaign, it is relevant because it has subsequently resurfaced through many outlets as a result so it is equally relevant to the present study.

Next, I refer to a compilation of Donald Trump's tweets cited on Hilary Clinton's campaign site. It is worthwhile to point out that each of these tweets average 1,000-4,000 re-tweets and likes, proving it is content that is heavily consumed; this also shows support for the candidate as voters interact with and show their agreement to these locutions. Trump's tweets are broken into possible "topics" which he could speak to the Mexican president about and the lengthy list is a variety of insulting, slandering, racist and stereotypical statements that Trump has tweeted.

The first section of tweets is titled "On building a wall" and a majority of these tweets detail various "reasons" why Trump is saying he is going to build a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border and how Mexico is going to fund it. One tweet claims the U.S. is sending billions of dollars to Mexico while they are bringing drugs and crime to America (Kantor). Then comes the section insulting Mexico's government and legal system. In these tweets Trump refers to Mexico's "corrupt court system" redundantly with very little variation in tweet content. Then come the tweets about employment, accusing Mexico of taking U.S. jobs because U.S. companies (by their own decision) are outsourcing their businesses abroad. The final section of tweets dishes out various insults directed at the U.S., Mexico, Hilary Clinton and commentary about Mexican drug lord "El Chapo" and his escape from prison.

Just the *Huffington Post* compilation of Trump's tweets and comments and the tweets cited on Hilary's campaign site alone explain in great detail the extent and severity of Trump's ideologies. As media scholars like Stuart Hall (1980) have made clear, the public is decoding this media output and it's this response to the content that the present study aims to discover.

## **Impact of media**

To begin this section I refer to media scholar Stuart Hall. Hall's essay titled "Encoding/ Decoding," which discusses the messages we get from the media and the different ways in which we respond to them. Hall claims there are factors that go into both creating (encoding) and understanding (decoding) any media message. To apply this to media coverage of Trump, his actual rhetoric, and the news outlet the information is coming from, and that outlet's political affiliation are factors that are active in encoding the information. These factors and various others would help shape the intended message. However, the intended message is not necessarily understood the way it is encoded. Hall mentions three types of decoding and the various factors that go into it. Some of the factors that could effect the decoding of Trump's "messages" are gender, education level, and age; in order to be sure, I measure the effect of these factors I have included them in my survey's demographic section.

A part of Hall's essay that really resonated with this research is his claim that "There is no degree zero in language" (132). By this he means that there is no non-meaning in language, rendering the potential impact of Trump's words all the more real. His campaign workers and speechwriters do not only encode the things he says through the media, but the news outlet that releases further encodes them.

Once the information is made public, the consumer decodes the meaning in one of three ways (Hall 136). The first option is a dominant decoding and in this stance the consumer takes the connoted meaning and decodes the message in the way it has been encoded. Next is the negotiated code, which implies a mixture of oppositional and adaptive elements. This stance accepts parts of the encoded message while rejecting

others (Hall 136). Finally there is the oppositional code, which understands the connoted and literal message but it defies and interprets it in a completely different way. This research seeks to discover which stance consumers have taken toward the encoded messages of Donald Trump. Will they agree with Trump's harsh accusations, disagree but not voice their opinion or completely defy and even rally against his stance on Mexican immigrants/ immigration?

Next I refer to the works of John Fiske (1998). In his essay titled "Culture, Ideology, Interpellation" Fiske works off the assumption that the news "speaks to consumers " ...and in doing so positions us as viewers of the world who share the assumptions of the news" (1269). This leads me to question: are consumers really "sharing" the assumptions that are portrayed in the news coverage of Trump's campaign?

A John Fiske article, "The Codes of Television" (1983) breaks down the messages encoded and decoded in a specific media format, television. Since I will be doing a discourse analysis of Trump's speech on immigration, I think these codes will provide a good basis for things I will be looking for in this specific discourse. To begin, Fiske defines a code as "...a rule-governed system of signs, whose rules and conventions are shared amongst members of a culture, and which is used to generate and circulate meanings in and for that culture" (Fiske 1275). He divides these codes into three sections with their own specific elements: reality, representation, and ideology. In terms of reality, Fiske discusses how it can only be perceived according to the codes of our own culture, and that some ways this "reality" is expressed in television is through appearance, dress, make-up, environment, speech, gesture, sound, expression, and

more. Trump is very animated in when he gives speeches, his use of gesture and sound will be a central part in the chapter two of this study. Then, Fiske refers to the technical codes (representation), which are aspects of film making such as camera angle, lighting, music, editing, and sound. Fiske's final level is ideology, and with this he claims that television characters are actually "encodings of ideology" (Fiske 1278). In the past, Trump has been actually played a character on reality TV show *The Apprentice*. Although not exactly a "character" in his political campaign, Donald Trump certainly embodies certain ideological values, and these values are made clear by the discourse analysis of his rhetoric; Trump's usage of gesture and dialogue are considered carefully in chapter two of the present study.

In a separate essay titled "Culture, Ideology, Interpellation," Fiske mentions that some of the underlying assumptions of his work are "...that capitalist societies are divided societies" and that society is not an organic whole but instead a complex network of groups with varying interests (1269). The Chicano literature cited in the beginning of this paper is very much in line with the idea that our society is a divided one and this is made clear by the theme of exclusion that is woven through all of these texts. He also claims that the heart of his theory is composed of ideological state apparatuses and included in this is the political system. Together, Fiske claims these institutions "...produce in people the tendency to behave and think in socially acceptable ways..." (1269). These claims really show the persuasive power of politics, proving why the rhetoric and ideas of political candidates are essential in shaping public opinion.



Further, in a 1999 study, Daron R. Shaw examined the impact news media coverage has on candidate support in a presidential election. The elections in this study proved that media coverage indeed had affected the voters and the outcome of the campaign (Shaw 194). Moreover, this impact implies that the election coverage has an effect on public opinion, as it has the ability to change the minds of voters. It is exactly this potential effect that drives the primary research questions of the present study.

### **Chapter Three: Discourse analysis of Trump's speech**

It is clear from the previous section that Trump's ideologies are extremely critical of Mexicans (and Mexican-Americans). To explain exactly what kinds of messages Trump is sending out, this chapter includes a discourse analysis of a *Washington Post* transcription of one of Trump's speeches given in Phoenix, Arizona on August 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016 (appendix 2).

According to *The Bloomsbury Companion to Discourse Analysis*, discourse is "...one of the most significant concepts of modern thinking..." and to study discourse is "to study language in action, looking at texts in relation to the social contexts in which they are used" (Hyland and Paltridge 1). The editors go on to state that a possible focus of discourse is an analysis of writing and speech to bring out the dynamics and conventions of social situations. Employing this type of analysis will aid to highlight and emphasize the dangers of Trump's rhetoric, and to figure out exactly what type of messages he is sending to the public, rendering the response to it all more interesting.

In Longacre and Hwang's 2012 article they provide a good introduction to the realm of study known as "discourse analysis." The duo explains that discourse texts can vary considerably in type. They mention that "story" is a common type of discourse analyzed; the type I will be analyzing will be the transcribed speech mentioned above. The article then goes on to explain four basic assumptions that underlie exactly what discourse analysts do (Longacre & Hwang 15). First, discourse analysts reject the assumption that variety just occurs randomly and instead support the idea that variation in form is a conscious decision made by the speaker or writer with a particular outcome in view. Secondly, it is assumed that the discourse as a whole and its

smaller individual parts interplay with one another. Third, the listener or reader's interpretation of the discourse depends on not only its objective structure, but also on the subjective contribution of the interpreter, a point reminiscent of Hall's "decoding" theory. Finally, the article explains, ..."discourse is an ongoing thing" (Longacre & Hwang 15). These basic assumptions that underlie this analytical field serve as a good explanation of this approach to Trump's rhetoric.

Further, Longacre and Hwang assert that all of the connected elements within the discourse are dependent, "...on the reader's sharing the same scripts and frames as the writer [or speaker]" (25). Further, readers or viewers who do not have the same framework of knowledge as the creator of the text (or speaker), may not be able to understand the message in the way it is intended to be received, a concept reminiscent of Hall's model for media studies explained in greater detail in a previous section of this study. This dependency on the specific frameworks of knowledge of the media consumers renders my questions particularly interesting. Would a listener unacquainted with U.S. immigration policy be more apt to agree with Trump? Could Trump's radical opinions become instilled in the minds of those consumers who have yet to form their own ideas on this particular topic?

In a 2010 article, Joan Cutting talks in detail about spoken discourse, defining the various forms it may take. In this article she explains, "much of spoken discourse is semi-planned in that the speakers have an idea about the sort of thing that they are going to say before they say it" (Cutting 156). She even goes on to explicitly say that "some public speeches" fit in this category (157). According to Cutting, my analysis will examine a semi-planned, spoken discourse. Semi-planned would imply that Trump had

an idea of what he was going to say before he said it, but it does not go as far as semi-scripted discourse, which would assume he had some sort of script he was reading from. A *Vox* article further details this sentiment as it relates to Trump claiming that his speeches “aren’t mean to be read” (Goisha). The article goes on to explain, “[t]heir seeming incoherence stems from the big difference between written and spoken language. Trump’s style of speaking has its roots in oral culture” (Goisha).

Kay O’Halloran provides a good summary on another field of discourse analysis known as multimodal, a division that is concerned with “text and context” and explores “the integration of language with other resources” (133). While my analysis is not fully multimodal, there were some interesting and relevant points made that I can apply to the present study. For example, multimodal discourse considers the use of gesture by speakers in this type of analysis and O’Halloran concludes that gesture is used to emphasize a lexical item, a finding elaborated on in the gesture section of this review (O’Halloran 133). The article goes on to explain that both accent and gesture together “...provide a more delicate range of textual gradience” which aids to organize the information into varying degrees of importance (O’Halloran 134). Together, the various facets of multimodal discourse point out that context is an essential part of any analysis and further, that the context of culture in general and not just the immediate context has a place in discourse analysis.

### **Make America great again: and again, and again; Trump and repetition**

In an article Joan Cutting outlines several lexical, syntactical and disfluency features of spoken discourse, cautioning that spoken discourse is difficult to define due

to “[i]ts tendency away from standards and collective norms, its personal character, its layers of meaning and function, and its fast-changing nature” (Cutting 158). This analysis uses Cutting’s features of spoken discourse for reference.

Repetition is one of the disfluency features Cutting mentions that is extremely prevalent in Trump’s rhetoric; therefore it is one of the linguistic criteria I examine in my analysis. Everyone knows Trump’s favorite phrase “Make America great again” is not only repeated verbally constantly by President but it was also plastered on billboards, campaign commercials and various articles of clothing adorned by Trump supporters. His constant reference to “building a wall” and “taking back our country” are just a few examples of his incessant (and often senseless) repetition throughout his campaign. The *Vox* article referenced in the previous paragraph also comments on Trump’s use of repetition stating that it’s a way for him to strengthen an association- for example calling Hilary Clinton “crooked” over and over again (Goisha).

As defined by Deborah Tannen in *Talking Voices*, Trump uses “self-repetition” and instances of “exact repetition”; repetition with variation and paraphrase can be found in his speech. This analysis focuses on the words that Trump repeats exactly and touches on the other two instances as well. Tannen goes on to exemplify the various functions that repetition serves in conversation: participatory listenership, humor, ratifying listenership, stalling, savoring, expanding, participating, evaluating through patterned rhythm, and bounding episodes (Tannen 67). Bounding episodes claims repetitions serving a “theme-setting” function by binding together the elements of a large conversation (Tannen 77). With the extensive length of Trump’s speech, he may be using repetition in part to constantly bring listeners back to his original theme. With

this in mind, this analysis notes exactly what is being repeated, which will help to deduce exactly which “themes” run through this particular speech. Furthermore, Tannen notes “...repetition works both to communicate ideas and to move audiences in oratorical discourse” (90).

Tannen highlights some additional functions and effects of repetition. She cites Fried explaining that repetition or “re-experiencing of something identical” is in a way a source of pleasure (98). She also adds that repetition is a fundamental part of human learning (Tannen 98). This is particularly interesting when considering Trump’s speech, because his constant repetition could come to be thought of as factual information rather than just an incessantly repeated opinion.

### **What isn’t said: Trump and Silence**

A second relevant characteristic of Trump’s speech is silence. In Barbara Johnstone’s *Discourse Analysis* (2008) she observes that “[n]oting silences, or things that are not present... is equally important” as noting what is readily apprehended because it was spoken (70). Johnstone adds that one source of silence is implicature or “the expectation that listeners share expectations about the relevance of what is said to what has already been said and to other elements of the context” (70). She cautions, however, that if the listener does not share the same knowledge and expectations that silence may be a source of confusion or misunderstanding. It is this generation of misunderstanding that resonates with the present analysis. In his speech, Trump details various instances of illegal Mexican immigrants committing various crimes on U.S. soil. In my version of this transcription (appendix 3) Trump talks about a “really good guy”

named Grant who was murdered by an “illegal immigrant gang member previously convicted of burglary.” Then he talks about “90 year old Earl Olander who was brutally beaten” to death by illegal immigrants. He goes on to cite several other brutal attacks on Americans who he describes as upstanding citizens while their attackers are criminal, gang-affiliated illegal immigrants. To someone unaware of the large presence of legal and extremely successful Mexican immigrants in this country, (something Trump completely neglects to mention) these short narrations of crime could very well generate misunderstandings about Mexican immigrants in the minds of the consumers.

### **Getting to the “Point”: Trump and Gestures**

A third phenomenon of Trump’s public speech is his use of hand gestures, which I encoded in my version of the transcription. In the introductory portion of his essay on “The Use of Hand Gestures in Political Speeches: A Case Study” Peter Bull reviews previous literature on non-verbal communication and explains that

...non-verbal signs may either affect the meaning of speech or signify meaning in themselves (semantic function); they may regulate the simultaneous and sequential occurrence and organization of verbal signs and other non-verbal signs (syntactic function); they may indicate characteristics of the message sender and receiver (pragmatic function; finally, they may indicate the nature of the relationship between the conversationalists (dialogic function) (Bull 103).

Obviously there is much to be said about the use of gestures so it is essential that the present study examine how Trump’s gestures are working in favor (or against) his rhetoric.

Further, Bull's study found that a substantial portion of speakers' hand gestures was related directly to vocal stress; the movement is frequently timed to occur simultaneously with the vocal stress (110). Therefore, it will be interesting to see which words and phrases Trump uses with gestures because they are the words he is emphasizing, deeming them significant in the creation of his message.

Specifically, Trump moves his hand from a higher to a lower position while holding his fingers in either an L shape or while pinching his thumb and index finger together. According to body language expert Mary Civiello, this motion denotes precision, "not wishy-washy, he's got this nailed" (Taylor-Coleman and Bressanin). She also talks about Trump's "palms out" gesture saying he uses this as cautionary, which scares people (Taylor-Coleman and Bressanin). She goes on to explain that if he instills fear in his audience in this way and then proposes a solution, his argument becomes stronger.

Civiello also explains how some of his gestures may generate a sense of chaos in his viewers (Taylor-Coleman and Bressanin). These seemingly "wild gestures" followed up by gestures of precision, like the hand motion mentioned above could lead the audience to believe Trump is providing the answer that can stabilize this out of control feeling (Taylor-Coleman and Bressanin). .

In "Rethinking Body Language," Geoffrey Beattie also speaks about a gesture very similar to the one Trump makes and he coins the motion "the beat." Beattie claims that this motion accompanies the most important words in the discourse from the speaker's point of view. So, the words that Trump makes this gesture on are the most



significant to him and really give us a good window into what parts of his rhetoric are most important to him (Beattie 68).

Due to the blatant significance of this gesture, I have included it in my analysis. To account for this specific gesture, the condensed transcription annotates each instance of Trump's "L shaped/ pinched" hand motions with an asterisk that precedes the word on which this gesture is made.

### **Can You Hear Him Now? Trump and Voice Raising**

A final phenomenon impossible to ignore in Trump's spoken discourse is his tendency to raise his speaking volume while saying certain words. Longacre and Hwang point out that in oral discourse, there are various factors that come into play. They mention heightened key, *accelerando* and most importantly for Trump's rhetoric- the phonological parameters of increased volume (Longacre & Hwang 26). In a short article titled "Voice Power in Public Speaking- Pauses Inflection & Tone," Gilda Bonanno echoes this sentiment explaining that speakers use inflection to emphasize key words and emotions and that this helps them to convey their exact meaning to the audience (1). In this particular speech, Trump frequently raises his voice on adjectives, in some instances he uses prosody to emphasize the size and extremity of the border wall he is proposing, separating Mexico and the U.S. literally, with a structure but also mentally, by instilling and emphasizing this separation in the minds of the audience.

C.J. Darwin looks more deeply into the phenomenon of vocal expressiveness (known as prosody) in a study titled "On the Dynamic Use of Prosody in Speech Perception." One of the findings of Darwin's analysis is "...that prosody helps a listener

to attend to a particular speaker” confirming that it does indeed have an attention drawing property (184). He also points out that prosody helps to control which parts speech are attended to, so I will be looking specifically at which words Trump raises his voice on, since the audiences attention is only on one person in this case (184).

This is a key component of this analysis because Trump’s speech contains frequent vocal inflections and part of this discourse analysis will examine how Trump is using this linguistic variable and what potential effects it could have. In order to analyze this phenomenon, I use a symbol to indicate a raise in volume on a certain word or phrase in my transcription (^).

### **Discourse Analysis Methodology**

The speech analyzed was given on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 2016 in Phoenix, Arizona. The speech was introduced during the preceding days as being a “softening” of Trump’s immigration policy. The original version was pulled from an online *Washington Post* article that included video footage of the speech as well as a transcription. This version was copied and pasted into Microsoft Word and totaled 30 pages. Due to this excessive length, the original was reduced to an eight-page transcription of the speech that includes each step in his plan for immigration reform (appendix 3). I also used keywords to extract sections of the speech that are most relevant to this analysis. The words I searched were as follows; Mexico, Mexicans, Latinos, illegal, border, immigration and immigrants. From these I filtered out instances of redundancy, mentions of Hilary Clinton’s policies and prose that did not apply specifically to immigrants/ immigration. The keywords were selected based on personal interest, I

only needed the parts of the speech that spoke exclusively about Mexican immigration and immigrants and things that pertain to both of these things.

