

POLITICS, CAPITALISM AND IMMIGRANT THREAT NARRATIVE IN THE MEDIA

By

Jeffrey R. Oliver

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation describes the way that the Immigrant Threat Narrative occurs in the media. Through an analysis of 44,897 online media messages that occurred between August 1, 2015 and December 31, 2015 this study finds support for the notion that people are more supportive of the idea of immigration than they are of immigrants themselves. Additionally, the study finds that depicting immigrants as “workers” rather than in a general sense increases the negative classification of immigrants. These findings support the idea that the Immigrant Threat Narrative is an attempt to socially reposition foreign-born individuals as “geographic others” who limit access to scarce resources rather than constituting an attack on the broader concept of immigration *per se*. Finally, this study finds that dominant groups in society play a large role in setting the agenda relative to the Immigrant Threat Narrative in the media. Specifically, results suggest that social media provides a new forum for the masses to voice their opinion, but that they do so by echoing ideas put forward by more powerful forces rather than by creating new arguments about immigration.

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I never imagined that my early conversations with Dr. Lindon Robison would turn into ongoing research collaboration on relationship economics, but it has been very fulfilling. Our weekly meetings ultimately challenged me to see immigrant entrepreneurs from the vantage point of those that exclude them because of a single question: If research indicates that immigrants give so much back to their host societies, why do so many people have “relational bads” for them? Hopefully this dissertation gives some answers.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA: Analysis of Variance

GEE: Generalized Estimating Equations

GLM: Generalized Linear Modeling

ITN: Immigrant Threat Narrative

ORCA: Outlier Root Cause Analysis

SA: Sentiment Analysis

SMSA: Social Media Sentiment Analysis

TCM: Temporal Causal Model

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“To hundreds and thousands of ignorant foreigners that have come to our shores, liberty means liberty to commit crime, freedom means freedom to be beastly and degraded. They contaminate everything they touch” (Flores 2003:368, originally in American Standard, 1888).

Those who are dominant in society can use the mass media to influence an environment of acceptance (exclusion) toward immigrants. Schiller (1975) described the way communications give a social life to the values and aspirations of dominant interests. This is because communication is a socially reproducing institution in the sense that it can raise up new dominant individuals to take the place of the old ones. Communications shape the very “social arrangements of living” (Schiller 1975:3) and can consequently have a negative impact on the living conditions of the foreign-born. However, to date there has been very little connection between immigrant exclusion literature and media hegemony theory. Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore how immigrant exclusion occurs in the media.

A highly useful notion in connection with this study is that of Immigrant Threat Narrative (ITN) as adapted from Chavez’s (2013) notion of Latino Threat Narrative. ITN can be summarized as discourse that attempts to socially reposition the foreign-looking, foreign-sounding or foreign-acting (Fry 2007) as a threat to “native” goals and resources (Parsons 1940; Blumer 1958; Fry 2007; Chavez 2013). ITN can be regarded as the voice of immigrant exclusion in the media (Chavez 2013), making it a central concept in this study.

Immigration is inherently political (Waldinger and Soehl 2013) and one aspect of that is the way political and economic elites in society can have a disproportionately large impact in

reshaping public consciousness through their privileged access to social institutions (such as the government, education and the mass media) (Enzensberger 1970; Smythe 1981; Davis, McAdam, Scott, Zald 2005: xv, White 2008; Chavez 2013). This includes the endeavor to shape attitudes and opinions about who will be accepted as full participants in society. The ability of the dominant to shape public consciousness through the media was a central theme within the Frankfurt school, and those who built upon those theories (Adorno and Horkheimer 1944; Enzensberger 1970; Durham and Kellner 2009). Perhaps most notable among these was Gramsci, whose theory of cultural hegemony described the way that the media and other social institutions contribute to social domination (Durham and Kellner 2009). These theories help to connect notions about hegemony with studies about the way the media shapes public opinions or acceptance for certain groups such as immigrants.

Underlying these theories are broader notions of exclusion. For example, Parsons (1940) described the way it is human nature to differentially rank and exclude outsiders from access to scarce resources. Blumer (1958) described discrimination as a matter of group position in society, with certain people being labelled as “other” and excluded from privileges of the in-group. Blumer’s notion has been elaborated in more recent times. Turner, Singleton and Musick noted that “Identifiable segments of the population in a social system systematically and successfully act over a prolonged period of time to prevent another identifiable segment, or segments, of the population from attaining access to scarce resources of that system” (Turner, Singleton and Musick 1984:1-2). Turner (1986) described what he called ethnic antagonism as a product of competition, perceptions of threat, discrimination, identifiability, and stigmatization. Similarly, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) noted that people are more likely to see the “other” as a threat and to exclude them when they feel oppressed or unfairly treated. In short, threat and

protection of scarce resources is the underlying source of discrimination, including immigrant exclusion.

As Chavez (2013) noted, a major strategy of ITN is to depict immigrants in a way that will ignite feelings of threat among the native born. For example, political consultant Frank Luntz encouraged Republican politicians to speak of immigration using the following rhetoric: “This is about overcrowding of YOUR schools, emergency room chaos in YOUR hospitals, the increase in YOUR taxes, and the crime in YOUR communities” (Luntz 2007:284-5, emphasis in original). He also encouraged conversations about “border security” and September 11th which would potentially conjure up fears about terrorism (Luntz 2007: 284-5). In this way, ITN is calculated to create a feeling of oppression and unfair access to resources by immigrants among the native born.

ITN can occur on many different scales in different social contexts across time. For example, economic recession, terrorist attacks and large waves of immigrants can make people feel antagonistic toward the “other” (Johnson and Trujillo 2007; Jimenez 2010; Passel et al. 2012; Massey 2013). Despite the increase and decrease in net negativity, Pulido (2007) has noted that anti-immigrant sentiment is always in the background of politics and culture in the United States. Additionally, ITN has been directed toward different groups over time for different reasons. For example, anti-immigrant sentiment was present toward Italian and Chinese nationals in the United States in the nineteenth century (Johnson 1996), the Japanese during World War II (Johnson 1996), and in more recent times has largely been directed toward Latino/a immigrants (and specifically Mexican nationals) (Jimenez 2010; Chavez 2013).

However, with the upcoming presidential election in the United States (at the time of this writing), it has been especially interesting to note the way even high profile politicians can

engage in extreme versions of this rhetoric, and perhaps even more interesting is the notion that they continue to receive support from the public. For example, the *New York Times* recently commented on Donald Trump's extreme public positions relative to immigrants.

Mr. Trump has offered a plan to “take back our country” from what he calls the rapist-murderer-job stealers being exported from Mexico...He would expel 11 million immigrants, and their families, and let only “the good ones” back in...He would build a 2,000-mile border wall and force Mexicans to pay for it. He would replace the Constitution's guarantee of citizenship by birth with citizenship by bloodline and pedigree, leaving it to politicians and bureaucrats to decide what to do with millions of stateless children. He would flood the country with immigration agents and — it almost goes without saying — dismantle the economy and shred America's standing as an immigrant-welcoming nation. (New York Times 2015)

Rhetoric calculated at positioning the immigrant as a social “other”, though not new, may have reached new levels during Donald Trump's campaign for the nation's highest office. An analysis from *The New York Times* of public data such as the 2016 election results and American Community Survey data suggested that acceptance for the anti-immigrant rhetoric of the Trump campaign is rooted in resource threat (Irwin and Katz 2016). The study found elevated correlations between Trump support and things like being White, with no high school diploma, and having worked in “old economy” jobs (such as manufacturing and agriculture). In other words, many Trump supporters are people that have experienced downward mobility in recent times. William Frey of the Brookings Institute summarized this group of Trump supporters as “a nonurban, blue-collar and now apparently quite angry population” (Irwin and Katz 2016). In the

context of this dissertation, these supporters feel elevated threat to resources and have become “angry” as a result of resource deprivation. For example, many of these people have experienced job loss in careers that have become obsolete and they have little education or few skills to fall back on. Consequently, they are more likely to feel threatened by immigrants taking jobs (even low-skilled jobs). Many of these people appear to readily subscribe to the notion that there is another group of people to blame for their problems and that the elimination of those people might make life better again.

Though it has not always been the case (Gold 2016), in recent times those on the political Right are increasingly engaging in ITN in an attempt to garner votes from individuals who are likely to be mobilized by the idea that immigrants are a threat. By extension, politicians that engage in ITN may be less bigoted than they appear in that their rhetoric may be a result of what their constituencies want to hear more than a reflection of their personal beliefs. For example, some have noted that Trump has married immigrants and has many working in his companies, but he knows that this large segment of disgruntled, resource deprived Americans exist and constitute a sizable “vote bank”.

Broadly, many terms have been used to reconstruct those who are foreign-born as “other”, perhaps most notable are the terms “alien” (Johnson 1996; Fry 2007), and “illegal” (Massey 2013). Consider Fry’s (2007) description of the “alien” label: “*Alien* designates something or someone as ‘not of one’s own.’ It connotes strangeness, suggesting that someone or something belongs somewhere else” (Fry 2007:1).

