



People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
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**Trump, Nativism and the Plan to Make America
Great Again**

Dissertation submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of *Master* in
Literature and Civilization.

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Academic Year: 2019/2020

Statement of Originality

I hereby declare that this submission is my work and that, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution.

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a large, stylized letter 'J' with a horizontal line extending to the right and a small loop at the bottom left.

Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to my beloved parents who instilled in me the values of patience and determination, and urged me to aspire unceasingly excellence.

I also dedicate it to my little brother and sister,

To my cousin and all my dear relatives,

To my teachers and classmates,

And everyone I know.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for my supervisor Mrs. Amaria MEHDAOUI, and thank her for the wise guidance and supervision. This work would not have been completed without her assistance.

I would like also to thank the members of the committee: Dr. Nawel OUHIBA and Dr. Zakaria SELMI who spared no efforts in order to contribute to this humble work with their knowledge.

Finally, I extend my greetings to all my teachers during the Master courses and everyone who helped me in finalizing this work.

Abstract

The presence of Nativism in America can be traced back all the way to the 18th century. After the independence, Americans were determined to establish a country that is completely different than the others. For this matter, they abandoned the idea of allowing immigrants to come to the U.S as their arrival may create burdens in Americans' path to find their new identity. At present, the 45th President of the U.S Donald Trump has attracted the attention of the entire world to himself with his unexpected and controversial decisions. The aim of this dissertation is to unfold the truth behind the political decisions of Donald Trump (the Wall of Mexico, the Muslim Travel Ban) and to investigate whether these decisions were planned to work for the benefits of the U.S citizens and the country in general, or if they reflect his nativist thinking. The research question is answered through analyzing various abhorrent speeches of Trump towards immigrants in comparison to the demands of nativist parties.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

APA: American Protective Association

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

MAGA: Make America Great Again

NAFTA: The North American Free Trade Agreement

OSSB: Order of the Star Spangled Banner

SPLC: Southern Poverty Law Center

TPP: The Trans-Pacific Partnership

U.S: The United States

WTO: The World Trade Organization

General Introduction

General Introduction

Ever since America was discovered in 1492, people from different regions of Europe decided to settle in the newly found continent as it was perceived as a land of opportunities. Those Europeans immigrants were able to form self-governing colonies under the rule of Great Britain. However, in the year 1776 they announced their independence from Britain because they felt they belong to the New Land more than they belong to their mother land.

Despite being of European origins, Americans did not have any tolerance for new immigrants who intended to settle in America. For this reason, Americans displayed feelings of resentment towards refugees from countries whose customs and political practices were drastically different from the American ones, especially Irish Catholics who were perceived to be loyal to the Pope. These nativist sentiments began in the 18th century, peaked in the 19th century and maintained its presence up until the beginning of the 20th century. However, after the Second World War in 1945, nativism started decreasing. The dissolution of the Soviet Union had a major role in eliminating nativism from the U.S political scene.

The 2016 presidential election was one of the most controversial elections ever, mainly because of Donald J Trump's surprising win over the Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton. Trump ran his campaign based on an anti-immigration agenda. He made it clear that a new policy restricting the entry to the U.S will be his primary commitment as a president. Consequently, speculations circled around his decisions, and some historians formed a logical connection between Trump's decisions and Nativism. The term has been studied by many historians such as John Higham in his book *Strangers in the Land*.

Effectively, the current dissertation seeks to answer the following questions:

- How did immigrants contribute to the rise of Nativism? And to what extent did they affect the U.S politics?

- Why did Trump tackle immigration in his campaign? And what are the main decisions he made as a president?
- Did Donald Trump's campaign slogan 'Make America Great Again' mirror his nativist thinking?

To reach the aim of the study, this research attempts to answer the following questions:

- When large immigrant groups began to arrive at the end of the nineteenth century, they became a new focus for Americans who did not accept foreigners for reasons ranging from racial bigotry to fear of losing their own jobs. Some Americans fostered a strong dislike of immigrants and embraced a movement called nativism. The American government also was a part of this movement, as there were several acts passed in order to limit or even prevent these immigrants from entering the U.S.
- Donald Trump believed that immigrants are taking from the U.S more than they are giving to it, consequently; the economy deteriorated. To fix the situation, Trump pledged through his campaign speeches to build a wall on the southern border to stop the overflow of Mexican immigrants and to ban air flights from Muslim countries.
- Considering the controversy attached to the creation of the slogan and the fact that Trump might have actually stole the slogan from Ronald Reagan, it is possible that Trump is intending to make the United States nativist again.

Nativism as a topic has been studied by many scholars such as John Higham in his book *Strangers in the Land* and Tyler Anbinder in his book *Nativism and Slavery*. The enormous amount of information about nativism provided by these two books motivated the researcher to conduct this study. Moreover, there were various articles and reports that addressed the presidential candidate Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential campaign, and his aggressive speeches against immigrants. These articles in addition to the novelty of the topic also gave the researcher an extra motivation to finalize his study.

This dissertation is divided into three chapters of approximate length. The first one entitled *Nativism in the History of America* will shed light on different scholars' definition of term; highlight its origins, its numerous forms; present the various groups and parties of the outmost importance in the rise of nativist sentiments and take account of the political and economical consequences since its early beginning to this day.

The second chapter entitled *Donald Trump's Immigration Policy* will introduce a concise biography of President Donald Trump in which it illustrates his biggest life achievements. Additionally, this chapter will include a brief background of Donald Trump's religious beliefs as well as his political views; as they can be both crucial in linking his ideologies with his plan for Nativism. In addition to dealing with his presidential campaign from the day he announced his presidential run to the elections, this chapter will also tackle the immigration policy during the presidency of Trump by concentrating mostly on the Mexican Wall and the Muslim Ban alongside with other political and economical decisions.

The third chapter entitled *Analyzing Trump's Anti Immigrant Rhetoric* will at first place deal with an analysis of Trump's campaign slogan through explaining how he came up with it, why did he choose to make it the official slogan for his campaign and finally its similarities with the campaign statement of Ronald Reagan. In the second place, it will address the president's plans to restore American Exceptionalism as well as his suggestion of establishing a new foreign policy that would make the U.S the number one country in the world. Additionally, the same chapter will conclude by conducting a discourse analysis of the president's speeches to attempt and read beyond the words of Trump in order to understand his true intentions. Similarly, the chapter will also conduct an analytical comparison between the president's speeches and different statements of some outstanding nativist groups.

During the process of conducting this study, the researcher encountered various limitations: the first limitation is the novelty of the topic, as it keeps getting updated on a daily

basis. The second limitation is the dearth of resources, mainly because of the topic's newness as well as the unavailability of the university library.

Chapter One

Nativism in the History

of America

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1.1. Introduction

Even though it was a land originally founded by immigrants, America has been obsessed with discriminating between "American" and "non-American" entities since its establishment. America's ability to rid itself of "foreignness" has always been essential to the development of its cultural identity. It started from the brutal conquest of the Native Americans to the invasion of territories belonging to Mexico. Taking this into account, the first chapter of this dissertation will analyze Nativism from its diverse aspects. It will also interpret scholars' definition of the term, reveal its different forms and uncover its outcomes on U.S politics and economy.

1.2. Definition of Nativism

Historically speaking, Nativism has always been related to the dominance of any nation's native inhabitants and their distrust towards other people from foreign countries, even if they were similar in terms of religion, race or ethnicity. These differences developed more among those people when they believed themselves to be the rightful owners of their lands or the legitimate residents of a particular area or country. As a result, nativist sentiments started to rise and it targeted immigrants and anyone who was seen as an outsider. The native inhabitants of any region labeled others as outsiders not on the basis of their physical appearances or cultural backgrounds, but according to their citizenship or their legal status in the country (Fernandez 1).

Historians have had an interest in studying everything related to 'nativism', especially in the history of America. They believed it would give them a chance to determine the reasons behind the emergence of certain questionable concepts such as assimilation; segregation and marginality, and how they can affect all the different minorities. A quick overview of nativism's history in the United States can show us that it did not attempt to clarify the structure of society. Rather, it traced a charged sentimental

compulsion (Higham 148). In other words, the new owners of the New Land were so moved by these nativist sentiments that instead of making an attempt to introduce the core American nationality to other countries in the right way, they choose to go after foreigners simply because they considered them a threat for their national identity which they were yet to define.

In the light of this, numerous definitions of the term 'nativism' surfaced to the top. In his book under the name *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American nativism*, John Higham emphasized on the fact that historians had troubles describing nativism. For Higham, the term is distinctly American and a result of a certain series of events in eastern U.S cities in the mid nineteenth century. The emergence of nativism was due to the massive immigration waves which America witnessed, coming mostly from Western Europe. Based on this, the author noted that Nativism is an extreme resistance to an internal minority due to its external relations, i.e. non-American (3). He further noted that Nativism consist of every type of hostility towards immigrants and their religion, language and ideology. Higham stressed on the fact that the nativist sentiments existed even before the term did.

Moreover, Higham expanded his definition of the term in his book *Another Look At Nativism* (1958) by stating that it is a state of mind that refers to a set of emotions, behaviors, mentalities that 'native born' Americans felt and performed toward immigrants (uniquely Catholics), in the middle of the nineteenth century. He added that the term was developed to characterize the ideals that a given political party promoted (147-148).

Above all, in his book *Working the Boundaries* (2005), Nicholas De Genova wondered about why other scholars choose to focus on 'native-ness' instead of 'foreignness' when trying to understand the concept of nativism:

However, while the opposition of “native” and “foreign” is surely crucial, what is ultimately decisive in defining the anti-immigrant politics of nativism is precisely not a preoccupation with the foreignness of any particular migrants or other internal minority so much as with the “native-ness” of U.S citizens, and the promotion of the priority of the latter—exclusively on the grounds of their being “native.” (60)

In other words, De Genova is implying that Nativism is not at all linked to the kind of fear or antipathy towards foreigners, which is initially labeled as xenophobia, although it may usually be associated with it.