Using the *Post* transcription and video footage as a guide, I added gestures, audience reactions and pitch into the version analyzed. My transcription also includes time stamps that correspond to the video, as well as page numbers that correspond to the Word document containing the original *Post* transcription. A coding key is included to explain the various characters I used. All of these documents are included as appendices in this paper (Appendices 2 & 3).

I used Microsoft Excel to create spreadsheets that show how many times Trump repeated certain words. I also noted the lexical items the gesture was made on and which words he raised his voice while saying. Once all this information was compiled, I analyze and discuss the findings and their possible implications in order to conclude what kind of messages Trump is alluding to in his “immigration softening” speech.

In this analysis I refer to the literature on silence, voice raising and repetition cited above and to Paul Gee’s (2005) “List of Tools.” Gee elaborates on twenty-eight different tools that can be used in discourse analysis and these tools guided this analysis and helped me to ask and respond to specific questions about the discourse.

## **Results and Discussion**

To begin, I refer to Gee’s subject tool, which encourages analysts to set the context of the discourse. After extensive media response regarding his derogatory comments toward immigrants, and after being critiqued on his harsh immigration policies, Trump proposed a speech that his campaign prefaced as being a “softening of

his immigration policy” rendering the speech particularly relevant to my larger body of research on the effects of his campaign (Bump). Before delivering the speech in Phoenix, AZ Trump was in Mexico, where he met with President Enrique Peña Nieto and gave a speech. Since the purpose of his speech in Arizona was to outline his “new and improved” immigration policies, each new step is prefaced with “number...” making that particular lexical item his most frequently repeated word.

In the reduced transcription of Trump’s speech there were five words repeated over ten times. In order from highest to lowest number of repetitions these words are; “number,” “illegal” (used as an adjective to refer to immigrants as well as a noun), “border,” “immigrant,” and “immigrants”. The word criminal is repeated eight times; wall five times and extreme four in the six-page transcription.

Obviously this speech was on immigration so the repetition of the words immigrant(s) and immigration is not surprising. The way Trump presented his plan in this speech explains the various repetitions of the word “number” which each denote the next step in his immigration plan. Deborah Tannen would agree that Trump’s frequent use of this particular word has a binding effect, in that it constantly pulls the listener back to the purpose of his speech, a helpful tactic in a lengthy address such as this. Additionally, this referencing back to each step with the word “number” also works to cue the audience on when they should listen. According to a recent study from Microsoft Corp., people generally lose concentration after eight seconds (McSpadden). With this in mind, the word “number” functions as a key word for Trump, signaling to his audience that something important is soon to follow and they should redirect their

attention (that has likely strayed) to the speech. This redirection of attention ensures that his policies are heard and makes the information more cohesive.

Next in his frequent repetitions is the word “illegal,” usually used as an adjective modifying the noun immigrant(s). The repetition of this word is even more remarkable when contrasted with Trump’s use of “legal” in reference to immigrants/ immigration, something that only occurs once in my version of the transcribed speech. Not only are there significant repetitions of the word illegal, there is a serious lack of reference or silence with regard to legal immigration. Paul Gee’s “fill in tool” encourages discourse analysts to seek out not what is being said, but what is inferable, in essence, to fill in the silence. His failure to mention the number of legal immigrants in the U.S. and his almost complete neglect to mention them at all, could be interpreted to assume that the public knows about the positive effects of this large minority group. On this interpretation, his rhetoric is assuming an established framework of knowledge, expecting that the audience understands what has already been said in wider social discourse about this topic. However, it is impossible to ensure that all receivers of these messages fit that same frame. Further, it is possible this “illegal” version of the immigrant is the one that is coming to be accepted and learned by the audience through the incessant repetition.

Through Trump’s use of both silence and repetition with these powerful adjectives, he takes on an accusatory tone in his speech. By his failure to mention the millions of legal immigrants coupled with his constant reference to illegal immigrants, the message he is sending can lead to the assumption that all or most Mexican immigrants are illegal. Specifically, many of these references are pointing to Mexican immigrants or even more generally, anyone who crosses the border through Mexico. In

fact, besides the U.S, the only other country specifically referenced in this speech is Mexico and that word is repeated five times in my transcription segment. Here examining what is not said comes into play, Trump makes Mexico/ Mexican immigration the true focus of this speech.

The final notable word that Trump frequently repeats is “border.” The word is repeated twelve times, his third most repeated lexical item in the shortened transcription of the speech. This word is used as a noun to refer to the country border between the U.S. and Mexico as well as an adjective use to modify the nouns “policy” and “wall.” The term border is defined as a line separating two political or geographic areas or the edge or boundary of something or the part near it.

Looking at the repetition of this particular word through the lens of James Paul Gee’s intertextuality tool, Trump’s frequent use of this word resonates with the theme of exclusion that runs through Chicano literature (Moraga) (Rivera) (Gee 143). Intertextuality encourages analysts to examine how words and grammatical structures can allude to other works and contexts and in this case, the combination of repetition and this particular word alludes to this division between the U.S. and others. More specifically, all of these “border” mentions refer to the U.S.- Mexico border, which undoubtedly perpetuates this theme of exclusion that has plagued Mexican Americans since the establishment of the United States.

Further, Trump’s use of this word acts as a vise to divide the two countries and even more, our people. His proposal to create an \*intangible, \*physical, \*tall, \*powerful, \*beautiful, \*southern, \*border wall has been at the forefront of his immigration policy since the beginning of his campaign; therefore, his constant repetition of the word

comes as no surprise. His proposition to create a wall at the southern border denotes a narration of exclusion, rather than just referencing a geographical boundary between two countries. Trump's border is meant to keep Mexicans out, and he fails to mention the status of Mexicans who are already here legally. With this silence, Trump is not just excluding potential immigrants, but those already established in the U.S. His repetition of the word "border" strengthens the association between "border" and segregation.

He also uses the term "border" to insult "weak" policies that support immigration and to refer to people who cross it illegally. His constant repetition of this word works to create a "border" in the minds of his audience, generating this image that Mexican immigrants need to be divided from U.S. citizens. They are not just "immigrants" but "border crossers," instilling a negative and even criminal image of these people in the minds of the audience, another stereotype common in Chicano films (*Zoot Suit*, *Stand and Deliver*).

In the transcription, I extracted 203 words that Trump raised his voice on. Since voice rising is correlated to emphasis, it is relevant to see which words Trump uses this higher volume on because they are likely the words being noted by the audience as more significant. Gee's vocabulary tool tells us to ask what types of words are being used in the discourse so I marked the part of speech of these words. Trump raised his voice most frequently on nouns as this part of speech occurs most frequently in discourse besides, of course function words (a, the) and discourse markers (now, well), which seldom receive emphasis. After nouns, there were 56 adjectives and 54 verbs that he raised his voice on.

Of the 56 adjectives, Trump raised his voice on, the adjective illegal eight times, the most frequent of any other lexical item he raised his volume for. For some of these instances he even used his ever-popular hand motion in conjugation with the word, not only connoting emphasis but also precision. Together these two variables send a message of importance and certainty: there are illegal immigrants in the U.S. and this is what he is proposing to do about it. In the majority of these instances the adjective “illegal” modifies the noun “immigrants.” Since this speech is on immigration, the emphasis on “illegal” immigration/ immigrants is not a surprise. In comparison however, he only raises his voice once on the word “legal” when it modifies immigrants and even in this one instance he is speaking about “reforming legal immigration.” By the sole mention of “legal” versus the frequent mention of “illegal,” Trump’s rhetoric takes on an accusatory tone, emphasizing the adjective that refers to immigrants in a way that criminalizes them, another common theme in Chicano history that is addressed in many Chicano works, specifically the 1980’s films *Zoot Suit* and *Stand and Deliver*, both based on true stories where innocent Chicanos are falsely incriminated because of their race.

Another interesting facet of Trump’s voice-raising lexicon is his use of positive adjectives such as “amazing” and “great.” He only uses these words to refer to people who were victims of various crimes committed by immigrants who illegally crossed into the U.S. from Mexico. He gives brief profiles of these murder and rape victims, building up a positive image of these innocent citizens in the minds of the audience. Now the tragedies are even graver because not just anyone was killed, but “great” even “amazing” people were. This adjective usage further incriminates immigrants, not only



perpetuating a long-standing stereotype but also dividing each of these narratives into “them” verses “us” or “bad guys” verses “good guys.”

Interestingly, these short crime narratives in Trump’s speech only specifically name the victims, so the allegedly guilty immigrants remain face-less name-less figures, which in the minds of his audience, could be anyone. Here, looking again at what is not said (using Gee’s Silence tool) is essential because Trump’s lack of specificity encourages his audience to generalize that there is not just a single criminal but that all “illegal” immigrants are capable of treacherous behavior (Gee 144). Together Trump’s positive adjective use and the notion of silence (or what is not said) create this generalization of all immigrants as illegal or even all illegal immigrants as criminal, a stereotype that has plagued Chicanos since the beginning of the U.S.

Finally, in my version of the transcription I noted the words which Trump used with his infamous hand motion. According to the body language expert cited in the literature review this motion denotes specificity and creates the idea of certainty in the eyes of the audience. Due to the implications of this motion, it was particularly interesting to note which words he said while making this motion. This list totaled 62 words and consisted of mostly verbs and adjectives. Overall, Trump uses this gesture most frequently when he is referring to the details of his immigration policy, most likely to create the image that he has got it all planned out, that these are not merely suggestions he is making, but actual policies that will be enacted when he takes office.

More specifically, Trump used this motion when saying “extreme” and “vetting” leading the audience to believe that this process will take place under his administration and that it will be thorough. When Trump speaks about building a

border wall between the U.S. and Mexico, he makes the gesture with each adjective (intangible, physical, tall, powerful, beautiful and southern). Using this gesture to describe this particular policy alludes to the rhetoric of exclusion mentioned above. With this gesture Trump is indicating certainty in his proposition to build a wall that will permanently separate Mexico from the U.S., creating a permanent exclusion of Mexican immigrants by dividing the two countries with a physical structure.

Trump also uses the gesture on the word “our” three times while referring to borders, walls and people. While his use of the gesture here seems to insinuate inclusion (this is our country and we are one) it also adds to the sentiment of “us” versus “them” because what belongs to “us” is “ours” and cannot also belong to “them” and be “theirs.” By using this gesture of certainty on these possessive adjectives, Trump silently implies that these things are not “theirs,” adding to this concept of a division or separation between the American people and the Mexican people. This is problematic and unfair because many immigrants have become legal U.S. citizens but they are being unjustly discriminated against because they are of Mexican decent or origin.

Additionally, this constant allusion to the theme of exclusion is reminiscent of earlier themes of homelessness that run through Chicano history and literature. Trump is reincarnating narratives from the early development of the U.S. when many Chicanos were forced off their land (despite choosing to become U.S. citizens) and found themselves displaced with no real place to call home. In fact, much of the land that is now part of the U.S. originally belonged to Mexico, but was forcibly ceded to the U.S. (Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo) with the promise that the Mexicans who inhabited what became U.S. territory would be protected. This promise was quickly broken, rendering

this distinction between what's "ours" and "theirs" far more complex (Montejano). This type of rhetoric becomes increasingly complex when considering how much of the country that we claim as "ours" once belonged to "them," a point made clear in previous sections of this paper.

Overall, Trump's use of repetition, volume raising, silence and hand gesture work together to create a derogatory message about Mexican immigrants and Mexican immigration. Gee's "identities building tool" encourages discourse analysts to examine "...how words and various grammatical devices are being used to build and sustain or change relationships of various sorts among the speaker, other people, social groups, cultures and/or institutions" (202). After examining the linguistic aspects of Trump's speech discussed above, it is clear that Trump's rhetoric perpetuates themes of exclusion, displacement, and criminalization discussed previously in this paper. It is clear that these themes have characterized the Mexican people since the very beginning of the U.S. The possible implications of these findings are frightening when considering their widespread reach and influence. Those implications are exactly the following chapter aims to analyze. These derogatory insinuations could come to be understood as truths in the eyes of the audience and worse, may be even further perpetuated. Using a survey, the following chapter four aims to respond to the following inquiries.

## **Research Questions**

Has Donald Trump's political campaign had an effect on American public opinion toward Mexican immigrants and Mexican immigration? Have his accusatory and radical statements helped to shed light on anti-immigrant extremism and therefore generate

sympathy for this population? Or, have his harsh messages been decoded in the way they were intended to be received, generating a culture of hatred and disgust toward this large and growing U.S. minority group?

More specifically, will the American people perpetuate the racist ideologies that are embedded in Trump's rhetoric? What exactly are these messages that he is sending? Will the "Mexican criminal" come to be a familiar character? Will U.S. citizens continue to make Mexicans feel like outsiders, perpetuating this feeling of migrant homelessness?

I hypothesize that Trump's harsh words will have a reverse effect. Instead of choosing a dominant decoding, I believe U.S. citizens will hear his rhetoric as extreme and sympathize with Mexicans who were Trump's scapegoat throughout his entire campaign. I believe that certain language-based discriminatory themes will come up in the findings, but for the most part I predict that I will find that Trump has created a newfound sympathy for and acceptance toward Mexican immigrants and immigrations, setting the scene for public support of more liberal immigration policies.

## **Methodology**

### **The Survey**

Like the studies done before Trump, I will use a survey to gauge current U.S. opinions of U.S. citizens toward Mexican immigrants. The survey contains content pulled directly from Donald Trump's campaign rhetoric so I can assess how the opinions of American citizens line up with Trump's policies and radical statements. The survey includes likert scale statements; open ended questions and demographic

information organized carefully according to the sensitivity of the questions. The survey is divided into three sections beginning with seven likert-scale statements, moving to three open-ended questions and then ending with demographic information. It is included as an appendix in the present study (appendix 1).

The survey addresses how people actually feel about Mexican immigrants as compared to the common stereotypes detailed previously in the present study. It includes demographic information in order to compare how different social variables affect the responses. The variables are; gender, birth year, highest level of education, current residence, ethnicity or nationality, and political affiliation.

### **The Process**

A preliminary version of the survey was presented online via survey monkey during the summer of 2016 as a way to work out the kinks and ensure I was receiving responses that answer the research questions. The survey was then edited, finalized, printed, and given to various respondents on paper, and an updated version was posted on Survey Monkey and 154 final surveys were received. The preliminary surveys were a test, and none of those results were used in the data analysis or discussion. As an attempt to keep the participants honest, the surveys were given without disclosure on what I aim to find.

The survey response information was coded and placed into excel spreadsheets. It was then analyzed using a linguistic analysis program called Language Variation Suite (Scrivner and Díaz-Campos). The information was cross-tabulated in LVS to compare the effects each variable had on public opinion. Graphs, charts and tables were created

to analyze the data and examine the effects of the various social constraints employed in this analysis via the demographic information collected.

The surveys were given to the public in several different locations. Surveys were filled out at Highland Coffee's in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in exchange for a piece of candy. Jillian, a manager at the coffee shop described the general crowd as "mostly academics and college students, a lot of grad students...a very hip crowd." She went on to comment that the political affiliation among the customers was "mostly liberal" but she did mention the presence of an older crowd that could lean toward more conservative opinions. A second location was the LSU quad where passersby were again offered a piece of candy in exchange for their participation in the study. Finally, surveys were distributed to students of elementary Spanish course at LSU. Surveys were also taken outside of Louisiana using the "friend of a friend" method of distribution developed by Leslie Milroy in the 1980's.

### **Survey Participants and Demographics**

In total, 154 people took the final version of the survey. 86 of these surveys were taken before the election and 68 were taken post-election. On the post-election version of the survey, the likert-scale statement "The US would benefit if Donald Trump becomes president" was eliminated, as this decision was already made. Of the people who took the survey, 43 were male and 86 were female, 17 people that took the survey did not respond to the question regarding gender in the demographic section. The ages of the participants range from 18- 63 years old. Of these participants, 15 of them were 18 or 19, 73 of them were in their 20's, two were in their 30's, 6 in their 40's and 22

were 50 or older. The remaining 19 people did not respond to the inquiry about their age.

The participants were asked two questions that required a location as an answer. The first was birthplace and the states represented in this category were; Alabama, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Maryland, Main, Missouri, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. Connecticut and Louisiana had the highest yields of participants with CT at 50 and LA at 33. This will prove important in my discussion section because CT is a notoriously democratic state while LA is notoriously republican. Five participants each are from Texas and California, both interesting states for study due to their large Mexican populations and participation in the U.S. Mexico border. There was also one person from each of the following countries/ regions South America, Uganda, Montreal, China and Cuba. Since all four of these people are U.S. citizens, the results were kept for all of the regions except Cuba and South America, which was eliminated due to the potential influence of cultural affinity. 20 people did not answer this question in the demographic section.

The second location questions asked participants their current residence. In this section only the major cities are listed explicitly. Smaller towns and cities they are grouped together under the state they are in. In total, the majority of the participants currently live in Baton Rouge, LA (54/ 154). 25 currently reside in Connecticut, facts in close proximity with the birthplace of the participants. 23 people did not respond to this question. 13 participants currently live in Boston, MA area. Three participants each live in Los Angeles, CA and Washington D.C. respectively. There was one participant

each who reside in NY, NY and Atlanta, GA. Finally, there was one respondent each who resides each of the following states; Colorado, Oregon, New Jersey, Minnesota and Maryland.

The participants were also asked their highest level of education completed. 66 respondents completed “some college” which was used to describe any current BA students or anyone who wrote “Associate’s Degree” in this blank. 34 participants received their Bachelor’s Degree, 15 received their Master’s, six did not study beyond high school, two completed law school and three earned a PHD. 23 participants did not respond to this question. An analysis of these results will be interesting because previous research has shown that educational level has a huge impact on public opinion towards immigration (Espenshade and Calhoun 1995) (Hood and Morris 312).

Ethnicity/ ancestry is another piece of demographic information requested from the participants. 106 of the participants were deemed “Caucasian” and this was any respondent who put “white” or any eastern European countries. 11 participants identified as African-American or black, this analysis uses the prior term. Two other African denominations were represented within this category; afro-Caribbean and afro-Latina. The results from the latter were not considered, nor were the results from the 6 “Hispanic/Latino” respondents. There were four respondents who identified as “Asian,” one of whom specified, “Asian/black.” The remaining identities represented only once each were; Hebrew, Jamaican, Jewish and one person simply identified as “human.”