Word choice can have a big impact, especially when the chosen words embody exclusionary intentions. As Johnson (1996) noted, anti-immigrant rhetoric is more than just a language game—it is a matter with serious social, political and economic consequences.

Adapting Hiroshi Motomura's notion about aliens to more recent times, even the term "immigrant" is "standard usage, but (has) a distancing effect and somewhat pejorative connotation" (in Johnson 1996: 267). Labelling someone as an immigrant invariably places them in a position of otherness, and may lead to social and legal exclusion (Johnson 1996; Coleman 2007).¹ While "immigrant" may not be intended to be a negative term, even this term depicts human individuals as a homogenous group of geographic "others" (Coleman 2007).

In order to further discuss the impact of this trend, it is useful to situate it within some additional socio-historical context. Therefore, a brief history is provided about the changing negativity toward immigrants over time.

HISTORICAL RISE AND FALL OF NEGATIVITY

Feelings about immigration have waxed and waned along with a host of different socio-political and economic factors throughout U.S. history. Consider the political and cultural factors at work as they are described in the following brief history of migration in the U.S.

Immigration policies had been overtly racist in the U.S. prior to the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, "openly (discriminating) against Asians, Africans and Southern/Eastern Europeans" (Massey 2013:6). For example,

In March, 1882, US Congressman Edward K. Valentine rose before his colleagues in the House of Representatives and offered his opinion on the Chinese immigration restriction bill under consideration. Chinese immigrants, he and other supporters of the Chinese Exclusion Act argued, were a menace to American labor, society, and even its civilization. "The gate must be closed!" he urged (Gyory 1998, p. 238). When the act was passed in May of that year, the United

¹ For example, Johnson (1996) notes that many immigrants cannot vote or serve on juries and can be deported even for minor offenses, whereas citizens cannot even be deported for mass murder.

States took on a new role as a gatekeeping nation, one which used immigration laws to exclude, restrict, and control allegedly dangerous foreigners...(Lee 2006:5)

The Great Depression was another major event that increased concerns about the scarcity of resources and dialed up negativity toward immigrants. The rise of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s brought a turnaround in overtly racist policies (Massey 2013:6), although a subsequent increase in Mexican migration in the 1970s through the 1990s and the September 11th attacks inspired dialogues of “invasion” by foreigners (Lee 2006). These are just a few examples of the way negativity toward immigrants has risen and fallen with major events throughout U.S. history.

However, each change in the overall tide of negativity is not entirely straightforward, and is characterized by a tug-of-war between competing interests and perspectives. For example, the demise of the Bracero Program was fueled by competing interests between those who wanted to put an end to the program because it was exploitive, those who wanted to end it because of concerns about immigration and those who wanted it to continue for economic reasons (as it had encouraged Mexican migration to fill essential jobs for which there were labor shortages). Similarly, a rise in anti-immigrant sentiment led to Operation Wetback—a mass effort to deport undocumented migrants. However, many pro-immigrant agricultural and labor groups lobbied actively in favor of amnesty for immigrants that could provide much needed labor (Menjívar 2013). To the present, such advocates of immigrant labor are working toward greater acceptance for immigrant laborers. One such organization is Immigration Works USA, “a national organization advancing immigration reform that works for all Americans—employers, workers and citizens” with the ultimate goal to “to create the political space for lawmakers to once again

consider an immigration overhaul that brings America's annual legal intake of foreign workers more realistically into line with the country's labor needs" (Immigration Works 2016).

In spite of the existence of pro- and anti-immigrant groups, U.S. history suggests that there are some robust trends that are associated with an increase in net negativity toward immigrants. For example, as is evidenced in the brief history just given in this section, economic downturns, terrorist attacks and large waves of immigration seem to cause an increase in negativity toward immigrants.

At other times, negativity toward immigrants can seem paradoxical at times. Consider the "classic case" of Cuban and Haitian immigrants—while undocumented Cuban immigrants to the United States have long been designated as "asylum seekers" and automatic refugees contingent only upon their arrival to the United States on dry ground, undocumented immigrants from Haiti are subject to deportation (Menjívar 2013:358). The message is that there are socio-political forces at work in deciding how to label the foreign born in ways that do not seem to make sense without consideration for deeper political trends. In this case, the U.S. was encouraging the message that Cubans were "voting with their feet" by leaving Cuba (Menjívar 2013:358).

Another example of the paradoxes of the social construction of the immigrant is the previously-mentioned *Bracero* Program. Massey (2013) described the way growing concern over the *Bracero* Program as exploitive encouraged its demise. However, the termination of the *Bracero* Program and subsequent reduction in the number of visas for these Mexican nationals changed the "status" of these workers. The same individuals that had been welcomed guests before were now seen as "illegal" immigrants, "lawbreakers" and, thus "criminals" (Massey 2013:7). Therefore, a policy which was intended to defend the rights of international workers unintentionally criminalized them. This, in turn impacted the way these immigrants came to be

seen (Massey 2013). This seems to advance the notion that even when sentiment toward immigration is predictable, that sentiment will not always translate predictably into expansionist or reductionist positions relative to immigration (positive feelings about the well-being of immigrants does not always translate into expansionism).

Another complication in predicting negativity toward immigrants is the way feelings about immigration reflect unarticulated opinions rather than well researched positions (Massey 2013). For example, despite numerous recent articles on the positive impact of immigrants (documented and undocumented) (Hainmueller and Hisox 2010; Charles 2012; Kenny 2012; Koba 2012; Brooks 2013; Furrow 2013; Scott 2013), many still engage in rhetoric that claims that immigrants are a threat to society's resources (Flores 2003; Chavez 2008; Garcia 2013; Skerry 2013). To be more specific, even though it appears that documented immigrants do make a bigger contribution than the undocumented, this research has also indicated that the undocumented and those in the informal economy (Gold 2014) put more into the system than they take out. Similarly, many people that are pro-immigrant may take that position because their friends or family members are pro-immigrant, rather than having their own well-informed opinion of immigration. This may be one of the reasons that negativity toward immigrants can change for a given individual based on the way immigration is framed (Fry 2007).

Sentiment toward immigrants is a highly elusive topic, crisscrossing party lines and even defying consistency of opinion within individuals across different frames (Fry 2007). For example, the Republican Party is currently regarded as generally reductionist in their stance on immigration; however, during the Cold War, the Republican Party was largely expansionist in their stance on immigration (partly in a political statement against communism) (Gold 2016). Additionally, Ronald Reagan signed IRCA into law in 1986 which provided permanent

residency to roughly 2.6 million undocumented immigrants (Gold 2016). This view of the Republican Party stands in stark contrast to the GOP today, and illustrates the way attitudes toward immigration swing drastically across time even within a given political party.

The following sections will attempt to make sense out of this seemingly elusive nature of negativity toward immigrants with regard to two points: (1) the micro-level factors that are associated with negativity, and (2) larger socio-political forces that are associated with negativity toward immigrants. More specifically, the second section is largely a discussion on the impact of the neoliberal and neoconservative agendas, which provide particularly useful insights into macro-level political forces associated with negativity toward immigrants.

MICRO-LEVEL CONSIDERATIONS

The socio-historical factors that were discussed in the last section play a major role in the rise and fall of ITN, but such changes in negativity are also filtered through and potentially impacted by individual-level orientations. Pratto and colleagues (1994) found that people that have a certain battery of personality traits were more likely to discriminate against the out-group (they called this battery of traits Social Dominance Orientation). Brian Fry (2001) conducted a study of both pro- and anti-immigrant activists that elaborated on the causes of positive and negative sentiment, respectively. In keeping with resource threat theories, Fry found that, compared to those who oppose immigration, pro-immigrant activists were more likely not to see the world as a zero-sum game. Seeing the world in this way removes the “threat” from ITN, and reduces the perception of foreign-born individuals as “other”. Additionally, Haubert and Fussell (2006) found that people with a cosmopolitan worldview were more likely to be in favor of immigration.

These observations support the idea that opinions are not strictly locked in along political party lines, religion or other macro-level forces (Fry 2001, 2007). For example, religious conservatives on the political Right may view immigration alternatively as either an issue of accepting one's "neighbor" or as a threat to the conservation of traditional culture and values by "outsiders" who will change those values (Fry 2001, 2007). In other words, while resource threat appears to be at the heart of anti-immigrant sentiment, the perception of threat varies from one individual to the next and even within an individual based on different resources that may be threatened. Additionally, while certain macro-level events (as described earlier in this section) tend to create a net increase in negativity, individual responses are not completely determined by those events, but are filtered through their individual orientations.

There is also no single experience relative to the way foreign-born individuals are designated. For example, some foreign-born people may not be designated as "foreign" (despite their birth status), and, conversely, some native-born individuals may be designated as "foreign" (Fry 2007). This becomes reminiscent of Jimenez's observation with Latino/a immigrants that society bestows a sort of "good" or "bad" status, in effect conveying to some immigrants that they are not "real" immigrants and have transcended the label through some sort of political, economic or social merit (Jimenez 2010). As Jimenez (2010) explained, this is a dangerous sort of rhetoric that suggests that immigrants, unlike "other people" have an almost sub-human status by default which they must shed through their own merit. However, there is another application of Fry's point: one should not invariably conflate "immigrant" with "foreign-born" or "non-immigrant" with "native-born"; rather they should all be viewed as socio-political constructions that are conferred upon certain people.

