

Division on the Divide: Shaping Political Rhetoric and Its Responses on the Border

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Abstract

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Today the issues that plague our borderlands and the immigration system as a whole are inescapable. We are constantly bombarded by rhetoric from opinion leaders on both sides of the issue from dozens of different forms of social media. Some people choose to act based on the way that this rhetoric portrays themselves, or their homes, or the way that the people subject to the policies in question are treated. This chain of events that starts with an idea, that then gets delivered, and then prompts a response from the community is the main subject of my inquiry. How does most of the Rhetoric prevalent today spread? How has it spread historically? What effects can negative political rhetoric have?

To answer these questions the Thesis is broken into six sections. I start with background information on how Latinos and Mexican Americans have been treated over time, progressing into what rhetoric historically has had the power to do. From there, I move into modern rhetoric, where it comes from and what it can do. By establishing some truths on the matter, I hope to be able to clarify some of the potential consequences of the path that we are headed down.

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Section 1 – A Long Road

There are three hundred and seven miles of road in-between my home on the border in McAllen, Texas and the library in Austin where I sit writing this. Google maps predicts that it would take me four and a half hours to drive there if I left now, but I know from experience that considering the traffic surrounding San Antonio it would almost certainly take me closer to five hours on the dot. A spell further, there are seventeen hundred and seventy-one miles of road between my home in McAllen, Texas and The White House in Washington, D.C. Nonstop this drive is approximated to take one full day and three hours, but I also know from experience that this is a drive best stretched over three tiresome days of driving – one of which is spent entirely in the state of Texas. These aforementioned roads push North and East up an entire coast, and encompass vast changes in geography, demographics, cultures, and perceptions. Even in the shorter drive between McAllen and Austin the differences are stark. When I tell somebody from here that I live in deep South Texas their imaginations are often strained to guess far past “Like San Antonio?”, but upon specification that I’m from the border their expressions always tighten with a telling realization and I usually get an “Oh..., how are things down there?”. In D.C. the reactions were varied – usually by partisan lines – and always followed by questions regarding border policy. “Do we need a wall?” “How bad are the ICE facilities?”. However, one thing never changed, regardless of where I’ve travelled everyone has an opinion on the border – and it is

very rare that I hear one that falls in line with what the people who live there truly believe.

Similarly, considering that policy in our government is optimally a representation of the aggregate opinions of the represented, it is very rare to come across a person from the border who agrees with the vast majority of border policy that is put into effect. This is due in large part to their opinions being different from those of the nation at large. They are formulated and maintained largely by lived personal experiences and an intimate knowledge of the true situation on the ground, whereas the opinions held by the general public are not. Instead, the nations' opinion on the border are largely driven by partisanship and the information presented to them by the rhetoric prevalent in today's media – traditional or otherwise. This schism that exists between the local and the national – the knowing and unknowing – is at the heart of my thesis. National policies are regularly implemented with national goals in mind; these have immense impacts on the local populations that bear their weight – the communities on the border. In response to these policies, local populations are often prompted to engage at a sub-policy level within their communities to further their own differing personal views. This 'community engagement' is driven by policy-at-large, which in turn is driven by the rhetoric employed to shape the opinions of the public-at-large. While this is a longstanding historical commonality on our nation's southern border, it's fairly recent resurgence in the national discourse prompted me to look into it deeper.

What picture does today's rhetoric paint of the immigrant, and how has this changed from the depictions common in the past? On top of this, how does this picture that is painted affect the people that it depicts? What are the consequences?

Section 2 – Rhetoric Through Time

To provide context for the current employment of rhetoric in shaping immigrant narratives, one must first look to the long road of history to see how it has developed over time. Only by doing so can we realize that the problems facing the borderlands today – while certainly more nuanced than they've been in the past – are not original. In his work *Operation Gatekeeper : The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Remaking of the U.S. – Mexico Boundary*, Joseph Nevins provides a literary analogy from John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* that illustrates the ubiquitousness of these problems :

In the West there was panic when the migrants multiplied on the highways. Men of property were terrified for their property. Men who had never been hungry saw the eyes of the hungry. Men who had never wanted anything very much saw the flare of want in the eyes of the migrants. And the men of the towns and of the soft suburban country gathered to defend themselves; and they reassured themselves that they were good and the invaders bad, as a man must do before he fights. They said, those goddamned Okies are dirty and ignorant. They're

degenerate, sexual maniacs. Those goddamned Okies are thieves. They'll steal anything. They've got no sense of property rights.

-John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (Nevins, 78)¹

The ideological dispositions that the westerners had towards the Okies in the above quote are quite similar to the nativist ideas that have plagued immigrants coming across our southern border for years. These sentiments are fear based, and outlandish. Fear of losing opportunity. Fear of losing property. Fear of an 'invasion'. Fears of moral degeneracy. Fear of the criminal race. Fear of a threat. But for as baseless as they are, these fears have remained in the public discourse for years because they succeed at their goal – making people afraid.

We must contemplate the origin of these fears because what drives them is rhetoric – much of the same rhetoric that is being used in modernity to the same ends. While anti-immigrant sentiment along these lines has always been prevalent in the United States – consider the treatment of Irish Catholics in the 19th century – it wasn't given legal justification for Latin American immigrants until the 1960's, when policy changes forced a large portion of temporary workers out of legal options for the work they desired². Suddenly many workers who had been operating under legal pretenses we're thrown into a new group, 'illegal'. As will be shown in figure one, this was mainly due to the Bracero Program being terminated.

¹ Nevins, A. (2001). *Operation Gatekeeper: the rise of the "illegal alien" and the remaking of the U.S.-Mexico boundary*. New York: Routledge.

² Massey, D. S., & Pren, K. A. (2012). Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America. *Population and Development Review*, 38(1), 1–29. doi: 10.1111/j.1728-4457.2012.00470.x

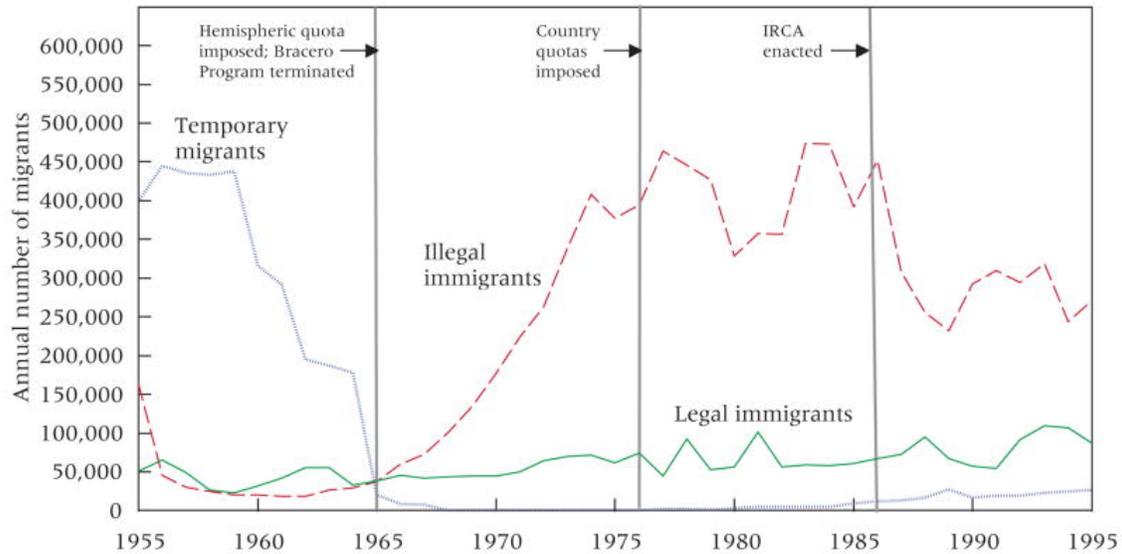


Figure 1: Taken from Massey and Pren's Report titled "Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy" <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3407978/>

The Bracero Program was a temporary worker policy prevalent through the Second World War and up to the middle of the 1960's when it was terminated. It originated out of the crisis presented to the agriculture industry by the war – there were no workers to help on the farms when most men were either abroad fighting or otherwise working towards the war effort. It allowed for migrant workers to seasonally come into the United States in order to work, primarily on farms during the harvesting season to supplement this need³. When the program ended the demand for work was still there, and the legal workforce that had provided it was gone. As a result of this American need for labor and immigrant need for opportunity – the migration patterns remained even after being outlawed.