The main political affiliations represented were democrat (43), republican (23) and independent (31). 26 people did not respond to this question, 17 responded “none” and the remainder did not fill out this portion of the survey.



Using the results from the surveys, the next chapter explains what kind of influences Trump is having with his broad stereotypical statements that perpetuate the same stereotypes and marginalization that Mexicans and their ancestors have been experiencing on U.S. soil for centuries.

## **Chapter Four: Results and Discussion**

In this chapter, I present the results from the 154 surveys collected in this investigation and discuss the possible implications of these results. The chapter begins with a presentation of the findings from the seven likert-scale survey question. Each table title is a statement from the actual survey and the results show the number and percentage of participants who strongly agree, agree, were neutral, disagree, totally disagree and did not respond to each statement. This section also contains a bar chart that compares how gender affected participants' responses to the statement "Mexican (Americans) enrich American culture." The following section presents the results from the three open-ended questions and explains in detail how each of these responses was categorized. In these sections (Likert-scale Response Data and Open-Ended Response Data) two graphs provide visual aid to demonstrate the effects that gender and education level had on survey responses. In the next section "Discussion: Overall Findings and Central Themes," I move into a discussion of the various results and what they mean to this study. Each subhead that follows ("Defiance: An Oppositional Decoding," "Language Discrimination," "Assumed difference," and "Allusion to Stereotypes") uses the data from the surveys in conjunction with the history, literature and findings from my discourse analysis discussed in Chapters Two and Three to explain how the survey results fit into these three categories.

### **Results: Likert-scale Response Data**

The following tables correspond to the likert-scale questions. The statement that was on the survey serves as the title for each graph and then each response was

assigned a number that corresponds to how many people chose that answer (or “no response” for those who didn’t.) As with the participant results detailed above, I was able to consider results from 154 people that took the survey, so that was the number used to calculate the percentages. The final question about Trump being president was eliminated after the election so those percentages were calculated out of the 85 surveys that were filled out with that question. An excel spreadsheet containing this information and screenshots from the linguistic program used (LVS) are included as an appendix to this paper (appendix 4).

Table 1. Mexican (Americans) enrich American culture

Response	Number	Percentage
Strongly Agree	59	39%
Agree	69	45%
Neutral	17	11%
Disagree	5	3%
Totally Disagree	2	1%
No response	2	1%
Total	154	

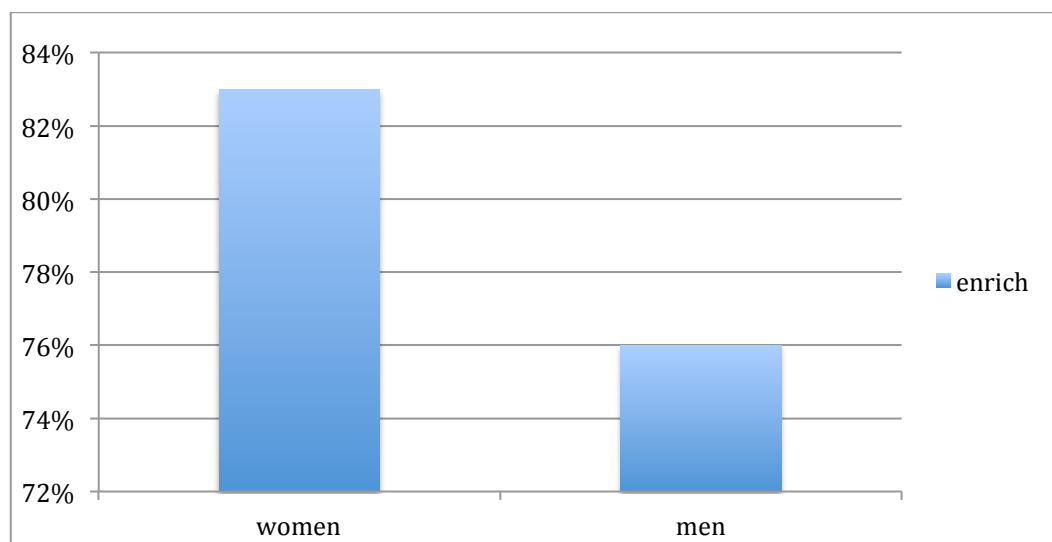


Figure 1. Percent of Men and Women that Agree or Strongly Agree that Mexican (Americans) enrich American culture

The results from the first table show that the majority of respondents agree that Mexican (Americans) enrich American culture. This finding demonstrates a generally positive outlook toward Mexican immigrants. Additionally, 39% of respondents even “strongly agree” with this statement, going beyond just agreement to show excitement and enthusiasm about the truth of this statement. Figure 2 shows the amount of women versus men who agree that Mexicans enrich American culture, a finding discussed in further detail in the following chapter of the present study.

Table 2. Donald Trump’s views on Mexican immigrants are fair

Response	Number	Percentage
Strongly Agree	9	7%
Agree	13	8%
Neutral	23	15%
Disagree	31	20%
Totally Disagree	75	49%
No response	3	2%
Total	154	

The results from this statement show that the majority of participants totally disagree that Trump’s exclusive and restrictive views on Mexican immigrants (49%). However, a significant number of people did agree or even “strongly agree” to this statement showing his harsh words may be truly influential because even this small study shows that some people do agree with his restrictionist immigration stance.

Table 3. Hispanics commit an overwhelming amount of violent crime in our major cities

Response	Number	Percentage
Strongly Agree	2	1%
Agree	11	7%
Neutral	32	21%
Disagree	62	41%
Totally Disagree	42	28%

No response	5	3%
Total	154	

This table clearly shows that the majority of participants disagree with Trump's words that Hispanics commit an overwhelming amount of violent crime in our major cities (Moreno). A large percentage even totally disagreed demonstrating defiance to Trump's words, a theme I discuss in greater detail in the discussion portion of this chapter. It is worthwhile to point out the 11 participants that did actually agree with this statement rooted in stereotype, insinuating that Trump's perpetuation of long-standing stereotypes could be affecting the public, evidenced by the agreement to this statement.

Table 4. I would prefer to have non-Hispanic co-workers

Response	Number	Percentage
Strongly Agree	4	3%
Agree	3	2%
Neutral	32	21%
Disagree	35	23%
Totally Disagree	77	50%
No response	3	2%
Total	154	

This table shows that the majority of participants do not discriminate co-worker preference based on race, which shows they don't feel any different about working along side a Hispanic person. The ethnicity of the co-worker does not affect their opinions despite Trump's constant public incriminations of Mexicans and people of Hispanic origin in general. These results show that Trump's perpetuation of stereotypes has not affected many participants of this study as most "strongly disagree" with this claim.

Table 5. If a person communicates mainly in Spanish, it is probably because they do not know English.

Response	Number	Percentage
Strongly Agree	6	4%
Agree	21	14%
Neutral	34	22%
Disagree	63	41%
Totally Disagree	26	17%
No response	3	2%
Total	154	

Table 5 shows that the majority of respondents disagree that speaking Spanish is correlated to an inability to speak English. Interestingly, this statement was aimed to see if patterns of language discrimination arose in the response and 18% either agree or strongly agree with this statement, showing that some people may be correlating speaking Spanish with stupidity, as Escobar and Patowski caution (215).

Table 6. Mexican immigrants are bringing drugs, crime, and they're rapists.

Response	Number	Percentage
Strongly Agree	1	.6%
Agree	6	4%
Neutral	23	15%
Disagree	46	30%
Totally Disagree	70	46%
No response	4	3%
Total	154	

Table 6 follows a similar pattern as Table 3, using Trump's own words and perpetuation of the Mexican "criminal" stereotype. The results show that the majority of respondents strongly disagree with the "Mexican criminal" stereotype. In fact, only six respondents agreed at all with this statement, in conjugation with the results from table 3, it is clear that Trump's perpetuation of this particular stereotype has not been accepted by the public and the results even show strong disagreement.

Table 7. The US will benefit if Donald Trump becomes the next president.

Response	Number	Percentage
Strongly Agree	6	7%
Agree	9	11%
Neutral	10	12%
Disagree	11	13%
Totally Disagree	47	56%
No response	1	1%
Total	154	

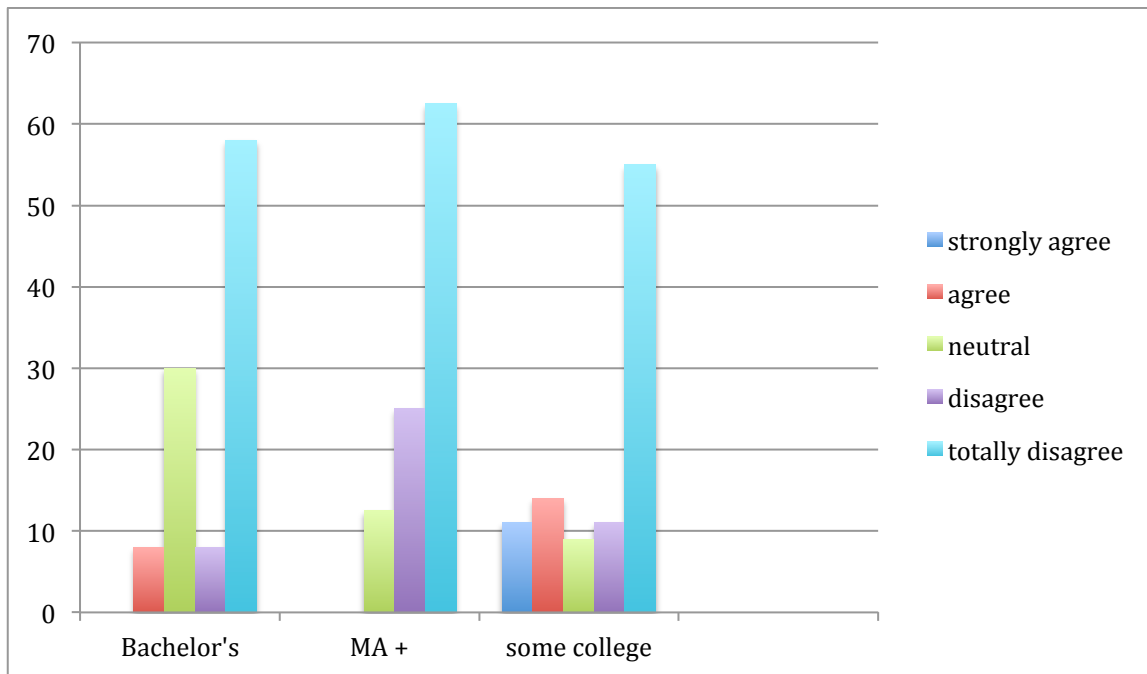


Figure 2. Respondents of varying educational levels and how they responded to “The U.S. will benefit if Donald Trump becomes president”

Table 7 shows that the majority of participants strongly disagree that the U.S. will benefit from a Trump presidency, which demonstrates defiance and disagreement to his views. Of course, it is noteworthy that 18% agreed or strongly agreed that Trump should be the next president (and he currently is), which could mean that they support and agree with his perpetuation of stereotypes about Mexican immigrants. Figure 2

shows the effects that education level had on the responses to the statement seen in table 7. The implications of these results are discussed in further detail in Chapter Five of this paper.

### **Results: Open-ended Response Data**

Since the data collected from these questions was a bit more abstract, I put the responses for each question into three different categories. I did not count responses that were left blank and instead just took the responses that were given for each question and used that number to calculate my responses. All of the survey information was compiled into an excel spreadsheet that is included as an appendix in this paper (appendix 5). The quotations in this section are pulled directly from the survey responses.

Table 8. Feelings on being in a room alone with a Mexican Immigrant

<b>Feeling</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Comfort	114	84%
Discomfort	6	4%
Other	13	9%
Total:	136	

For this question, answers to the first part were grouped into three different categories. Responses that alluded to feelings of comfort or indifference were classified under “comfort.” I acknowledge that these two express very different things “comfort” expresses more positivity about the situation than “indifference” does, which just denotes no change, positive or negative. However, I placed these concepts in the same category because the goal of these results was to figure out if negative feelings would arise from this situation. So, while “indifference” does not exactly express positivity it



does not express the negativity that would be evidence of the effects of Trump's rhetoric. The words used here include; comfortable, normal, fine, neutral, indifferent, the same, no difference, nothing and other variations of these words that expressed no change in feeling due to the presence of a Mexican immigrant. The next category contains the responses that express discomfort or some type of anxiety and the third column are any other responses that didn't completely fit in the "comfort vs discomfort" categories.

Of the 154 responses received, about 10% (15 people) skipped this open-ended question completely and two responses were disregarded because the respondents were of Hispanic descent. The vast majority of the responses received indicated comfort and indifference to being in a room alone with a Mexican immigrant. The reasons given for feeling this way vary (the "because" portion of the question). Some of the responses simply express indifference, some explain that race is not of significance when judging someone; others state they are not racist and many acknowledge that these Mexican strangers are "human" and "just like anyone else."

13 of the responses received did not completely fit into either category. Some of these responses alluded to feeling something greater than comfort in the presence of Mexican immigrants. These three responses were "lit, rad and grateful" all expressing a type of excitement or joy to be in this situation. Four of these responses expressed a type of curiosity about the stranger in the room. Two people expressed feeling hungry and two others explained that it depends, alluding to the fact that simply knowing the racial profile of person is not a sufficient judge of character. The few remaining responses in this category were deemed irrelevant.

Only six people who responded to this question alluded to feelings of discomfort of varying degrees ranging from “tentative” to “uncomfortable.”

Table 9. Choice of Babysitter for a Child I Love

<b>Would choose...</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Hispanic/ most qualified	116	91%
Non-Hispanic	8	6%
Other	4	3%
Total:	128	

For this question, the responses to the first part were again grouped into three different categories because I am examining whether or not Trump’s words have had an effect on public opinion. The negative responses show that they may have had an effect while the positive ones show the opposite. Therefore, although the categories are broad, I really only need to know if the answer was negative, positive or “other.” The first category contains responses in support of a Hispanic babysitter or responses that alluded to race not being the grounds for making such a decision. Sample responses from this category are “whoever is more qualified,” “it doesn’t matter,” “Mexican,” “whoever is more appropriate,” “either of the two,” “somebody trustworthy” and other variations of these statements. The responses here vary considerably but the overall theme is that they show support for (by choosing a Mexican person) or indifference to (choosing the most qualified) Mexican American, both of which could mean Trump’s rhetoric has not taken effect because people are unaffected by his negative words and would not judge one’s ability to babysit based on solely this criteria. The second category was “non-Hispanic” and this category contained those responses that preferred a non-Hispanic babysitter. The final category is “other” and again, this

contained the responses that did not fit in either of the previously mentioned categories.

First, it is worthwhile to mention that 16% of respondents (25 people) either did not respond to this question or their answers were disregarded due to the previously established criteria. The remaining responses are what the data represents. As shown by the above chart, an overwhelming amount of respondents had no preference of babysitter based on the criteria presented in this question. 8 respondents did admit that they would prefer a non-Hispanic babysitter for a child they love and 4 responses did not quite fit into either category.

Of the four responses that were deemed unsuitable for either category, two were “neither.” One respondent explained that “their race shouldn’t be a factor,” rendering this complete response a better fit for the first category and the second said “I would rather my mother watch my child for free.” One of these respondents said “it would depend” and went on to explain “I would want to meet both babysitters first, I don’t think it would matter much,” again rendering this complete response a better fit for the first category as well. The final person in this “other” category responded “someone who spoke English” and explained this was because they want to be understood.

There were eight respondents who said they would prefer a non-Hispanic babysitter and of these respondents two said it was due to issues with communication and two simply said that they wouldn’t know any Mexicans or know them well enough to entrust them with their child. Three responses alluded to feelings of discomfort and difference and the last one simply said, “I would probably know more non-Hispanics to get referrals from.”

Table 10. Predicted outcome of increasing number of Mexicans in U.S.

<b>Predicted outcome</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Positive	59	48%
Negative	19	15%
Neutral/ unknown	45	37%
Total:	123	

For the final open-ended question, the answers were again divided into three categories. Those who predicted that the growing number of Mexican (Americans) in the U.S. will cause some sort of positive outcome were placed in the first category. Common responses in this category alluded to Mexicans enriching U.S. culture, causing more diversity and cultural growth or anything else along the lines of “positive” or “not negative.” Overall, this category received the highest number of responses totaling 59.

Category one’s total was followed closely by the neutral/ unknown category. Many responses in this category claimed uncertainty regarding what kind of outcome a growing number of Mexican (Americans) will have on the U.S. Responses that referred solely to an increase in population or some other obvious statistical outcome were also placed in this category. Other responses in this group included “depends,” “the nation will be more liberal” and “some type of change in the dynamic of our culture” as both of these don’t express an explicitly “positive” or “negative” outlook. 37% of the responses to this question were deemed “neutral/ unknown.”

The final category reflects the responses that predicted more Mexicans having some sort of negative effect on the U.S. Common answers in this category were overpopulation, controversy, racial disharmony and the like. There were 19 responses that were deemed negative, 15% of the total number of responses for this question.

## **Discussion: Overall Findings and Central Themes**

After a careful and calculated analysis of the results, it is clear that overall, Trump's rhetoric has not been decoded and accepted in the exact way it is spoken nor have the racist messages this study has proved his rhetoric perpetuates been absorbed and further perpetuated by the U.S. public. In fact, the results show an improvement of public opinion toward (Mexican) immigration as compared to previous studies. These findings coincide with the original hypothesis that people are hearing Trump's harsh words and sympathizing with this immigrant population that was used as a scapegoat throughout the president's campaign.

The numbers overwhelmingly show that very few people agree wholeheartedly with Trump's stereotyping or share his extreme views on Mexicans and Mexican immigration despite its notoriety and reach. For example, the statements about crime and immigrants being criminals have large disagreement percentages and these statements were both taken directly from Trump's own public speech. Overall, it holds true that Trump's words about Mexican immigrants have not been just accepted and concurred with by the public. Further, there is a specific pattern of defiance to these responses.

While the majority of the responses were positive and overall the results do show that Trump's rhetoric has had a positive effect on public opinion, it is still noteworthy to discuss the patterns that arose in the responses that were more in line with Trump's policies and ideas. Among the more negative responses, I noted patterns and will discuss in more detail how each pattern manifested in the data. The first pattern that could be an effect of a dominant decoding of Trump's rhetoric is language

discrimination, and this came up often in both the likert-scale and open-ended responses. The second pattern is assumed difference or viewing Mexicans as a cultural “other” and the final is an allusion to some type of stereotype.