Moving on, since both nativism and racism direct their hatred towards minorities, some scholars made a link between the two concepts. When dealing with Nativism through a Critical Race Theory mindset, it is important to associate it with racism in order to provide a definition for the hypothesized relation between the two concepts. In order to achieve that, using the general definition of racism to describe nativism is more necessary to establish a philosophical connection (Huber et al. 40). Effectively, Huber et al. (2008) admitted that the ability to distinguish between the native and the non-native is essential to all of these interpretations. Although some claim that the reason behind these disparities is focused mainly on the legal status of the immigrant, Huber et al. have believed that natives’ perceptions are too complicated to be linked with constitutional layouts.

In detail, Americans did not adopt nativism because they were against foreigners, but because they were more focused on themselves as citizens. It just happened to be that immigrants came to America in a time when the inhabitants of the New Land were still working on defining the identity of their country without the intervention of non-Americans.

1.3. Origins of Nativism

As a concept, nativism's existence in the U.S is as old as the country itself. According to the previously mentioned historians, Americans have had hatred sentiments towards foreigners ever since the mid 1700's, i.e. the U.S was not even a country yet, still its problems with immigrants had already begun. In other words, Nativism was introduced before America even came to existence (Merelli). Over the years, some of the well-known, well-educated American figures were surprisingly the most deafening anti-immigrant voices in the history of the United States. Benjamin Franklin, one of the founding fathers of the U.S, was also one of those deafening voices. Before the independence of America from Great Britain, Benjamin Franklin used his well-known position as a writer to express his thoughts concerning immigrants. He focused mainly on the Germans since they were the largest group of immigration to America, with a large margin over the English and the Irish. For some reasons, Franklin believed that "the Spaniards, Italians, French, Russians and Swedes, are generally of what we call a swarthy Complexion; as are the Germans also, the Saxons only excepted" (qtd. in Jacobson 49).

Basically, he implicitly differentiated between Europeans and Americans (who were either immigrants from Europe or children to those immigrants) with the emphasis on Germans, as he considered them more different than Americans compared to the Spaniards for example, thus, not welcoming them to America. Influenced by his writings, some English colonists in Pennsylvania pursued Franklin's lead by calling local Germans' allegiance to the throne into question (Smith par. 6).

In the words of John Higham, the earliest and the most powerful form of nativism originated from the shock of Catholic Reformation. Protestants hostility against Rome served effectively in shaping their ideologies. The several acts passed in the 1800's by the established church in England triggered the nativist thinking of the U.S Protestants. In

effect, many religious and social variables, some of which are nativist, have played a significant role in the anti-Catholic sentiments for the U.S 'natives'. Based on these feelings, scholars viewed nativism and anti-Catholicism more or less as two identical concepts (Higham 5).

Looking back into the history of anti- Catholicism, one would find out that America was not its cradle, as it originated overseas; precisely in England. It was there particularly where the hatred of Catholicism has become an adaptive public consciousness. English people fought somewhat constantly against opposing Catholic forces or their own pro-Catholic rulers between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In an interview with the Chinese Social Sciences Today (2017), Paul A. Kramer elaborated that the anti-Catholic heritage was exported across the Atlantic and was, in effect, an important element in colonial loyalties and a crucial component in the creation of a U.S national identity. As it is stated, the reformation acts frightened American Protestants; hence, they refused the immigration of European Catholics. Consequently, an Irish Catholic protest movement emerged against immigrants based on different matters; such as of religion, poverty and alleged loyalty to the Pope. These protesters believed that the U.S has been and must always remain a Protestant and Anglo-Saxon nation.

American Protestants remonstrated against the ones who were already living there in the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a result of these protests, a revolutionary Protestantism movement profoundly influenced American patriotic feelings, with the help of the French-Indian war. Nevertheless, these movements appeared inadequate to make the No-Popery state an outstanding national matter (Higham 5-6).

A second form of nativism that was far less dominant than anti-Catholicism and occurred nearly a century earlier; a state of distrust of foreign radicals was born. Historians referred to this state as 'anti- radical nativism'. Often, cautious conservatives consider

immigrants vulnerable to political revolution. There were clearly many differences between the two forms; however, anti-Catholic and anti-radical nativism acknowledged that the infidelity of the Europeans would explicitly affect the constitutional independence (6-7).

It was difficult for Americans to see the revolution in a very unsatisfied light for a considerable period of time. Higham explained why it was hard for them to follow that path by saying “Their own origins as a nation rested in it; their Declaration of Independence celebrated it” (7). Always in accordance to him, the American Revolution engaged relatively some notable social and political alterations; its leaders were aiming to perfect an existing society rather than construct a new one on its wrecks. This is why American society embraced the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of revolutionary movements in Europe and Latin America, even though refugees from those revolutions were not welcomed in ‘the land of the oppressed’. This was due to the recurrent contrast between the largely hoped-for mobility psychology of America and the more desperate politics born in class Europe. This particular contrast has basically cultivated the idea that a strong and aggressive resistance to the ruling class is typically European and fundamentally non-American. Effectively, Anti-radical movements in America have had a particular tendency towards taking on a nativist form just like the anti-Catholic ones did (7-8). An important event should be highlighted when talking about anti-radical nativism and that is the French Revolution. For Higham, it really had an important role in crystallizing the anti-radicalism movement (8).

Through these two forms of nativism, Americans attempted to create their national identity by attacking foreign groups (Catholics, war refugees), thus appearing superficially as both a negative and a destructive nativist ideology. This was not the case with the third and the late form of nativism. Since anti-Catholicism and anti-radicalism failed to define

Americans' identity, and since they strongly believed in false ideologies such as the biological inferiority of certain races than others, racial nativism was exactly what was right for them. Americans, most notably the ones who descended from a north European origin tried to delineate the core of their country by positively depicting the American nationality to the whole world. Taking this into account, they refer to themselves as 'The Anglo-Saxon Caucasian' race, effectively; they labeled the other entire non English speaking group as an unwelcomed race to their land (Higham 9, Knoll 55).

Racial nativism is specifically linked to Irish and German immigrants who arrived and settled in America, mostly in the Northeast, and in a much lesser degree to Chinese immigrants who settled in the Midwest. Racism against these three groups was crystallized most notably between the years 1820 and 1870. Germans migrated because they were looking for more fertile lands since the majority of them were farmers. However, Irish people migrated to the United States to escape from 'The Great Famine' that nearly caused a mass starvation and numerous diseases spread all around Ireland.

For the Germans, they were not as much racially discriminated against as the Irish. Besides being Catholics, immigrants from Ireland were ready to get any job while accepting to get paid much less than Americans would. This was unfair for the locals, and they could not compete with this, therefore; they did all what they can to make the Irish feel unwelcomed. Among what they did was: spreading false stereotypes, depicting them as constantly drunk people so it would be hard for them to get any job. Chinese settlers on the other hand did not suffer as much, since the majority of them mostly worked in gold mines, a domain that not all Americans cared to take part in.

1.4. Outstanding Nativist Groups

Ever since Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492, the new land has been the number one destination for people from around the world, especially from

Europe. People immigrated to America for many reasons. Religious ones such as escaping from the persecution of the church, or economical ones; since some people needed to own lands and start businesses, and of course this could be done only in the new land. Immigrating to America was somehow an easy thing to do up until 1776. This was the year when the thirteen colonies declared their independence from Great Britain. Because as previously mentioned, colonists were moved by newly emerging emotions of belonging to the land. Simultaneously, nativist sentiments also helped in forming the ideology of those colonists after claiming their independence. But because separate individuals cannot make from those sentiments a major concern, a respected number of groups emerged, whose main goal was to make from nativism a national matter.

1.4.1. The Know-Nothing Party

People from all around the world, most notably the ones who suffered from life threatening issues such as oppression and poverty fled to the United States, since they considered it to be a safe shelter from all those problems. On the contrary of that, nativist movements were widely appreciated throughout the history of America. Even though there were many nativist groups, none of them succeeded in having a bigger significant value than *Order of the Star Spangled Banner* (Anbinder 9).

The Order of the Star Spangled Banner was a secret society that required a set of requirements for entering. These requirements for joining the underground organization were pretty odd: the 'Seeing Sam' initiation ritual, Pass codes and manual signals memorization, a sincere commitment to never violate the order and many other ceremonial acts which indicated from the beginning that this was not going to be a usual gathering. In fact, the OSSB participants were totally forbidden to speak about the organization. When asked by other people, they were instructed to reply by saying "I know nothing."

All these bizarre rules did not prevent people from joining this ‘fraternity’. On the contrary, the society actually became larger and larger. By 1853 it became a popular faction under the name of ‘Know Nothings’, a strong political party (Boissoneult par. 2).

In one of their articles, Sabrina Ramet and Christine Hassentab (2013) discussed Know-Nothingism and its rise and demise. According to them, The Know-Nothing Party was born to enforce Nativism, which originated in many regions of the nation during the 1830s. Effectively, Rev. Lyman Beecher insisted on the Protestants in the Mississippi Valley, to expand their religious influence towards the West, hoping to prevent Catholics from becoming a majority; even prior to the Great Wave of Irish Migration (570-595).

The Know-Nothing faction (or as originally called the American party), ranging from Massachusetts to California, at its peak in the 1850s included over 100 elected Congressmen, a commanding share of half-dozen state legislatures, and thousand local politicians. And since we previously said that the Know-Nothings were a nativist group, every decision they came up with was directly aimed towards immigrants.

Some crucial matters such as: the deportation of beggars and thieves whose residence in the country is illegal, the extension of the naturalization period to be 21 years for immigrant, obliging students to read the Bible in their classes and eliminating catholic immigrants from public offices were a top priority for the nativist party (Boissoneult par. 3).

Undoubtedly, members of the Know-Nothing were on a mission to revive their dream of a self dependent America. A mission that they succeeded at for a short period of time, because at some point they have grown to be the third most powerful political party in the United States. And the main reason behind their major success in a short period of time is that they were the first party to use immigration as a major part of their agenda to address economic issues. This move allowed them to fill the power gap that was created by

the Whigs party. After the latter party split up, the Know-Nothings followed their path, except that they decided to disregard slavery and focus their energy on the issue of immigration (Boissoneault). Despite being mainly and forcibly driven by anti-Catholicism, The Know-Nothing Party also identified itself as an organization determined to stop the massive corruption of American politics, protecting working class economic interests, and upholding conservative ideals in general and even in the area of gender identity (Ramet and Hassenstab 570-595).