³ Cordia, M. M. (2019). They Came for the Harvest: The Bracero Program in Jackson County, Oregon, 1951–1955. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 120(2), 150. doi: 10.5403/oregonhistq.120.2.0150

Throughout my thesis I will be viewing the end of the Bracero program as a representation of a tonal shift in the attitude of Americans towards Latino immigrants. While the minority population of Latinos in the United States had not been looked upon favorably before the end of the Bracero Program, they were not seen as threats. Mexican Americans, quite to the contrary in fact, posed no threat to the ordinary American perceived way of life. In fact, they supplemented it. Otto Santa Ana refers to this supplementation in more colorful terms, “the U.S. public still tended to see Latinos as the silent servants who made its beds or bussed its tables, the humble gardeners who pruned overgrown shrubs in the backyard, and those uniformed parking attendants who rushed to open the car door. These brown people were expected to perform their menial roles quietly, efficiently, and without dissent.”⁴ They largely did not have the same opportunities for education, could not compete for the same jobs, and were exposed to horrendous conditions in the work they could find.

All four of my own grandparents drove this point home to me as a child. All of them were first generation college graduates of Mexican decent, and it was not uncommon for me to hear stories about how my father’s parents met on campus here at the University of Texas at Austin partly by coincidence and partly because

⁴ Santa Ana, O. (2002). Pg. 2, *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse* (Vol. 1st ed). Austin: University of Texas Press.

they were the “only two Mexicans on campus”. Their education was a point of extreme pride for all of them, and they believed that the biggest gift they could give to their own children would also be education. The efforts that they made to remove the barriers that they faced in getting an education for their own children are what I personally attribute to my own being here two generations later. One story that grounds my visualization of these hardships comes from the story my grandfather told about the colossal effort necessary for him to even get up to school for his first fall semester. He was only able to afford school because of his military service and the G.I. Bill, but the bill did not come with a bus ticket. With no car and parents who could not escape their work to take their son to school because of the risk of termination or docked pay, my grandfather had to hitchhike the entire way up from the Rio Grande Valley to Austin. Because drivers that gave him rides would drop him off at the next filling station they saw, and oftentimes there were long gaps in-between receptive drivers – especially at nighttime – he ended up sleeping outside filling stations for two nights. It took him three calendar days to get to Austin, which is the same amount of time that it took me to drive myself to Washington D.C. last summer for an opportunity that he could not have foreseen. This is awe inspiring to me, and among other things I am extremely grateful for the work done, and negative attitudes endured, by the many generations of Latinos before me that have enabled me to be where I am today. In deciding what to write my thesis about, honoring my past by attempting to illuminate the present was one of my main considerations.

The Latino community responded boldly as a consequence of hardships such as these levied on Latinos in the twentieth century, as is evident by the rise of groups such as United Farm Workers and the activists who led them in the sixties such as Dolores Huerta and César Chávez. These activists were simply fighting for Mexican Americans to be treated fairly however, and their actions, though prolific, were never broadly assumed to be challenging the American way of life generally. This changed post-bracero. Once the actions of these migratory workers fell into the realm of the illegal, the numbers of illegal immigrants skyrocketed⁵. This statistical reaction to policy changes initiated a series of events that ultimately changed the perception of a nation on an entire race. In the eyes of many it was simple, crossing the border without authorization is breaking the law, and people who break the law are by definition criminals. It became extremely easy for people inside policy making to suddenly point to the newfound statistics coming in from apprehensions at the border and claim that the new influx of immigrants, who were really not new at all, was tantamount to a real threat to the American life⁶.

⁵ Massey, D. S., & Pren, K. A. (2012). Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America. *Population and Development Review*, 38(1), 1–29. doi: 10.1111/j.1728-4457.2012.00470.x

⁶ Massey, D. S., & Pren, K. A. (2012). Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America. *Population and Development Review*, 38(1), 1–29. doi: 10.1111/j.1728-4457.2012.00470.x

The concept of this potential immigrant threat to the American way of life has a name – in Leo Chavez’s enlightening work *The Latino Threat : Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* he refers to it as “The Latino Threat Narrative”⁷. Through Chavez we can understand the following in regard to the pervasive thought in the Latino Threat Narrative: 1) Latinos aren’t like other traditional groups of immigrants to the United States such as Germans, the Irish, or the Japanese – the belief is that these groups of immigrants assimilated, and Latinos don’t want to. 2) The Latino Threat Narrative is similar in type to any other immigration scare the United States has passed through such as the Catholic scare and the Chinese scare in that they establish ‘truths’ about the impact of the immigrant groups that never pan out. But, 3) The Latino Threat Narrative differentiates the Latino scare from these other scares in that it carries significant baggage. Regardless of the United States’ proximity to Mexico and our shared history, when somebody thinks of an ‘illegal alien’ their mind is immediately drawn to the image of a Latino. Lastly, through Chavez we can come to realize that 4) the Latino Threat Narrative does not go away, even when it’s not directly brought up, it is present in almost every immigration related discussion had. “It is the cultural dark matter filling space with taken-for-granted ‘truths’ in debates over immigration on radio and TV talk show, in news-paper editorials, and on internet

⁷ Chavez, Leo. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation, Second Edition*. Redwood City, UNITED STATES: Stanford University Press, 2013. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/utxa/detail.action?docID=1162035>.

blogs. Unquestioned motives and behavior attributed to Latino immigrants and their children”⁸

The Latino Threat Narrative provides an excellent framework from which we can further evaluate present-day border rhetoric and the impact it has on community responses. In particular, it will be extremely useful in allowing us to categorize pieces of rhetoric we find in the media – both traditional and social – as either overtly or covertly playing into the established narrative.

Section 3 – Historical Implications

Since the beginning of civilization, rhetoric has been an extremely powerful force, empowering the wielder with the ability to persuade others of things that when put less colorfully may not carry the same weight. Rhetoric is one of the foundations of liberal arts as a whole; along with grammar and logic it makes up the trivium – the basis of liberal arts.⁹ We have all been exposed to rhetoric from the second we could process language, when our parents convinced us as toddlers to eat the vegetables we didn’t want to because they would make us as strong as the

⁸ Chavez, Leo. Pgs 3-4, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation, Second Edition*. Redwood City, UNITED STATES: Stanford University Press, 2013. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/utxa/detail.action?docID=1162035>.

⁹ The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. “Liberal Arts.” Encyclopedia Britannica. Encyclopedia Britannica, inc., August 10, 2010. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/liberal-arts>.

superheroes we idolized. Paul's letters in the bible are perfect examples of the employment of rhetoric to try and achieve a noble goal, but on the other side of the same coin the devil is shown in the bible as one of the most cunning, persuasive, and also tremendously evil character around. In the New Testament, when Jesus is going through his forty days in the desert, Satan appears and offers him the world to forsake God. While Jesus was able to stave off persuasion, throughout the rest of the bible we see countless examples of characters who were not as strong – instead succumbing to the devil's demands. While historically rhetoric has been employed to guide people to great decisions - such as Lincoln's political rhetoric of a house divided in part leading to the decline of slavery as an institution - it is much more prominently seen as a persuasive tool to get people to do the worst of things.

Rhetoric, when defined roughly, is nothing more than the act of persuasion after all.

In his work *Words Like Loaded Pistols: Rhetoric from Aristotle to Obama*, Sam Leith describes rhetoric as such, "Rhetoric is language at play—language plus. It is what persuades and cajoles, inspires and bamboozles, thrills and mis - directs. It causes criminals to be convicted, and then frees those criminals on appeal. It causes governments to rise and fall, best men to be ever after shunned by their friends' brides, and perfectly sensible adults to march with steady purpose toward machine guns. And it is made of stuff like, well, the paragraph above. It is made of linked pairs—'inspires and bamboozles,' 'persuades and cajoles.' It is made of groups of three. It is made of repeated phrases. It is made, as often as not, of half-truths and fine sounding meaninglessness, of false oppositions and abstract nouns and shaky

inferences.” (Leith, 6)¹⁰. Ultimately, rhetoric is whatever words work to get the result you want, and for the purpose of my thesis this is a very bad thing. To truly understand the power of rhetoric we must delve into what it’s made people do before, and hopefully by doing so we can be better able to illuminate similarities in what we’re seeing today and stop history from repeating itself.

At its most extreme, rhetoric employed against a race can lead to the most egregious of ends – genocide. As we saw in both the Holocaust and the Rwandan Genocide, people can be convinced to do things beyond comprehension with nothing more than words. I’ll be drawing examples from the rhetoric machines driving both of these atrocities in order to establish the kind of messaging that has been effectively deployed in committing mankind’s worst acts.