### **Defiance: an Oppositional Decoding**

On the surface level, the tables and charts show clear patterns of opposition and defiance that have arisen against Trump’s rhetoric. People did not only “disagree” but “totally disagreed” in high percentages to the likert-scale statements that directly stereotyped Mexican and Hispanic Americans. 39% of respondents even strongly agreed that Mexican Americans enrich American culture, indicating that they don’t only negate the negative aspects of Trump’s rhetoric but even go further to defy his statements by strong supporting something that would be seen as an opposition to Trump.

Looking further into the open-ended questions, 84% of respondents indicated they would not feel any type of discomfort in a room with a Mexican (American) and further, many even defied the question completely. To clarify, I refer to specific responses from the data, for example respondents replied, “it doesn’t matter, why would this matter” said, “I do not discriminate,” “they are human beings” and many variations of these statements. The majority of these responses negated any type of discrimination based on race, one even pointed out “not all fall into the stereotype” which indeed acknowledges that there are stereotypes that exist but that this person is choosing not to acknowledge and perpetuate them.

The second open-ended question, *“if I had to choose between a non-Hispanic person and a Mexican (American) to babysit a child I love I would choose...because...”* showed a similar pattern of results. 91% of respondents said “either” or “the most qualified” proving they believe that a person’s race is not sufficient to judge whether or not someone could be trusted, despite Trump’s incessant claims about Mexicans being criminals. Many respondents went further to explain, “race and ethnicity shouldn’t matter,” “I have no issues or qualms with Mexican Americans in America,” and “race has nothing to do with it, qualification does.” Some of these positive responses even said they would prefer the Mexican to help expose their children to a different culture and language, going beyond just indifference about racial difference to actually show support for this minority group. Some people even acknowledge some cultural positives that a Mexican could bring to their children such as “they have great family skills,” “they are very family oriented and loving” and other explanations about Mexican cuisine and how their children would eat well with a Mexican nanny. Again we see that Trump’s harsh stereotypes have not only been negated but they’ve been completely opposed by much more positive characterizations. Only eight responses out of 128 said that they would prefer a non-Hispanic sitter, showing that the overwhelming majority has taken an oppositional stance to Trump’s rhetoric and has chosen not to perpetuate the racial discriminations that were so prominent in his campaign.

The results for the final open-ended question, *“I think the growing number of Mexican (Americans) in the U.S. will cause (what kind of outcome)... because...”* were a bit more skewed but still, the majority of respondents (48%) expressed that the increasing number of Mexican (Americans) would have some sort of positive outcome, explaining

that Mexicans enrich American culture, create more diversity among a variety of other benefits listed. The respondents explain their predicted outcomes with statements that support diversity in America, several people think the presence of more Mexicans (Americans) will help the U.S. economy because “they actually work” and “Mexican Americans often work at jobs Americans won’t do.” This is directly contradictory of the Trump “their taking our jobs” stance, a sentiment that historically thrived post WWI and during economic duress in the U.S. Only 15% said the outcome would be negative in a way, but many respondents did not know or did not think there would be any significant outcome.

When asked if Trump’s views on immigrants were fair, 69% of people (the largest percentage) disagreed to some degree. 49% of the respondents not only disagreed, but *strongly* disagreed, again demonstrating extreme opposition to his extremist and restrictive views on immigration. We see this pattern again in the responses to the question about preferring non-Hispanic coworkers with 50% in strong disagreement with this statement. Had this question been open-ended, I would expect to see responses similar to the ones above about being in a room alone with a Mexican immigrant. The second largest percentage (23%) disagreed; here it is clear that the respondents felt it was important not only to disagree but further to strongly disagree, or negate the claim. Only 5% of people agreed or strongly agree with this statement, rendering the effects of Trump’s words more positive than anything.

To refer to Stuart Hall, the majority of the respondents have taken the oppositional stance to Trump’s words. They have heard them, internalized them and decided to disagree with the discriminatory statements that this study previously



proved could have a negative effect if viewers were to take the dominant decoding. Now I turn to those respondents who did take a dominant decoding of Trump's words.

### **Language Discrimination**

Looking at the first open-ended question, *"if I were in a room alone with a Mexican (American) I would feel ...because..."* three people that admitted they would indeed feel uncomfortable in a room alone with a Mexican immigrant. Of these respondents, one wrote "normal (maybe a little uncomfortable)" and one answered "uncomfortable" but neither provided a reason for this response. The third person responded "male slightly uncomfortable" and explained this is because "they constantly speak Spanish and I'm uncomfortable not knowing what they say." Although this response explains the source of the discomfort as coming from a language barrier rather than an actual problem with the person, it still assumes that this person cannot speak English. In a room alone with a non-native speaker, an English-Spanish bilingual would likely speak in English for clarity. Even if this person could not speak English and did use Spanish to speak to a third party, that should not generate discomfort because the person in the room is not being addressed in a language foreign to them, it would be the same as if someone were whispering in English to a third party. Therefore, this response is rooted language discrimination because there are other factors that could generate misunderstanding but this response explains that it is indeed the language that creates the discomfort. This finding is in line with Trump's public oppression of other languages and therefore could be an effect of his campaign. The integral link between language and identity has been discussed previously in this paper so this

discomfort generated by an unfamiliar language is directly related to discomfort with this person, or other people who also speak this unfamiliar language, for what allows us to identify a person but the language they speak?

For more survey data that supports this theme, I turn to the survey question aimed at this issue, the results of which are detailed in table 5.18% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that speaking Spanish is correlated with an inability to speak English, findings strongly in line with this theme of language discrimination. Escobar and Potowski would say this type of language discrimination has risen out of the fear that English will not remain the majority language in the United States in the years to come. Further, agreeing to this question could also be a result of broader and more stereotypical assumptions for example viewing a Spanish speaker's use of Spanish as a lack of desire to integrate with the dominant culture. Worse, these speakers may even be seen as less intelligent than and for that reason inferior to their English-speaking counterparts. A response to the third open ended question supports this claim of inferior intelligence explaining that the growing number of Mexican Americans in the U.S. will cause "more problems" because "they are uneducated," a blanket stereotype and generalization likely derived from a combination of their knowledge of the English language and Trump's "America, English" philosophy.

Further, when responding to the open-ended question about a preference in babysitter (Mexican or non-Hispanic) one respondent wrote "someone who spoke English." Similar to the 18% who agreed with this statement, this response assumes that a person who is Mexican would not know English. So, this person is not only

discriminating against an essential part of Mexican identity but also potentially denying this person of a job because of this assumption, which is likely false.

Continuing with this open-ended question, one respondent explained they would choose a non-Hispanic babysitter because “I would choose someone I know and can communicate with” and another stated, “the only reason is due to the language barrier otherwise it really would not matter about their ethnicity as long as they were trustworthy...etc.” Both of these responses allude to language discrimination because, like the previous explanation, they assume that because this person is Mexican they speak Spanish and further, that they do not know English. The assumed stereotypes inherent in these statements are just as problematic as if these respondents had agreed with the questions that associate Mexicans with criminals.

As is made evident in Chapter Two of this paper, language is essential to the formation of identity so language discrimination is a form of cultural oppression. A study cited in Escobar and Patowski completed by John Baugh before Trump’s campaign shows similar patterns of language discrimination and his own policies and public statements have piggybacked on this theme. I believe that this over-arching theme is where Trump’s words have had the most reach; however, the majority of respondents still disagreed with this statement, rendering it a positive improvement. While Trump’s use of language discrimination has generated some bleak and stereotypical ideas, it has generated even more positivity about Spanish speakers by bringing this discrimination to the light.

## Assumed difference

First, I refer to the first open-ended question *“if I were in a room alone with a Mexican (American) I would feel ...because...”* Two of the respondents whose answers alluded to discomfort explained that they were “of different interests and culture” and the other respondent said they’d feel “guarded” but went on to explain that this is how they would feel in the room with any stranger, regardless of their ethnicity. The first response does show discrimination by assuming that the person in question must have different interests because they are Mexican. This response inadvertently puts anyone of Mexican decent (American or non-) in the same category and assumes difference, even though the question says nothing about the cultural actions of this person. Naturally, this assumption is problematic and could be a result of Trump’s rhetoric, which often groups together not just all Mexicans, but all Hispanics. Previously in this paper it is made clear that Trump’s rhetoric relegates Mexicans to the category of the cultural “other,” constantly drawing a line (metaphorically and literally with a border wall) between “us” the United States and “them” Mexico, continuously perpetuating long-standing themes of displacement and not belonging. Therefore, this particular response is in accordance with Trump’s stance because it directly correlates Mexican with difference and to this Caucasian respondent who is part of the US majority: this difference is seen as a variation of mainstream culture.

This thread comes up again when considering the second open-ended question (Table 9), *“If I had to choose between a non-Hispanic person and a Mexican (American) to babysit a child I love I would choose...because...”* One respondent that said they would prefer a non-Hispanic babysitter and explained this was because they “feel that [they]

can relate more to a non Hispanic. Mexican Americans may have different cultures or beliefs. They may not eat the same things I eat, watch TV shows the same as me etc.” Here, this person generalizes Hispanic Americans and goes beyond what the question asks to state that they would not only prefer someone who was not Mexican, but someone who is non-Hispanic. The explanation given again over generalizes and assumes some kind of great difference between Hispanic American culture and mainstream U.S. culture. This separation between these cultures and nations is a line that Trump’s rhetoric has emboldened, thus a response of this type is not surprising and could likely be an effect of his words.

### **Allusion to stereotypes**

Another common thread that runs throughout the responses (open-ended and closed) is participants alluding to any of the common Mexican (American) stereotypes, which are detailed in the literature review section of this paper and are perpetuated by Trump (as evidenced by the discourse analysis of the present study). The first stereotype alluded to dates back to the works of Tomas Rivera and various Chicano poets whose work is compiled in *Aztlan* (1973). When asked what kind of effect the growing number of Mexican (Americans) will have on the U.S., three responses read “farmers,” “laborers,” and “blue collar workers.” This type of response perpetuates the image of the ill-treated, underpaid and overworked Mexican farmers of the Bracero Program. All of these responses rely on the idea that Mexicans are less-educated members of U.S. society and by assuming these are the types of jobs that a Mexican would hold in the United States. This assumption could also be a result of language

discrimination, by correlating an ability to speak Spanish with an inability to speak English, these respondents assume that Mexicans are unfit for most U.S. jobs requiring education. What is not taken into consideration here is that the growing number of Mexican Americans in the United States should be afforded the exact same opportunities as any other American citizen, and many currently speak or are learning English. Further, speaking Spanish is becoming a very indispensable skill in the current globalized job market so in reality, their bilingualism is a key asset for these individuals.

Along the same lines, one respondent claimed the growing number of Mexicans in the U.S. would result in “less jobs,” (a result that fit into the negative column of table 10) another stereotypical thread that can be traced back to the Great Depression when many Anglos became enraged about a New Deal Act that put many unemployed Mexicans to work. According to Novas, many Anglos considered anyone who appeared Mexican to be a foreigner who had no right to take the few available jobs from ‘real’ Americans (105). The assumption that Mexicans are going to take jobs originates from this discriminatory sentiment from eighty years ago. Hood and Morris (1997) found that people who are more concerned about the future of the U.S. economy tended to view Hispanics in a more negative fashion and obviously the Great Depression would be a time when many Americans were concerned about the economy, generating anti-immigrant sentiment. In addition to being stereotypical, this response fails to consider the fact mentioned above; that these Mexican Americans are just as deserving of these jobs as someone else. It is likely that a response like this is a result of Trump’s “they’re taking our jobs” stance, which he has made so public throughout his campaign.

Several other responses to this same open-ended question (results shown in Table 10) express similar concerns. One person said the effect is “good/bad” because Mexicans are “taking more jobs but diversity.” This is another piece of evidence that supports a dominant decoding of Trump’s words. Another response said that a growing number of Mexicans would lead to “job loss/ crime” the latter part brings me to another major stereotype alluded to in the findings, the “Mexican criminal.”

Another response to this same question says that an increase in the Mexican population would cause “no harm if they abide by the law” and this statement was grouped in the “negative category” because even though it claims “no harm” the second portion is concerning and relies on the assumption that Mexican Americans would not abide by the law, marginalizing them in this criminal category as the public and even government sectors have done in the past (evidenced by movies like *Stand and Deliver* and *Zoot Suit*).

Looking at the likert-scale statements that directly relate Mexicans (Americans) to criminal activity, 10% agreed or strongly agreed that Mexican immigrants are indeed bringing drugs, crime and that they’re rapists. Though this percentage is slight when looking at the number who disagreed, it is still significant to mention because it does show Trump’s rhetoric reflecting existing trends. Only 13 participants agreed or strongly agreed that Hispanics commit the overwhelming amount of violent crime in our major cities, while this definitely supports the claim that Trump’s statements are actually improving public opinion of Mexicans (Americans), there are still significant results that show his rhetoric is perpetuating stereotypes.

## **Chapter Five: Comparisons: The Effects of Various Pieces of Demographic Information**

In this chapter I present and discuss how four pieces of demographic information affected survey responses in this study. Past studies have shown the effects of various factors on public opinion towards immigration (Espenshade and Calhoun) (Harwood) (Hood and Morris). For the present study, I used Language Variation Suite to cross tabulate my data and figure out which patterns were prevalent (Scrivner and Díaz-Campos). Each sub-head represents a comparison and the findings of each are explained in detail in that section. First, I discuss the effects of age and level of education as these constraints proved to have the strongest influence on public opinion in this study. Next I discuss the effects of gender on opinion and finally I examine how the current location of the participants affected their opinions. I did not examine the effects of ethnicity on opinion because the racial sample of this study was not sufficiently varied.

### **Comparison One: Age**

In Espenshade and Calhoun's 1993 study, found that age played a large factor in public opinion. Older respondents tended to have a more pessimistic outlook than younger ones. The present study echoes these findings.

My results show that 11% of the people born in the 1950's disagreed that Mexican Americans enrich American culture. Not any other birth year or age group disagreed with this statement excepting the 5% who disagreed but did not list their birth year in the information section. This shows that 67% of the people who disagreed



with this statement were born in the 1950's, a fact very much in line with Espenshade and Calhoun's findings in their 1993 study in California. In fact, 93% of people born in the 1980's either agreed or strongly agreed with this claim and the results follow a similar pattern for those even younger than that.

The results in Table 6 show a similar outcome. While no respondent born in the 1950's agreed with this statement, 13% of those born in the 1960 agreed that Mexican immigrants are bringing drugs, crime, and that they're rapists; a direct quote from Trump. It is possible that this older demographic has taken a more dominant decoding (or pre-existing tendency) of Trump's words and this piece of information shows that they are less sympathetic and more likely to stereotype Mexicans (Americans). This information is especially noteworthy when compared to the 5% of people born from 1990-1996 who agreed with this racist notion.

In accordance with the results from Table 6, a similar pattern was found with the results in Table 3, which allude to the criminal stereotype. Of the people born in the 1950's one person agreed and another person even strongly agreed that Hispanics commit the overwhelming amount of crime in our major cities. Further, 20% of those born in the 1960's agreed with this claim while only 13 percent "totally disagreed." This comparison is even starker when compared to the 45% and 27% of people born in 1996 and 1997 that totally disagreed with this claim. Therefore, it is clear from these results that the older respondents are less sympathetic to Mexican immigrants, evidenced by their stereotypical views that assume Mexicans (and Hispanics in general) are criminals. Overall, younger generations had a much lower percentage of agreement to these statements that play into the "criminal Mexican" stereotype.

Interestingly, when faced with the statement about speaking Spanish equating to not knowing English, the findings were quite opposite. Many younger people (those born in 1996 and 1997) strongly agreed (3 and 2) or agreed (5 and 1) while only one person born in the 1950's agreed. 6 people born in the 1960's agreed of strongly agreed but these results are still less than those of the older generation who was more likely to disagree with this statement that alludes to language discrimination. I believe this variation in the results is due to Trump's rhetoric. It is likely that the older generation remains unaffected by these words because their opinions have already been formed. As for the younger, more impressionable generation, his words are creating this association with speaking Spanish as something foreign and "wrong" in the United States.

### **Comparison Two: Education Level**

Looking again at Espenshade and Calhoun's 1993 findings, a strong correlation between education level and opinion toward immigration has been found. Therefore, I tested the results of this constraint by using the piece of demographic information that asked participants their highest level of education. Of those who had received a Bachelor's degree, nobody disagreed (to any degree) that Mexican Americans enrich American culture. In fact 53% of baccalaureate respondents strongly agreed to this statement. Interestingly, there was one respondent with a Master's degree that disagreed with this statement, but the majority (40%) still strongly agreed. Of the respondents with "some college" 55% agreed but did not agree as strongly as those that had completed their Bachelors, showing a small education based discrepancy there. Of

the four respondents that attended law school, half agreed and half strongly agreed to this claim. When looking at the less educated, no respondents “disagreed” but 33% did mark neutral, meaning they still chose not to agree with this statement.

Looking at the statements (in Table 3 and Table 6) allude to the “Mexican criminal” stereotype, the results show that only 15% of people with a Bachelor’s degree agreed that Hispanics commit most of the crime in our major cities and none of these people strongly agreed and only one person agreed with this statement at all. Meanwhile, of the respondents with “some college” 5% agreed and one person even strongly agreed to this statement. None of the six respondents who only completed high school “agreed” but again, there was a higher percentage of neutrality. Failure to agree or disagree denotes a lack of concern about this issued, something not seen much among the other respondents.

Turning to the results from Table 6 (which relies on the “criminal” stereotype that Trump favors) the results show that only 3% of respondents (1 person) with a Bachelor’s degree agreed with this statement and nobody strongly agreed. The vast majority, (53%) totally disagreed that Mexicans are bringing crime and drugs, a direct quote from Trump. Among the group that claimed “some college” we see a slightly higher percentage of agreement (5%) and even one person who strongly agreed with this racist claim. Interestingly, 13% of people with their Master’s (2 respondents) also agreed with this claim. So while education does seem to carry an obvious effect on public opinion, this specific piece of data does seem to challenge that a bit, but I attribute this discrepancy to the political affiliations of these persons. One described

their affiliation as “conservative” and the other as “republican” so in this instance, these stereotypical sentiments are likely a part of the effects of Trump’s campaign.