Therefore, despite a number of local impulses to curb its anti-Catholicism, the different streams of the Know-Nothing party were indeed connected to the increasing Catholic influence in the U.S. As nativists claimed, it was the Catholics in the first place who distorted American politics, took jobs away from Protestants and corrupted a nation's sexual ethics and undermined the fragile gender inequality balance (570-595).



Figure.1. Flag of the Know-Nothing or American Party (adopted from:

<https://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2018/07/12/know-nothing-party-turned-nativism-political-strategy/ideas/essay/>)

1.4.2. Ku Klux Klan

After the deadly fires of the Civil War were finally ceased in the summer of 1865, Americans figured that this would finally be the real beginning for their nation, however; not everything was still calm and peaceful. Without a doubt, the biggest loser of the War was the South, as it was battered, whipped out deeply and painfully (Hohman 1-2). Despite all that, during Ulysses S. Grant's presidential election, White Supremacists waged a terror campaign in every single southern state of America. Southern Democrats formed groups that aggressively threatened both African-Americans and Republicans who tried to secure their political influence in an utter disregard of the Republican-led federal government. The Ku Klux Klan was founded in 1865, in Pulaski, Tennessee, as the most influential one among all these groups. The Klan was originally established as a social club for war veterans as well as former soldiers in the Confederation. In addition to undermining Southern Blacks and Republican political power, it was also blamed for thousands of deaths.

The Ku Klux Klan grew significantly and generated unlimited power in an oppressive, violent climate. Extremists Southern racists gathered and formed various groups. They would organize marches aimed at blacks and republicans. In May 1866, there was a conflict in Memphis, Tennessee between whites and former black soldiers. White police officers have accompanied the white protesters all through the black areas in their violent rampage. There were considerable numbers of casualties and material losses by the time the attack stopped: 46 people were killed, 70 others wounded and many schools and churches were completely destroyed.

A similar exchange of fire occurred in New Orleans two months later, on the 30th of July. This time, a group of white protesters assaulted people who were attending a conference on black suffrage. These violent acts resulted in the killing of 37 blacks and

three whites associated with them ("Reconstruction And The KKK"). These waves of violence paved the way for the KKK to emerge by using the crimes against the blacks as an excuse to join the race.

The Klan continued its progress throughout the years. And by the year 1868, they changed the nature of the group from social to secret. All the members who wanted to join the group must wear a white robe with a hood that covers their faces in order to preserve their identity. And to complete the radical change, they Klan changed the name of the group from the Klu Klux Klan to "The Invisible Empire of the South".

Nathan Bedford Forrest, a Confederate General during most of the Civil War, was the first leader, or the "Grand Wizard" of the newly restructured group. The Klan's members included white southerners from all backgrounds. For the sake of upholding law and order in a predominate white society, Klansmen abused newly emancipated blacks for various reasons, including their 'impudent' conduct against whites. Teachers of the freed men were punished, and their schools were burned. Yet, above all, the Klan attempted, by terrorizing and killing its party leaders and everyone who voted in favor, to suppress Republican forces in the South.



Figure.2. Ku Klux Klan members from Chicago and northern Illinois (adopted from:

<https://voices.uchicago.edu/religionculture/2017/06/14/813/>)

The actions of the Klan took off rapidly and violently in the period leading up to the presidential campaign in 1868. The electoral race between Democrat Horatio Seymour, and Republican Ulysses S. Grant, was an important link in the chain of events that was yet to come. Candidate Grant promised to limit white supremacists' political influence, especially in the southern states. Leaders of the Klan believed that given the chance, the Blacks would vote the Republican candidate. Consequently, the Klan, alongside other terrorist organizations used extreme brutality to threaten the Republican followers in the South. Nonetheless, the violent actions of the Klan confirmed for the majority of Northerners that the South did not learn the lesson from the Civil War. In addition, the practices of the Klan have reverted in this manner. So people realized that tougher laws were more than needed to stop the abuse and defend Southern Blacks.

The Democratic candidate Ulysses S. Grant won the presidential elections in 1868 under the motto 'Let us have peace'. In the Senate, too, Republicans gained the majority of the seats. In the light of that, many northern citizens who were displeased with the Klan's brutality gave their support to the Fifteenth Amendment, which granted black men the right to vote in each state, and the First Reconstruction Act of 1867, which put stricter limits on the South and tightly controlled the establishment of their new governments (Grant, *Reconstruction And The KKK*). After this act was passed, a serious continuant chain attacks against the Klan followed, Democratic representatives in the congress aimed at ending the suffrage of southern African-Americans. This led to the famous 'Klu Klux Klan Act', or commonly known as The Enforcement Act in 1871, which gave the government the upper hand in their conflict with Klan. In the name of this act, President Grant ordered the imprisonment of hundred of Klansmen. By doing so, the influence of the whites in the south was reduced, clearing the way for Democrats to obtain absolute control over the south and announcing the fall of the Klu Klux Klan. Inspired by the American silent epic film 'Birth of a Nation' by D. W. Griffith that portrayed the leaders of the KKK as a group of heroes whose mission was to save the nation from the aftermaths of the Civil War, a group of white Protestants gathered in an attempt to revive the Klan. This new wave of the Klan was not only anti-Blacks but also despised Catholics, Jews and immigrants in general as well as organized labor. They were fuelled by the growing opposition to the invasion of immigrants witnessed by America at the beginning of the 20th century and by concerns of the communist Revolution comparable to the 1917 Bolshevik victory. The movement adopted a burning cross as its emblem. Their main goal was to bring back the glory of the earlier Klan. For this reason, Klan leaders organized rallies and marches across the country to make sure they convince the largest number of people to join them. At the height of its membership in the 1920s, the Klan population was over 4 million (Clark par. 15).

1.5. The Outcomes of Nativism

The U.S has long been viewed as a land of the free and a destination for stability and upward growth for potential immigrants. With that, Americans were absolutely in an understandable alliance with the immigration wave of the nineteenth century. Perhaps this could explain why they probably did not call into question the immigration policy. This accord could also be the result of the low stats of incoming immigrants. This was due to the enormous expense that Europeans had to pay in order to cross the Atlantic, especially in the seventieth and eightieth centuries.

However, the expense of immigration decreased in the mid-19th century with sailing technological revolutions and increasing dependence on a system of migrant finances, which contributed to a long period of time during which America witnessed the emerge of a mass immigration from various European countries (1850-1920) (Abramitzky and Boustan 1313). With that said, land owners began to question the immigration policy.

1.5.1. Backlash against Immigrants

In the late 19th century, immigration to America reached crazy numbers. Immigrants arrived from different regions of the world. This resulted in an increasing mixture of new beliefs and traditions which caused distrust and insecurity. In response, most have adopted nativism and opposed foreign forces in favor of their own cultural practices, valuing white Americans over new immigrants. In view of this, citizens from across the nation joined their voices to form one heard voice that clearly refuse immigrants without any exceptions. According to Rodger Streitmatter (1999) who is an American professor of journalism, actions of the anti-immigrants were so violent and so intense that the so-called Nativist press emerged. Its representatives made an alliance with the American Protective Association in order to have a bigger influence.

The American Protective Association was the strongest of many other secret societies of men and women who were committed to keep the country firmly on track during the political and economic instability, and this is why the Nativist Press became influential as well. Streitmatter argued that both the writers and readers of the nativist texts were participants of these anti-immigrant communities, and that they were thoroughly assured that the influx of immigrants to the coasts of America was undermining their country (Streitmatter 673-674). In late 1880s and 1890, the nativist press regularly spoke in sharp terms about immigrants. A.P.A magazine went even further by putting sharp and insulting headlines in its front pages (675). This wave of hate against both immigration and the policy related to it obliged the government to reconsider current immigration laws, and make changes if necessary.

The immigration policy in the U.S can be divided into two different periods. The first one is the Early Immigration Policy, during which two important laws were passed mainly against Chinese immigrants. The first one was 'The Chinese Exclusion Act', and it was passed in the spring of 1882. The main purpose of the act is that for ten years, Chinese workers were prevented from entering the country. This act marked the first attempt of the Federal Law to prevent the entry of an international working group in which the good order of certain areas was threatened.

The second one was 'the immigration act' that was also passed in 1882. This law obliged anyone to pay a fifty cent tax fee in order to be able to enter the country. In addition to that, it also prevented by any means people who are not able to take care of themselves (either physically or mentally) from accessing the country.

The second period is 'the Twentieth Century Immigration Policy'. What separated these two periods are the worldwide conflicts that occurred at that time. In fact, because of the American participation in the First World War contributed in the growth of

xenophobic sentiments. As previously mentioned, American citizens were more against the arriving of Irish immigrants than the Germans.

However, after the war, Germans became America's most hated foreigners. At this stage, the U.S witnessed the establishment of other crucial laws. The first one was 'The Immigration Act of 1924'. This law was passed to reduce the number of immigrants entering America by a collective by granting the right of obtaining visas only for 2 percent of all citizens of each nationality in the United States. 'The Nationality Act of 1940' was another important law that was signed by the 32nd president of the United States after the congress has previously passed it. The goal of this act was to reassess and formalize United States nationality laws into such a full citizenship code.

Unlike the first war, the outcomes of the Second World War were somehow positive for immigrants. It was basically the turning point in the timeline of U.S immigration policy. Given that military recruitment for the war was compulsory, a massive lack of manpower occurred. The United States and Mexico were thus prompted to establish the Bracero Program in 1942 that enabled Mexican farm workers to temporarily enter the American territory.

In order to manage the increasing flow of people who were looking a permanent indwelling in the U.S after World War II, the United States passed its first Refugee and Resettlement Act six years after the Bracero program (History.com Editors).

From the period that followed the Second World War and until the second and last presidential term of Barack Obama, America's immigration policy seemed somehow tolerant with immigrants. However, with the arrival of President Donald Trump, he changed this policy, or in other words, he revived the old one.