NEOLIBERALISM AND NEOCONSERVATISM

As has just been described, these micro-level orientations and dispositions interact with larger political forces, sometimes shaping and sometimes being shaped by them. Two major political projects that impact negativity toward immigrants are neoliberalism and neoconservatism. A more detailed discussion of neoliberalism in general and its use of propaganda to defend its existence will be taken up in the Literature Review chapter. However, the present concern is the relationship between neoliberalism and neoconservatism. Neoliberalism largely embraces immigration for economic reasons and neoconservatism largely rejects it for cultural reasons. Brown (2006) observed:

...neoliberalism figures a future in which cultural and national borders are largely erased, in which all relations, attachments, and endeavors are submitted to a monetary nexus, while neoconservatism scrambles to re-articulate and police cultural and national borders, the sacred, and the singular through discourses of patriotism, religiosity, and the West (Brown 2006:699).

In other words, immigration embodies neoliberal ideals of free market, the free movement of labor and a small state. However, it is often in conflict with the neoconservative agenda that favors a big state and enforcement of “traditional” American values, culture and morality (as defined by neoconservatives).

Neoliberalism and neoconservatism are two distinct ideal types, and in practice individuals and groups may embrace different aspects of either. However, some scholars have noted that the political Right often plays to both, despite the differences in the two. For example, Brown asked:

How does a rationality that is expressly amoral at the level of both ends and means (neoliberalism) intersect with one that is expressly moral and regulatory

(neoconservatism)? How does a project that empties the world of meaning, that cheapens and deracinates life and openly exploits desire, intersect one centered on fixing and enforcing meanings, conserving certain ways of life, and repressing and regulating desire? How does support for governance modeled on the firm and a normative social fabric of self-interest marry or jostle against support for governance modeled on church authority and a normative social fabric of self-sacrifice and long-term filial loyalty, the very fabric shredded by unbridled capitalism? And what might be the role of evangelical Christianity on one side and hyper-demonized enemies to the American state on the other in facilitating this marriage? (Brown 2006:692-3)

Continuing, Brown observed that the two ideal types often run parallel in political matters: “What we have in neoliberalism and neoconservatism, then, is a market-political rationality and a moral-political rationality, with a business model of the state in one case and a theological model of the state in the other” (Brown 2006:698). Neoliberal theory supports the idea of free market but not necessarily a strong state, a nationalist spirit or sense of morality that is the case with neoconservatism (Harvey 1999:83-86; Brown 2006). However, neoliberals employ neoconservative rhetoric to unite people through a shared culture of conservatism and nationalism that defines the political Right as more than just a free-market think tank that would not be very popular among the masses (Harvey 1999:83-68). Once again, the two are ideal types that no one individual may fit. However, the way the political Right plays to both sets of ideals may contribute to the observation that the political Right has a paradoxical relationship with immigration.

One should also note that there is another side within each project. Specifically, (1) there is a side of neoliberalism that can be conducive to negativity toward immigrants, and (2) there is a side of neoconservatism that can lead to favoring certain kinds of immigrants.

In regards to the first point, there is a growing body of literature on the role of neoliberalism in the exclusion of the immigrant as a geographic “other” (Coleman 2007;

Varsanyi 2008; Hiemstra 2010; Alba and Foner 2015). The role of neoliberalism in immigrant exclusion can be summed up into the following major points:

(1) Neoliberalism fosters the notion that everything, including people, is an object for exploitation in a market, and thus makes it easier to except rhetoric that dehumanizes immigrants as faceless “others” (Johnson 1996; Coleman 2007; Varsanyi 2008; Hiemstra 2010).

(2) Neoliberalism leads to a society by the rich, for the benefit of the rich. Social systems that benefit only a select few are not well received by the masses. Therefore, neoliberalism as a political mode that favors the select few can only survive through propaganda that shifts attention away from its agenda to serve elites.

As Stephanie Wildman noted, “language veils the existence of systems of privilege” (in Johnson 1996:270). For example, Harvey noted that “movements opposed to the neoliberal agenda” are disciplined by international competition and globalization, or “if that fails, then the state must resort to persuasion, propaganda, or when necessary, raw force...” (Harvey 1999:70). Neoliberal restructuring involves a shift from social democracy to neoliberal capitalism that may not sit well with the masses because it means wealth will be redistributed among just a few, therefore, propaganda is needed to “discipline...movements opposed to the neoliberal agenda” in the way Harvey noted (1999:70). Anti-immigrant rhetoric is one means of accomplishing that because it gives people a faceless enemy aside from the elite. This leads to the third point:

(3) Neoliberalism needs a scapegoat for its failures. Neoliberalism is associated with a host of social ills (Bajraj and Bravo 1994; Chomsky 1999; Crotty 2001; Stiglitz 2010; Duménil and Levy 2011; Boschi and Santana 2012), and anti-immigrant rhetoric falsely attributes those problems to a vulnerable group of people. This is part of a larger practice of neoliberal propaganda.

(4) Neoliberalism supports a system of elites that have privileged access to the government and mass media (Schiller 1975; Davis, McAdam, Scott, Zald 2005:xv ; White 2008; Douzinas et al. 2011; Mitchell 2012). Anti-immigrant rhetoric can occur at all levels of society (Chavez 2013); however, neoliberalism gives the wealthy an advantage in public agenda-setting by lobbying for laws that are favorable to their own agendas (often at the expense of others) and by disseminating self-serving rhetoric through their privileged access to the media. Schiller noted that “...information and communications are vital components in the system of administration and control” (Schiller 1975:3).

There is also some space in the neoconservative project for pro-immigrant sentiment, or at least to favor *certain* immigrants (such as those that are White, Anglophone and Christian) above others (Apple 2000). For example, certain neoconservatives may favor immigrants from certain countries or ethnicities that support the neoconservative agenda in terms of certain kinds of morality, such as Christian or family values, or that certain immigrants may further American patriotism (for example, there are widespread notions that undocumented immigrants do not further patriotism because they do not “follow the rules” for coming to the U.S. or that Muslim immigrants will not support American values) (Apple 2000). This leads to the rhetoric that there are “good” and “bad” immigrants based on the nationality, religion or ethnicity of the immigrant.²

A major implication of this discussion is that certain political projects and elite individuals that subscribe to them may have a strong influence on legislation and public opinion that facilitates the pejorative social construction of the immigrant. This is partially due to their privileged access to institutions that can shape public consciousness.

² As noted earlier, Jimenez (2010) has discussed the negative outcomes of this kind of rhetoric.

MEDIA HEGEMONY THEORY

As mentioned earlier in this introduction, the media can play a powerful role in the reproduction of consciousness that shapes an environment of inclusion (or exclusion) for immigrants. Therefore, this dissertation will review this impact in a context of the political economy. Historically, the Frankfurt school engaged extensively with theories of the media as an institution that shapes (though cannot create) consciousness (Enzensberger 1975:69; Durham and Kellner 2009). Originally, some Frankfurt school thinkers promoted what has since been called “the hypodermic needle effect” of the media (Durham and Kellner 2009). For example, Marcuse described the media as “irresistible” and as promoting “a false consciousness which is immune against its falsehood” (Marcuse 2013 [1964]:14). In short, the media was a means by which hegemonic capitalists could have almost total control over the masses as the media would co-opt, diffuse, distort or suppress any ideas that were contrary to the hegemonic order of capitalism (Marcuse 2013:xxxi).

Smythe (1981) also noted that the powerful in society control the media in an attempt to control the masses, and described “audience power” as a commodity. In this sense, those who are wealthy can, in effect, “purchase” an audience in an attempt to restructure their consciousness. In Smythe’s words:

...the question, what is the principal product of the commercial mass media in monopoly capitalism (is) simple: audience power. This is the concrete product which is used to accomplish the economic and political tasks which are the reason for the existence of the commercial mass media. Let us consider this strange commodity, audience power. Because audience power is produced, sold,

purchased and consumed, it commands a price and is a commodity. (Smythe 1981:233)

Enzensberger (1974) similarly noted that, through the media, capitalist elites can “buy” the ability to reshape consciousness. He called this “Consciousness industry”. Gramsci similarly described the media as a tool of the dominant in creating cultural hegemony (Durham and Kellner 2009).

Schiller (1991) asserted that neoliberal elites have “preempted national and international cultural and informational space” in order to extend and reinforce their influence (Schiller 1991:7), and that many large corporations “possess their own communication facilities for message-making and transmission to local or national audiences” (Schiller 1991:30). Schiller gave the press, film, radio, TV, sports, photography and advertising as some examples.

However, the ability of the capitalist elite to shape consciousness has also been called into question (Berry 2012). For example, Berry noted that some Frankfurt school thinkers underestimated “both the extent to which the modern media do in fact afford opportunities for public debate on serious issues, and to which audiences relate to the media in an active and critical fashion...” (Berry 2012:146). In other words, with the rise of what is being called “the new media”, inveterate notions of the role of the media in political debates is being challenged. The new media has been defined as the merging of computing and communication technology (Manovich 2001), but also seems to be something more than that. The new media changes the rules of the game.