The statement in Table 7 shows significant education-based results was the final statement, whether or not respondents believe the U.S. will benefit from a Trump presidency. The results are shown Figure 2 in the preceding chapter of the present study. Clearly, the majority of respondents totally disagree that a Trump presidency will bring benefits to the U.S. However, when we look at the less educated grouping (some college) we do see that strong agreement comes into play. The colored chart powerfully shows that there was no agreement among those with a Master’s degree or greater to this statement, correlating support of Trump with a lack of education. This fact should come as no surprise when considering findings Johnathan Rothwell and Pablo Diego-Roswell from a Gallup poll survey that found that Trump supporters are “less educated and more likely to work blue-collar positions” (1). When considering this piece of information, it is easy to see how if his supporters are of lower levels of education, how these same people are the ones who agree with his policies, despite their extremity.

### **Comparison 3: Gender**

In the preceding chapter, Figure 1 shows that women are more accepting toward immigration/ immigrants than men. This finding is aligned with the assumption that women would have more positive views, as they are generally the more empathetic sex (Simon-Thomas). However, 2% of women who took this survey disagreed with this statement and 15% were “neutral” toward the issue while only 7% of men were neutral and none of the men who took this survey disagreed with this statement. I attribute this

variation in results to the large volume of women (86) who took this survey as compared to men (43). With literally double the amount of women, it is no surprise that one or two disagreed with this statement. Had more men taken this survey, I hypothesize that the results would show more disagreement to this statement on behalf of the men.

When asked if Trump's views on immigrants are fair, only 15% of women and 16% of men either agreed or strongly agreed. 71% of women disagreed or totally disagreed while 65% of men opted for one of these two options. When told Hispanics commit an overwhelming amount of crime in our major cities, 11% of men agreed or strongly agreed. Only 8% of women agreed to this statement and none of these women strongly agreed. 65% disagreed or totally disagreed and 68 percent of men chose one of those options. The largest difference between men and women for this question was the amount of women who chose neutral (26%) versus the 12% of men who chose neutral.

Looking at the statement in table 5 about speaking Spanish, 65% of women disagree or totally disagree that someone speaks Spanish because they do not know English. While 52% of men fit into this category. 16% of men agree or strongly agree that these people do not know English, showing that language discrimination is more common among men than women. When told that Trump's views on immigrants are fair, 55% of women and 62% of men totally disagreed, showing extreme adversity to this statement. Conversely, 24% of women agreed or even strongly agreed while only 8% of men agreed or strongly agreed. This final question opposes the finding that women are more sympathetic than men.

Overall, the results for men versus women do prove women to be more open to immigration than their male counterparts. I believe had more men taken this survey, the results would even more strongly support this gender-based difference of opinions.

#### **Comparison 4: Current Location**

When looking at how current location affects public opinion of people of Mexican descent and Mexican immigration, there are several factors to consider. For the present study, I turn first to the political affiliations of each state. The majority of respondents claim either Connecticut or Louisiana as their current place of residence. This provides a range for comparison because Connecticut is a state that typically votes for the democratic candidate and Louisiana boasts the opposite. According to the NY times, in the 2016 election 54.6% of CT voted Hillary while 40% voted for Donald Trump. On the other hand, 58.1% of Louisiana voted for Trump while only 38.4% voted for Hillary Clinton. Knowing this information, it can be inferred that the people who voted for Trump (higher percentage in LA) would agree with his policies and therefore are more likely to have a more restrictive view on Mexican immigration policies.

Interestingly, the results of my survey are not exactly in line with my hypothesis that Connecticut, being a more democratic state would side with more liberal immigration policies and more positive attitudes toward Mexicans. Looking at solely Connecticut versus Louisiana, only 7% of respondents that claim LA as their current residence agreed that Hispanics commit the overwhelming amount of crime in our major cities while 14% of respondents from Connecticut agreed with this statement that alludes to the “Hispanic criminal” stereotype. When looking at the 13 people from

Boston, MA or the Boston area (another historically democratic area), only one person strongly agreed with this racist notion.

When asked to respond to the statement *Donald Trump's views on immigrants are fair* the results again defy my same hypothesis stated in the previous paragraph. Only 4% of respondents that live in Baton Rouge agree with this statement and 9% strongly agree. Looking at CT, 12% agree, but only 5% strongly agree and while this percentage is lower than that of Baton Rouge, 61% of respondents from Baton Rouge totally disagree while only 42% of respondents from Connecticut selected this option that alludes to total defiance of Trump's harsh and restrictive proposals for Mexican immigration control. Again, the results from Boston, MA, are in line with the hypothesis, showing only 15% disagreement and 0% total disagreement to this statement. As expected 100% of people from Washington, D.C. disagreed or completely disagreed with this statement. This finding is in line with the political orientation of D.C., a city that boasts a majority democratic affiliation.

Following these contradictory results, 5% of participants from CT agreed and 7% even strongly agreed that they would prefer non-Hispanic coworkers, a statement that may indicate exclusion and racism. Conversely, only 2% of participants from LA agreed and nobody from strongly agreed with this statement. Again, this data shows quite the opposite of what was expected— those respondents in the historically democratic state were less sympathetic toward Hispanics than those participants from Louisiana, a traditionally republican state.

Looking at the statement seen in Table 5, which correlates speaking Spanish with a lack of knowledge of English, the results are slightly more in line with past

studies. None of the 13 respondents from Boston agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, combating the thread of language discrimination found in the survey responses. One person from both Connecticut and Louisiana strongly agreed with this statement while 17% of people from Louisiana agreed and 14% of people from Connecticut agreed. This data shows that people from CT do not show as much language discrimination as do the respondents from Louisiana. Although this discrepancy is small, it could be attributed to the higher percentage of Hispanics in CT, a fact that will be discussed in further detail ("Demographic and Economic Profiles of Hispanics by State and County, 2014"). Due to the higher number of Hispanics, CT residents likely have more experience with this population and therefore have probably discovered that speaking in Spanish is not enough to signal mono-lingualism, as many Spanish speakers in the US are indeed bilingual.

As I mentioned, the other factor to consider whilst looking how location affects public opinion on Mexican immigrants and immigration is proximity of the respondents to Hispanic immigrants. According to the U.S. census bureau, as of 2015 Connecticut boasts a Hispanic population of 15.4 percent, a huge difference when considering Louisiana's 5% Hispanic population. According to past studies, a proximity to a greater number of immigrants means more sympathy toward this immigrant population. However, when comparing the survey responses from these two states the respondents from CT showed more anti-immigrant and immigration sentiment than those from Louisiana. So those from the state with a lower Hispanic population were actually more sympathetic to immigrants, a fact that could be attributed to these respondents not having any experience with the population and therefore no conflict to give them a



negative outlook. The two respondents from Houston both totally disagreed that Mexicans are bringing crime to the U.S., a result that is indeed in line with this idea of proximity as Houston has a Mexican population of 27% and a Hispanic population of 37.4%

I attribute these results to the age of the respondents from each state. In LA, the majority of respondents were of a younger demographic while many respondents from CT fit into the 40 plus category. Therefore, the data attests to the fact that age trumps location when determining the effect these factors have on public opinion towards Mexican immigrants and immigration.

## **Chapter Six: Conclusion**

The present study has achieved its primary goal of gauging U.S. public opinion toward Mexican immigrants and immigration. The results of this study show that those who took the survey have not accepted Donald Trump's derogatory words as facts. On the contrary, his words have spurred defiance in U.S. citizens who are turning to more inclusive immigration policies and who are showing a more positive attitude toward Mexican immigrants.

When this study began, the 2016 election campaign was at its beginnings and the idea of a Trump presidency was a distant concept. As the study progressed, so did U.S. democracy and in early November, my topic of research became the U.S.'s 45th president. But the research carried on— and overall, Trump's negativity toward immigration and Mexican immigrants in particular, has stimulated (or reflected existing) sympathy in the U.S. public, evidenced by the results of the present study. According to the survey data from this study, people have gone beyond opposition and have taken a defiant stance against the harsh words of our nation's 45th president. Americans are choosing to strongly disagree with his claims, acknowledging the "melting-pot" of cultures that constitutes the U.S. and seeing cultural difference as a positive attribute to society rather than something we need to rid the U.S. of.

Prior to and after the establishment of the U.S., various European settlers, including Hernán Cortés and his men, subjected the various Native American tribes that inhabited the land that now belongs to the U.S. and Mexico to cruel treatment. The settlers essentially came in and took the territory as their own, killing off by disease and evacuating thousands of Natives from their ancestral land. Many of these Native

Americans had no choice but to join forces with the Spanish, who conquered the indigenous people, and claimed the “New Spain” territory as their own. The Spanish spoke of the Natives as uncivilized barbarians and overtime, thousands of Natives were displaced, forcibly removed from the only homes they had known. When looking at the lineage and heritage of today’s Mexican population, these Native Americans were just the beginning of a long, on-going chain of oppression that links Mexican ancestry to “barbarianism” and homelessness from its origin.

Fast-forward to the establishment of the United States when Anglo settlers continued to take land that was rightfully the territory of Mexico, who gained independence from Spain rule in 1821. Soon after, the U.S. Mexico war that ended in 1848 with the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which established clear borders between the U.S. and Mexico. As history goes, the U.S. would not respect the terms of the treaty and would continue to take territory and displace Mexicans. They saw Mexicans as an inferior people and this thread of displacement and homelessness continued.

Advancing to the 1900’s in the midst of the drama of a post-war time America, (World War I ended in 1918) Chicano’s in the U.S. became the scapegoats and the ones responsible for “taking U.S. jobs,” an accusation that arose as a response to an influx of returned soldiers seeking employment. This difficult narrative continued into the 1930’s due to the economic duress brought on by the Great Depression. Simultaneously, another stereotype emerged (specifically in Southern California) that characterized the Chicano as this criminal figure. Movies such as *Zoot Suit* and *Stand and Deliver* (both based on actual events) accurately depict the sort of discrimination and abuse this population received during this time period.

In 1942, the Bracero program attempted to aid Mexicans by offering them jobs as farm hands in the United States (mostly in the south western region). However, the accounts of Tomas Rivera published in 1987 and 1989 paint a bleak picture of life in the U.S. as a Mexican farmhand. Rivera's stories show these workers and their children were ostracized from mainstream U.S. society and forced to live and work under harsh conditions. They were seen as "dirty" and inferior to their white American counterparts (Rivera 13). The ability to speak Spanish was often correlated with difference and a lack of intelligence, as is noted by Escobar and Potowski. The plays of Cherrie Moraga show the effects of this displacement the Mexican people have experienced since the beginning of time, demonstrating a deep confusion about where exactly Moraga's protagonist "belongs."

From the beginning of the 2016 campaign for the 45<sup>th</sup> U.S. president, Donald Trump's views on Mexican immigrants and immigration have been made very public. As is evidenced by various tweets and my own discourse analysis of Trump's speech, the new president boasts a very restricted view on Mexican immigrants and immigration by using a rhetoric that works to separate the U.S. from its southern neighbors. He emphasizes the negatives— this Mexican thief, that Mexican murderer, this Mexican drug smuggler, those illegal Mexican immigrants. However, Trump completely fails to mention any of the U.S.'s successful and legal citizens of Mexican descent. We see this clearly when he tells Mexican American journalist Jorge Ramirez to "go back to Mexico." He uses a negative few examples to characterize an entire culture and simultaneously perpetuates all of the negative stereotypes that have followed Mexican immigrants in the U.S. since the country's establishment.

So, knowing all of this, the present study uses a carefully created survey to evaluate what kind of effects the racist words of our 45th president are having on U.S. public opinion of Mexican Americans. Overall, the people spoke and showed that the overwhelming majority of the respondents in this study took an oppositional decoding of Trump's words. That is, that they not only disagreed with his stereotypical accusation against one of the U.S.'s largest cultural minorities, but the respondents actually went further and pointed out the benefits and need for racial harmony in the "melting-pot" that comprises the present day U.S.

There were some responses that demonstrated agreement with some of Trump's harsh and restrictive views. Among those respondents who took a dominant decoding of Trump's words, certain patterns emerged. The patterns found among these respondents were first and foremost, language discrimination, a pattern that shows that Trump's "America, ENGLISH" stance has resulted in some members of the public taking a similar stance. Additionally, respondents in this category tended to view Mexicans and Hispanic Americans as different or the cultural "other," a grim picture painted by Trump's "us" versus "them" rhetoric. Among these more negative responses, there was also allusion to other long established stereotypes (not invented by Trump but emphasized by him) Trump has perpetuated in his rhetoric, for example the "they're taking our jobs" and the "Mexican criminal" stances were both observed in the data.

As my methodology foretold, I refer to past studies like Espenshade and Calhoun, Hood and Morris, and Harwood, which are all cited in chapter two of this study. Together these works paint a picture of public opinion toward immigration before Trump's campaign to serve as a basis of comparison. Beginning as early as 1875, anti-

immigrant sentiment developed in the U.S. Contrary to the post-war time theory, the U.S. did see some liberalization on the issue post WWII, but it was replaced by a new wave of restrictive immigration views that arose in the early 1980's (Rosenblum and Brick, Espenshade and Calhoun). These studies combined with the study done by Hood and Morris show that education level and age are the two factors that most strongly influence public opinion and these findings definitely held true in the present study. When the data was cross tabulated, the results show that those with higher levels of education had more positive views towards Mexican immigrants and immigration and therefore would support more liberal immigration policies.

As expected, older respondents had more negative views towards Mexican immigrants and immigration and would therefore favor more restrictive immigration policies. When looking at the effects of location, the data refuted the hypothesis that the more liberal and positive responses would come from the CT residents, as it is a more democratic state. However, LA boasted more positive views on Mexican immigrants and therefore those respondents would likely favor more liberal immigration policies. Only 7% of participants from LA agree, "Hispanics commit the overwhelming crime in our major cities while double the amount (14%) of people from CT agreed. I attribute this unexpected discrepancy in the data to the age of the respondents. The majority of the respondents from CT fit into the older demographic (50 or older) while the majority of those respondents from LA fit into a much younger demographic (30 or younger). Given this information, it appears that age is a far more influential variable than location when considering the effects of both of these factors on public opinion toward immigrants and immigration.

When comparing the effects of gender to each of the statements represented in the tables in Chapter Four, I hypothesized that women would be more sympathetic to immigrants and immigration. The results showed that for the most part, men did lean toward slightly more negative views toward immigrants and immigration but not to an alarming degree. Women did show more positive attitudes than men for most likert-scale responses but not for all, a discrepancy that could be due to the number of women (almost double) versus men who took the surveys.

Considering all of these factors, future studies should aim to include a wider variety of survey locations to better represent U.S. public opinion. Studies to come should also represent a wider variety of ethnicities so that one can examine the effect that this particular variable has on public opinion. A larger sample size is another factor that would improve the validity of future studies of this nature. Since Donald Trump is now president, it will be interesting to see if his rhetoric towards Mexicans changes over the course of his presidency and if it doesn't, the same study could be repeated to gauge the long-term effects of his rhetoric during the course of his presidency. Additionally, the precise methodology and carefully created survey leave this study open to duplication in the future.

As a well-traveled democrat who supports more liberal immigration policies, I acknowledge that this particular study is not void of bias. Every form of discourse sets out to do something and thus is rooted in some type of bias. My own distaste for the harsh accusations Donald Trump has made toward Mexican immigrants and Mexican immigration led me to begin this investigation. However, as the work of many great discourse analysts has shown (refer to Longacre and Hwang, Gee, Hall, Fiske in chapter

two) nothing in this world is unbiased and my findings are rooted in statistical and historical fact. The findings of this study are much deeper than bias and the results reflect the actual opinions of American citizens of varying ethnic profiles, education levels and political affiliations. So, while it may be true that the present study was born of disagreement and a desire to emphasize the error in Trump's ways, it now presents real facts and responds to the questions set forth in the beginning. The present study is fortified by four strong concepts; history to set the scene and paint a picture of a long, and still standing history of oppression of Mexicans by Anglos, literature to depict the experience of becoming and being Mexican in the U.S., a discourse analysis to prove danger of an influence of Trump's words and survey to speak the minds of the public and deduce the effects of Trump's words.

This study also contained limitations; location and age variation were two constraints difficult to overcome as reflected by the data. Another major limitation was the small sample size of this study. Due to the fairly small number of surveys and the limited variety of demographic difference among the participants this data cannot speak for all Americans and future studies should replicate this same methodology more participants to more accurately be able to speak to the effects of Trump's campaign. However, from the results that were obtained, the findings are clearly demonstrated and the possible implications of a study such as this are fascinating.

In the realm of linguistic, this work adds to the current and ongoing slew of studies being done on Trump's rhetoric as shown by the *Vox* article cited in Chapter Three. In fact, the present study even takes it a level further to analyze its cultural effects. This paper's primary contribution as an addition to research in the field of



Hispanic cultural studies comes from its combined methodologies, because while this paper used a linguistic method for analysis, the results are fortified by public opinion on a culture whose elaborate and grim history (detailed in chapter two of this paper) is what makes this particular study so relevant. Additionally, no previous studies have been done on this topic placing this study at the forefront of future studies of this nature. It contributes to studies done by Harwood and Hood and Morris who both examined public opinion toward immigration and immigrants. Further, this is a huge contribution to future analyses of public opinion because a study of this nature can be done with any minority group in any location and based on any criteria. Using a Language Variation Suite to organize and quantify the spreadsheet results is an innovative process that will allow future researchers to easily compare the effects of various constraints on public opinion. Future studies of this nature can easily use the methodology I have developed in their research.

Trump's words have resurfaced stereotypes deeply ingrained in the presence of Mexican culture in the United States. The connection and intimacy of these statements and opinions are hard-hitting when considering the long-standing cultural tension, oppression and marginalization that has followed Chicanos on American soil, as it has Mexicans on their own soil, as it has Native Americans on their own soil.