1.5.2. Political Outcomes of Nativism

While the U.S was a country made up of immigrants from the beginning, Nativism was a crucial burden of the national structure. It had varying effects on the American culture and politics, and in certain times anti-immigrant violence was more insidious than others. As previously discussed, Nativism was a crucial matter even before the independence of America and the creation of the modern day U.S, but it only became a dividing issue in its politics until the mid nineteenth century in the aftermath of the huge Irish and German immigrants flow.

In the 1840s nativist movements grew up in the city of New York and spread into Philadelphia because of anti-Catholicism and corrupted nationalism (Landis par.6). In the words of Michael Todd Landis (2018), those nativist groups were semi-secret fraternal organizations, at first, more concerned with local issues and cultural sense of community than with national politics. They introduced themselves to the political scene with such names: *Native American Democratic Association* and *the United American Organization*. However in 1851, Maine State prohibited liquor, which provoked a massive outrage. Since the Irish and the Germans were infamously known as drunkard, local nativists vigorously promoted temperance as a way of punishing immigrant populations.

On the other side, liberals and newcomers ignored the morality imposed on themselves by government and fought to call of the temperance laws. Evolving movements at a local and state level for temperance and citizenship were indicative of major national problems as the country endured an uncontrollable industrialization and increasing conflict in the expansion of slavery.

Because of issues such as bank policy in the 1830s and nullification, the two-party system of Democrats and Whigs could not control the forces of abolitionism, the Act of

1850s, and American nativists were more concerned about immigration than banks and customs tariffs. So the system of the second part broke down. Additionally, the Whigs party dissolved after their southern faction joined with the democrats to support the infamous slavery compromise of 1850. According to Landis, this was the main reason that Democrats won both the White House and congress in 1852.

Political scientists relied on this historical background when giving explanations on the rise of nativism, and whether this attitude forms the political preferences of voters or not (Davis et al 2). Far too much mainstream attention and academic focus on multiculturalism and immigration views opened the door for the assumption that more people hold native attitudes, and/or the political scenes trigger those interests either by political parties or by the individual politicians. This is what led eventually to form a strong relationship between Nativism and the outcome of the elections.

Considering the last campaign and how Trump was able to secure a position in the White House over the qualified Clinton, it became obvious that in order to benefit their electoral results, some political parties can take advantage of these views. As it was clear that there was no way for Trump to win the elections if he did not include anti immigration plans in his campaign.

1.5.3 Economical Outcomes of Nativism

Unlike the political effects, it can be very difficult to understand how the rise of nativist sentiments affected the U.S economy. At this stage, economists split into two groups: a group who believe that Nativism has positive outcomes, whereas the other group believes the opposite. In order to figure out what kind of influence Nativist feelings have on the economy, we have to study first how can immigrants affect the economical system. The majority of people have a false image of immigration. For many of them, they think that a foreign worker just arrives and takes a job off a local worker.

Economists pointed out a lot of mistakes in this wide spread image. Mushfiq Mobarak, a professor of Economics at the Yale school of management argued that what people think about immigration employment could be true only when an immigrant fairly replaces a local employee. In fact, immigrants often do not want indigenous jobs, as they only tend to work in any field of business that does not attract the attention of natives. In other words, Americans who possess a good set of skill are hard to be replaced. Farming for example, is not a field that attracts many local people.

However, it is the number one destination for immigrant laborers. Thus, this allows natives to focus more on other industries, and as a result of this, the national income increases. In the light of this, Mobarak suggested that immigrant workers can be a perfect alternative for the natives.

To explain this, he gave an example of a busy restaurant that is continuously receiving orders from customers, with dishes piling up in the kitchen. For the owner of the restaurant, business would be a lot better if he could find cheap dishwashers, as it would expand the movement of money, give more room for hiring extra waiters and bring in more costumers. Many immigrants provide services such as lawn mowing and babysitting, cutting costs and freeing up time for native workers.

Legal immigrants can also have an important role. Economy grows with creativity. Highly qualified immigrants generate scientific progress and further upgrades. This can be noticed mostly in the noble price winners. Most of the Americans who obtained this award are born in foreign countries. Surely, immigration presents challenges for some people Overall work is obviously pushing economic growth and producing more winners and losers in America (Mobarak).

1.6. Conclusion

To conclude, the purpose of this chapter was to highlight different historians' and scholars' definition of Nativism and how they managed through their researches to investigate the crucial influence of Nativism on the creation of America as a nation, especially its politics and economics. In a nutshell, immigrants affect politics the same way Nativism would.

Chapter Two

Donald Trump's

Immigration Policy

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2.1. Introduction

Since the United States of America is one of the most influential nations in the world, every action it takes has an instant significant effect on the other nations. Considering the fact that it is the number one destination for immigrants, political scientists have always had a growing interest in studying the immigration policy of the United States of America, as they believed that though it is an interior matter, any decision related to it can have a certain impact on the world. They became more interested in studying it after candidate Donald Trump pledged to completely reform the United States immigration policy.

For this reason, the second chapter of this dissertation will explore the early life of Donald Trump, his religious beliefs, his political views and his presidential campaign. This chapter will also shed light on the highly anticipated foreign policy of the U.S president and his plans for both the undocumented immigrants living in America and the overflow of the Mexican immigrants. It will also set to illustrate the different ways his decisions can have an impact on America's internal and especially foreign policies.

2.2. Introducing Donald Trump

According to *Biography website*, Donald John Trump was born in June 19, 1946 in Queens, New York. He took an active role in Manhattan's big, lucrative construction projects. In 1980, he launched the New York Grand Hyatt, making him the most well-known developer of the area. In 2004, Trump had a star role in the successful reality TV show *The Apprentice*. As of 2015, Trump became more involved in politics. In the same year, he declared his presidential candidacy of the United States, after he won the nomination of his Republican Party. In November of the following year, Trump was elected the 45th President of America after upsetting the Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton (Biography.com Editors).

2.2.1. Early Days

As stated by BBC News in an article published in 2017, Donald Trump was born in a rich family. He was the fourth son of the well-know New York businessman Fredrick Christ Trump. In spite of the financial prosperity of his family, Trump was forced to occupy the smallest position in his father's business. After failing to maintain appropriate behavior in his school, Trump's parents did not have any choice but to send him to a military academy when he was 13 years old. Trump completed his higher education in the University of Pennsylvania, namely the Wharton School.

Since his elder brother, Fred, decided to be a pilot, Trump was chosen to succeed his old man, mainly because he retained his father's passion for gathering information and entrepreneurial thoughts. In the light of this, he went to work in his father's business following his graduation in 1968. Trump had a lot in common with his father, however; there was a significant variance between the two. In one hand, Fred was a man who cherished every single cent he made and he always assured to his son that there is no shortcut for success. On the other hand, young Donald Trump was a day dreamer who was too dependent on his father's wealth to achieve success.

Motivated by this, Trump went on to get a 1 million dollar loan from his father. Through this loan, he managed to become a real estate broker. As a result of this, he assisted in overseeing his father's vast housing construction portfolio in New York City. Eventually, he took over the business and in 1971 he changed the name of the company to The Trump Organization (Biography, BBC News).

Tim Ott highlighted an important period in the life of Donald Trump. In 1973, when the Trump Company faced a federal case for unfair leasing practices, Trump junior got his first experience of fame. Refusing to give up, he stood up against the government's deceptive remarks. Despite his efforts, members of the Trump Organization were ultimately obliged to

publish statements claiming that they accepted minority landlords but Donald was convinced that they were wrongly accused (par. 5).

With Fred Trump growing too old to handle the pressure of the organization, it was about time that Donald Trump take advantage and become the head of the company. He seized this opportunity and instantly switched the business of his family from housing units in Brooklyn and Queens to flashy buildings in Manhattan, turning the neglected Commodore Hotel into Grand Hyatt and reconstructing the Trump family's most prominent house, the 68-storey Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue.

In the mid-1980s, Trump seemed to have satisfied his ambitions. He increased his influence to Atlantic City casinos and showed remarkable value in correcting the boat on the continuous pending reconstruction of the Wollman Rink in Central Park. Likewise his professional success, he also became father to three children: Donald Jr., Ivanka and Eric with Czech Model Ivana Zelnickova who he got married with in 1977 (Biography, BBC News).

In the 1990s, though, his personal life and business matters took a downhill road. In the beginning, his marriage with Ivana came to an end in 1992. Then there was the economic downturn crisis that left him with an estimated 5 billion dollar debt. In the event of that, Trump agreed on several consolidation deals with various banks. Henceforth, he was obliged to give up his air travel company to the U.S airline. He was also required to limit his yearly spending to \$450,000 (Duignan).

In order to overcome these financial setbacks, Trump decided to invest in the world of entertainment, in which he had an immense presence. Between the years 1996 and 2015, he owned the rights of many famous beauty contest shows such as: Miss Universe, Miss America and Miss Teen U.S. In 2003, he produced a NBC TV show called The Apprentice, in which participants engaged in contest for an executive spot in the company of Trump. The show lasted for 14 successful years during which he made approximately 213 million dollar.

Furthermore, he needed to secure his personal life; for this reason, he got married with his present day wife Melania Knauss, a Slovenian-American former model and the current First Lady (BBC News).

2.2.2. Donald Trump's Religious Background

Religion was not an important theme for most of the Election campaign in 2016, primarily because both major party candidates rarely came clean about their religion beliefs. Whereas Hilary Clinton is a Methodist; Donald Trump stated that he is a Protestant. More precisely, he said that he is a Presbyterian, a form of Protestantism that originated from Scotland (Burke; Michael, par. 1).

Trump's beliefs came from his English mother Mary Anne, who was both born and raised in the Scottish borders until he moved to New York in 1930. His father Fred was a Lutheran, another form that is similar to Presbyterianism and originated from Germany. Yet, he aggressively embraced Protestant business ethics as he brought his sons to industrial estates, even on Sundays. Prior to joining Manhattan's Marble Collegiate Church in the seventies, the Trumps participated in the First Presbyterian Church of New York. However, Donald Trump did not prefer to go to Church with the exception of important events such as weddings and funerals (Michael, pars. 2-5).