For example, for many years TV and radio were the prevailing sources of media, but were only one-sided relays of messages without any direct reciprocation from the receiver of the message (Enzensberger 1970). However, in more recent times, the media has become reciprocal,

with the message receiver also able to directly relay messages. This changes the rules of the game in the sense that message receivers are no longer just that, they are also able to express their own views and exert influence back into the public sphere (Coté and Pybus 2007). Social media is a strong example of this potential as some scholars claim that “New media” makes the masses more than just an object of politics that can be pushed to and fro by propaganda (Enzensberger 1970). Instead, they are also political subjects, exerting influence on others as a result of new technologies that put media in the hands of the masses.

Academically speaking, “...the continued growth of the (new media) as a tool for organizing novel forms of information and social interaction requires that (new media) politics be continually retheorized from a standpoint that is both critical and reconstructive” (Kahn and Kellner 2005:703). In short, the rise of the new media is a novel and rapidly changing phenomenon that necessitates continuous theoretical engagement in order for it to be fully understood.

In summary, ITN at its core is an expression of the human tendency to differentially rank and exclude those labelled “other”. Those who are elite in a system of political economy may have privileged access to social institutions such as the media and may use that access to attempt to shape public opinion. However, ITN in the media is a product of a tug-of-war of myriad political interests within and between elites and non-elites alike, and those interests are filtered through micro-level orientations and dispositions.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

It is within this context that this dissertation explores the question: How does exclusionary language toward immigrants occur in the media? It is widely regarded that the news and corporate media can influence public sentiment. However, this notion is complicated by the

notion that the impact is filtered through individual-level orientations. It is also complicated by the view that the new media advances the political power of the masses. With the rise of social media in recent times, many scholars assert that this form of new media has led to the political empowerment of the masses, allowing them to exert influence in the political sphere rather than only *being* influenced as mere political objects. However, this point is still under dispute in the literature, therefore, it is of interest to determine the extent to which social media converts the masses into a political force in influencing negativity toward immigrants or if it remains largely an object of politics.

Additionally, capitalism and politics may impact media portrayals of immigrants as threats. Is there evidence of these political projects in media messages about immigrants? If so, how prevalent are they and what is their role in ITN?

Methodologically, it was also of interest in this study to determine how well basic characteristics of media messages predict changes in negativity in order to have a baseline for comparison relative to these other questions. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3: Methodology and Online Media Big Data Analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

Opinions about immigration are complicated and dynamic. The changing tide of sentiment toward immigrants is the result of a metaphorical tug-of-war between political interests that are filtered through individual orientations. For example, political projects like neoliberalism and neoconservatism tend to respectively dehumanize immigrants and portray them as a threat to American ways of life. However, they also respectively encourage immigration as the free movement of labor across borders and welcome those who fit with “American” values (as defined by the neoconservative project).

Due to an inherently human desire to protect scarce resources, immigrant exclusion tends to increase with economic reversals and large waves of immigrants. These observations provide some context for understanding exclusionary language toward immigrants in online media messages. However, although social media can play a key role in shaping public opinions about immigration across time, it is unclear how this occurs as there has been little connection between immigrant exclusion literature and media hegemony theory. On a related note, the idea that the new media may be giving new political power to the masses challenges the role of elites in setting the stage for immigrant exclusion in the media.

CHAPTER 2: POLITICS OF IMMIGRANT DISADVANTAGE

“The forces that influence consciousness are decisive determinants of a community’s outlook and the nature and direction of its goals. Thus, communications and the flow of messages and imagery within and among nations...assume a very special significance” (Schiller 1975:1).

Before beginning a discussion on the methodology and in-depth results of the study, a review of literature is provided that is relevant to the social construction of the immigrant through the media. First, the paradoxes of neoliberalism and the immigrant are discussed. This is followed by a discussion of ITN and its impact on immigrant mobility. Finally, the reader is presented with a review of the cultural hegemony and the media.

NEOLIBERALISM AND THE IMMIGRANT

As noted in the introduction, neoliberalism underlies much of the rhetoric about immigrants that is disseminated in the media. Schiller (1975) described the way communications define social reality and shape the very environments that people inhabit. Additionally, neoliberalism has a paradoxical relationship with immigrant mobility. Neoliberalism can be thought of as the political manifestation of capitalist theory (McMichael 2011). One of the major political sources of paradox between neoliberalism and the immigrant is the way the neoliberal agenda deploys propaganda that reflects the nationalist and conservative tones of the neoconservative project (Harvey 1999). The outcome is an apparently paradoxical perspective of immigration on the part of many on the political Right. On the one hand, the political Right contains neoliberals that broadly welcome immigrants, pushing for low-skilled migrants that can fill necessary jobs for low wages and also an increase in visas for high-skilled/high net worth

immigrants. However, also on the political Right are neoconservatives that see immigrants as a potential threat to “American” values and the “traditional” culture.

In recent times, many prominent politicians on the political Right have endorsed anti-immigrant legislation, perhaps in an attempt to appease the neoconservative agenda. Immigrant-exclusion legislation has been so extreme that it has been deemed a suspension of the social contract by some scholars (Bean et al. 1997; Raijman et al. 2008). Romero (2008) noted that immigrants (especially undocumented immigrants) are victims of anti-immigrant legislation at all levels of government—a phenomenon that would be unthinkable in the current socio-political context in the United States were it applied to other groups (racial, ethnic, religious and so forth) (Johnson 1996).

As was mentioned in the introduction, neoliberals also rely on anti-immigrant propaganda in order to maintain the neoliberal order. For example, Harris (2002:138) noted that neoliberalism scapegoats the vulnerable to hide the failed promises of a neoliberal system—as the implementation of neoliberalism has repeatedly only benefited the wealthy few, while causing a host of other social ills (Duménil and Levy 2011; Chomsky 1999). Neoliberalism has been connected with growing inequality (Bajraj and Bravo 1994; Boschi and Santana 2012; Crotty 2001; Duménil and Levy 2011; Chomsky 1999; Stiglitz and UN 2010), negative economic indicators (Bajraj and Bravo 1994; Crotty 2001; Duménil and Levy 2011; Chomsky 1999), an increase in the sustainability of democracy but a *decrease* in the quality of democracy (Weyland 2004) and accelerated environmental degradation (Stiglitz 2010).

Despite the problems caused by neoliberalism, it continues to exist due to the way elites inside and outside of the country stand to benefit from it (Chomsky 1999; Duménil and Levy 2011; Harvey 2007). However, it has created discontent among the masses, culminating in

neoliberal protest movements throughout the world, but many aspects of neoliberalism remain intact due to the way the neoliberal model usually benefits those who have the most political power in a country (Chomsky 1999; Harvey 2007). In part, neoliberalism survives because its advocates engage in propaganda that draws attention away from the problems it creates. This is often done by scapegoating the vulnerable of society (Douzinas et al. 2011).

Immigrants often have few resources (Borjas 1989) and feel low status in society (Gold 2010), making them a ready scapegoat for those that subscribe to the neoliberal agenda. Additionally, a result of the neoliberal model, immigrants become commodified, objectified, dehumanized and seen as “other” (Coleman 2007; Varsanyi 2008; Hiemstra 2010). In part, this is because under a commodified society, everything comes to be seen as an economic market transaction (Lukács 1923; Gottdiener 2000). This makes it easier for opponents of immigration to engage in ITN because it enables immigrants to be portrayed as an economic means to an end, rather than as human beings.

In a sense, neoliberalism facilitates ITN because it can shift discussions about immigrants out of the human rights sphere and into a free market sphere. Additionally, in the free market paradigm, everyone is expected to provide for themselves without intervention from the state (Rodriguez 2007). This weakens notions about the social contract through an emphasis on meritocracy: If everyone must provide for themselves, then no one is really being excluded more than anyone else unless the excluded person is not working hard enough. In effect, meritocracy sets the stage for victim blame, asserting that poverty is a product of individual (lack of) effort. However, the difficulty is that unbridled meritocracy in this way only seems to apply to the vulnerable of society, while “socialism for the rich” remains intact as elites redistribute scarce resources among themselves and use their privileged access to the government and media to

promote their own agendas. At the same time, a system of “meritocracy” also disguises the “socialism of the rich”, suggesting that the rich earned what they have, and that others could do the same if they would only work hard enough.

The Disadvantage Theory literature explains the disadvantages experienced by those that are excluded under this type of neoliberal pretext. It would not do justice to the topic of anti-immigrant media rhetoric to skim over the impact that discrimination has on immigrants, and that phenomenon is described within the Disadvantage Theory literature. Therefore, drawing upon this literature promotes a discussion about the potential impact that anti-immigrant rhetoric might have on its victims. A central notion within this line of theorization is the way mobility is negatively impacted for certain groups due to the way they are excluded from accessing “mainstream” resources. The following section draws connections between Disadvantage Theory and ITN.