So, while spewing negativity and perpetuating long-standing racist notions about Mexican Americans, the results of this particular study show that Trump has actually improved public opinion toward this immigrant group. The oppositional responses to his words have generated a more positive and inclusive culture of U.S. citizens that supports a more diverse and pro-immigrant U.S. This fierce negativity has

fueled even greater acceptance and understanding. The results of this study are a targeted sample that is representative of a much larger societal pattern that has come about as a result of Trump's campaign. Trump's controversial words and actions have stimulated citizens to embrace difference and unify. After the election (won through the electoral college and not by popular vote), dozens of people marched all over the country in support of women's rights, a freedom threatened by Trump's plan to shutdown Planned Parenthood organizations across the country. Our nation is supporting transgender and gay rights, and citizens are even protesting and speaking out against Trump's attempts to oppress this community. In a post-election tweet that included an image from the Women's March in Washington D.C., Senator Bernie Sanders perfectly sums up U.S. citizens' defiance to Trump's words. "President Trump, you made a big mistake. By trying to divide us up by race, religion, gender and nationality you actually brought us closer" (@SenSanders). A large number of U.S. citizens are embracing differences and according to the findings of this study, Trump's harsh words have actually aided the nation in recognizing our mutual humanity and to embrace difference.

Trump's rampant hatred and marginalization of various minority groups has essentially banded U.S. citizens together created more love and empathy toward these groups that are being spoken out against.

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## Appendix 1: The Survey

### To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

Mexican (Americans) enrich American culture.

a) strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) totally disagree

Donald Trump's views on Mexican immigrants are fair.

a) strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) totally disagree

Hispanics commit an overwhelming amount of violent crime in our major cities.

a) strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) totally disagree

I would prefer to have non-Hispanic co-workers.

a) strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) totally disagree

If a person communicates mainly in Spanish, it is probably because they do not know English.

a) strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) totally disagree

Mexican immigrants are bringing drugs, crime, and they're rapists.

a) strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) totally disagree

The US will benefit if Donald Trump becomes the next president.

a) strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) totally disagree

### Complete the following statements

If I were in a room alone with a Mexican (American) I would feel \_\_\_\_\_

because \_\_\_\_\_

(please continue on reverse side)

If I had to choose between a non-Hispanic person and a Mexican (American) to babysit a child I love I would

choose \_\_\_\_\_ because \_\_\_\_\_

(please continue on reverse side)

I think the growing number of Mexican (Americans) in the U.S. will cause (what kind of outcome) \_\_\_\_\_

because \_\_\_\_\_

(please continue on reverse side)

### Demographic information

Sex: M F Birth Year: \_\_\_\_\_

Ethnicity or ancestry: \_\_\_\_\_ Birthplace: \_\_\_\_\_

Current city of residency: \_\_\_\_\_ Years at current residence: \_\_\_\_\_

Political party affiliation: \_\_\_\_\_ Highest level of education: \_\_\_\_\_

Would you be willing to discuss this topic further in the future? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ phone/ email: \_\_\_\_\_

Could you recommend anyone who would be interested in completing this survey?

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ phone/ email: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix 2: Washington Post Transcript of Donald Trump's Speech on 8/30/2016**

*Donald Trump delivered his long-awaited speech outlining his immigration policy on Wednesday night in Phoenix, the city where he launched his campaign on the same issue last year. A transcript of Trump's speech is below. Sections in yellow have been annotated by The Fix team and will offer more information when clicked.*

Thank you, Phoenix. I am so glad to be back in Arizona.

The state that has a very, very special place in my heart. I love people of Arizona and together we are going to win the White House in November.

Now, you know this is where it all began for me. Remember that massive crowd also. So, I said let's go and have some fun tonight. We're going to Arizona, OK?

This will be a little bit different. This won't be a rally speech, per se. Instead, I'm going to deliver a detailed policy address on one of the greatest challenges facing our country today, illegal immigration.

I've just landed having returned from a very important and special meeting with the President of Mexico, a man I like and respect very much. And a man who truly loves his country, Mexico.

And, by the way, just like I am a man who loves my country, the United States.

We agree on the importance of ending the illegal flow of drugs, cash, guns, and people across our border, and to put the cartels out of business.

We also discussed the great contributions of Mexican-American citizens to our two countries, my love for the people of Mexico, and the leadership and friendship between Mexico and the United States. It was a thoughtful and substantive conversation and it

will go on for awhile. And, in the end we're all going to win. Both countries, we're all going to win.

This is the first of what I expect will be many, many conversations. And, in a Trump administration we're going to go about creating a new relationship between our two countries, but it's going to be a fair relationship. We want fairness.

But to fix our immigration system, we must change our leadership in Washington and we must change it quickly. Sadly, sadly there is no other way. The truth is our immigration system is worse than anybody ever realized. But the facts aren't known because the media won't report on them. The politicians won't talk about them and the special interests spend a lot of money trying to cover them up because they are making an absolute fortune. That's the way it is.

Today, on a very complicated and very difficult subject, you will get the truth. The fundamental problem with the immigration system in our country is that it serves the needs of wealthy donors, political activists and powerful, powerful politicians. It's all you can do. Thank you. Thank you.

Let me tell you who it does not serve. It does not serve you the American people. Doesn't serve you. When politicians talk about immigration reform, they usually mean the following, amnesty, open borders, lower wages. Immigration reform should mean something else entirely. It should mean improvements to our laws and policies to make life better for American citizens.

Thank you. But if we're going to make our immigration system work, then we have to be prepared to talk honestly and without fear about these important and very sensitive issues. For instance, we have to listen to the concerns that working people, our forgotten working people, have over the record pace of immigration and its impact on their jobs, wages, housing, schools, tax bills and general living conditions.

These are valid concerns expressed by decent and patriotic citizens from all backgrounds, all over. We also have to be honest about the fact that not everyone who seeks to join our country will be able to successfully assimilate. Sometimes it's just not going to work out. It's our right, as a sovereign nation to chose immigrants that we think are the likeliest to thrive and flourish and love us.

Then there is the issue of security. Countless innocent American lives have been stolen because our politicians have failed in their duty to secure our borders and enforce our laws like they have to be enforced. I have met with many of the great parents who lost their children to sanctuary cities and open borders. So many people, so many, many people. So sad. They will be joining me on this stage in a little while and I look forward to introducing, these are amazing, amazing people.

Countless Americans who have died in recent years would be alive today if not for the open border policies of this administration and the administration that causes this horrible, horrible thought process, called Hillary Clinton.

This includes incredible Americans like 21 year old Sarah Root. The man who killed her arrived at the border, entered Federal custody and then was released into the U.S., think of it, into the U.S. community under the policies of the White House Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Weak, weak policies. Weak and foolish policies.

He was released again after the crime, and now he's out there at large. Sarah had graduated from college with a 4.0, top student in her class one day before her death.

Also among the victims of the Obama-Clinton open-border policy was Grant Ronnebeck, a 21-year-old convenience store clerk and a really good guy from Mesa, Arizona. A lot of you have known about Grant.

He was murdered by an illegal immigrant gang member previously convicted of burglary, who had also been released from federal custody, and they knew it was going to happen again.

Another victim is Kate Steinle. Gunned down in the sanctuary city of San Francisco, by an illegal immigrant, deported five previous times. And they knew he was no good.

Then there is the case of 90-year-old Earl Olander, who was brutally beaten and left to bleed to death in his home, 90 years old and defenseless. The perpetrators were illegal immigrants with criminal records a mile long, who did not meet Obama administration standards for removal. And they knew it was going to happen.

In California, a 64-year-old Air Force veteran, a great woman, according to everybody that knew her, Marilyn Pharis, was sexually assaulted and beaten to death with a hammer. Her killer had been arrested on multiple occasions but was never, ever deported, despite the fact that everybody wanted him out.

A 2011 report from the Government Accountability Office found that illegal immigrants and other non-citizens, in our prisons and jails together, had around 25,000 homicide arrests to their names, 25,000.

On top of that, illegal immigration costs our country more than \$113 billion a year. And this is what we get. For the money we are going to spend on illegal immigration over the next 10 years, we could provide 1 million at-risk students with a school voucher, which so many people are wanting.

While there are many illegal immigrants in our country who are good people, many, many, this doesn't change the fact that most illegal immigrants are lower skilled workers with less education, who compete directly against vulnerable American workers, and that these illegal workers draw much more out from the system than they can ever possibly pay back.

And they're hurting a lot of our people that cannot get jobs under any circumstances.

But these facts are never reported. Instead, the media and my opponent discuss one thing and only one thing, the needs of people living here illegally. In many cases, by the way, they're treated better than our vets.

Not going to happen anymore, folks. November 8th. Not going to happen anymore.

The truth is, the central issue is not the needs of the 11 million illegal immigrants or however many there may be -- and honestly we've been hearing that number for years. It's always 11 million. Our government has no idea. It could be 3 million. It could be 30 million. They have no idea what the number is.

Frankly our government has no idea what they're doing on many, many fronts, folks.

But whatever the number, that's never really been the central issue. It will never be a central issue. It doesn't matter from that standpoint. Anyone who tells you that the core issue is the needs of those living here illegally has simply spent too much time in Washington.

Only the out-of-touch media elites think the biggest problems facing America -- you know this, this is what they talk about, facing American society today is that there are 11 million illegal immigrants who don't have legal status. And, they also think the biggest thing, and you know this, it's not nuclear, and it's not ISIS, it's not Russia, it's not China, it's global warming.

To all the politicians, donors, and special interests, hear these words from me and all of you today. There is only one core issue in the immigration debate, and that issue is the well-being of the American people.

Nothing even comes a close second. Hillary Clinton, for instance, talks constantly about her fears that families will be separated, but she's not talking about the American

families who have been permanently separated from their loved ones because of a preventable homicide, because of a preventable death, because of murder.

No, she's only talking about families who come here in violation of the law. We will treat everyone living or residing in our country with great dignity. So important.

We will be fair, just, and compassionate to all, but our greatest compassion must be for our American citizens.

Thank you.

President Obama and Hillary Clinton have engaged in gross dereliction of duty by surrendering the safety of the American people to open borders, and you know it better than anybody right here in Arizona. You know it.

President Obama and Hillary Clinton support sanctuary cities. They support catch and release on the border. They support visa overstays. They support the release of dangerous, dangerous, dangerous, criminals from detention. And, they support unconstitutional executive amnesty.

Hillary Clinton has pledged amnesty in her first 100 days, and her plan will provide Obamacare, Social Security, and Medicare for illegal immigrants, breaking the federal budget.

On top of that she promises uncontrolled, low-skilled immigration that continues to reduce jobs and wages for American workers, and especially for African-American and Hispanic workers within our country. Our citizens.

Most incredibly, because to me this is unbelievable, we have no idea who these people are, where they come from. I always say Trojan horse. Watch what's going to happen, folks. It's not going to be pretty.



This includes her plan to bring in 620,000 new refugees from Syria and that region over a short period of time. And even yesterday, when you were watching the news, you saw thousands and thousands of people coming in from Syria. What is wrong with our politicians, our leaders if we can call them that. What the hell are we doing?

Hard to believe. Hard to believe. Now that you've heard about Hillary Clinton's plan, about which she has not answered a single question, let me tell you about my plan. And do you notice - -

And do you notice all the time for weeks and weeks of debating my plan, debating, talking about it, what about this, what about that. They never even mentioned her plan on immigration because she doesn't want to get into the quagmire. It's a tough one, she doesn't know what she's doing except open borders and let everybody come in and destroy our country by the way.

While Hillary Clinton meets only with donors and lobbyists, my plan was crafted with the input from federal immigration offices, very great people. Among the top immigration experts anywhere in this country, who represent workers, not corporations, very important to us.

I also worked with lawmakers, who've led on this issue on behalf of American citizens for many years. And most importantly I've met with the people directly impacted by these policies. So important.

Number one, are you ready? Are you ready?

We will build a great wall along the southern border.

And Mexico will pay for the wall.

One hundred percent. They don't know it yet, but they're going to pay for it. And they're great people and great leaders but they're going to pay for the wall. On day one, we will begin working on intangible, physical, tall, power, beautiful southern border wall.

We will use the best technology, including above and below ground sensors that's the tunnels. Remember that, above and below.

Above and below ground sensors. Towers, aerial surveillance and manpower to supplement the wall, find and dislocate tunnels and keep out criminal cartels and Mexico you know that, will work with us. I really believe it. Mexico will work with us. I absolutely believe it. And especially after meeting with their wonderful, wonderful president today. I really believe they want to solve this problem along with us, and I'm sure they will.

Number two, we are going to end catch and release. We catch them, oh go ahead. We catch them, go ahead.

Under my administration, anyone who illegally crosses the border will be detained until they are removed out of our country and back to the country from which they came.

And they'll be brought great distances. We're not dropping them right across. They learned that. President Eisenhower. They'd drop them across, right across, and they'd come back. And across.

Then when they flew them to a long distance, all of a sudden that was the end. We will take them great distances. But we will take them to the country where they came from, OK?

Number three. Number three, this is the one, I think it's so great. It's hard to believe, people don't even talk about it. Zero tolerance for criminal aliens. Zero. Zero.

Zero. They don't come in here. They don't come in here.

According to federal data, there are at least 2 million, 2 million, think of it, criminal aliens now inside of our country, 2 million people criminal aliens. We will begin moving them out day one. As soon as I take office. Day one. In joint operation with local, state, and federal law enforcement.

Now, just so you understand, the police, who we all respect -- say hello to the police. Boy, they don't get the credit they deserve. I can tell you. They're great people. But the police and law enforcement, they know who these people are.

They live with these people. They get mocked by these people. They can't do anything about these people, and they want to. They know who these people are. Day one, my first hour in office, those people are gone.

And you can call it deported if you want. The press doesn't like that term. You can call it whatever the hell you want. They're gone.

Beyond the 2 million, and there are vast numbers of additional criminal illegal immigrants who have fled, but their days have run out in this country. The crime will stop. They're going to be gone. It will be over.

They're going out. They're going out fast.

Moving forward. We will issue detainers for illegal immigrants who are arrested for any crime whatsoever, and they will be placed into immediate removal proceedings if we even have to do that.

We will terminate the Obama administration's deadly, and it is deadly, non-enforcement policies that allow thousands of criminal aliens to freely roam our streets, walk around, do whatever they want to do, crime all over the place.

That's over. That's over, folks. That's over.

Since 2013 alone, the Obama administration has allowed 300,000 criminal aliens to return back into United States communities. These are individuals encountered or identified by ICE, but who were not detained or processed for deportation because it wouldn't have been politically correct.

My plan also includes cooperating closely with local jurisdictions to remove criminal aliens immediately. We will restore the highly successful Secure Communities Program. Good program. We will expand and revitalize the popular 287(g) partnerships, which will help to identify hundreds of thousands of deportable aliens in local jails that we don't even know about.

Both of these programs have been recklessly gutted by this administration. And those were programs that worked.

This is yet one more area where we are headed in a totally opposite direction. There's no common sense, there's no brain power in our administration by our leader, or our leaders. None, none, none.

On my first day in office I am also going to ask Congress to pass Kate's Law, named for Kate Steinle.

To ensure that criminal aliens convicted of illegal reentry receive strong mandatory minimum sentences. Strong.

And then we get them out.

Another reform I'm proposing is the passage of legislation named for Detective Michael Davis and Deputy Sheriff Danny Oliver, to law enforcement officers recently killed by a previously deported illegal immigrant.

The Davis-Oliver bill will enhance cooperation with state and local authorities to ensure that criminal immigrants and terrorists are swiftly, really swiftly, identified and removed. And they will go face, believe me. They're going to go.

We're going to triple the number of ICE deportation officers.

Within ICE I am going to create a new special deportation task force focused on identifying and quickly removing the most dangerous criminal illegal immigrants in America who have evaded justice just like Hillary Clinton has evaded justice, OK?

Maybe they'll be able to deport her.

The local police who know every one of these criminals, and they know each and every one by name, by crime, where they live, they will work so fast. And our local police will be so happy that they don't have to be abused by these thugs anymore. There's no great mystery to it, they've put up with it for years, and no finally we will turn the tables and law enforcement and our police will be allowed to clear up this dangerous and threatening mess.

We're also going to hire 5,000 more Border Patrol agents. Who gave me their endorsement, 16,500 gave me their endorsement.

And put more of them on the border instead of behind desks which is good. We will expand the number of border patrol stations significantly.

I've had a chance to spend time with these incredible law enforcement officers, and I want to take a moment to thank them. What they do is incredible.

And getting their endorsement means so much to me. More to me really than I can say. Means so much. First time they've ever endorsed a presidential candidate.

Number four, block funding for sanctuary cities. We block the funding. No more funds.

We will end the sanctuary cities that have resulted in so many needless deaths. Cities that refuse to cooperate with federal authorities will not receive taxpayer dollars, and we will work with Congress to pass legislation to protect those jurisdictions that do assist federal authorities.

Number five, cancel unconstitutional executive orders and enforce all immigration laws.

We will immediately terminate President Obama's two illegal executive amnesties in which he defied federal law and the Constitution to give amnesty to approximately 5 million illegal immigrants, 5 million.

And how about all the millions that are waiting on line, going through the process legally? So unfair.

Hillary Clinton has pledged to keep both of these illegal amnesty programs, including the 2014 amnesty which has been blocked by the United States Supreme Court. Great.

Clinton has also pledged to add a third executive amnesty. And by the way, folks, she will be a disaster for our country, a disaster in so many other ways.

And don't forget the Supreme Court of the United States. Don't forget that when you go to vote on November 8. And don't forget your Second Amendment. And don't forget the repeal and replacement of Obamacare.

And don't forget building up our depleted military. And don't forget taking care of our vets. Don't forget our vets. They have been forgotten.

Clinton's plan would trigger a constitutional crisis unlike almost anything we have ever seen before. In effect, she would be abolishing the lawmaking powers of Congress in order to write her own laws from the Oval Office. And you see what bad judgment she has. She has seriously bad judgment.

Can you imagine? In a Trump administration all immigration laws will be enforced, will be enforced. As with any law enforcement activity, we will set priorities. But unlike this administration, no one will be immune or exempt from enforcement. And ICE and Border Patrol officers will be allowed to do their jobs the way their jobs are supposed to be done.

Anyone who has entered the United States illegally is subject to deportation. That is what it means to have laws and to have a country. Otherwise we don't have a country.

Our enforcement priorities will include removing criminals, gang members, security threats, visa overstays, public charges. That is those relying on public welfare or straining the safety net along with millions of recent illegal arrivals and overstays who've come here under this current corrupt administration.

Number six, we are going to suspend the issuance of visas to any place where adequate screening cannot occur.

According to data provided by the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration, and the national interest between 9/11 and the end of 2014, at least 380 foreign born individuals were convicted in terror cases inside the United States. And even right now the largest number of people are under investigation for exactly this that we've ever had in the history of our country.