Growing up, Trump declared himself to be a steadfast Christian that not only he goes to church in any Christian holiday, but he also attended it every possible Sunday. He maintained that the Bible is in his top two favorite books. Actually, he mentioned that many of his fans send him Bibles as gifts, which he will always keep. He revealed he has a unique spot in his house where he stores all the Bibles he gets because he believes they will be somehow defiled. He named the Bible the most outstanding book ever, maintaining that nothing tops it (Frazier).

Even so, as per analysts, his statements seem too ambiguous, implying that he knows nothing about the Bible. Whenever asked about religion, Trump would always respond in an obscure manner. When a Christian Broadcasting Network asked Trump questions about his opinions concerning God, he said that he actually believes he is the supreme power. But what was strange about his answer is that he instantly switched the topic and began talking about a major deal on a golf course he recently closed, then returning to the main point which is the greatness of God (Frazier; Burke, par. 13).

Michael D'Antonio, author of *The Truth About Trump*, noted that Trump's expansive vocabulary is used for purposes. D'Antonio further elaborated that Donald likes to consider all of his possibilities. Accordingly, this helps him keep his ideologies vague and ambiguous so that at some point he can reveal whatever necessary.

Instead of clarifying the ambiguity circling around his beliefs, Trump decided to make statements that directly attacked other religions such as Islam. His refusal to quote from The Bible despite having many books in his house did not stop from discussing Islam matters using illustration from *The Holy Quran* itself. In an interview with CBN, Trump talked about how Islam is the source of all the current terrorist acts in the world. He stated:

There's a lot of hatred there that's someplace. Now I don't know if that's from the Koran. I don't know if that's from someplace else but there's tremendous hatred out there that I've never seen anything like it. So, you have two views. You have the view that the Koran is all about love and then you have the view that the Koran is, that there's a lot of hate in the Koran (Trump).

Knowing more about Quran than the Bible put a great emphasis on the fact that Trump was not what he actually pretended to be in terms of religion, and that he only made those claims to gather the support of his Christian followers

2.2.3. Running for Presidency

The idea of Donald Trump, the wealthy businessman and the famous real estate developer, running for presidency was very unreal (Pilkington and Gabbatt par. 2). Beginning with that day when he marched down the walkway into his Tower's lobby to launch his campaign. Everybody who was familiar with Trump would know that little did he know about politics.

Trump previously expressed his intention to become a president way back in 1987, and even joined the presidential race in 2000 as a Reform Party candidate. However, the majority of people did not take his announcement seriously, as they thought he would only give a hot run for the expected winner Hilary Clinton. Additionally, people wished for this political suspense to go on a little bit longer, as they believed it would give them the opportunity for a 'late night laugh' (Kranish and Fisher 560; BBC News).

However, in reality the situation was completely the opposite of what was expected. The regular campaign outline was out of the frame when Trump declared candidacy. He encountered an unusual support, as a surprisingly large audience came together in front of the Trump Tower. Prompted by this gathering, Trump asked Corey Lewandowski, his campaign manager, to draft the speech of the announcement. He checked it with Trump after it was done, underlining the key points of the text. But then again, when he started talking at national events, Trump rejected the idea of sticking to the script. Instead, the previously prepared texts served only as contours to his speeches (563).

For Michael Kranish, an American author and a political reporter, Trump's speeches were full of powerful moments. However, they were also an absolute arrogant bravery. To demonstrate this, Marc Fish, a senior editor for the Washington Post, highlighted some parts of Trump's speeches in which he looked a complete "narcissistic bravado" (563). First and

foremost, he excessively bragged about funding his own campaign; mocking the leaders of the country for their stupidity; and brought into attention the warning threats of ISIS.

In one of his speeches, Donald Trump described the current state of America as “a dumping ground for everybody else's problems”. He also noted that the American Dream should be exclusively for American citizens only, and the most important part of his speeches is the one where he insisted on taking America back to the drawing board. In fact, this was the main theme of his campaign, thus the slogan ‘Make America Great Again’ was chosen for it (563).

The whole thing was viewed as a funny moment in a long journey; especially his statements, which people considered too comic for a presidential. Nonetheless, it was a powerful glimpse of what should be coming. It was Trump's intention from the beginning to introduce himself as both a volatile candidate and a loose cannon who is not afraid to say or do anything.

For what it is worth, he was so sure of his own instinctive abilities. He presented himself as morally incorrect, so that he can safely get away with the verbal attacks that he was about to sweep toward individuals and groups who disagree with his view of politics. Despite being a huge laughing stock, Trump managed to overcome this by speaking about issues that were sensitive in the eyes of the majority of Americans (564).

With this attitude, Trump announced his major commitments that he will work hard to achieve if he gets elected. According to Linda Qiu, a fact-check reporter for The New York Times, Trump's campaign was full of promises that were somehow difficult to achieve. Although the Republican candidate has made several unique promises, such as committing himself to work by not taking holidays and refusing the elites' reports, many of his guarantees are quite traditional. While Promises on tax cuts and war on terrorism are the kind of pledges

that any politician would render, Trump stepped up his presidency game and made a set of outstanding campaign promises (Qiu, pars. 1-7).

For starters, Trump said he would help revive productivity in several forms. Even though many experts argue that Trump is unable to restore the 4 million missing manufacturing jobs since the 1940s, he believed it was possible to do so, through announcing the end of partnership between the United and the Trans-Pacific. Equally, he promised to force taxes on products manufactured in China and Mexico.

Many experts considered this as a negative move, as they believed it could initiate a commerce conflict between the three countries, and end up causing people to lose their jobs. This pledge even breaches the international trading law, and there were some serious concerns that Trump would consequently announce America's departure from the WTO. In regardless to this, even if the U.S remains in the community, Mexico and China would not agree to these tariffs and would definitely take retribution (pars. 13-25).

While these commitments were only controversial for experts who understood its potential consequences, there were also other promises that even people with little knowledge can predict its repercussion. By announcing that he would build a wall in the southern border and ban the Muslims from entering the country, the Republican candidate indirectly waged a war against foreigners.

Through these two particular promises Trump was able to generate the enough momentum needed to enter the race as an 'extraordinary candidate'. For this reason, he won the elections and was eventually named the 45th President of the United States of America.

2.3. Immigration Policy under Trump

For Eric Bradner, who is a national political reporter for CCN, Donald Trump's view of immigrants can be summed up in 4 words: "they have to go". Bradner went further beyond by emphasizing on the importance of immigration in Trumps campaign. In an interview with NBC, Trump opposed President Barack Obama's efforts to encourage undocumented immigrants to remain in the country, including measures to discourage the deportation of undocumented parents of U.S citizen kids. In this matter, Trump stated that he will not differentiate between parents and children, thus deporting the whole family. He added that they would be obliged to exit the U.S and only be granted the permission to come back under an extended and a strict procedure. By the same token, he expressed his rejection of the right to citizenship for children who are born inside the boundaries of the nation, without taking into consideration the citizenship status of their parents (Bradner pars. 5-7).

Whilst Trump advocated for the mass deportation of all undocumented immigrants, promising to give them a chance for a potential legal reintroduction to America, his proposal does not mention anything about this initiative. Rather, it argues for the expulsion of all violent aliens instead of deporting the undocumented immigrants who would otherwise respect the law (Diamond and Murray par. 14).

Even as Trump's eloquence centered mostly on preventing illegal immigration on accusations of "terrorist" and "rape" refugees rooted in Mexico, it also supported simplifying the legal immigration system in the United States. In his new policy proposal, this was not discussed. Rather, it depended heavily on proposals to shield the professional life of American citizens from foreign employees and demanded stricter visa restrictions for highly qualified workers. When Trump was figuring out his policy, he asked for the help of Republican

Senator Jeff Sessions of Alabama, a longstanding proponent of both legal and illegal immigration in the planning of his policy (pars. 30-31).

2.3.1. Political Decisions

Donald Trump was officially announced the 45th president of the United States of America on January 20, 2017. After getting in office, he passed numerous executive orders as he previously promised to do in his presidential campaign. These decisions encountered national and international criticism. However, the complexities of changing the authority from one president to another may make it tough for Trump to go by his plans. For instance, the government he formed was too busy picking and approving around 300 to 400 political candidates. It was also occupied with certain complex international problems (e.g., the Middle East, Brexit, North Korea's nuclear threat) (Klingner 2).

2.3.1.1 The Mexican Wall

In June 2015, New York City billionaire Donald Trump announced his bid for the Republican nomination as President. Throughout his campaign, he depicted immigrants from Mexico as drug dealers. In a debate about immigration, Trump stated:

When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending the best. They're not sending you, they're sending people that have lots of problems and they're bringing those problems. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime. They're rapists and some, I assume, are good people, but I speak to border guards and they're telling us what we are getting (Trump).

This statement resulted in an immediate response. The TV network NBC gave up the rights of hosting beauty contest show such as Miss U.S. as they were owned by him. In Mexico, they

would make dolls that represent Trump and then smash them with sticks and rocks (Martin 161).

Despite Trump's repeated lies and his propensity to introduce new political proposals through Twitter, it is difficult to accurately determine what his policies will be with Mexico during the next four years (Klingner 2). In the summer of 2015, Trump said that Mexico is benefiting from the United States by spreading unemployment, poverty and violence through mass waves of illegal immigration. One year after this, Trump proposed an immigration program that consisted of 10 points immigration exactly on 31 August 2016 after a brief visit to Mexico (Martin 162).

Donald Trump vigorously encouraged the building of a southern wall that separates between the United States and Mexico. On January 25, 2017 he signed two executive legislations titled Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvement. These orders that would "save thousands of lives, millions of jobs and billions and billions of dollars" instruct the Homeland Security Secretary to start building the wall.

In a speech addressed generally to American citizens and specifically for families that were victims to illegal Mexican immigrants, Trump announced that he will immediately start working along with his staff and the Homeland Security Department to construct a wall that will allow America to regain control over its southern borders. The President claimed that it is "badly needed" for both countries as Mexico would also benefit from the construction of the wall. According to Trump, it will help Mexico by blocking illegal immigration from Central and South America and by undermining dangerous criminal organizations (Global News 00:02:32-00:03:12).

The wall is approximately 3,218 kilometer long, 75% of which parallel the Rio Grande River. It stretches all the way from San Diego west to Brownsville east. In certain

locations, only a sign or a fence marks the boundary. In other areas, barbed wire or strong steel fences protect the fence.