THREAT NARRATIVE AND IMMIGRANT DISADVANTAGE

In general, immigrants often feel low status and are compelled to live and work in undesirable jobs and locations (Gold 2010). In other words, immigrant mobility is limited compared to the mainstream. In part, this lack of mobility is a result of exclusion (Light and Gold 2000). The cause of this exclusion was mentioned briefly in the introduction but will now be presented in greater depth in order to portray the deeper societal causes of negativity between different groups of people in society. Parsons (1940) observed that it is human tendency to differentially rank people and to keep the “other” from scarce resources. Blumer (1958) similarly described this as a matter of group “position” in society. Specifically, he argued that people see themselves as part of a certain group and label those who do not belong to the group as “other.” The “other” is also invariably seen as a threat to scarce resources (Parsons 1940; Fry 2007;

Kerbo 2007). Therefore, members of the *in-group* attempt to protect scarce resources against those who are members of the *out-group*. Those in one social stratum may decline to assist those in another stratum with their social goals, or even attempt to actively block them in the attainment of their goals (Parsons 1940). Parsons (1940), asserted that human tendencies to “differentially rank” others also invariably leads to members of each group being treated as superior or inferior to others based on their group affiliation. Parsons saw these patterns of inter-group animosity as systemic, or deeply engrained in the fabric of society (Parsons 1940, 1953).

Within this framework, anti-immigrant rhetoric can be seen as a means to secure scarce resources through the exclusion of a group of socially constructed “others”. The implication of this is that immigrants will be kept from many of the advantages of society as a result of anti-immigrant rhetoric that can lead to their exclusion.

While social stratification theory asserts that it is human nature for people to differentially rank others and to keep them from accessing scarce resources in society (Parsons 1940; Fry 2007; Kerbo 2007), some may ask why a group of people would have a goal to exclude immigrants or any entire group of people, especially from a strictly economic perspective. For example, why might a society want to exclude an entire class of potential laborers, especially a group that are often self-employed? As Gary Becker (2010) noted, from an economic vantage point, inclusion increases opportunities for exchange and specialization, and optimizes economic outcomes. Therefore, in a sense, the political exclusion of immigrants is economically irrational. However, Becker (2010) noted that exclusion takes place in spite of the fact that it is economically irrational.

Becker’s position echoed and complemented notions within social stratification theory related to the human tendency to differentially rank and exclude the “out-group” from accessing

scarce resources. However, exclusion is not universal. As was mentioned in the introduction, many agricultural organizations lobbied extensively in favor of immigrant labor when the United States government ended the *Bracero* Program and began Operation Wetback, (Menjívar 2013) and such groups still exist today (such as Immigration Works USA—also mentioned in the Introduction). The message is that several groups favor immigration on an economic basis.

Another way that immigration issues sometimes defy logic is in the lack of alignment with political party lines. As Fry (2007) has noted, immigration is an issue that coils around party lines, with some individuals even favoring immigration from some standpoints (e.g. economic) but not from others (e.g. political or cultural).

To further illustrate the complex nature of ITN, even designation as an “immigrant” is political and can defy foreign-born status.

...the status of “native” depends, so far as nativism is concerned, less on citizenship status as such and more on the meanings people attribute to it...and on the social, political, economic and historical *contexts* in which those meanings are forged. Although “native” and “citizen” often correspond, commonplace are histories of colonizers and immigrants defining themselves as natives and arrogating unto themselves various prerequisite rights. Conversely, Americans have routinely regarded and/or treated American citizens like foreigners. (Fry 2007:5)

In short, the foreign-born can sometimes obtain “native” status, while the native-born have sometimes been treated as “strangers in the land” because they “flunk a mélange of cultural litmus tests...” (Fry 2007). Some immigrants gain access to “mainstream” society and are able to move out of ethnic enclaves; however, this seems to be the exception (Gold 2015). For many

immigrants that remain self-employed within ethnic enclaves or informal sectors, the benefits of it do not outweigh the costs.

The economic plight of immigrants as a result of their exclusion from the mainstream is well documented in a body of literature related to Disadvantage Theory. This theory states that certain members of a society have reduced chances of success because of systemic discrimination related to their racial, ethnic, religious and other group affiliations, and are consequently more prone to entrepreneurship (Light and Gold 2000). This observation is not new, and dates back to observations made by Weber and Sombart, respectively (Light and Gold 2000). Weber posited that Protestants gave rise to capitalism because they were excluded from jobs in civil service and the armed forces. Sombart asserted that Jews turned to entrepreneurship in response to being excluded from medieval trade guilds. While Weber and Sombart focused on religious affinities as driving self-employment, in more recent times it has been observed that immigrants often enter informal self-employment due to discrimination and a lack of resources (this is known as the “resource constraint variant” of disadvantage theory) (Light and Gold 2000).

Bates, Jackson and Johnson (2007) have noted that “discriminatory barriers have often interfered with efforts of (disadvantaged entrepreneurs) to obtain access to...educational and business-related experiences.” Dhingra and Parker (2015) observed that even when immigrants have some economic resources to draw upon, they face many barriers related to social exclusion and discrimination. In short, through discriminatory treatment immigrants are often excluded not only from economic but other resources as well. Discrimination can be everything from denying someone a job opportunity because of their ethnicity, to exclusion from mainstream culture that might better prepare them to enter the formal job market. It should be noted that exclusion is a

product of social attitudes toward certain groups. For example, for many years, women and those of marginalized races and ethnicities were kept out of certain higher paying jobs due to social attitudes, but as these jobs began to open up to them due to social changes, they still lacked other resources—like business contacts and a culture of working in certain kinds of jobs (Light and Gold 2000). Therefore, social attitudes can have a big and lasting impact on the disadvantage experienced by certain groups, and the media and other sources of public anti-immigrant rhetoric can play a large role in shaping social attitudes toward immigrants (Chavez 2013). The summary message is that anti-immigrant rhetoric in the media can have a big impact on immigrants' life chances.

At times, immigrants have been portrayed as highly entrepreneurial, with experts extolling the benefits of self-employment as a solution to the disadvantages that immigrants face. For example, in the United States, immigrant entrepreneurs (many of whom are disadvantaged) often stand to earn higher wages through self-employment (Borjas 1989; Portes and Yiu 2013). They also have an opportunity to hone their business skills (Light and Gold 2000; Gold 2010), make social connections (build networks and social capital) (Borjas 1989; Sanders and Nee 1996; Gold 2010, 2015; Valdez 2015; Vallejo 2015), potentially “move up” in society and receive praise for working hard and being self-reliant, providing goods and services that others cannot or will not, and for being examples of the American dream (Raijman et al. 2008; Gold 2010, 2015).

While there are many benefits to self-employment, they often come at a high price (Gold 2010). Specifically, entrepreneurs that are disadvantaged by discrimination face increased risk of conflict (with co-ethnics as well as “outsiders”) (Bonacich 1987; Gold 2010; Jiménez 2010), violence, lack of police/state protection (Alexander 2003; Romero 2008; Gold 2010; Montoya

Zavala et al. 2014), high crime (Gold 2010), poor access to public and private services (including affordable, healthy food) (Gold 2010), stigmatization (Raijman et al. 2008; Gold 2010; Jiménez 2010), “high levels of socially destructive goods” (like drugs and gambling) (Gold 2010), harassment from government officials (Romero 2008; Gold 2010; Montoya Zavala et al. 2014) and loss of property and/or life (in extreme cases). They also tend to be stereotyped if they fail (being seen as an unsuccessful immigrant that drains society’s resources) and resented if they succeed (Gold 2010). Additionally, disadvantaged immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurs do not have equal access to resources that could be devoted to improving their businesses (small business loans for example) (Bates 2014; Martinez, Cummings and Vaaler 2014).

Paradoxically, neoliberal capitalism facilitates immigrant exclusion, but capitalism also provides an escape route from that exclusion (Light and Gold 2000). These ironies have been explored in depth in academic literature.

For example, capitalism often refers to the free market, which implies minimal state intervention. However, in practice, the state plays an active role in capitalism (Roy and AlSayaad 2004). In the political sense, capitalism is a hegemonic force controlled by society’s elites and is used to control non-elites (neoliberalism is a specific phase of capitalism that echoes these observations). However, capitalism also refers simply to an economic system that encourages the free market and profit maximization (Portes and Schauffler 1993). Ironically, it is widely regarded that one of the state’s roles in “mainstream” capitalism is to smooth out the “gaps” left by the free market such as unsafe working conditions and inequality (Roy and AlSayaad 2004).

Ironically, immigrant employment in the informal economy is more of a “free market” economy in the strictest sense than “mainstream” capitalism. This is because “mainstream” capitalism involves a degree of state intervention in the market in an attempt to extend certain

social protections. Immigrants that are driven out of the mainstream by discrimination often have very few social protections and must provide their own livelihood and de facto social security without assistance from the state. Therefore, informal entrepreneurship has often been said to be both a form of capitalism (Hart 1973:69; Moser 1978; Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987; Sassen 1994; Samal 2008) and an alternative to it (Portes and Shauffler 1993:39; Chatterjee 2004; McFarlane and Waibel 2012). To the latter point, it should be noted that the main purpose of informal business activity is usually not profit maximization, but taking care of friends and family as a sort of stand-in for welfare the state is unable or unwilling to provide (Geyer, Geyer and Du Plessis 2012; McFarlane and Waibel 2012).