Our country is a mess. We don't even know what to look for anymore, folks. Our country has to straighten out. And we have to straighten out fast.

The number is likely higher. But the administration refuses to provide this information, even to Congress. As soon as I enter office I am going to ask the Department of State, which has been brutalized by Hillary Clinton, brutalized.

Homeland Security and the Department of Justice to begin a comprehensive review of these cases in order to develop a list of regions and countries from which immigration must be suspended until proven and effective vetting mechanisms can be put in place.

I call it extreme vetting right? Extreme vetting. I want extreme. It's going to be so tough, and if somebody comes in that's fine but they're going to be good. It's extreme.

And if people don't like it, we've got have a country, folks. Got to have a country. Countries in which immigration will be suspended would include places like Syria and Libya. And we are going to stop the tens of thousands of people coming in from Syria. We have no idea who they are, where they come from. There's no documentation. There's no paperwork. It's going to end badly folks. It's going to end very, very badly.

For the price of resettling one refugee in the United States, 12 could be resettled in a safe zone in their home region. Which I agree with 100 percent. We have to build safe zones and we'll get the money from Gulf states. We don't want to put up the money. We owe almost \$20 trillion. Doubled since Obama took office, our national debt.

But we will get the money from Gulf states and others. We'll supervise it. We'll build safe zones which is something that I think all of us want to see.

Another reform, involves new screening tests for all applicants that include, and this is so important, especially if you get the right people. And we will get the right people. An ideological certification to make sure that those we are admitting to our country share our values and love our people.

Thank you. We're very proud of our country. Aren't we? Really? With all it's going through, we're very proud of our country. For instance, in the last five years, we've admitted nearly 100,000 immigrants from Iraq and Afghanistan. And these two countries according to Pew Research, a majority of residents say that the barbaric practice of honor killings against women are often or sometimes justified. That's what they say.



That's what they say. They're justified. Right? And we're admitting them to our country. Applicants will be asked their views about honor killings, about respect for women and gays and minorities. Attitudes on radical Islam, which our president refuses to say and many other topics as part of this vetting procedure. And if we have the right people doing it, believe me, very, very few will slip through the cracks. Hopefully, none.

Number seven, we will insure that other countries take their people back when they order them deported.

There are at least 23 countries that refuse to take their people back after they've been ordered to leave the United States. Including large numbers of violent criminals, they won't take them back. So we say, OK, we'll keep them. Not going to happen with me, not going to happen with me.

Due to a Supreme Court decision, if these violent offenders cannot be sent home, our law enforcement officers have to release them into your communities.

And by the way, the results are horrific, horrific. There are often terrible consequences, such as Casey Chadwick's tragic death in Connecticut just last year. Yet despite the existence of a law that commands the Secretary of State to stop issuing visas to these countries.

Secretary Hillary Clinton ignored this law and refused to use this powerful tool to bring nations into compliance. And, they would comply if we would act properly.

In other words, if we had leaders that knew what they were doing, which we don't.

The result of her misconduct was the release of thousands and thousands of dangerous criminal aliens who should have been sent home to their countries. Instead we have them all over the place. Probably a couple in this room as a matter of fact, but I hope not.

According to a report for the Boston Globe from the year 2008 to 2014 cnearly 13,000 criminal aliens were released back into U.S. communities because their home countries would not, under any circumstances, take them back. Hard to believe with the power we have. Hard to believe.

We're like the big bully that keeps getting beat up. You ever see that? The big bully that keeps getting beat up.

These 13,000 release occurred on Hillary Clinton's watch. She had the power and the duty to stop it cold, and she decided she would not do it.

And, Arizona knows better than most exactly what I'm talking about.

Those released include individuals convicted of killings, sexual assaults, and some of the most heinous crimes imaginable.

The Boston Globe writes that a Globe review of 323 criminals released in New England from 2008 to 2012 found that as many as 30 percent committed new offenses, including rape, attempted murder and child molestation. We take them, we take them.

Number eight, we will finally complete the biometric entry-exit visa tracking system, which we need desperately. For years Congress has required biometric entry-exit visa tracking systems, but it has never been completed. The politicians are all talk, no action, never happens. Never happens.

Hillary Clinton, all talk. Unfortunately when there is action it's always the wrong decision. You ever notice? In my administration we will ensure that this system is in place. And, I will tell you, it will be on land, it will be on sea, it will be in air. We will have a proper tracking system.

Approximately half of new illegal immigrants came on temporary visas and then never, ever left. Why should they? Nobody's telling them to leave. Stay as long as you want, we'll take care of you.

Beyond violating our laws, visa overstays, pose -- and they really are a big problem, pose a substantial threat to national security. The 9/11 Commission said that this tracking system would be a high priority and would have assisted law enforcement and intelligence officials in August and September in 2001 in conducting a search for two of the 9/11 hijackers that were in the United States expired visas.

And, you know what that would have meant, what that could have meant. Wouldn't that have been wonderful, right? What that could have meant?

Last year alone nearly half a million individuals overstayed their temporary visas. Removing these overstays will be a top priority of my administration.

If people around the world believe they can just come on a temporary visa and never, ever leave, the Obama-Clinton policy, that's what it is, then we have a completely open border, and we no longer have a country.

We must send a message that visa expiration dates will be strongly enforced.

Number nine, we will turn off the jobs and benefits magnet.

We will ensure that E-Verify is used to the fullest extent possible under existing law, and we will work with Congress to strengthen and expand its use across the country.

Immigration law doesn't exist for the purpose of keeping criminals out. It exists to protect all aspects of American life. The work site, the welfare office, the education system, and everything else.

That is why immigration limits are established in the first place. If we only enforced the laws against crime, then we have an open border to the entire world. We will enforce all of our immigration laws.

And the same goes for government benefits. The Center for Immigration Studies estimates that 62 percent of households headed by illegal immigrants use some form of cash or non-cash welfare programs like food stamps or housing assistance.

Tremendous costs, by the way, to our country. Tremendous costs. This directly violates the federal public charge law designed to protect the United States Treasury. Those who abuse our welfare system will be priorities for immediate removal.

Number 10, we will reform legal immigration to serve the best interests of America and its workers, the forgotten people. Workers. We're going to take care of our workers.

And by the way, and by the way, we're going to make great trade deals. We're going to renegotiate trade deals. We're going to bring our jobs back home. We're going to bring our jobs back home.

We have the most incompetently worked trade deals ever negotiated probably in the history of the world, and that starts with NAFTA. And now they want to go TPP, one of the great disasters.

We're going to bring our jobs back home. And if companies want to leave Arizona and if they want to leave other states, there's going to be a lot of trouble for them. It's not going to be so easy. There will be consequence. Remember that. There will be consequence. They're not going to be leaving, go to another country, make the product, sell it into the United States, and all we end up with is no taxes and total unemployment. It's not going to happen. There will be consequences.

We've admitted 59 million immigrants to the United States between 1965 and 2015. Many of these arrivals have greatly enriched our country. So true. But we now have an

obligation to them and to their children to control future immigration as we are following, if you think, previous immigration waves.

We've had some big waves. And tremendously positive things have happened. Incredible things have happened. To ensure assimilation we want to ensure that it works. Assimilation, an important word. Integration and upward mobility.

Within just a few years immigration as a share of national population is set to break all historical records. The time has come for a new immigration commission to develop a new set of reforms to our legal immigration system in order to achieve the following goals.

To keep immigration levels measured by population share within historical norms. To select immigrants based on their likelihood of success in U.S. society and their ability to be financially self-sufficient.

We take anybody. Come on in, anybody. Just come on in. Not anymore.

You know, folks, it's called a two-way street. It is a two-way street, right? We need a system that serves our needs, not the needs of others. Remember, under a Trump administration it's called America first. Remember that.

To choose immigrants based on merit. Merit, skill, and proficiency. Doesn't that sound nice? And to establish new immigration controls to boost wages and to ensure that open jobs are offered to American workers first. And that in particular African-American and Latino workers who are being shut out in this process so unfairly.

And Hillary Clinton is going to do nothing for the African-American worker, the Latino worker. She's going to do nothing. Give me your vote, she says, on November 8th. And then she'll say, so long, see you in four years. That's what it is.

She is going to do nothing. And just look at the past. She's done nothing. She's been there for 35 years. She's done nothing. And I say what do you have to lose? Choose me. Watch how good we're going to do together. Watch.

You watch. We want people to come into our country, but they have to come into our country legally and properly vetted, and in a manner that serves the national interest. We've been living under outdated immigration rules from decades ago. They're decades and decades old.

To avoid this happening in the future, I believe we should sunset our visa laws so that Congress is forced to periodically revise and revisit them to bring them up to date. They're archaic. They're ancient. We wouldn't put our entire federal budget on autopilot for decades, so why should we do the same for the very, very complex subject of immigration?

So let's now talk about the big picture. These 10 steps, if rigorously followed and enforced, will accomplish more in a matter of months than our politicians have accomplished on this issue in the last 50 years. It's going to happen, folks. Because I am proudly not a politician, because I am not behold to any special interest, I've spent a lot of money on my campaign, I'll tell you. I write those checks. Nobody owns Trump.

I will get this done for you and for your family. We'll do it right. You'll be proud of our country again. We'll do it right. We will accomplish all of the steps outlined above. And, when we do, peace and law and justice and prosperity will prevail. Crime will go down. Border crossings will plummet. Gangs will disappear.

And the gangs are all over the place. And welfare use will decrease. We will have a peace dividend to spend on rebuilding America, beginning with our American inner cities. We're going to rebuild them, for once and for all.

For those here illegally today, who are seeking legal status, they will have one route and one route only. To return home and apply for reentry like everybody else, under the

rules of the new legal immigration system that I have outlined above. Those who have left to seek entry --

Thank you. Thank you. Those who have left to seek entry under this new system -- and it will be an efficient system -- will not be awarded surplus visas, but will have to apply for entry under the immigration caps or limits that will be established in the future.

We will break the cycle of amnesty and illegal immigration. We will break the cycle. There will be no amnesty.

Our message to the world will be this. You cannot obtain legal status or become a citizen of the United States by illegally entering our country. Can't do it.

This declaration alone will help stop the crisis of illegal crossings and illegal overstays, very importantly. People will know that you can't just smuggle in, hunker down and wait to be legalized. It's not going to work that way. Those days are over.

Importantly, in several years when we have accomplished all of our enforcement and deportation goals and truly ended illegal immigration for good, including the construction of a great wall, which we will have built in record time. And at a reasonable cost, which you never hear from the government.

And the establishment of our new lawful immigration system then and only then will we be in a position to consider the appropriate disposition of those individuals who remain.

That discussion can take place only in an atmosphere in which illegal immigration is a memory of the past, no longer with us, allowing us to weigh the different options available based on the new circumstances at the time.

Right now, however, we're in the middle of a jobs crisis, a border crisis and a terrorism crisis like never before. All energies of the federal government and the legislative

process must now be focused on immigration security. That is the only conversation we should be having at this time, immigration security. Cut it off.

Whether it's dangerous materials being smuggled across the border, terrorists entering on visas or Americans losing their jobs to foreign workers, these are the problems we must now focus on fixing. And the media needs to begin demanding to hear Hillary Clinton's answer on how her policies will affect Americans and their security.

These are matters of life and death for our country and its people, and we deserve answers from Hillary Clinton. And do you notice, she doesn't answer.

She didn't go to Louisiana. She didn't go to Mexico. She was invited.

She doesn't have the strength or the stamina to make America great again. Believe me.

What we do know, despite the lack of media curiosity, is that Hillary Clinton promises a radical amnesty combined with a radical reduction in immigration enforcement. Just ask the Border Patrol about Hillary Clinton. You won't like what you're hearing.

The result will be millions more illegal immigrants; thousands of more violent, horrible crimes; and total chaos and lawlessness. That's what's going to happen, as sure as you're standing there.

This election, and I believe this, is our last chance to secure the border, stop illegal immigration and reform our laws to make your life better. I really believe this is it. This is our last time. November 8. November 8. You got to get out and vote on November 8.

It's our last chance. It's our last chance. And that includes Supreme Court justices and Second Amendment. Remember that.

So I want to remind everyone what we're fighting for and who we are fighting for.



I am going to ask -- these are really special people that I've gotten to know. I'm going to ask all of the "Angel Moms" to come join me on the stage right now.

These are amazing women.

These are amazing people.

I've become friends with so many. But Jamiel Shaw, incredible guy, lost his son so violently. Say just a few words about your child.

SPEAKER: My son Ronald da Silva (ph) was murdered April 27, 2002 by an illegal alien who had been previously deported. And what so -- makes me so outrageous is that we came here legally.

Thank you, Mr. Trump. I totally support you. You have my vote.

TRUMP: Thank you, thank you.

SPEAKER: God bless you.

TRUMP: You know what? Name your child and come right by. Go ahead.

SPEAKER: Laura Wilkerson. And my son was Joshua Wilkerson. He was murdered by an illegal in 2010. And I personally support Mr. Trump for our next president.

SPEAKER: My name is Ruth Johnston Martin (ph). My husband was shot by an illegal alien. He fought the good fight but he took his last breath in 2002. And I support this man who's going to change this country for the better. God bless you.

SPEAKER: My name Maureen Maloney (ph), and our son Matthew Denise (ph) was 23 years old when he was dragged a quarter of a mile to his death by an illegal alien, while horrified witnesses were banging on the truck trying to stop him.

SPEAKER: Our son Matthew Denise, if Donald Trump were president in 2011, our son Matthew Denise and other Americans would be alive today.

SPEAKER: Thank you. My name is Kathy Woods (ph). My son Steve (ph), a high school senior, 17 years old, went to the beach after a high school football game. A local gang came along, nine members. The cars were battered to -- like war in Beirut. And all I can say is they murdered him and if Mr. Trump had been in office then the border would have been secure and our children would not be dead today.

SPEAKER: Hi. My name is Brenda Sparks (ph), and my son is named Eric Zapeda (ph). He was raised by a legal immigrant from Honduras only to be murdered by an illegal in 2011. His murderer never did a second in handcuffs or jail. Got away with killing an American. So I'm voting for trump. And by the way, so is my mother.

SPEAKER: My name is Dee Angle (ph). My cousin Rebecca Ann Johnston (ph), known as Becky, was murdered on January the 1st, 1989 in North Little Rock, Arkansas. Thank you. And if you don't vote Trump, we won't have a country. Trump all the way.

SPEAKER: I'm Shannon Estes (ph). And my daughter Shaley Estes (ph), 22 years old, was murdered here in Phoenix last July 24 by a Russian who overstayed his visa. And vote Trump.

SPEAKER: I'm Mary Ann Mendoza, the mother of Sergeant Brandon Mendoza, who was killed in a violent head-on collision in Mesa.

Thank you.

I want to thank Phoenix for the support you've always given me, and I want to tell you what. I'm supporting the man who will -- who is the only man who is going to save our country, and what we our going to be leaving our children.

SPEAKER: I'm Steve Ronnebeck, father of Grant Ronnebeck, 21 years old. Killed January 22, 2015 by an illegal immigrant who shot him in the face. I truly believe that Mr. Trump is going to change things. He's going to fight for my family, and he's going to fight for America.

TRUMP: These are amazing people, and I am not asking for their endorsement, believe me that. I just think I've gotten to know so many of them, and many more, from our group. But they are incredible people and what they're going through is incredible, and there's just no reason for it. Let's give them a really tremendous hand.

That's tough stuff, I will tell you. That is tough stuff. Incredible people.

So, now is the time for these voices to be heard. Now is the time for the media to begin asking questions on their behalf. Now is the time for all of us as one country, Democrat, Republican, liberal, conservative to band together to deliver justice, and safety, and security for all Americans.

Let's fix this horrible, horrible, problem. It can be fixed quickly. Let's our secure our border.

Let's stop the drugs and the crime from pouring into our country. Let's protect our social security and Medicare. Let's get unemployed Americans off the welfare and back to work in their own country.

This has been an incredible evening. We're going to remember this evening. November 8, we have to get everybody. This is such an important state. November 8 we have to get everybody to go out and vote.

We're going to bring -- thank you, thank you. We're going to take our country back, folks. This is a movement. We're going to take our country back.

5-Minute Fix newsletter

Keeping up with politics is easy now.

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Thank you.

Thank you.

This is an incredible movement. The world is talking about it. The world is talking about it and by the way, if you haven't been looking to what's been happening at the polls over the last three or four days I think you should start looking. You should start looking.

Together we can save American lives, American jobs, and American futures. Together we can save America itself. Join me in this mission, we're going to make America great again.

Thank you. I love you. God bless you, everybody. God bless you. God bless you, thank you.

### Appendix 3: Condensed and Annotated Transcription of Donald Trump's Speech

**Key words:** Mexico, Mexicans, Latinos, illegal, border, immigration, immigrants  
All of Trump's steps in his Immigration reform plans

(2-4) 4:25

(...) When ^politicians talk about immigration reform, they usually mean the following, *amnesty, open borders, lower wages.*

[Audience booing]

Immigration ^reform \*should mean something else entirely. It \*should mean improvements to our laws and policies, to make life better for \*American \*citizens.

[Audience applauding]

Thank you. ^But if we're going to make our immigration system work, then we ^\*have to be ^\*prepared to talk ^honestly and without \*^fear about these \*important and \*very sensitive issues. For instance, we ^have to listen to the ^concerns that working people, our ^\*forgotten working people, ^have over the record pace of immigration and its impact on their jobs, wages, housing, schools, tax bills and general living conditions.

These are ^valid concerns expressed by decent and patriotic citizens from *all* backgrounds, all over. We also have to be honest about the fact that not everyone who seeks to join *our* country will be *able* to successfully assimilate.

[gestures with arms extended horizontally]

Sometimes it's just not going to work out. It's our right, as a sovereign nation to choose immigrants that we think are the likeliest to ^\*thrive and ^\*flourish and \*love us.

[audience applauding]

^Then there is the issue of security. *Countless* innocent American lives have been stolen because our ^politicians have ^failed in their ^duty to ^secure \**our* borders and enforce \**our* laws like they ^have to be ^enforced. I have met, with many, of the ^great parents who lost their children to sanctuary cities and open borders. So many people, *so many, many people. So sad.* ^They will be joining me on this stage in a little while and I look forward to introducing, these are ^amazing, amazing people.