Figure.3. US-Mexico border map (Adopted from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46824649>)

Nearly most of the current border was constructed in 2006 when George W. Bush was the President (Lin et al.). Since it roughly covers 50% of the borders, Trump's intended to finish what is left inbuilt and fully close the southern borders.

But covering almost more than half of the frontiers requires a huge budget. Candidate Trump made frequent claims in his 2016 presidential campaign that Mexico would pay for the wall building costs. As a President, he refused to wait for Mexico to specify a budget for the construction. For this matter, Trump indicated that the United States would reclaim wall costs from Mexico indirectly by reducing its trade surplus with the U.S Under these circumstances; Trump's government accepted financing the improvement and reconstruction of current barriers and building of a new fence in Texas (Lin et al.).

In spite of his campaign speech promises of building a wall that covers the entire southern border, Trump declared that he will only build half of what he originally planned to.

He justified this surprising decision by his will to give natural features a chance to serve as strong boundaries such as mountain, hills and rivers (Rodgers and Bailey).

2.3.1.2. The Muslim Travel Ban

Early in his presidential campaign, candidate Trump stated that he would ban the entry of Muslims to the United States. He maintained that the government should close the door on them until the representative of the country know exactly what to do. Almost all of his followers have expressed their support for this call on social media. Even so, some congressmen – particularly Republican representatives – were not that satisfied. Republican Party speaker Paul Ryan made it clear and straightforward when he stated that what Trump suggested did not reflect “who we are as a party”. Midway through his campaign, he claimed that his suggestion was nothing but a random idea, but he insisted that he will seriously consider making it official if he gets elected as a president (Hamedy par. 2).

It was only his first month in the White House when president Trump gathered the press to submit the Travel Ban order under thunderous applause. When asked if the Travel Ban is made for Muslims he answered “We don't want them here”. He continued by saying “We want to ensure that we are not admitting into our country the very threats our soldiers are fighting overseas”. This order would impose a ninety days travel ban for citizens from seven predominately Muslim countries, including Libya, Iran, Syria, Iraq, Sudan, Yemen and Somalia. Trump's intention was to create an inhospitable atmosphere for all the refugees who are willing to settle in America (Hamedy par. 3).

According to BBC News, the reason that these nations were included in the ban list is that they are inefficient about their capacities, policies, and procedures for managing their identity and exchanging information. In certain situations, such countries are considered to be a major terrorist threat (BBC News par. 4). In March 2017, federal courts made some adjustments to the order. This resulted in removing Iraq from the list upon promising to

enhance relations with the U.S and lifting the permanent ban on refugees too. In September, there was a third version of the ban that took Sudan off the list and included political representatives from Chad, Venezuela and North Korea and (BBC News par. 3).

In response to Trump's decisions, mass protests broke out in the United States airports. With this in mind, courts proceeded in measuring the risks; this forced the judges to partially suspend portions of the order in New York and Massachusetts. As a matter of fact, a federal judge in Massachusetts was forced to block the order because of a case that was brought up by attorneys representing two legal permanent residents, who are university professors. Despite all this uproar created by some senators, the White House assured that this is really what America is in need of at the moment (Hamedy par. 4). Politics scientists claim that the proposal of Trump to inspect refugees, particularly those who fled the Syrian Civil War, does not take into account the previously existing strict monitoring initiatives (Thrush).

2.3.2 Economical Decisions

It is true that many critics considered Donald Trump as an unqualified politician, but everyone knew him as the billionaire businessman. For this reason, every American citizen was looking for what will Trump propose to renew the U.S economy.

Throughout the one year and a half leading up to the general elections, Donald Trump extended his plans of a modified foreign policy; simultaneously, he maintained the same central themes he previously introduced. He expressed doubts regarding the impact of America's alliance commitments on its economy; because unlike back in the day, the United States is failing to successfully compete in international matters. For this reason, many countries benefited from the U.S deficiency. Since he viewed that America is not getting the most essential deals from other countries, Trump has profoundly undermined American traditions in his view of foreign policies (Macdonald 401-402).

In his opening speech as a president, Donald Trump vowed not only to transform his own country, but also to decide the future of both America and other countries for the following decades. In this regard, Trump sent a strong message to the whole world in which he noted that during his presidential term everybody have to cope with a U.S that is much less willing to make sacrifices for other nations; import its goods or defend its territories. Trump also promised to strengthen existing relationships. However, he assured that his government will not uphold the mutual defense of the west like its predecessors (Borger pars. 1-2).

Donald Trump recapitulated his economical policy in two words 'America First'. To give further explanations about this plan, he clarified that his intention was to keep other countries from benefitting from the United States during his presidency (Rothman par. 2). In order to prevent others from using the U.S for their own benefits, Trump completely contrasted his predecessors' traditional commercial policy. In other words, the main aim of the President is to create an economical isolation. This is clearly seen in his controversial decisions such as the U.S departure from many trade organizations that they were a major part: the renegotiation of the trade agreements with Mexico and Canada (NAFTA), the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP); obstructing the designation of the Appellate Body members of the World Trade Organization (WTO); imposing tariffs on different iron products as well as the rising tariff trend from the United States to China (BDI par. 1).

President Trump tends to view trading as a zero sum challenge. He believes that there seems to be a negative dual trade balance which implies that the reciprocal trading partner does not follow the rules. Trump and his staff have a tendency to draw parallels between different countries. China is at the forefront of those countries, yet the President is also questioning close partners' trade policies like that of the EU and Japan. To reach his objectives, President Trump concentrates more on regional and quid-pro-quo options instead of multilateral cooperation. His attitude is very transactional because he is more concerned

about "business" than international trade law. In fact, it promotes the use of tariffs in order to place "America first" in the global trade environment (par. 2).

2.4. Conclusion

In regards to what was discussed earlier, Trump's campaign pledges created a huge controversy both in the national and the international scene. Other countries, notably Mexico expressed their dissatisfaction in regard to the new policies suggested by Trump. Even with his controversial ways of making announcements, Trump managed to draw Americans into his policies, with a clear goal of making America great again. Inasmuch as Trump is a successful businessman, his economical plans did not encounter lots of critics. Correspondingly, his political plans were highly criticized.

Chapter Three

Analyzing Trump's

Anti Immigrants

Rhetoric

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3.1 Introduction

Ever since he announced his presidential campaign, Donald Trump talked about the changes he will make and the decisions he is going to introduce in the political and economical scene. According to him, these decisions will help the government in handling the illegal immigration. As previously discussed in the second chapter, he proposed to put restrictions on the flow of immigrants by building a southern wall and banning travel from predominantly Muslim countries. Trump claimed that through these actions he is going to 'Make America Great Again'. With all this in mind, this chapter will shed light on the 'Make America Great Again' slogan and its similarities with Ronald Regan's. This chapter will also analyze the real motives behind Trump's decisions. Finally, this chapter will draw parallels between Trump's speeches during his campaign and the websites of various nativist groups in order to fully fathom what Trump is implying with his plans.

3.2 Trump's Campaign Slogan

When Donald Trump announced his candidacy for president back in 2015, everybody from experts to non-experts believed that Trump is only attempting to create a media buzz around his name like he always did, and that he would eventually back down when the presidential race kicks off. Even the current president at that time, Barack Obama, publicly stated that he would not place any bet on Donald Trump to win the race. In a news conference held in California back in February 2016, Obama said "I continue to believe Mr. Trump will not be president. And the reason is that I have a lot of faith in the American people. Being president is a serious job." If the president of the U.S did not believe someone like Trump is not qualified to be his successor, surely almost every American citizen would have the same opinion. Against all odds, Trump managed to win the race and became the new U.S President. Despite the controversy that followed the

victory, many scholars gave massive credits for Trump's campaign slogan 'Make America Great Again.'

3.2.1 Background of the Slogan

The controversial statement that would eventually lead Donald J. Trump to the Oval Office dates back to 2012, when nobody else but Trump himself may have realized he will be testifying under oath as the next president of this country. While everyone was busy following the 2012 presidential elections' results, Trump was having a moment of clarity in the 26th floor of the tower that holds his name. During this time, he was experiencing an overflow of thoughts, which made him realize that he should run for president in the next elections. He instantly started thinking of a catch phrase for that matter. At first, he thought of 'Make America Great,' but it sounded as if America is, or was never a great nation. Then, by adding the word 'Again' to that phrase, he supposedly came up with something extraordinary.

In an interview with *The Washington Post*, Trump told "I said, 'That is so good.' I wrote it down." On November 19, 2012, exactly twelve days after Mitt Romney lost the presidential bid to Barack Obama; Donald Trump demanded to own the copyrights of the term 'Make America Great Again.' Trump claimed that he went to his lawyers and asked them to "See if they can have this registered and trademarked" as per *The Washington Post*. However, in the previous year, exactly on December 5, 2011; Trump published a book under the name *Time to Get Tough: Make America Great Again!* in which Trump expressed his anger towards the way Obama was handling the country and taking it nowhere but down. This is the first situation in many more to come where Donald Trump contradicts himself; as he said he came up with the MAGA statement after the 2012 elections while he had already published a book with the same name nearly a year before that.

In the summer of 2015, before announcing his campaign, Donald Trump published another book titled *Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again*. As a cover, Trump used a picture where he looked unhappy because of the current situation of the U.S. In the preface of the book, he explained why he chose that picture as a cover by saying “In this book we’re talking about Crippled America—So I wanted a picture where I wasn’t happy, a picture that reflected the anger and unhappiness that I feel, rather than joy.”

In the book, Trump explained his thoughts and proposals on many subjects, from foreign policies to U.S economic progress and development, healthcare policy and changes in taxes and schooling. Scholars agreed that this book can serve as an unofficial campaign outline. Indeed, shortly after publishing the book, Trump announced that he will be running for presidency. As expected, the slogan for his campaign was nothing but the ‘Make America Great Again’ statement that he allegedly originated.

In the summer of 2016, as the presidential campaign officially began, Donald Trump re-published his 2015 book under a slightly different title: *Great Again: How to Fix our Crippled America*. He kept the same content, without editing anything. It was as if he was trying to send an encrypted message through only the title. This book served as an initiative to prove that Trump’s efforts were grounded on his thorough analysis of different national and foreign problems throughout the election campaign.