The Holocaust was a global atrocity that had murdered millions of people by the end of the Second World War. It was Hitler’s personal killing machine that measured efficiency in bodies. Like any other machine though it took planning, testing, building, and optimization to get it into its most efficient – and in this case terrible – state. While the peak of the Holocaust’s terror may have been reached in 1942 and 1943, when the most people were murdered, it took a steady buildup of infrastructure and past experiences to reach this brutal climax. This ideological and physical buildup started decades before the first shot of the war was fired but is perhaps most notable in the years directly leading up to the war and into its early

¹⁰ Leith, Sam. 2012. *Words Like Loaded Pistols : Rhetoric from Aristotle to Obama*. New York: Basic Books. Accessed April 11, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central.

stages. When people discuss the Holocaust, it's often with profound questioning of the machine that enabled the worst atrocity of modern history to take place. It is often wondered how an entire nation could be mobilized to kill, or be complacent in the killing of, over six million innocent people. The answer is largely rhetoric and time. Starting in the 1930's Hitler was able to convince an entire people that they were superior to all others, and especially to the Jews, who were to be considered subhuman. He did this by exercising control over the masses, as Leith puts it, "Hitler combined a mesmeric power over crowds with a profound contempt for them. 'The masses are like an animal that obeys its instincts,' he is claimed to have told Hermann Rauschning. 'They do not reach conclusions by reasoning. . . at a mass meeting, thought is eliminated.' But the importance of understanding that instinctive animal— of aligning yourself with it—was something he didn't underestimate either. He once commended Lloyd George on his 'positively amazing knowledge of the broad masses of the people,' and aspired to the same thing himself." (Leith, 175-176)¹¹. Hitler cared about what the people thought more than anything, because he knew how important it was. There was an attempted boycott of Jewish goods in 1933, but because it disrupted the lives of so many Germans it was ended soon after it was put into effect (Bergen, 56)¹². This goes to show just how much Hitler and his regime cared about the opinion of the public and raises the

¹¹ Leith, Sam. 2012. *Words Like Loaded Pistols : Rhetoric from Aristotle to Obama*. New York: Basic Books. Accessed April 11, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central.

¹² Bergen, Doris L. *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009. EPUB file.

question of what his reaction would have been if the public continued to react negatively towards his anti-Semitic actions. They did not however, and things progressively got worse. In regard to the treatment of Jews, 1938 was marked by a heavy transition to open aggression that had built up over the past years and culminated into one of the most terrible pogroms of all time, Kristallnacht. In November, outraged by the treatment of Polish Jews living in Germany, a 17-year-old Jewish man killed a German diplomat in Paris. Using this as justification the entire nation of Germany exploded into one of the biggest pogroms in history on November ninth and tenth, destroying Jewish owned property, homes, and lives. When the smoke of Kristallnacht cleared 26,000 Jewish men had been arrested and sent to concentration camps, with many being killed as well. This was the first time under the Reich that Jews had been apprehended simply for their religion and marked a key point in the history of the Holocaust.



Figure 2: *The Boemestrasse Synagogue in Frankfurt, Germany, burning on November 10, 1938.*¹³

But anti-semitic rhetoric, while extremely prevalent in Nazi society, was not at the forefront of their messaging. It didn't need to be in order for the message to permeate. The fact of the matter is that while there were definitely entire media campaigns with the aim of dehumanizing and vilifying the Jewish people, it didn't take much for these campaigns to be successful. In *The "Jewish War": Goebbels and the Antisemitic Campaigns of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry*, Jeffrey Herf drives this point home thusly,

“Antisemitic propaganda in Nazi Germany was pervasive, but readers and listeners were not bombarded with it every day. Rather, the regime launched a series of campaigns. Examination of the headlines and front-page stories containing antisemitic themes in *Völkischer Beobachter* from 1939 to 1945 offers one indicator of the timing of these often long-running barrages that appeared in response to

¹³ Staff, Jewish Press. “80th Anniversary Of Kristallnacht.” The Jewish Press JewishPress.com, November 6, 2018. <https://www.jewishpress.com/sections/features/80th-anniversary-of-kristallnacht/2018/11/08/>.

particular developments in the war. Over this whole period, only four percent (84 of 2,100) of front-page stories expressed standard antisemitic denunciations: the Jews started World War II; they planned to exterminate the Germans; Churchill, Stalin, and especially Roosevelt were tools of Jewish power; the alliance of the democracies and the Soviet Union was evidence of a world Jewish conspiracy.” (Herf, 58)¹⁴

I believe that this much still rings true today, the masses are easily convinced when it comes to rhetoric employed against minorities. Oftentimes problems pervasive in society are more easily pawned off onto the shoulders of immigrants and minorities then dealt with properly – it’s extremely easy to paint a target on the backs of people who are both different from the many and have few resources with which to defend themselves.

This theme of minorities being vilified and dehumanized, before being further persecuted, is also clearly evident in other examples from history – of particular note, the Rwandan Genocide presented much rhetoric in the same vein. Over a twelve-week period of time during 1994 a million Rwandans were killed by their countrymen while the world watched. This atrocity presents a quite unusual case because the infrastructure and methods through which it was propagated were both far less sophisticated for their time than that of the Nazi’s and far more available to us today as scholars to analyze. The main source of rhetoric driving the us/them relationship between the Hutus and Tutsis at the time of the genocide was radio –

¹⁴ Herf, Jeffrey. "The "Jewish War": Goebbels and the Antisemitic Campaigns of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 51-80. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/182198>.

the transcripts of which we have available to us today. Radio was a particularly strong driver in Rwanda due to the cultural context that the tragedy developed in. Rwanda was still a country that highly valued oral tradition, and where literacy was lower than average. Along with those facts, the levels of development in the country made it harder for news and information to be spread through other avenues.¹⁵ While the role of radio in the Rwandan Genocide is undeniable, what is most interesting is that the strings that they pulled on to elicit the violent reactions they inspired are much the same as what we can currently see at home employed against Latinos. Baisley concludes that, “By drawing on historical constructions of Hutu and Tutsi identities, it becomes clear that the radio broadcasts ‘othered’ the target group or enemy by simultaneously drawing upon multiple constructions of Hutu and Tutsi identities from many periods in Rwanda’s history.”(Baisley,1)¹⁶. For example, in one of the transcripts the Hutu broadcaster announced that, “We know it, Tutsis are lazy. You do not know how to farm.”¹⁷.

What we can clearly see by looking at both the Rwandan and German examples is that these tropes are universal, and very human. For generations, all across the globe leaders have used them to spread fear and disinformation in order

¹⁵ Baisley, Elizabeth. “Genocide and Constructions of Hutu and Tutsi in Radio Propaganda.” *Race & Class* 55, no. 3 (January 2014): 38–59. doi:10.1177/0306396813509194.

¹⁶ Baisley, Elizabeth. “Genocide and Constructions of Hutu and Tutsi in Radio Propaganda.” *Race & Class* 55, no. 3 (January 2014): 38–59. doi:10.1177/0306396813509194.

¹⁷ Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines , ‘Transcript’ (20 June 1994), p. 7.

to achieve ends that leave the rest of the world wondering how such cruelty could exist. The answer is in the pen, especially in how it can be used to move the sword.

Section 4 – Rhetoric Today

While there are many avenues through which the prevalent anti-immigrant rhetoric come to be, none is more undeniably at the forefront of the current discourse than our government's current administration; more specifically our president. The aggregate effect that one person can have on an entire discourse is hard to quantify, but there are a couple of ways that we could try to do so. I ran a handful of searches using Google Trends search analytics tools in order to get a grasp of how relative interest in some immigration keywords has changed over a time period of the last five years – 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020. The data is presented on a zero to one hundred scale, with one hundred being the most popular a particular term has been in the geographic region (the United States in my case) and time constraints. I started with a word that is truly at the core of what

we're looking at here, *border*. The results were clear.