Immigrants that are first driven from the mainstream, and then left to their own devices in this way are often stigmatized. Gold (2010) has noted that immigrants are often stigmatized as lazy or unproductive because of their association with the working conditions just described, yet they were driven there by the very people that stigmatize them. Gold (2010) also noted that the media often play a role in deepening the stigma by covering shocking and sensational stories about crime, riots and disorder when they break out in ethnic communities (even though they are a product of discrimination at the deepest levels of society).³ Ironically, immigrants are often stigmatized in this way as a result of the “bridges” society created that led immigrants into these conditions in the first place (Massey 1995, 2013).

The informal and undesirable conditions in which immigrants often work are portrayed as socially pathological and in need of being vanquished. However, the informal economy continues to defy such assertions. For example, Marx predicted that petty-capitalism would be absorbed into mainstream capitalism and disappear (which it has not) (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987). However, immigrants continue to make their living and even thrive in ethnic enclaves

³ Delgado and Stefancic (2012), Feagin and Elias (2013)

niches. Others have erroneously asserted that informality is only a phenomenon of underdeveloped nations that disappears as soon as a country reaches a “developed” state, but this has not been the case either (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987). In a sweeping act of irony, informality seems to thrive in all different kinds of socio-economic contexts in a way that defies prediction. Gold (2014) described why this is the case:

Research demonstrates that informal economic activities are well suited to contemporary economic realities. For example, informal firms are efficient, keep costs down, permit innovation and allow owners to avoid restrictive regulations associated with wage levels, hours, environmental protection, occupational safety, benefits, taxes, zoning and the like.

In other words, the flexibility allowed by informal employment allows it to fill in gaps left behind by mainstream capitalism. While many immigrants are stigmatized for their involvement in informal activity or petty business, even these businesses have been shown to make a valuable and necessary contribution to the economy. This is yet another instance of a paradox of capitalism as it relates to immigrant exclusion: Despite society’s rejection of immigrants, they continue to give back to society (Abrajano and Hanjal 2015; Gold 2015). Yet, this also raises the point that immigrants might contribute much more if the barriers they face were removed.

Recent literature has begun to engage with the notion that leaving immigrants to their own devices in informal and undesirable working conditions amounts to a suspension of the social contract. For example, Costas Douzinas (2011), a law professor and social rights advocate, wrote about immigration issues with his colleagues and observed the connection between neoliberalism and the suspension of the social contract:

European governments and corporate media have adopted a range of rhetorical strategies to legitimise the wholesale destruction of the postwar social contract. First, the diagnosis and prescription is presented as an objective “truth”, determined by “scientific” economic principles. Thechutzpah required to make this claim is impressive. The economic establishment and the ideology it promoted were deeply implicated in the crisis, and the dogma of market fundamentalism should not have emerged from the financial crash with a shred of credibility. (Douzinas et al. 2011)

Evident in this assertion is the idea that neoliberal ideals have had a destructive impact on society, yet they persist in part because of creative rhetoric that shifts attention away from the suspension of the social contract. Also evident is the role that the government (and its leaders) and the media play in disseminating that rhetoric. Other scholars (Bean et al. 1997; Raijman et al. 2008) have also noted that there has been a suspension of the social contract in the United States in terms of immigrants’ human rights.

As has been described in this section, systemic discrimination plays a role in driving immigrant/ethnic entrepreneurs into undesirable conditions and in keeping them there. However, immigrants are particularly at risk because immigrant status is rarely treated as a distinct category whose members are victims of discrimination (Romero 2008). Romero (2008) described in detail the way the social construction of the immigrant as a threat impacts their treatment in society:

The treatment of persons identified as ‘alien,’ particularly those regarded as non-European, corresponds to the treatment of citizens of color in the US. Under this paradigm, immigration law enforcement campaigns – such as Operation Wetback, Operation Blockade, Operation Hold the Line, and Operation Gatekeeper – are inextricably related to society’s view of citizens of, in this case, Mexican ancestry. Concern over immigration to the US is inseparable from stereotyping

Mexicans as ‘illegal aliens’ and socially constructing Mexicans as criminal, foreign, and the other. Although the law institutionalizes who is ‘alien,’ the social construction of immigrant status is not complete without policing and surveillance. The ‘show me your papers’ inspection of passports, identification cards, and other forms of documentation, once associated with totalitarian regimes, is now routinely used in the US to control access to social services, to authorize and regulate movement, and to single out specific racial groups for additional citizenship inspection.” (Romero, 2008:28)

That is, the issue is not just that immigrants are not protected by the state, but they can even be victims of state legislation. Johnson (1996) also noted that because of the social construction of the immigrant they are kept from many rights as human beings. They are not allowed to vote or sit on juries. Additionally, as Johnson notes, they can be deported for even minor offences, while the native born cannot be deported even for mass murder. Alexander (2003) pointed out that municipalities often regard immigrants as “strangers in our midst” and assign them a position of “otherness” through legislation. This is a sort of suspension of the social contract that is rooted in the native-born segment feeling that their economic resources are being threatened (Bean et al. 1997; Raijman et al. 2008).

It may seem ironic to some to argue in behalf of immigrant rights, as every immigrant-receiving country puts some parameters on immigration (Meyers 2000). However, birth status may be considered an arbitrary-set (Sidanius and Pratto 2004) characteristic similar to race and others that are protected by government legislation (Johnson 1996). Varsanyi (2008) has even argued that the United States government has used its “plenary powers over immigration...to treat ‘people as immigrants’ (or as ‘nonpersons’ falling outside of many Constitutional protections).” Coleman (2007) similarly described anti-immigrant legislation as a form of geopolitical containment that is a form of Marxist capitalism that unavoidably objectifies the “geographic ‘other’.” In short, there is a growing acknowledgement among the academic

community that anti-immigration is largely about exclusion on the basis of an arbitrary-set characteristic (birth status) (Johnson 1996; Sidanius and Pratto 2004).

The Disadvantage Theory literature makes a valuable contribution to notions about how immigrants are excluded from accessing society's scarce resources. Here, it should be reiterated that this dissertation is not necessarily advocating for immigration without parameters. However, the point is as stated in the Introduction chapter—that anti-immigrant rhetoric dehumanizes immigrants, inaccurately depicts them as invariably a threat to society, and reduces economic opportunities by excluding immigrants and making them less productive through discriminatory treatment. From an economic vantage point, this is suboptimal behavior as it reduces chances for exchange and specialization (Becker 2010). From a human rights/ethical vantage point, anti-immigrant rhetoric has the impact (whether intentional or unintentional) of creating immigrants as an inferior group of sub-humans that are a threat to society. This type of treatment toward an entire (socially constructed) category of human beings seems unjustified on all levels (Johnson 1996). Several scholars have noted that, while nearly all empirical evidence suggests that immigrants provide a net benefit to society (Abrajano and Hanjal 2015; Gold 2015), a sizable faction of the American public feel threatened by immigrants (Alba, Nee, and Nee 2005; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010), harbor anti-immigrant sentiments (Espenshade and Hempstead 1996; Abrajano and Hajnal 2015).

This section has endeavored to portray what is at stake for the foreign-born and society as a whole related to immigrant exclusion. The following section describes a gap in the literature between immigrant exclusion and media hegemony theories that, if filled, will contribute to the body of generalizable knowledge about immigrant exclusion. This in turn will be of use for those

looking to eliminate the negative outcomes of immigrant exclusion for the foreign-born and society as a whole.

POLITICS, PUBLIC OPINION AND THE MEDIA

The ability of the media to influence opinion can have a large impact “even to the point of helping overthrow a president” (Tankard 2001:96). This is often accomplished through “storytelling”. Journalism is largely grounded in the tradition of storytelling, and the relationship of the storytelling role to public opinion has “considerable consequences for society” (McCombs 2013). Therefore, the stories told in the media may be means of conveying ITN and counter-narratives (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). A number of studies on the way the media shapes public opinion build on Erving Goffman’s (1974) notion of frame. Goffman defined a frame as a “schemata of interpretation” (21) and as a “slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity” (10). Tankard (2001) observed that “... (media) framing recognizes the ability of a text—or a media presentation—to define a situation, to define the issues, and to set the terms of a debate” (96). It can also help to neutralize the position of an opponent, increase the prominence of a movement, and gain supporters from fence sitters to a given issue (Gamson 2007). Additionally, Tankard noted that, like “the magician’s sleight of hand,” media framing can be used to draw attention away from one thing in order to distract attention while something else is accomplished (97).

Framing literature has also asserted that the media has the biggest impact on advancing a cause when it engenders sympathy, support, and goodwill that may be turned into an asset that activists can use to shape public attitudes that will be beneficial to their agendas (Gamson 2007). Additionally, frames which resonate with “broad cultural themes” (like human rights) have also been observed to be more successful at helping a cause achieve its goals (Gamson 2007). The mass media’s primary goal is to “further the symbolic interests of their constituencies” (Gamson

2007:248). Similarly, Schiller (1991:135) noted that the media is “more subject to audience preferences than to its own material interests and imperatives.” This is a useful observation in conjunction with content analysis because the things presented in the media can be construed as reflecting at least the media’s imagined conception of public opinion. However, as Boykoff (2006) notes, the things presented in the media are still moderated by individual journalists’ “norms and values.”