However, he opened the door for critical interpretations when he said “It’s time to bring America back to its rightful owners—the American people.” Political and economical experts agreed with Trump about undocumented immigrants being a potential threat on the U.S, but they did not consider illegal immigration top notch concern to the point where a total reformation of the U.S foreign policy is required.

3.2.2 Ronald Reagan's Make America Great Again

In March 2015, Donald Trump said “The line of ‘Make America great again,’ the phrase, that was mine, I came up with it about a year ago, and I kept using it, and everybody’s now using it, they are all loving it.” (NBC News par. 7) He is basically claiming that he came up with the phrase in 2014, which is obviously not true at all as previously discussed. People who were following Trump for a long time felt like he is toying with their minds when he said “I don’t know, I guess I should copyright it.” Since they all knew he already claimed ownership of the line, they started questioning his real intentions behind all this.

Experts described his statements as documented lies, because he is not even the first politician to ever use the MAGA phrase. When Bill Clinton announced he will be running for president in 1991, he said “I believe that together we can make America great again.” Ronald Reagan also used the exact same phrase as Trump for his 1980 presidential campaign. When Trump was asked if he realized that his slogan is similar to the one Reagan used in his campaign he said he has no recollection of it, and that he only found out about it in 2016.

The two presidents’ slogan might be identical, but the way they elaborated the meaning behind the MAGA phrase and the circumstances in which they governed the country marked a huge difference between the two. ‘Make America Great Again’ implies that the country is not actually great at that specific time, for whatever reasons. Ronald Reagan was fully aware that if he wins the electoral race he will be the president of a country that was facing major challenges, both nationally and internationally.

An Outline of the U.S Economy is a book authored by Christopher Conte, a former editor and reporter for the Wall Street Journal, and Al Karr, a former Wall Street

Journal reporter. According to them, the U.S economy in the 1960's and 1970's reached its lowest levels since the independence, for so many reasons. The War in Vietnam was a major foreign problem for the U.S The economical recession that America suffered from during the 1970's forced it to shorten its presence in Vietnam.

For the president at that time (1969-1973) Richard M. Nixon, he had to either resign or get impeached because of the Watergate Scandal. He decided to step down from the office to become the only U.S president to ever resign. Another issue that caused damage to the image of the U.S was when a number of Americans were held captive for over a year at the U.S Embassy in Iran (chap. 3).

Some issues that America has always been at ease when dealing with, particularly economic problems appeared difficult for it to manage. It was under these crucial times that Ronald Reagan decided to run for presidency, knowing that he has more chances to fail in helping the nation than to succeed. Reagan felt like his country is way too dependent on other countries than it has ever been. The trade imbalance kept decreasing until it hit rock bottom. Consequently, the U.S could not produce high quality goods; therefore, it ended up importing them. Motivated by this, Reagan decided to entitle his campaign Make America Great Again to connect his economic vision and his pledge to restore American wealth and strength after the 1970s setbacks.

Donald Trump; however, arrived to the White House in completely different circumstances. There were some issues such as the increasing numbers of unemployment but it was nothing compared to what Reagan had to deal with. Moreover, unlike Reagan, Trump did not seem to have a background philosophy behind his Make America Great Again slogan. In a 2017 interview with *The Washington Post*, Trump was asked to explain how his slogan can provide insights for the people who are willing to understand his policies. He replied by saying "It actually inspired me because to me, it meant jobs. It

meant industry, and meant military strength. It meant taking care of our veterans. It meant so much.” (Morgan 62) Trump thus lacked a solid popular ideology, in sharp contrast to Reagan, which could incorporate coherence, continuity and clarity into his political platform.

Donald Trump was not the favorite to win the race to president and experts predicted that the country would collapse in his presidential term. However, this lack of philosophy only added more fuel to the fire. As a result to this, economical and political scientists undertook thorough studies on his decisions as a president. The next section of this chapter will discuss the different studies in order to have a better understanding of the true intentions of Donald Trump.

3.3. Re-evaluating America's Position in the World

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, presidential contenders, held distinctly opposed views of how to run The U.S though there were many differences between them, their perceptions of international relations were one of the most debatable campaign topics, especially the role of the United States in the world. Jason A. Edwards argues that the language used by Trump implied that the U.S international policy was in a total mess, and that the country is no longer exceptional. Donald Trump felt that U.S greatness has been diminished because America is no longer the role model nation that every other country used to look up to.

3.3.1. American Exceptionalism

The definition of American Exceptionalism is often used to explain the growth of American national identity from the past to the present day. Exceptionalism motivates the fundamental research of such prominent American culture theorists as Perry Miller and Sacvan Bercovitch (Madsen 2). Exceptionalism is a concept of an inherently self-analyzed orientation. That is to say, it needs to be studied, not as an adapted version of the somewhat

familiar factors and patterns, but instead in respect of its own emergence and its own development. The concept that the United States was founded upon and led it to incorporate fundamental differences from other countries is, thereby, the American exceptionalism (Shafer 445-446).

For Hilde Restad, Exceptionalism as an ideology has always been relevant in the U.S policy. However, the term itself was relevant from 2008 onwards. In the words of Jason A. Edwards, American exceptionalism discourses are the main source of invention used by politicians for arguing about America's role in the globe (177). For the sake of providing an outright definition of American Exceptionalism, both Restad and Edwards agreed that even though the term is more generally regarded as a factual reality that can be validated when juxtaposing the United States to other nations; it is actually an idea composed of three notions, each reflecting a specific dimension of America's alleged historical exceptionalism (Edwards 177, Restad 3).

First of all, there is the idea that the U.S is separated from the Old World. Upon its independence, the Old World represented Europe, however; now it refers to the rest of the world as a whole. As Restad stressed, this does not mean that the United States is any different from other nations, but it definitely means greater. To demonstrate this, Gallup found that 80% of Americans believe the United States' reputation, past, and heritage made it one of the greatest countries in the world (5).

Present day Americans believe that they are the successors of the New World Settlers who fled an oppressive democratic system only to substitute it with the world's greatest constitutional community, where there are theories, ideals, and laws which have never before been implemented in the world. Based on this allegation, the U.S argues that it should remain separate from the rest of the world (Edwards 177).

Another notion that defines American exceptionalism is that the U.S is destined to be a special nation (177). To illustrate this, Restad shed light on the fact that America was the first and only country in history to defeat Great Britain in a war. Then she talked about America's victory in the first and second World Wars over different German incarnations which helped the U.S to create a ruling World order (6).

The final and the most used notion that defines American Exceptionalism, notably by politicians is that the U.S has the ability to quickly overcome inevitable issues that impact all the other countries (Edwards 177-178). Based on this, American politicians claim that America is the only nation that should lead the world, mainly for its superiority and exceptional profile. This concept of leadership is very important within political discourse, especially in the presidential campaign (Restad 5).

According to Restad, in a comparative analysis between different presidential speeches from 1934 to 2008, just three occasions were listed of U.S presidents using other countries as examples. The cases are: the example of the British consistency in the Second World War against Germany by Franklin Roosevelt in 1942, the Swedish Medical program by John Kennedy in 1963, and the Japanese methods of teaching by Ronald Reagan in 1983 (5-6).

The next section will investigate Donald Trump's Rhetoric to see whether it can be listed with the three previously mentioned cases, or if it aims to revive the long gone Exceptionalism policy.

3.3.2. Establishing a New-Old Foreign Policy

The new ideas presented by Donald Trump are not actually new ones, as he is only phrasing previous presidents' philosophies using his own words. Trump's campaign speeches indicated that this world leadership quest is completed and his presidency will redefine America's 21st-century international contribution. That is why, according to

Edwards, he focused on two main issues: criticizing America's globalism and trade relations with other countries. As Trump believed that by working on these two issues, he would restore America's exceptional profile (Edwards 181).

3.3.2.1. Americanism over Globalism

Trump castigated the devotion of previous presidents and even his rival Hillary Clinton to a globalized foreign policy. He considered it as the main trigger of the poor trade agreement, ever since the outset of his presidential run. Trump also described Clinton's call for globalization as a threat that undermines America's hegemony and its status as an outstanding country. In his first big national foreign policy speech, Trump complained about how unbalanced the U.S foreign strategy became after the Cold War. He also criticized former presidents for being unable to deliver a progressive plan for a modern day. President Trump insisted that instead of going abroad looking for enemies; the U.S must concentrate its efforts on building the nation and then focus on achieving global peace (Edwards 181-182).

Trump maintained that Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Obama all pursued a globalist agenda that substituted rationality with arrogance and ignorance, leading eventually to consecutive disasters. Taking the foreign policy of president Obama as an example, Trump claimed that the U.S during that time was doing efforts to meet other countries' expectations, which is unacceptable for America.

Trump attacked Obama for disregarding U.S interests in favor of global ones, insisting that this is what has set the country on a downhill road. Trump highlighted that Obama's globalism prompted him to hunt out rivals as the U.S sought to uphold universal values by interfering in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Libya. Trump's unwillingness to endorse those universal principles will redefine the United States' atypical naivety in foreign

relations. Consequently, an administration under Trump will interrupt the descent into anarchy (Edwards 183).

Trump seemed to be mirroring John Quincy Adams' insight about international affairs. According to Jason Edwards, Adams outlined how he thought the United States should interact with the rest of the world in his 1821 speech. He originally vowed that the U.S "goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy." (Adams par. 25)

For Trump, one of the U.S challenges in terms of international policy was not pursuing Adams' expertise. For this reason, Trump vowed to be the one who brings back the lost philosophy. His statement "not go abroad in search of enemies" was a clear paraphrase of Adam's statement (Edwards 183).

3.3.2.2. Reviewing Trade-Related Policies

Being one of the main concerns during his presidential campaign, Donald Trump addressed the disastrous economic agreement made by the U.S for the last 25 years. As reported by Jason Edwards, Trump did not, unlike most of his political opponents, adopt the Republican tradition by promoting open markets.