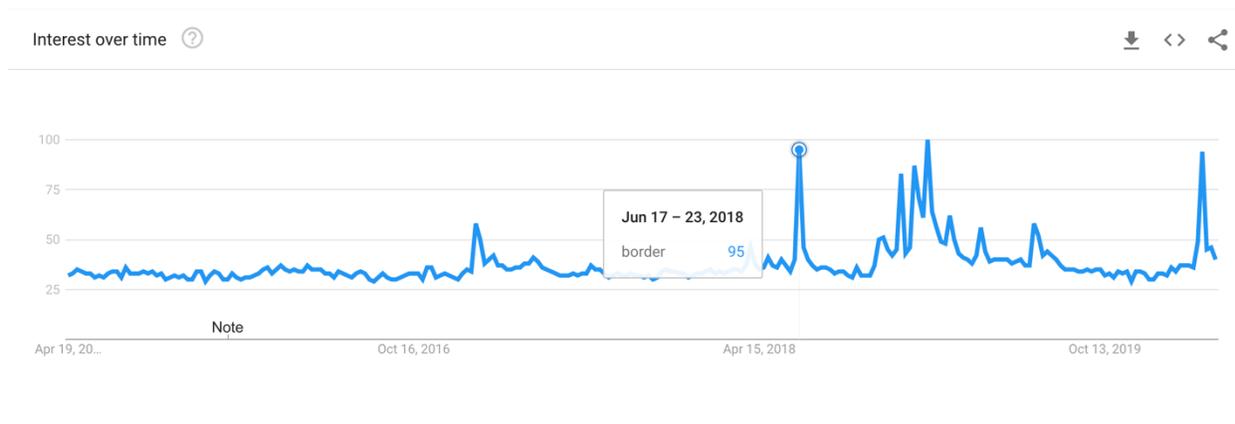
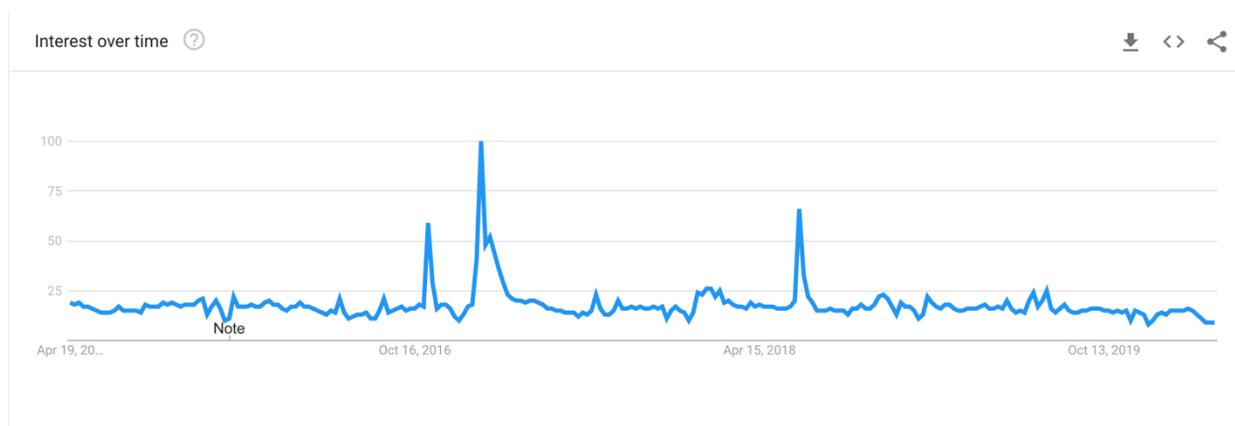


Figure 3: Google Trends Data “Border”¹⁸

While popularity had been hovering around the high twenties to high thirties leading up to the 2016 election, we see a sharp increase around November of 2016 that is maintained until even larger spikes develop through the summer of 2018 and into 2019. Moving on from *border*, I ran a search with the same parameters on a similar keyword, *immigration*. The results helped me to reach the same conclusion, the current administration has been successful in, if nothing else, bringing the issue to the forefront.



¹⁸ Data source: Google Trends (<https://www.google.com/trends>), Border

Figure 4: Google Trends Data “Immigration”¹⁹

There is pretty consistent search popularity rating in the low to mid-twenties leading up to the 2016 elections, and shortly after we see a couple of large spikes with consistent higher levels being maintained well into 2018 and 2019. I chose these two terms first not only because they are fairly general while still being topical, but also because while the data is very helpful, these searches illuminate some of Google Trends’ downsides. While it is a great tool for looking at aggregated popularity of searches, trying to decipher intent, or code for ‘good’ or ‘bad’ searches is extremely difficult. Because of this it is nearly impossible to tell through the data whether or not the searches were pro or anti immigration, instead we can only really see that they went up in volume. With that in mind, I ran the same search on a third term, *illegal aliens*.

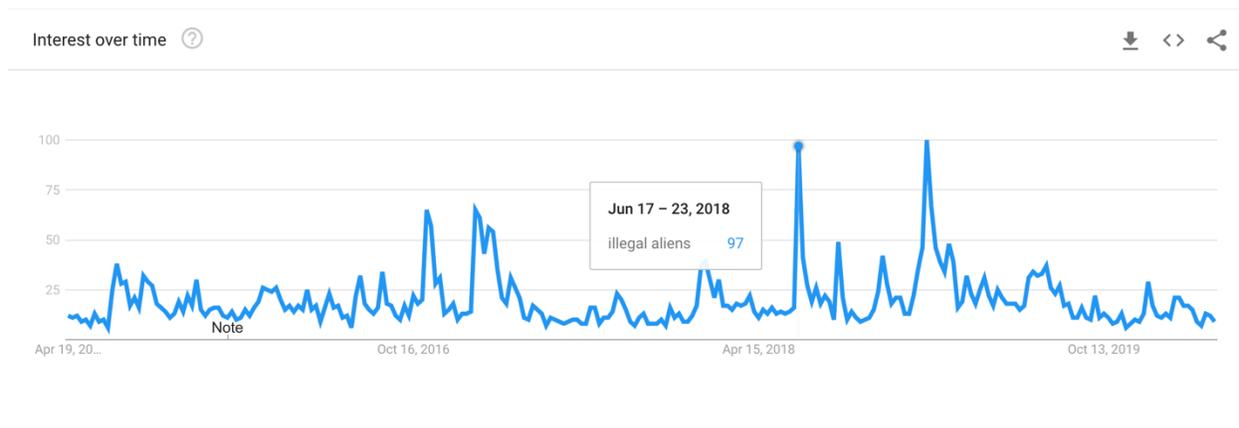


Figure 5: Google Trends Data “Illegal Aliens”²⁰

While much like the words themselves this search turned up to be quite volatile in nature, with larger swings in interest over time, the overall trend was the same.

¹⁹ Data source: Google Trends (<https://www.google.com/trends>), Immigration

²⁰ Data source: Google Trends (<https://www.google.com/trends>), Illegal Aliens

While there had been large spikes in the relative popularity of the term prior to the 2016 elections, we see all of the largest spikes taking place after the elections and then again in the summer of 2018 and after. Given the loaded nature of the term, I believe that it is less likely to be used by those sympathetic to immigrants, I can say with an increased degree of certainty that most of these searches lead to the proliferation and continued spreading of negative and harmful rhetoric. By looking at an extremely similar yet toned down version of the same search – in this case *illegal immigrants* - we see less volatility but the same trends again.

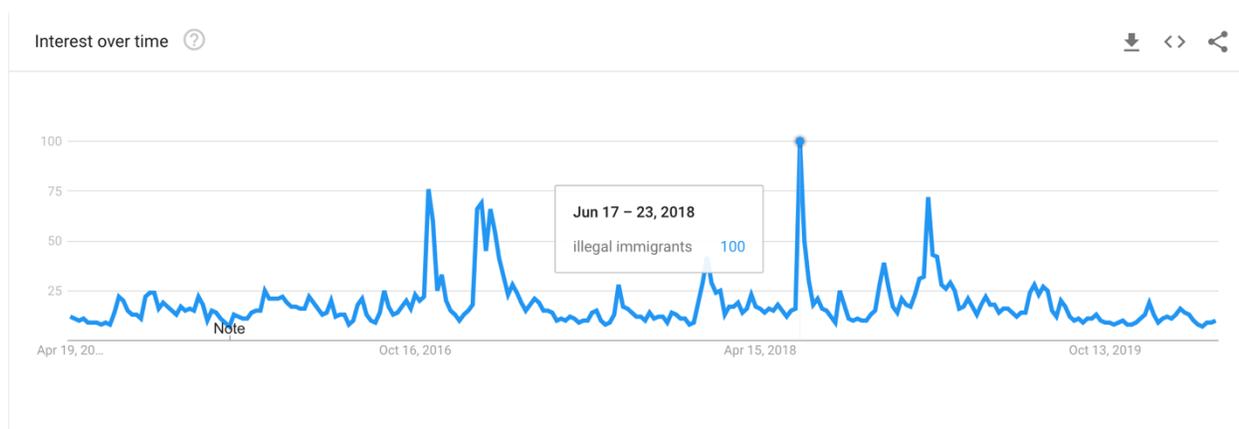


Figure 6: Google Trends Data “Illegal Immigrants”²¹

As is evident, the pattern is the exact same with bumps following the 2016 elections, with the exception of smaller variations and spikes. This is telling of a bigger issue in the zeitgeist more generally. *Illegal Aliens* was just a more popular search term than *Illegal Immigrants*. While *Illegal Immigrants* only hit the 100 mark once, *Illegal Aliens* did so twice – and held higher scores across the search platform. I believe that just like results for all of these immigration related search

²¹ Data source: Google Trends (<https://www.google.com/trends>), Illegal Immigrants

terms increased as the current administration came into power, the terms that illicit stronger responses – the same type used by our president – increased as well at an even stronger pace as they were fueled by rhetoric from the top.