A major summary of this literature is that media frames have the power to influence public opinion through the creation of “a new climate of acceptance” (McAdam 1988; Vliegenthart and Walgrave 2012) and redefining who has power in society. Additionally, a key word when it comes to the media’s role in politics and public opinion is agenda setting (McCombs 2013). According to McCombs (2013:xiv) “‘What the public need to know’ is a recurring phrase in the rhetorical repertoire of professional journalism.” However, what journalists think the public needs to know is not necessarily what is best for society (McCombs 2013). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) observed that “media discourse and public opinion are treated as two parallel systems of constructing meaning.”

In short, media framing can redefine who has power in society, what should be talked about and can create an environment conducive to certain opinions about debated topics; however, these are also filtered through individual-level orientations and dispositions as described in the previous chapter. While the media can be thought of as responding to an imagined acceptance from the general public, it may also be considered a means of putting forth stories that journalists imagine to create the most public interest, perhaps even through controversy or sensationalism that is not equivalent to public opinion. Therefore, a study of the media as it relates to anti-immigrant rhetoric may in some ways be thought of as a representative

of public opinion, but in others it may be thought of as a presentation of stories intended to create public interest, even if that is done through sensationalism or controversy that may or may not precisely represent public opinion or sentiment.

As Krippendorff (2012) observed, analysis of the media is not completely conclusive as a representation of public opinion, but when based in social context provides valuable insights about public opinion. Additionally the relatively recent phenomenon of being able to compare the news and social media, as is done in this study, may provide deeper insights about this process through a side by side comparison of expressions of sentiment toward immigrants in the news and social media across time. This may provide insights about the way the news and social media influence each other, but also the extent to which they run parallel to each other in the construction of meaning (Gamson and Modigliani 1989).

These notions of the media primarily refer to what is sometimes called “corporate media” to which elites have privileged access. The way elites use the media to influence consciousness in a system of political economy is well-described in the Frankfurt school and subsequent thinkers influenced by that school. Habermas saw the media as a means of connecting public and private spheres (Durham and Kellner 2009). Marcuse described the media as having extensive power over public consciousness, describing the media as a means by which capitalist elites exercise control over even the very thoughts people have (Marcuse 2013:xii). Given the elites’ privileged access to the media, and the natural ability of the media to draw attention away from certain details, the media makes a natural avenue for the scapegoating of immigrants.

Durham and Kellner (2009) describe the Frankfurt school perspective as follows. To a large extent, the Frankfurt school inaugurated critical studies of mass communication and culture, showing in detail how the media were controlled by groups who employed them to further their own interests and domination. They were the first social theorists to see the importance of what they called the ‘culture industries’ in the reproduction of contemporary societies, in which so-called mass

culture and communications stand in the center of leisure activity, are important agents of socialization and mediators of political reality, and should be seen as primary institutions of contemporary societies with a variety of economic, political, cultural, and social effects (Durham and Kellner 2009: xvii).

In short, dominant groups can use the media to further their interests and domination by influencing politics, culture and society in general.

However, Gramscian theory complicates this notion by positing that “hegemonic social order is always contested by counterhegemonic forces” (Durham and Kellner 2009: xvi). The implication is that those who are dominant in society are not the only ones that attempt to exert their influence through the media. Habermas (1991 [1962]) similarly noted that the media is not only a venue of elites but can transform the public sphere, redefining who has political power, and opening new forums for previously voiceless individuals. For example, it has been noted that activists depend on the media to create an environment of acceptance for their cause (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1988), and to gain legitimacy for their group (Gamson 2007; McAdam 1988; Vliegenthart and Walgrave 2012). Practically any cause needs the media in order to be successful (Gamson 2007; McAdam 1988; Vliegenthart and Walgrave 2012). This all brings to mind notions about the new media, which allows for reciprocation of messages between corporate media and the private sphere (Enzensberger 1970; Côté and Pybus 2007). Audience power was once a commodity—something that had to be purchased and thus something the elite could more readily access (Smythe 1981). However, the rise of social media puts audience power at the fingertips of almost anyone with internet access.

This interactive aspect of new media technology transforms the role of the media in shaping consciousness, increasing the possibility that people will not only be shaped by the media (as some early scholars suggest) but may also be able to shape the political sphere

(Enzensberger 1970; Coté and Pybus 2007). Enzensberger alluded to the potential of the “electronic media” to influence society even as early as 1970:

With the development of the electronic media, the industry that shapes consciousness has become the pacemaker for the social and economic development of societies in the late industrial age. It infiltrates into all other sectors of production, takes over more and more directional and control functions, and determines the standards of the prevailing technology. (Enzensberger 1970:13)

The new media is transforming society so rapidly that its exact impact is not exactly known, necessitating continuous re-theorization on the role that it plays in shaping consciousness (Kahn and Kellner 2005). Nevertheless, this rise of the social media brings to mind new notions not only about the mass media, but what might be called "media by the masses" might influence the social environment of acceptance for a certain cause.

These studies of the media describe the impact the media can have in disseminating ITN. Chavez (2013) notes that media messages play a major role in the development of Latino Threat Narratives and the construction of Latinos as a “threat” group. Additionally, as previously described in this essay, “threat narratives” actively portray certain groups in a negative light in an attempt to keep them from accessing scarce resources. This not only drives people into deprived conditions but keeps them there.

As mentioned in the Disadvantage Theory section, one example of this is the way violent conflicts involving disadvantaged entrepreneurs are sometimes publicized in the media (Gold 2010). Instead of recognizing that they are victims in these situations, they are often publically portrayed as violent, dangerous, lazy or deprived. This keeps them in less desirable working and

living conditions because such portrayals foster discriminatory ideas in the public, and perhaps also within the victims of discrimination themselves (Gold 2010; Chavez 2013). It may be that discrimination becomes internalized by its victims, causing them to believe the negative portrayals about themselves to which they are exposed. In this way, it could be said the discrimination is so pervasive that it can even exist within its own victims.

CONCLUSIONS

Immigrants often feel low status in society and are excluded from accessing mainstream resources. Under neoliberal capitalism, this exclusion may be justified under a view of meritocracy and the notion that if immigrants worked hard enough they would be successful. Immigrant workers are work “in the margins”—in less desirable jobs and locations and as entrepreneurs. Those that lack financial resources are often compelled into self-employment in the informal economy. Immigrants are driven to work in the margins through social exclusion are often further stigmatized and excluded as a result of their participation in less desirable types of work. Immigrants face severe threats to their human rights to the extent that some migration scholars have even called the state’s lack of intervention in their plight a suspension of the social contract.

The media can play a central role in influencing an environment of acceptance for the neoliberal agenda of the elite. For example, media messages can reinforce ideas about who has power in society, and the notion of meritocracy. This prevents people from challenging the status quo of resource hoarding among the neoliberal elite and facilitates the exclusion of those that lack resources.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND ONLINE MEDIA BIG DATA ANALYSIS

Using the social media as a source for opinion data in academic research is a new phenomenon (O'Connor et al. 2010; Murphy et al. 2014; Prichard et al. 2015; Flores forthcoming), but one that has been increasing in recent times (Anstead and O'Loughlin 2015; Prichard et al. 2015). In general, the major analytical purpose of SMSA is to uncover trends in the velocity, variety and volume of the messages and to draw conclusions about the implications that those trends have for society and what those trends convey about social conditions. In a way that is similar to content analysis, the conclusions drawn from this method of analysis are not conclusive, but when taken within social context and analyzed through multiple methods (triangulation) there is strong support for the validity of the findings (Neuendorf 2002, Riffe, Lacy and Finko 2005, Krippendorff 2012). Additionally, when n (sample size) is extremely large,⁴ the findings have been shown to replicate other methods that use probabilistic sampling (O'Connor et al. 2015).

The specific goals and methods of SMSA will be discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter. However, before doing so the general strengths and weaknesses of SMSA are now presented.

O'Connor and colleagues (2010) tested Twitter data against major polls and found that they yielded equivalent results, even when using rather simple sentiment analysis (SA) algorithms. Social media has also been used to predict disease outbreaks (Signorini 2014; Prichard et al. 2015), and the winner of American Idol (Signorini 2014). SMSA is a very promising tool with applications in the social sciences. However, as Barry Wellman (2004) noted, there is a lack of integration between social science and technology studies that should be

⁴ As of the time of this writing, there is no rule of thumb about what this means but a number in the thousands seems minimal, with $N > 10,000$ appearing to be preferred.

closed. Still, in many circles SMSA is regarded with some skepticism due to its novelty in the social sciences (Prichard 2015). This skepticism is not completely without merit. For example, not everyone has internet access, which may exclude vulnerable and marginalized subpopulations (Murphy et al. 2014). Social media is also more likely to be used by younger people (Murphy et al. 2014). Additionally, there are issues of internet permanence (Murphy et al. 2014), lack of awareness by internet users about how publically available their posts are (Furini and Tamanini 2015), and ambiguity in the messages because they are often context specific (Prichard et al. 2015). Additionally, the use of emoticons, sarcasm and ambiguous micro-messages (consisting of just one or two words) are regarded by some as challenges of SMSA (Prichard et al. 2015).