The United States initiated regional trade talks with Canada more than 30 years ago, leading to the emergence of a U.S.-Canada bilateral trade agreement, which came into effect on January 1st, 1989. Two years later, the U.S began bilateral talks with Mexico, which was joined by Canada. These talks gave the birth to the North American Free Trade Agreement 'NAFTA', which came into effect on January 1st, 1994. Tariffs were phased out and all taxes and material limitations, with the exception of those on a small range of agricultural goods traded with Canada, were phased out by 2008 (United States Trade Representative par. 1).

Trump did not seem to be satisfied with these outcomes; therefore, he criticized the NAFTA agreements, which was first signed by President Bill Clinton in 1993 (Edwards

183). During a campaign stop in Monessen, Trump reminded his audience by the colossal mistake that President Clinton made during his time in the Office by saying:

NAFTA was the worst trade deal in the history – It was Bill Clinton who signed NAFTA. People don't remember. In 1993. And Hillary Clinton who supported it. And the havoc that it wreaked after he left office was unbelievable. It was also Bill Clinton who lobbied for China's disastrous entry into the World Trade Organization, and Hillary Clinton who backed that terrible, terrible agreement. (Trump "Jobs Plan Speech")

Trump did not only blame Bill Clinton for signing the agreement, but he also accused his rival Hilary Clinton of having the same political orientations as her husband, implying that if she gets elected as a president, she would make the same mistakes Bill Clinton made.

During his presidential run, Trump strongly opposed not only the free-trade deals, but also the multilateral organizations promoting such arrangements. Besides NAFTA, he also claimed that the TPP and WTO are two of the most dangerous organizations that cost the United States a huge number of industrial workers. Trump additionally noted that agreements with these two organizations were liable for the 1 \$ trillion trade imbalance that the U.S suffered from in the past years. As a solution for this trade deficit, Trump vowed to never approve any business deal that would have a negative effect on the American workers or undermine their liberty or their income (Edwards 184).

Simultaneously, Donald Trump asserted that his trade policy would revitalize American Exceptionalism. On the report of Jason Edwards, Abraham Lincoln and George Washington's protectionist trade policies helped create American prominence, which eventually gave birth to the greatest economy the world had ever witnessed and placed the

U.S as the strongest nation in the entire world. For this reason, Trump decided to follow their path by introducing new policies that would revive the old, great economy.

3.4. Analytic Comparison between Trump's Speeches and Nativist Group's Beliefs

Donald Trump launched his campaign for president on an anti-immigration agenda, calling for more stringent legislation to restrict immigration. He wrapped up his first week in charge by introducing legislative limits about who might enter the U.S and attempting to propose a wall at the boundary between the United States and Mexico.

Across several respects, Trump's immigration platform represented the agenda promoted by restrictionist parties in the decade prior to Trump's presidential run. These restrictionist groups which were categorized by the SPLC as nativist extremists not only did they promote anti immigration initiative, but they also attacked American citizens who provided job opportunities for immigrants (Bloch and Myers 180).

According to Bloch and Myers, Trump vowed to create what a variety of the nativist movements had advocated for: a government that inhibits multiculturalism and honors white citizens with meritocracy. In the light of this, Bloch and Myers stated that both Donald Trump and the nativist organizations rely on a particular form of nativism in which ethnicity, gender and class ideologies converge in order to stigmatize immigrants (180).

3.4.1. Immigrants as Murderers

Donald Trump and the anti-immigration parties portrayed immigrants as criminals. This is derived from a U.S philosophy that renders criminals as marginalized, colorful beggars while ignoring harmful behaviors usually practiced by rich people (184). Out of 52 websites analyzed, Bloch and Myers argued that more than the half associated Crime with illegal immigrants. As an example, *The Emigration Party of Nevada's* website posted a satirical version of "T'was the Night Before Christmas", with which they talked about how

immigrants murdered American children and sexually assaulted American women. The nativist party mockingly expressed their intolerance with the abuse caused by these immigrants (184).

When Donald Trump announced his run for president, he articulated these convictions when he said “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best.... They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people” (Trump, Presidential Announcement Speech). Although at the end of this quote Trump claims he "assumes" certain Mexican immigrants are decent, he believes that it is questionable as the productive immigrants are rare (184). Moreover, his argument that they are 'sending people' only put emphasis on the otherness of immigrants, while portraying them as radically separate from U.S citizens in every way (185).

Both Donald Trump and the websites are, nevertheless, reliant on unverifiable statistics involving ambiguous crime rates and concrete descriptions that are intended to evoke terror and social contempt rather than focus on demonstrable facts to support their allegations. *The Riders against Illegal Immigration*, for instance, claimed that the sexual assaults carried out by undocumented immigrants are almost one million. The Riders were seeking to display immigrants as sexually deviant offenders in order to make American citizens develop some sort of antipathy towards them.

With the same tone, Trump tried to forcibly create a connection between illegal immigration and crimes by bringing up unconfirmed allegations (185). In a campaign speech he delivered in 2016, Trump said “Beyond the 2 million, there are a vast number of additional criminal illegal immigrants who have fled or evaded justice” (Trump, Donald Trump Immigration Speech in Arizona). This illustrates the value of abstract connections

of crimes perpetrated by undocumented immigrants. It also displays that Trump is willing to manipulate facts just to instill his thoughts in the minds of American citizens.

3.4.2. Immigrants as Terrorists

Along with portraying immigrants as criminals and killers, both Donald Trump and the nativist parties also described immigrants as terrorists. According to Bloch and Myers, Almost all of the websites examine immigration as far as wars and invasions are concerned. To illustrate, this can be clearly displayed in this quote extracted from the website of *The United Patriots of America*:

That leaves twenty percent of the trespassers from around the world, many of which come from Middle Eastern Countries and their intentions are unknown. In a post 911 world poorly secured borders does not provide us with good homeland security. It is in the best interest of the American people for our government to close our borders to this ongoing invasion (The United Patriots of America)

This passage demonstrates the rhetoric of war and the connection between immigration policy and terrorist attacks. It also reveals the emerging political associations between terrorism and people of Islamic origins.

Similarly, Trump's speeches established a link between Muslim immigrants and terrorism in different occasions during his campaign. He revealed his philosophy to Americans during a campaign stop in Iowa when he said "This is not to mention that Hillary Clinton wants a 550% increase in Syrian refugees. She can't even say the words: Radical Islamic Terrorism."

Unsatisfied with his campaign rival Clinton, he criticized her for increasing the percentage of the admitted Syrian refugees (186). Trump also claims that given the

elaborate security checkpoints needed to enable refugees to join the nation there are no verification procedures for Syrians refugees (187).

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter came out to dissect the political and economical decisions of Donald Trump. Even though Trump claimed that he is planning to make America great again, certain Scholars such as Katrina Bloch and Quintin Myers did not agree with Trump. They were able to reveal the hidden intentions behind his anti-immigration program. As to what has been discussed beforehand, Trump's decisions as a president caused a controversy nationally and internationally.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

On the whole, Nativism in the U.S can be tracked all the way back to the 18th century, precisely after its independence in 1776. Since that date, American citizens formed negative feelings towards those who did not share the prevailing race, faith and the ability to commit to the constitution of the U.S. Americans felt the need to ban immigrants because of the threats they are supposedly bringing against the nation's core principles.

Irish Catholics were the main target of Nativism. Since Americans fled from Europe as a result of the persecution by the Roman Pope, they could not accept the Irish immigrants fearing they could be spies for the Catholic Church. After the First World War, Nativism scope shifted towards German immigrants, due to the crimes committed by Germany in the world against American soldiers. For the same reason, Japanese immigrants became the new target after the Second World War because of the Pearl Harbor attacks. This hostility towards immigrants impacted the U.S economy in many ways as well as the U.S politics.

After a Cold War that lasted for almost fifty years with Russia, The U.S became the one and only leader of the whole globe. This contributed to the change of the way Americans view the rest of people from different nations; hence, they no longer considered immigrants as a threat to their nation. With this being said, Nativism remained in the margin for almost twenty five years.

However, Nativism, as many scholars and politics scientists suggest; has found its way back to the White House due to the election of Donald Trump as a president of the U.S, and the presidential administration managed to translate the campaign pledges of Trump into new strategies that restrict many immigrants characterized by their religious backgrounds and racial features from entering the country.

As a candidate, Trump pledged to build a big wall in the Southern border to save the country from the uncontrollable illegal immigration of Mexicans. He also promised to ban flights from seven Muslim countries. Although there was a deep background that ties Mexicans and Muslims between the U.S, Trump appeared to be more diligent in pursuing his objectives and in sticking with his commitments.

This dissertation has aimed to give the reader an overview of Nativism in America, its origins and its different consequences on the U.S politics and economy. This dissertation also attempted to present the early life of Donald Trump to the reader in a certain way for the sake of knowing his religious background and his politic views. Consequently, this dissertation managed to establish a link between Trump's plans to Make America Great Again and his nativist policies by comparing the essence of his speeches with the main demands of the outstanding nativist parties in the U.S.

Since this study was conducted while the subject matter was being daily updated, more research is needed. The researcher proposes conducting another study in the future, especially when there will be more resources than the ones currently available. The study could be based on the same research problem but in different settings and a different context.

Glossary

Americanism. A concept that maintains that the social and political principles of the United States are the most perfect and valuable in the world. It is also an ideology that molds immigrants to make them fit for those principles.

Anti-Catholicism. Anti-Catholicism is hostility towards, or opposition to Catholicism, and especially against the Catholic Church, its bishops and clergy, and its adherents.

Exceptionalism. The belief that something is exceptional, especially the theory that the peaceful capitalism of the U.S constitutes an exception to the general economic laws governing national historical development.

Globalism. An ideology based on the belief that people, goods and information ought to be able to cross national borders unfettered.

Lutheran. Relating to the part of Protestant Christianity that is based on the ideas of the German religious leader Martin Luther.

No-Popery. Expressing violent opposition to Roman Catholicism

Presbyterian. Relating or belonging to a Christian group that has members especially in Scotland and the U.S.

Quid-pro-quo. A Latin expression that means an interchange of products or services where one exchange relies on the other.

The American Dream. The belief that anyone, regardless of where they were born or what class they were born into, can attain their own version of success in a society where upward mobility is possible for everyone.

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