To better understand what some of that rhetoric looks like and how it plays in perfectly to the Latino threat narrative, the best source to go by is President Trump's Twitter account. By looking at some of the president's posts on twitter we can get both an insight into how he drives rhetoric in the immigration sphere and the limitations and benefits that he gets from utilizing such a public and casual-by-design platform.

Prior to looking at how the president personally utilizes technology, and social media in particular, to further his goals, we must understand how far that technology has come – and how the progress has affected its effectiveness. One thing that differentiates the rhetoric that the public faces today from that of yesteryears is the speed with which it spreads. There have been many advancements to the rate at which word travels throughout history. In the earliest of days stories were spread by oral tradition. Passed on from mouth, the speed at which the 'news' could spread was directly proportional to the number of other individuals that the speaker could reach. Those people could then spread the same messages to others, but the speed and accuracy with which they could do so was limited by the same factors. Written language changed the importance of the accuracy factor, with things being written down they were much harder to forget or recall incorrectly. Scrolls, tablets, and manuscripts served that purpose well, but

were hard to make and understood by relatively few people. With the advent of the printing press the world changed forever. Literacy began to increase because instead of every book having to be copied by hand, they could now be instantaneously duplicated. More books meant more people reading them, and information began to spread faster than it ever had. The speed of information continued to increase slowly as we discovered better and better ways to print, but it wasn't until the advent of photography and electronic communication like the telephone and telegram that we saw another huge shrinking of our world. Building on all of that progress, the computer and internet have left us with the ability to communicate messages instantly to anywhere on the planet, and to as many people as we want. Twitter again becomes a great example to help illustrate how broadly, and quickly, a message can spread.

It is crucial to understand that his Twitter is not only followed by his die-hard supporters. The attention of the entire country, and even world, is constantly on his twitter feed. As of May of 2016, of the 26 percent of Americans that had a twitter account, 30 percent of them followed Trump.²² That equates to 8 percent of the adult population of the United States personally following him. But his reach is far more than it seems. By the same source, Gallup Polls, “76% of Americans see, read or hear about Trump's tweets.”²³ The implication here is that even if people

²² Newport, Frank. “Deconstructing Trump's Use of Twitter.” Gallup.com. Gallup, May 16, 2016. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/234509/deconstructing-trump-twitter.aspx>.

²³ Newport, Frank. “Deconstructing Trump's Use of Twitter.” Gallup.com. Gallup, May 16, 2016. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/234509/deconstructing-trump-twitter.aspx>.

aren't directly seeing his tweets on the platform, they are learning of them from secondary sources such as the news media. Along partisan lines, according to Gallup Democrats are more likely than Republicans to be aware of the president's tweets. This seems contradictory but can be clarified by understanding that the media who gatekeeps the dissemination of the posts is more likely to broadcast tweets that are likely to garner negative attention from democrats, like the ones above. By using Twitter, Trump is able to effectively broadcast thoughts straight from his brain to the country, without any filter. By employing the rhetoric that he does therefore, he can successfully change the narrative of any given issue by words alone.

Trump is fond of referring to the flow of undocumented immigrants into the United States as an invasion, as he does in the following Twitter post from late October of 2018.

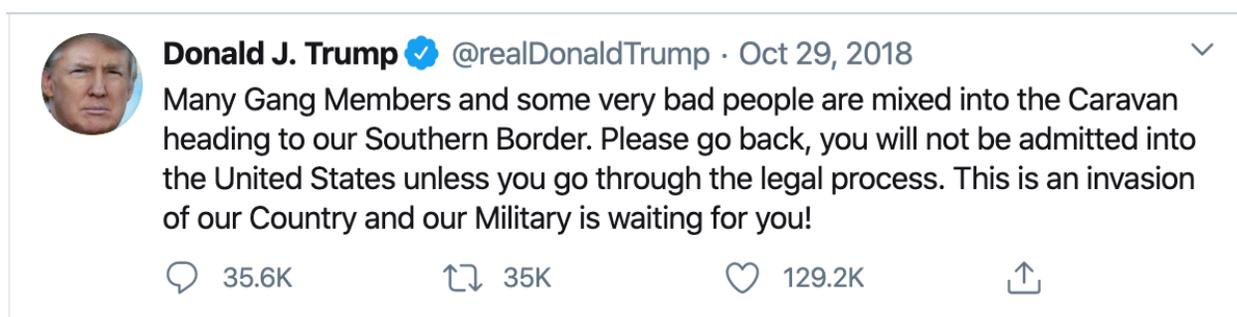


Figure 7: Twitter Post by Donald J. Trump²⁴

There is no better way to equate an entire group of people to a threat than by directly comparing them to an invading military force. The president does this

²⁴ Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. October 29, 2018.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1056919064906469376>

frequently by referring to illegal immigration as a form of invasion of our country. Alongside this comparison, he is always ready to proclaim that our nation's military is ready to take on this invading force.

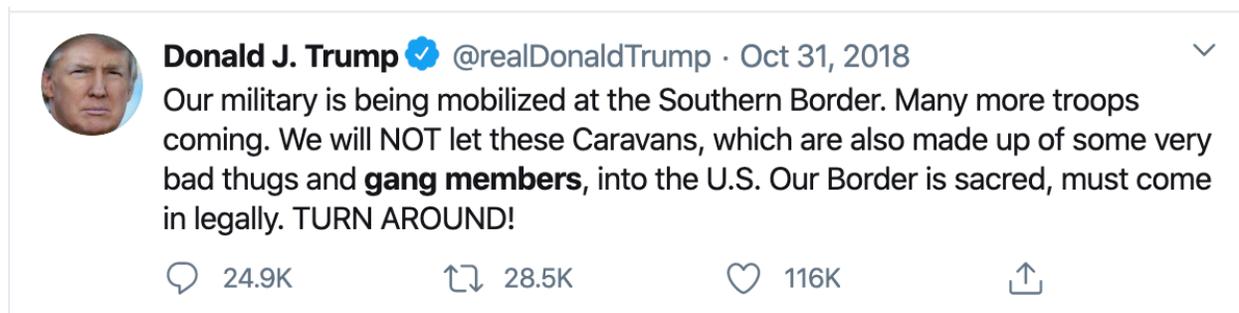


Figure 8: Twitter Post by Donald J. Trump²⁵

While our military is an amazing force, there are separate government agencies such as the border patrol that are far better suited to handling the enforcement of our laws domestically. Another peculiar thing about the invading army that Trump has rhetorically fabricated is its very makeup. In the past two Twitter posts he has reinforced the idea that the people coming into our country are very bad. He has called them very bad people, thugs, and gang members. His rhetoric does more than just align with Leo Chavez's Latino threat narrative. Where Chavez sees the narrative as always present but perhaps in the dark²⁶, the president's rhetoric is making no attempt to hide its true meaning and does so repetitively.

²⁵ Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. October 31, 2018.

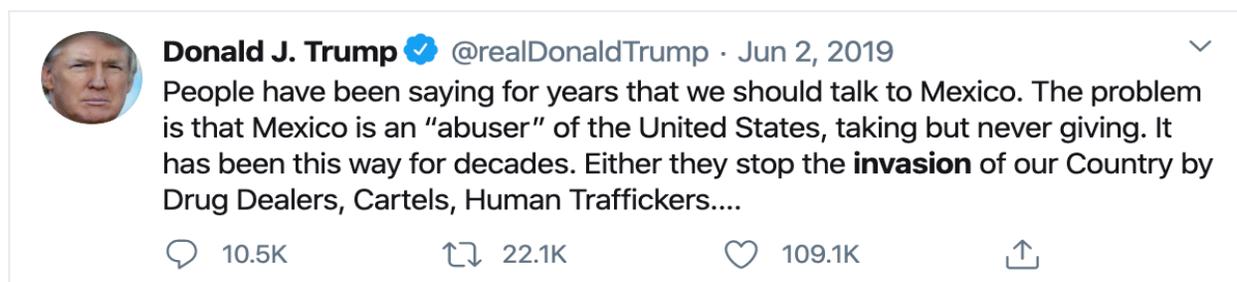
<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1057614564639019009>

²⁶ Chavez, Leo. Pgs 3-4, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation, Second Edition*. Redwood City, UNITED STATES: Stanford University Press, 2013. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/utxa/detail.action?docID=1162035>.