^Countless Americans who have died in recent years would be ^alive today if not for the open border policies of this administration and the administration that causes this [motions to head with pointer finger] *horrible, horrible* thought process, called Hillary Clinton.

^This includes ^incredible Americans like ^21 year old Sarah Root. The ^man who killed her ^arrived at the border, ^entered Federal custody and then was released into the ^U.S., think of it, into the U.S. community under the ^policies of the ^White House Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Weak, weak policies. Weak and foolish policies.

He was ^released again, ^after the crime, and now he's out there at large. Sarah had graduated from college with a 4.0, ^top student in her class one. day.. before.. her death.

Also among the victims of the Obama-Clinton open-border policy was Grant Ronnebeck, a ^21-year-old convenience store clerk and a *really good guy* from Mesa, Arizona. A lot of you have known about Grant.

He was ^murdered by an ^illegal immigrant ^gang member previously convicted of *burglary*, who had also been ^released from *federal custody*, and they ^knew it was going to happen again.

Another victim is Kate Steinle. Gunned down in the *sanctuary city* of San Francisco, [audience boos]  
by an ^illegal immigrant, deported ^five.. previous.. times. And they *knew* he was no good.

Then there is the case of 90-year-old ^Earl Olander, who was brutally beaten, and left to bleed to death in his home, 90 years old and defenseless. The perpetrators were ^illegal immigrants with criminal records a mile long, who did not meet, Obama administration standards for removal. And they knew it was going to happen.

In California, a 64-year-old ^Air Force veteran, a ^great ^woman, according to everybody that knew her, Marilyn Pharis, was ^sexually assaulted and ^beaten to death with a hammer. Her ^killer had been ^arrested on multiple occasions but was ^never, ^ever deported, despite the fact that everybody wanted him out.

**(5) 11:00**

While there are many illegal immigrants in our country who are good people, many, many, this doesn't change the ^fact that most ^illegal immigrants are lower skilled workers with less education, who compete ^directly against *vulnerable* American workers, and that these ^ illegal ^ workers draw much more ^out from the system than they \*can ever \*possibly pay \*back.

And they're ^hurting a lot of *our* people that *cannot* \*get jobs under any circumstances.

**(9-10) 19:50**

Number **1**, are you ready? Are you ready?  
[audience cheers]

We will build a ^great ^wall along the southern border. [Trump claps along with audience cheer]

And *Mexico* will ^pay, for the wall.

One hundred percent. They don't know it yet, but they're going to pay for it. And they're ^great people and great leaders but they're going to pay for the wall. ^On day one, we will begin working on \*intangible, \*physical, \*tall, \*powerful, \*beautiful, \*southern, \*border, wall.

We will use the best technology, including ^above and ^below ground sensors that's the tunnels. Remember that, ^above and ^below.

[audience cheering]

Above and below ground sensors. ^Towers, ^aerial surveillance and ^manpower to supplement the wall, find and dislocate tunnels and keep out criminal cartels and ^Mexico you know that, will work with us. I really believe it. Mexico will work with us. I ^\*absolutely believe it. And especially after ^meeting with their ^wonderful, ^wonderful president today. I really believe they want to solve this problem along with us, and I'm sure they will.

Number 2, we are going to ^end catch, and, release. We catch them, oh go ahead. We catch them, go ahead.

Under my ^administration, ^anyone who ^illegally crosses the border will be ^detained, until they are removed out of our country and back to the country from which they ^came.

And they'll be brought great distances. We're not dropping them right across. They learned that. President Eisenhower. They'd drop them across, right across, and they'd come back. And across.

Then when they flew them to a long distance, all of a sudden that was the end. We will take them great distances. But we will ^take them to the country *where* they *came* from, OK?

^Number 3. ^Number ^three, this is the one, I think it's so great. It's hard to believe, people don't even talk about it. ^\*Zero, ^\*tolerance, ^for ^criminal, ^aliens. Zero. Zero.

[audience cheering and applauding]

^Zero. They don't come in here. They don't come in here.

According to federal data, there are at least ^2 million, 2 million, think of it, criminal aliens now *inside* of our country, 2, *million, people, criminal* aliens. We will begin ^moving ^them ^out ^day ^one. (...)

Now, just so you understand, the police, who we *all* respect -- say hello to the police. Boy, they don't get the credit they deserve. I can tell you. They're great people. But the ^police and ^law ^enforcement, ^they know who these people are.

They ^live with these people. They get ^mocked by these people. They can't do anything about these people, and they want to. ^They ^know ^who ^these ^people are. ^^Day one, my ^first hour in office, those people are gone.

[audience cheers and applauds]

And you can call it deported if you want the press doesn't like that term. You can call it whatever the hell you want, they're gone.

Beyond the ^2 million, and there are vast numbers of additional *criminal, illegal* immigrants who have fled, but their days, have run out, in this country. The crime will stop. They're going to be ^gone. It will, ^be, *over*. They're going out. They're going out fast.

**(12) 29:27**

We are going to triple the number of ^ICE ^deportation officers.

Within ICE, I am going to create a new special ^deportation task force focused on identifying and quickly removing the most ^\*dangerous ^\*criminal ^\*illegal immigrants in America who have ^\*evaded justice just like Hillary Clinton has evaded justice, OK? Maybe they'll be able to deport her.

[audience applause]

**(13) 32:00**

Number ^4, ^block funding for sanctuary, cities. We block the funding. No more funds.

We will ^end, the sanctuary cities, that have resulted in \*so, \*many, \*needless \*deaths. Cities that refuse to cooperate with federal authorities will ^not receive taxpayer dollars, and we will ^work with Congress to ^pass legislation to \*protect those jurisdictions that ^\*do ^\*assist federal authorities.

Number 5, cancel unconstitutional executive orders and ^enforce ^all, immigration, laws.

We will immediately terminate, President Obama's, two ^illegal executive amnesties in which he ^\*defied federal law ^and the \*Constitution to give amnesty to approximately \*5 million illegal immigrants, 5 million.

And \*how about all the millions that are waiting on line, \*going through the process legally? So unfair.

**(15-16) 36:27**

Number 6, we are going to ^suspend the ^\*issuance of ^\*visas to any place where adequate, screening, cannot, occur.(...)



Homeland Security and the Department of Justice to begin a ^comprehensive review of these cases in order to develop a list of regions and countries from which immigration must be ^suspended until ^proven and effective ^vetting mechanisms can be put in place.

I call it ^extreme ^\*vetting right? ^\*Extreme vetting. I want ^extreme. It's going to be so tough, and if somebody comes in that's fine but they're going to be good. It's ^extreme. And if people don't like it, we got to have a country folks, got to have a country.  
[gestures with arms open]

**(16) 39:41**

Another ^reform, involves new screening tests for all ^applicants that include, and this is so important, especially if you get the right people, and we will get the right people, an ^ideological certification to make sure that ^those we are ^admitting to our ^country, ^\*share our values and ^\*love ^\*our ^\*people.  
[audience            cheers            and            applauds ]

[U.S.A. chant breaks out]

**(17) 41:31**

Number 7, we will insure that other countries take their people ^back when they order them deported.

There are at least ^23 ^countries that ^refuse to take their people back after they've been ordered to leave the United States. Including ^large ^numbers of ^violent criminals, they won't take them back. So we say, OK [extends arms outward], we'll keep them. Not going to happen with me [points to chest with both pointer fingers and shakes head], ^not going to happen with me.

Due to a Supreme Court decision, if these ^\*violent offenders cannot be sent home, our law enforcement officers have to ^release them ^\*into your communities.  
[motions to audience]

And by the way, the *results are* horrific, horrific. There are often ^terrible consequences, such as Casey Chadwick's tragic death in Connecticut just last year. ^Yet despite the existence of a law that ^commands the Secretary of State to stop issuing visas to these countries.

**(19) 45:03**

Number 8, we will ^finally ^complete, the biometric entry-exit visa tracking system, which we need desperately. For ^years ^Congress has ^required, ^biometric entry-exit

visa tracking systems, but it has never been completed. The politicians are all talk, no action, never happens. Never happens [*extends arms out horizontally*].

Hillary Clinton, all talk, unfortunately when there is action it's always the wrong decision.

[*opens and closes arms horizontally*]

You ever notice? In my ^administration we will ^ensure that this ^system is in place. And, I will tell you, it will be on land, it will be on sea, it will be in air. We will have a *proper tracking system*.

Approximately ^half of new illegal immigrants ^came on temporary visas and ^then never, ever left [*extends arms out horizontally*]. Why should they? Nobody's telling them to leave [*puts hand up in stopping gesture*]. Stay as long as you want, we'll take care of you.

## **(20) 47:30**

Number **9**, we will turn off the jobs and benefits ^magnet.

We will ^ensure that E-Verify is used to the ^fullest extent possible under existing law, and ^we will \*work with \*Congress to ^\*strengthen and ^\*expand its use across the country.

## **(21) 49:10**

Number **10**, ^we will reform ^legal immigration to serve the best interests of America and its workers, the forgotten people, Workers. We're going to take care of our workers.

And by the way, and by the way, we're going to make great trade deals. We're going to renegotiate trade deals. We're going to bring our jobs back home. We're going to bring, our *jobs, back, home*.

## **(24) 55:39**

I will get this done for ^you and for ^your family. We'll do it right. You'll be proud of our country again. We'll do it right. We will ^accomplish ^all of the steps outlined above. And when we do peace and law and justice and prosperity will prevail. Crime will go down. Border crossings will plummet. ^Gangs will disappear.

[*audience*

*applause*]

And the *gangs* are all over the place. And ^welfare ^use will decrease. We will have a ^peace dividend to ^spend on ^rebuilding ^America, ^beginning with our American inner cities. We're going to rebuild them, for once and for all.

## **Notes**

**00:00** = time of original WP video (minute: second) total run-time 1:15:53

(...) = there was/were sentence(s) or paragraph(s) omitted

(#) = the page number the passage(s) were pulled from in appendix 2

*word* = word is drawn out

^ = voice volume raised for following word

. = indicates falling intonation

, = indicates brief pause

.. = pause longer than comma (for emphasis)

\* = gestures hand in hammer motion (up to down)

[*word/ phrase*] = indicates a gesture not heard

#### Appendix 4: LVS Summary Data

gender	birth.yr	birthplace	education	current.residence
f:86	1996 :20	AL : 1	BA :34	Atlanta. GA : 1
H: 6	X :19	CA : 4	H : 6	Boston. MA :13
m:43	1995 :16	CHINA : 1	high school : 6	BR.LA :54
X:17	1997 :11	CT :50	LAW : 2	CA : 1
	1994 : 8	GA : 4	MA :16	CT :43
	H : 6	H : 6	PHD : 3	H : 6
	1959 : 5	LA :33	some college:66	Houston. TX : 2
	1989 : 5	MA : 5	X :19	Los Angeles. CA: 1
	1991 : 5	MD : 2		MA : 1
	1993 : 5	ME : 1		MD : 1
	1957 : 4	MO : 1		MN : 1
	1988 : 4	Montreal: 1		NJ : 1
	1992 : 4	NC : 1		NY. NY : 1
	1955 : 3	NH : 2		OR : 1
	1963 : 3	NJ : 6		Tampa. fL : 1
	1966 : 3	NY : 3		Washington D.C.: 3
	1953 : 2	OK : 1		X :21
	1958 : 2	SC : 1		
	1960 : 2	TN : 2		
	1973 : 2	TX : 6		
	1985 : 2	UGANDA : 1		
	1990 : 2	X :20		
	1998 : 2			
	1952 : 1			
	1954 : 1			
	1961 : 1			
	1962 : 1			
	1964 : 1			
	1965 : 1			
ethnicity		political.affiliations	enrich	views.are.fair
african-american:	11	democrat :43	A :68	A :13
asian	: 4	H : 6	D : 3	D :29
caucasian	:106	independent:30	H : 6	H : 6
H	: 6	none :17	N :17	N :22
other	: 5	other : 7	SA:56	SA: 9
X	: 20	republican :23	X : 2	TD:70
		X :26		X : 3

commit.crime	co.workers	speaking.Spanish	bringing.crime	Trump
A :11	A : 3	A :19	A : 6	:66
D :58	D :35	C : 1	D :46	A : 8
H : 6	H : 6	D :61	H : 6	A/N: 1
N :31	N :32	H : 6	N :23	D :11
SA: 2	SA: 3	N :34	S : 1	H : 4
TD:39	TD:70	SA: 4	TD:66	N :10
X : 5	X : 3	TD:24	X : 4	SA : 6
		X : 3		TD :45
				X : 1

### Results for Location & Age (more concise)

gender	birth.yr	birthplace	education	current.resid
f:86	1950s:18	: 1 BA	:34	: 1
H: 6	1960s:15	AL : 1	Boston. MA : 1	Atlanta. GA : 1
m:43	1970 : 1	CA : 4	H : 6	Boston. MA :13
X:17	1971 : 1	CHINA : 1	high school : 6	BR.LA :54
	1973 : 2	CT :50	LAW : 2	CA : 1
	1974 : 1	GA : 4	MA :15	CT :38
	1975 : 1	H : 6	PHD : 3	H : 6
	1976 : 1	LA :33	some college:66	Houston. TX : 2
	1977 : 1	MA : 5	X :19	Los Angeles. CA : 1
	1980s:13	MD : 2		MD : 1
	1990 : 2	ME : 1		MN : 1
	1991 : 5	MO : 1		Morristown. NJ : 1
	1992 : 4	Montreal: 1		Northville : 1
	1993 : 5	NC : 1		NY. NY : 1
	1994 : 8	NH : 2		OR : 1
	1995 :16	NJ : 6		Sandy Hook. CT : 1
	1996 :20	NY : 3		Stoneham. MA : 1
	1997 :11	OK : 1		Tampa. fL : 1
	1998 : 2	SC : 1		Washington D.C. : 3
H : 6	TN : 2			Watertown. CT : 2
X :19	TX : 6			Wethersfield. CT: 1
	UGANDA : 1			X :20
	X :19			

## Results for Trump Question

[1]

gender	birth.yr	birthplace	education	current.residence
f:52	1953: 2	AL : 1	BA :12	Atlanta. GA : 1
H: 4	1955: 2	CA : 4	H : 4	Boston. MA : 6
m:26	1957: 2	CHINA : 1	high school : 2	BR.LA :53
X: 2	1958: 1	CT :15	LAW : 2	CT :13
	1961: 1	GA : 4	MA : 3	H : 4
	1963: 2	H : 4	PHD : 3	Houston. TX : 1
	1966: 1	LA :33	some college:56	NY. NY : 1
	1967: 1	MA : 1	X : 2	Tampa. fL : 1
	1968: 1	ME : 1		Washington D.C.: 1
	1971: 1	MO : 1		X : 3
	1974: 1	NC : 1		
	1975: 1	NH : 1		
	1988: 1	NJ : 1		
	1989: 1	NY : 3		
	1990: 2	OK : 1		
	1991: 1	SC : 1		
	1993: 3	TN : 2		
	1994: 6	TX : 5		
	1995:16	UGANDA: 1		
	1996:20	X : 3		
	1997: 8			
	1998: 2			
H : 4				
X : 4				

## Appendix 5: IRB Consent Form

### ACTION ON EXEMPTION APPROVAL REQUEST



**TO:** Brooke Biolo  
Hispanic Studies

**FROM:** Dennis Landin  
Chair, Institutional Review Board

**DATE:** September 29, 2016

**RE:** IRB# E10072

**TITLE:** The effects of Donald Trump's political campaign on US public opinion toward Mexican immigrants/ immigration

Institutional Review Board  
Dr. Dennis Landin, Chair  
130 David Boyd Hall  
Baton Rouge, LA 70803  
P: 225.578.8692  
F: 225.578.5983  
[irb@lsu.edu](mailto:irb@lsu.edu) | [lsu.edu/irb](http://lsu.edu/irb)

**New Protocol/Modification/Continuation:** New Protocol

**Review Date:** 9/28/2016

**Approved** X **Disapproved** \_\_\_\_\_

**Approval Date:** 9/29/2016 **Approval Expiration Date:** 9/28/2019

**Exemption Category/Paragraph:** 2a,b

**Signed Consent Waived?:** No

**Re-review frequency:** (three years unless otherwise stated)

**LSU Proposal Number** (if applicable):

**Protocol Matches Scope of Work in Grant proposal:** (if applicable)

**By:** Dennis Landin, Chairman 

**PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING –  
Continuing approval is CONDITIONAL on:**

1. Adherence to the approved protocol, familiarity with, and adherence to the ethical standards of the Belmont Report, and LSU's Assurance of Compliance with DHHS regulations for the protection of human subjects\*
2. Prior approval of a change in protocol, including revision of the consent documents or an increase in the number of subjects over that approved.
3. Obtaining renewed approval (or submittal of a termination report), prior to the approval expiration date, upon request by the IRB office (irrespective of when the project actually begins); notification of project termination.
4. Retention of documentation of informed consent and study records for at least 3 years after the study ends.
5. Continuing attention to the physical and psychological well-being and informed consent of the individual participants, including notification of new information that might affect consent.
6. A prompt report to the IRB of any adverse event affecting a participant potentially arising from the study.
7. Notification of the IRB of a serious compliance failure.
8. **SPECIAL NOTE: When emailing more than one recipient, make sure you use bcc. Approvals will automatically be closed by the IRB on the expiration date unless the PI requests a continuation.**

\* All investigators and support staff have access to copies of the Belmont Report, LSU's Assurance with DHHS, DHHS (45 CFR 46) and FDA regulations governing use of human subjects, and other relevant documents in print in this office or on our World Wide Web site at <http://www.lsu.edu/irb>

## Vita

Brooke Ann Biolo, a native of Connecticut received her bachelor's degree from Salve Regina University in 2014, with a double major in English Communications and Spanish. Thereafter, she tutored students at a residential rehabilitation center in her home state and took a part-time position as a long-term Spanish substitute. She presented her undergraduate thesis *A Fusion of Stereotypes: How new Fusion network handles established stereotypes of Hispanics in Media*, at the AEJMC Conference in Montreal, Canada during the summer of 2014. With a background in minority representation, the rhetoric of 45<sup>th</sup> presidential candidate Donald Trump sparked her interest and the present study was born. Biolo expects to receive her Master's degree in May 2017 and plans to work as a Spanish teacher at the high school or university level upon graduation.