Figure 9: Twitter Post by Donald J. Trump²⁷

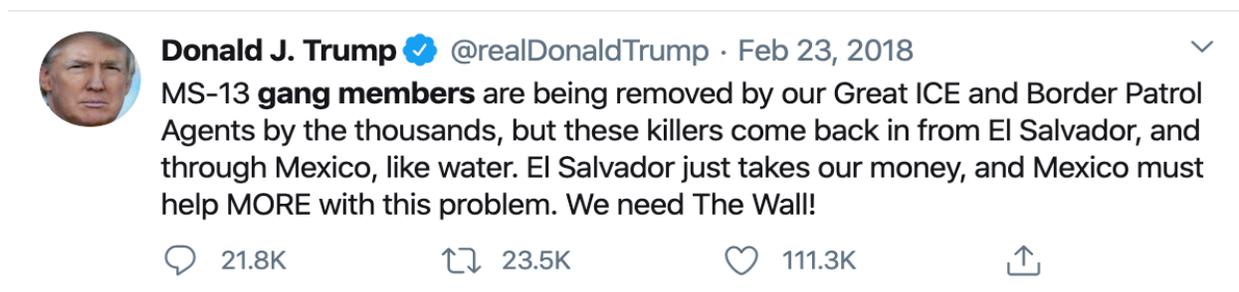
In this Twitter post – possibly his most infamously worded on the subject – he refers to the people coming into the country as drug users and sellers, as rapists and killers. The facts of the matter remain however, that native born citizens are far more likely to be involved in violent crimes than immigrants – legal or illegal.²⁸ Along with referring to the people coming into our country as hostile, the current administration has been rather fond of being hostile to the countries from which the immigrants come from and through.



²⁷ Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. June 19, 2015.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/612083064945180672>

²⁸ Nowrasteh, Alex. “Criminal Immigrants in Texas: Illegal Immigrant Conviction and Arrest Rates for Homicide, Sex Crimes, Larceny, and Other Crimes.” Cato Institute, October 15, 2018. <https://www.cato.org/publications/immigration-research-policy-brief/criminal-immigrants-texas-illegal-immigrant>.



Figures 10²⁹ & 11³⁰: Twitter Posts by Donald J. Trump

It is rare to see the current administration ever acknowledge any good that the relationships between our country and the countries to our south bring to the table, chief among them fruitful trade deals that hugely benefit both sides of the border and practically sustain the communities along it. By accusing El Salvador as a whole for taking money, the president is underhandedly accusing El Salvadorians of taking money. Similarly, by accusing Mexico of not doing enough and of being an “abuser” of the United States, the president is underhandedly saying that the Mexican people are not doing enough; that they too are “abusers” of the United States. Not only does Trump present his border rhetoric by itself, but he often uses it as a secondary point to try and reinforce the main idea he is trying to communicate.

²⁹Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. June 2, 2019.
<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1135150117252673536>

³⁰Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. February 23, 2018.
<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/966998215592677376>

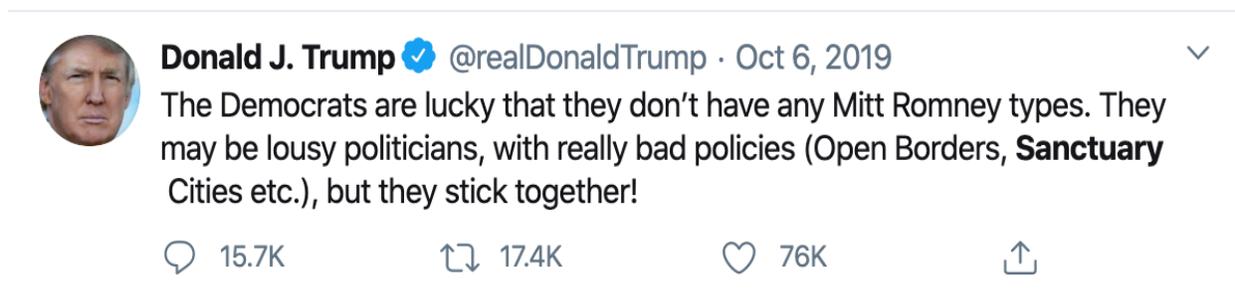


Figure 12: Twitter Post by Donald J. Trump³¹

By doing this he is able to keep the message at front of mind, even in times when the media at large has turned their eyes temporarily from his opinions on the border.

Along the same lines, it is quite common for the president to employ inflammatory immigration rhetoric and policy decisions in order to draw attention away from what the media and public at large are focused on at the time. It's in the very nature of the immigration debate to be emotional, and the administration has keyed into this response as being able to draw mass attention. Immigration is Trump's favorite distraction, anytime he is desperate to turn the eye of America he rolls out immigration related policy that is likely to do so. Most recently, we have seen the president employ this tactic in response to the media attention his administration's response to the Covid-19 pandemic has generated. The majority of the country is not happy with the way that our current government has handled the pandemic, and as a result the president has taken a significant hit to his popularity. The facts of the pandemic are clear, our country leads the world in cases at the time

³¹ Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. October 6, 2019.
<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1180836514743357440>

of this being written in April of 2020. With this being understood, and the borders already being closed due to the pandemic, it is unclear what tangible benefits further restricting immigration to permanent residents would have to the health of our country's populace and economy. Yet still, he persisted by tweeting out the following message.

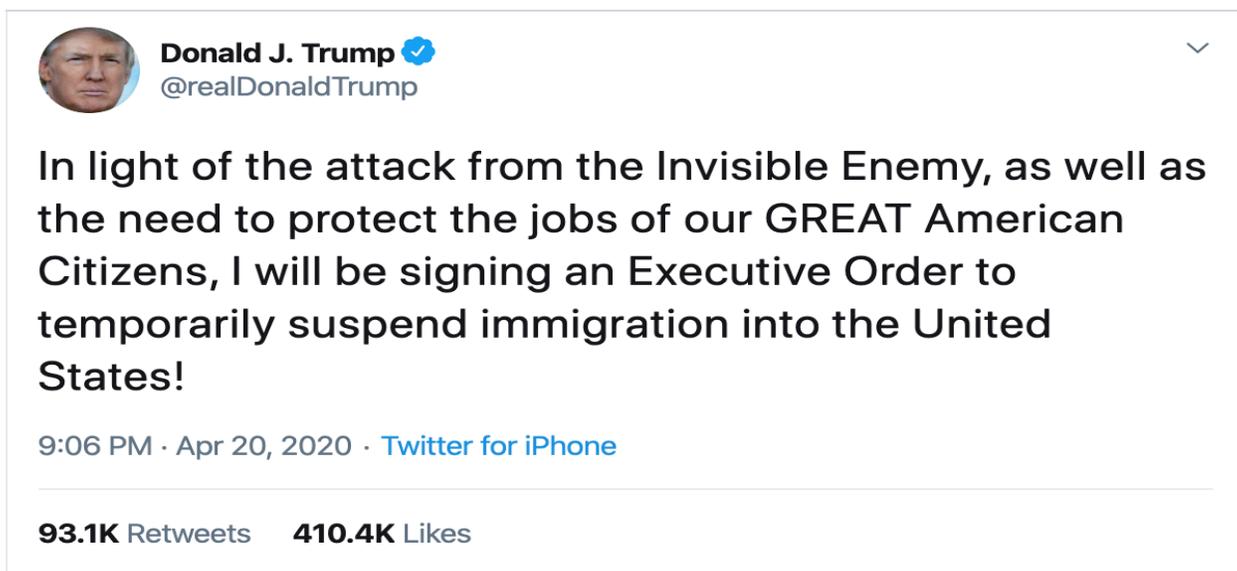


Figure 13: Twitter Post by Donald J. Trump³²

It seems through the president's messaging that he intends the 60-day immigration ban to function as a protectionist buffer that keeps jobs in the hands of citizens, but thought leaders are in agreement that such a move would not be beneficial. Sarah Pierce, a lawyer and policy analyst at the nonpartisan Migration Policy Institute clarified this thusly, "It is very well established over a long period of time that

³² Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. April 20, 2020.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1252418369170501639>

immigration is integral to sustained economic progress,” (O’Toole, Bierman 1).³³ Even other members of the Presidents party are beginning to realize the true intentions behind much of his rhetoric. Larry Hogan, who as the republican Governor of Maryland has acted as strong leader in the face of the pandemic, was quoted as saying that, “I try not to pay any attention to the tweets from the president,” and, “It’s not really a policy and I don’t think he’s rolled out any kind of a proposal. I think it’s just a distraction from what’s really going on.”³⁴ According to the same interview, Governor Hogan’s wife is a first-generation immigrant who comes from South Korea. He used these ties with South Korea in order to help facilitate the purchasing of five hundred thousand Covid-19 testing kits for his state’s residents. Perhaps if the president shared the same willingness to work with the global community in these terribly trying times instead of blocking them out, we could help end the virus both domestically and abroad.

Lastly, the president often uses Twitter as a platform to plainly play into age-old racist tropes. In figure 13, he utilizes one of the oldest nativist pieces of rhetoric of all time – telling people that they must go home.

³³ O’Toole, Molly, and Noah Bierman. “Trump Signs Immigration Order Sharply Different from What He Said He Planned.” Los Angeles Times. Los Angeles Times, April 23, 2020. <https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2020-04-22/trump-signs-order-further-restricting-immigration>.

³⁴ Moreno, J. Edward. “Hogan: Trump Immigration Move 'a Distraction from What's Really Going on'.” The Hill. The Hill, April 21, 2020. <https://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/493898-hogan-trump-immigration-move-a-distraction-from-whats-really-going-on>.

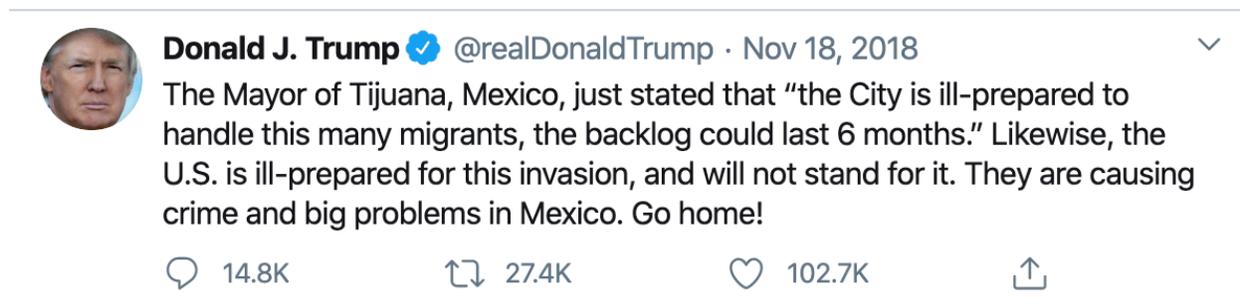
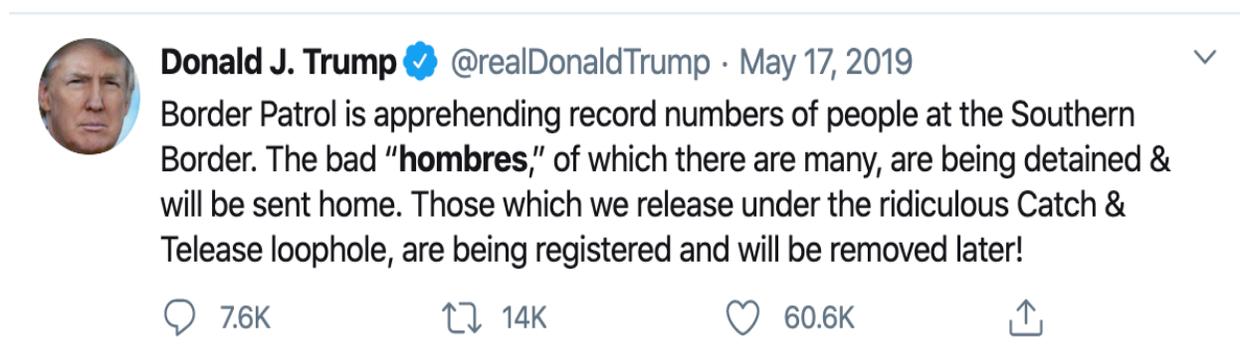


Figure 14: Twitter Post by Donald J. Trump³⁵

By using nativist rhetoric such as this, the administration is able to instantaneously normalize among their base the usage of the same types of rhetoric. It pops up in other similar contexts as well. One tweet that circulated heavily was the one in which the president referred to many of the immigrants coming in as “bad hombres”. Not only does his doing so further play into the Latino threat narrative like in the earlier cases, but it takes it one step further by appropriating the Spanish language as another way to clarify the us/them relationship that he is trying to foster. As is evident by the typos in the tweet, there is not a team working behind the scenes to curate the Twitter posts that come from the presidents’ page. All of these thoughts are his alone, typed by his fingers on a cellphone.



³⁵ Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. November 18, 2018.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1064227483187318784>

Figure 15: Twitter Post by Donald J. Trump³⁶

Section 5 – Responses to Rhetoric

Nowhere is the relationship between the rhetoric deployed by the current administration and the people that it is targeted at clearer than when it manifests itself at its extremes. Unfortunately for thousands of lives they touch, these extremes can be unfathomably brutal. The largest targeted attack against Latinos in Modern American history³⁷ is one of these manifestations. On August third of 2019 Patrick Wood Crusius walked into a Walmart in El Paso, Texas with the intention of killing as many people of Mexican decent as he could. He said it himself. By the end of his spree there were 46 casualties, twenty-three were killed and twenty-three were severely wounded. Eight of the casualties were citizens of Mexico, one was a citizen of Germany, and the rest were Americans.³⁸ Crusius surrendered to law enforcement immediately after and told them that he was there to kill Mexicans. Law enforcement shortly after established a link between the act

³⁶Trump, Donald. Twitter Post. May 17, 2019.

<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1129336982319050752>

³⁷ Romero, Simon, Manny Fernandez, and Michael Corkery. “Walmart Store Connected Cultures, Until a Killer 'Came Here for Us'.” *The New York Times*. *The New York Times*, August 5, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/04/us/el-paso-shooting-mexico-border.html>.

³⁸ Bogel-burroughs, Nicholas. “I'm the Shooter': El Paso Suspect Confessed to Targeting Mexicans, Police Say.” *The New York Times*. *The New York Times*, August 9, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/09/us/el-paso-suspect-confession.html>.

of domestic terrorism and an online post on the forum 8chan, were Crusius laid out his inspirations and reasons for the killings in a four-page screed. In his note he mentioned that immigration, “can only be detrimental to the future of America,” and voiced his worry that Hispanics would replace members of government with the intention of, “changing policy to better suit their needs.”³⁹ He gave homage to the Christchurch New Zealand shooter, who also participated in an anti-immigrant act of terror and cited the “Hispanic invasion of Texas”⁴⁰ as a driving force behind the killings that would soon follow.

It is not hard to start drawing connections between that sentiment and the messaging that the President often espouses. In fact, an analysis by the New York Times found that from January to August of 2019 the president launched more than two thousand ads on Facebook alone that referred to an “invasion” on our southern border.⁴¹ In person he perpetuates the same claim, Vox finding that “Trump describes a border “invasion” at least 21 times in public speeches, remarks, and campaign rallies in an eight-month period”⁴². Members of the media believe that he

³⁹ Romero, Simon, Manny Fernandez, and Michael Corkery. “Walmart Store Connected Cultures, Until a Killer 'Came Here for Us'.” The New York Times. The New York Times, August 5, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/04/us/el-paso-shooting-mexico-border.html>.

⁴⁰ Arango, Tim, Nicholas Bogel-burroughs, and Katie Benner. “Minutes Before El Paso Killing, Hate-Filled Manifesto Appears Online.” The New York Times. The New York Times, August 4, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/03/us/patrick-crusius-el-paso-shooter-manifesto.html>.

⁴¹ Kaplan, Thomas. “How the Trump Campaign Used Facebook Ads to Amplify His 'Invasion' Claim.” The New York Times. The New York Times, August 5, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/05/us/politics/trump-campaign-facebook-ads-invasion.html>.

⁴² Campbell, Alexia Fernández. “Trump Described an Imaginary ‘Invasion’ at the Border 2 Dozen Times in the Past Year.” Vox. Vox, August 7, 2019. <https://www.vox.com/identities/2019/8/7/20756775/el-paso-shooting-trump-hispanic-invasion>.

has gone ever further in private. In *Border Wars: Inside Trump's Assault on Immigration*, by reporters Michael Shear and Julie Davis, it is reported that “After publicly suggesting that soldiers shoot migrants if they threw rocks, the president backed off when his staff told him that was illegal. But later in a meeting, aides recalled, he suggested that they shoot migrants in the legs to slow them down.”⁴³ It comes as no surprise that the rhetoric of an executive that suggests shooting migrants would be reflected in the manifesto of a domestic terrorist who did just that. Ninety counts of federal hate crime charges would be pressed by prosecutors on Patrick Crusius⁴⁴, but nothing can erase the damage and pain he inflicted on one of our nation’s most representative border communities. In El Paso, things have not been the same since the attack. Residents sought to increase their sense of self security by purchasing firearms at extremely high rates, so much so that scenes in gun stores were akin to black Friday store rushes⁴⁵. Regardless of the defensive

⁴³ Shear, Michael D, and Julie Hirschfeld Davis. “Shoot Migrants' Legs, Build Alligator Moat: Behind Trump's Ideas for Border.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, October 1, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/01/us/politics/trump-border-wars.html?login=email&auth=login-email>.

⁴⁴“Accused El Paso Mass Shooter Charged with 90 Counts of Federal Hate Crimes.” *Reuters*, February 7, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-texas-shooting-idUSKBN2002PK>.

⁴⁵ Mealer, Bryan. “In El Paso, Scared Hispanic Americans Rush to Buy Guns.” *The Guardian*, August 5, 2019, sec. US news. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/aug/05/el-paso-gun-sales-hispanic-americans-rush-to-buy-weapons>.

measures that the citizens of El Paso have taken however, they still do not feel safe; some even feel like they've been hunted.⁴⁶

The brutal actions of Patrick Crusius on August the third were meant to divide; to further separate a country that every day grows farther apart. By his targeted attack on Latinos, he said to many Americans – who have worked for everything that they have – that they were simply not welcome here. But he failed to realize one thing, there is no force as unifying as a tragedy. If any good at all can claim to come out of the one in El Paso, then it must be as a product of the unity that followed the treachery. The community, on both sides of the border, sprang into action following the atrocity to help provide support to the victims and their families. El Paso Strong was the name of this outpouring of community support, and there are few other examples of community response that match it in caliber.

While the community response observed in the wake of the El Paso tragedy was overwhelming, not all community response takes the same loving shape. Recently, among discussions in Washington D.C. over where funding for the border wall would come from, the nation witnessed a form of response that soon took on an obscure edge – the Go Fund Me border wall fundraiser. In December of 2018 a Go Fund Me project was launched that aimed to build border walls on private property for cheaper than the government could, and with the funding of the American

⁴⁶ Arango, Tim, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, and Katie Benner. “Minutes Before El Paso Killing, Hate-Filled Manifesto Appears Online.” *The New York Times*, August 3, 2019, sec. U.S. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/03/us/patrick-crusius-el-paso-shooter-manifesto.html>.

people.⁴⁷ More than twenty million dollars was raised for the cause in the time shortly following the campaigns launch, making news across the country and opening the doors to questions regarding the legality and efficiency of the private work that would be done.⁴⁸

This follows a long line of community engagement against immigrants on the border. For years, armed militias composed of regular people have descended upon the deserts of Arizona and Texas with the intention of patrolling the border for illegal crossings – taking it upon themselves to do the work of government agencies and other law enforcement with the true jurisdiction to do so. As was described in Harel Shapira’s *Waiting for Jose: The Minutemen’s Pursuit of America*, the people that make up these groups are largely like you and I, except what gives them meaning is participating in an act they feel is fighting against a rapidly changing society.⁴⁹ We can view community engagement from the right such as this as part of the problem, but to do so would ignore the driving factors behind it. There is no reason why donating money for a wall or getting in your truck and patrolling the

⁴⁷ Brice-Saddler, Michael. “A Group Raised over \$20 Million to 'Build the Wall.' Now Its Supporters Want Answers.” The Washington Post. WP Company, May 11, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2019/05/11/group-raised-more-than-million-build-wall-now-some-supporters-want-answers/>.

⁴⁸ Brice-Saddler, Michael. “A Group Raised over \$20 Million to 'Build the Wall.' Now Its Supporters Want Answers.” The Washington Post. WP Company, May 11, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2019/05/11/group-raised-more-than-million-build-wall-now-some-supporters-want-answers/>.

⁴⁹ Shapira, Harel. *Waiting for Jose: The Minutemen’s Pursuit of America*. Princeton, UNITED STATES: Princeton University Press, 2013. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/utxa/detail.action?docID=1114872>.

border would be bad if these were justifiable actions based on credible threats to our nation. But they are not. Instead, they are the result of a populace being misled and distracted from the top. Led to believe that the people coming in are a true threat, an invading force.

Section 6 – The Real Weight

It is extremely important to realize that while inflammatory reactions to rhetoric such as the incident of domestic terror in El Paso are the most profound way we see it effecting lives, there is another aspect to the true damage that it does. Not only can negative and inflammatory rhetoric move people to violence, but it is violent in and of itself. While it can embolden and bring to light the true intentions of somebody already ideologically in line with the messaging, it has a completely different effect on those who it stigmatizes, ridicules, and ostracizes. Leo Chavez, in his study titled *Words hurt: Political rhetoric, emotions/affect, and psychological well-being among Mexican-origin youth*, found that,

“Political rhetoric may inflame the public and result in votes or audiences for talk shows, but negative portrayals of particular groups question their belonging and legitimacy as full-fledged members of society. Being the targets of negative political rhetoric raises stress levels and negative feelings of oneself and the larger

social environment. When words wound, they tear at the body of the nation, creating divisions that reinforce systems of prejudice and inequality.”⁵⁰

To reach this conclusion Chavez and his co-authors ran an experiment where they presented positive, negative, and neutral political rhetoric to college students and provided them with open ended questions to gauge how it affected their perceived stress, subjective well-being, and subjective health.⁵¹ The results of their study confirm long held personal beliefs of mine, words really do have the power to hurt, especially when they are targeted at specific groups of people. The study provided a positive insight as well however, while words have the power to do real damage, they also have the power to make people’s lives better.

Growing up I saw the long-term effects of hateful rhetoric firsthand. There are countless stories of people from the Valley thinking that they would never amount to anything because of where they were from, who they were, and what they looked like. “I’m just from McAllen, but...” is the beginning of many of the arguments that I’ve heard in my years, and it has always been one that confused me. Being from a certain place, or looking a certain way, should never be a negative factor that influences others views of your opinion or your own view of yourself.

⁵⁰ Chavez, Leo R., Belinda Campos, Karina Corona, Daina Sanchez, and Catherine Belyeu Ruiz. “Words Hurt: Political Rhetoric, Emotions/Affect, and Psychological Well-Being among Mexican-Origin Youth.” *Social Science & Medicine* 228 (2019): 240–51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.03.008>.

⁵¹ Chavez, Leo R., Belinda Campos, Karina Corona, Daina Sanchez, and Catherine Belyeu Ruiz. “Words Hurt: Political Rhetoric, Emotions/Affect, and Psychological Well-Being among Mexican-Origin Youth.” *Social Science & Medicine* 228 (2019): 240–51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.03.008>.

Sadly however, that is not the case. Negative rhetoric works its way into the very makeup of people, it is a weight that can never be truly lifted. When the powers that be perpetuate and normalize damaging rhetoric that has that effect, for political gain, they are in turn hurting the very people that they have sworn to represent and protect.

Conclusion

Harmful rhetoric targeted at Mexican Americans and other Latinos has long been present in American society, but recently, it has re-emerged in full force – bringing with it hate and violence not seen in years. Having lived experience at the border, the disconnect between the reality on the ground and what you see and hear in the media is astounding. A combination of increasingly inflammatory rhetoric from the top, and far more efficient delivery of said rhetoric through social media and other modern avenues, has coupled into a demonstratively dangerous situation. By looking at examples from history, the worst-case scenario is clear, and must be avoided. Even when overt violence is not used, there still are huge impacts that rhetoric can have when multiplied and generalized across entire populations. Our current administration needs to realize the weight of their words and do what is in their power to make sure that tragedies such as the one in El Paso can no longer be fueled by rhetoric traceable to the top.

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Data source: Google Trends (<https://www.google.com/trends>), Illegal Aliens

Data source: Google Trends (<https://www.google.com/trends>), Illegal Immigrants

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