In the end, SMSA is like any other research method in the sense that all methods have strengths and weaknesses that should be weighed in the context of the research being done. As noted by Murphy and colleagues (2015:789):

The reasons to consider social media in public opinion and survey research are no different than those of any alternative method... The quality of data and the ability to help accurately answer research questions are of paramount concern. Other practical considerations include the cost efficiency of the method and the speed at which the data can be collected, analyzed, and disseminated. If the combination of data quality, cost efficiency, and timeliness required by a study can best be achieved through the use of social media, then there is reason to consider these methods for research.

Additionally, Prichard noted that “Observational SMSA research presents a low-level risk in terms of human research ethics principally because the information derived is unlikely to lead to

the identification of research subjects” (especially in the case of aggregated findings from big datasets) (Prichard et al. 2015).⁵

In order to better understand the impact of ITN in news and social media as political constructions of “the immigrant”, this dissertation draws on a sample of news and social media articles from August 1, 2015 through December 31, 2015. The articles will be collected and analyzed through SA software known as Trackur, in anticipation of yielding empirical findings that will enrich the academic literature on immigrant exclusion. The use of Trackur has several advantages:

- (1) It allows for a uniform assignment of sentiment values compared to human rating.
- (2) It allows for the collection of messages from several sources (custom feeds, Facebook, forums, Google+, Images/Videos, news, Reddit, Reviews and Tumblr) at a very low cost (Laine and Frühwirth 2010).
- (3) Messages are instantly coded for polarity and influence based on a thoroughly tested algorithm.
- (4) Trackur was designed with the specific intention of monitoring public sentiment in order to manage brands, design political campaigns or set public policy, and consequently has a more “sensitive” algorithm related to the polarity of articles. (In pre-research NLTK 2.0 was tested on 58 articles and 91.4% were deemed to have “neutral” polarity, severely compromising its utility in statistical analysis). Comparatively, 38.6% of Trackur messages were negative which mirrors many recent public polls in which roughly 37% of people do not support immigration. For example, recent Gallup data (from 2014 and 2015) suggest that between 34% and 41% of the population feel immigration should be decreased (Gallup 2015).

⁵ Another interesting way to think about the use of SMSA is to critique its alternatives. For example, polls are widely acknowledged as “facts” but have incorrectly predicted numerous presidential elections and also exclude certain subgroups. There is no method that is completely flawless.

The data were collected using the search terms: *immigrant*, *immigration*, *immigrants and work* and *immigration and work*. The intention of these search terms was to introduce variety (a major point of analysis within SMSA) to the Trackur data. Based on the theory that a major outcome of ITN is the social repositioning of “the immigrant” as a group of threatening individuals, it was expected that messages collected with the *immigrant* search term would be more negative than articles about *immigration*. In other words, the messages collected using the search term *immigrant* were hypothesized to be more likely to contain ITN as that type of rhetoric is directed toward individuals rather than the broader concept of immigration. The addition of a *work* variant of each search term was in keeping with the focus of this study on economic aspects of immigration (such as resource threat). This was intended to help illustrate the differences in levels of ITN when framed as a work issue compared to immigration and immigrant frames in general.

While there were 44,438 messages generated for the search term *immigration* and *immigrant*, there were only 459 from the search terms *immigration and work* and *immigrant and work*. While there may be some concerns with asymmetry, the number of observations for each is large enough that the asymmetry should not substantially impact the outcome (O’Connor 2010). However, admittedly the datasets on *immigrant and work* and *immigration and work* may have less statistical power than is generally preferred for this type of analysis.⁶ No attempt is made to geographically restrict the search results, though the vast majority appear to originate in the United States. While this is partly a feasibility issue, it is also a pragmatic decision. This is because internet users are not geographically restricted in the messages to which they are exposed. To put it plainly, the study draws upon data from the English-speaking cyber world.

⁶ While a sample size of 250 observations often yields sufficient statistical power in other contexts, SMSA is found to be most effective with very large datasets, say, in the thousands or tens of thousands. Therefore the observations about these smaller datasets should be taken with caution.

While geographic restrictions are becoming increasingly facilitated by advances in the software that will soon be more commonly incorporated into this research, the lack thereof in this study may not be a major limitation of the study inasmuch as social media gathered with English search terms and with a sufficiently large number of cases have been shown in other studies to mimic opinion polls in the United States (O'Connor et al. 2010).

TYPES OF MEDIA

The different types of social media from which data were gathered are another component of variety that is central to SMSA. The following is a brief overview of each media type from which Trackur collects data.

Twitter is a microblogging website with 320 million active monthly users (Twitter company facts page 2016). It began on March 21, 2006. Twitter users post public messages⁷ up to 140 words long. The messages can also contain photos videos or links to other websites. Messages are automatically posted on the user's profile, sent to the user's followers and are publically searchable. Twitter users can interact with tweets by posting comments, retweeting (sharing the tweet electronically), and "liking" the tweet (clicking a "like" button to express affirmation of a tweet) (Twitter support page 2016).

Facebook was started on February 4, 2004 as a way for college students to stay connected socially. In 2005, it opened up to high school students and in 2006, to the general public. In 2012, the website surpassed 1 billion active users. Facebook's mission is to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected (Facebook info 2016). Facebook began as a microblogging site, but has taken social media to new heights, recently raising the maximum word limit for each post to 60,000 characters (Tech Crunch 2011, Nov 30).

⁷ Twitter users can choose to protect their tweets, making them unsearchable.

Google+ began in June 2011 and by August it was growing by 1 million users per day. *The Washington Post* subsequently declared that “Google+ could be the fastest-growing site in history” (Tsukayama 2011, August 3). Google+ has “no” word limit on its posts.

“Videos and Images” is a designation used by Trackur which consists of sites like YouTube and Instagram. The SA for these sites is limited to any text that appears on the site, such as descriptions of the videos/images or comments from other users.

Tumblr was founded in February 2007. The Tumblr philosophy is to allow users to share anything from anywhere (Tumblr facts page 2016). Users can post text, pictures, quotes, links, music and videos from a computer or phone. Since its inception, there have been 130 billion posts (Tumblr facts page).

“Forums” is a Trackur designation that includes a wide range of forums on a wide range of topics. Unlike the “video and image” designation that mostly consists of YouTube and Instagram, the author found no major trend in a review of sites that matched this designation. Any website that is primarily a “discussion board” format might be included in this designation.

The “News/Blogs” category in Trackur is another conglomerate of sites. However, the majority of sites matching this category appear to be online corporate news sites (for example, *News Week*, *MSNBC*, *CBS News*, *New York Times* as well as local newspapers) and news-oriented blogs.

Reddit considers itself to be “a source for what's new and popular on the web” (Reddit facts page 2016). Reddit works by users providing content and voting on content, with the highest rated content rising to the top. This results in providing the most interesting web stories, as determined by the community of users. Reddit also has volunteer moderators that form

different online “communities” and set parameters for those communities. In a way, Reddit is a sort of mix between a social media news feed and a forum (Reddit fact page).

Having provided an overview of these different media types, the reader is now redirected to a more specific discussion on the goals and methods of SMSA.

A NOTE ON VELOCITY, VARIETY AND VOLUME IN SMSA

“The computational analysis of sentiments and opinions has a simple goal: to summarize publically expressed thoughts, beliefs and arguments in social media” with regard to velocity, variety and volume (Prichard et al. 2015:222). In keeping with this notion, the data collected from Trackur were analyzed using ANOVA, chi-squared and temporal trend analysis, in order to (1) detect spikes and dips in the number of posts over time (velocity), (2) compare the overall negativity for articles about *immigration* and articles about *immigrants* across different types of media (Facebook, Twitter, newsfeeds, forums, etc) (variety), (3) describe how well different types of messages are “heard” throughout cyber space (volume—Trackur calls this “influence”).

These different variables (number of articles in a given time period, search term through which a message was collected, media type and influence) were used to create a base model. The purpose of that model was to quantify how well those basic variables related to the three Vs of SMSA predict changes in negativity, which served as a proxy for ITN. The qualitative analysis was used as a compliment to that analysis, working inductively to uncover additional variables that may be at work in causing changes in the levels of negativity toward immigrants. The qualitative analysis also served as a form of triangulation intended to “cross-check” the results of the quantitative analysis, and as a means of providing more detail about the way online media were used to disseminate negative messages about immigrants than is possible through the quantitative analysis. (The reader might note that while this chapter highlights some benefits of

the qualitative analysis as a complement to the quantitative analysis, a more thorough explanation of the qualitative method will be given in the chapter entitled Deep-Dive on ITN).

TEMPORAL CAUSAL MODELING

While causality is often difficult to determine, time series data provide an opportunity to leverage the temporal nature of the data in an attempt to isolate statistical causality (Arnold, Liu and Abe 2007). The main caveat is that it cannot completely be equated with “real” causality due to the potential of lurking variables (Arnold, Liu and Abe 2007). Temporal Causal Modeling (TCM) is a specific technique within a family of methods used to identify statistical causation. In this case, causation refers to Granger cause. “X is said to ‘Granger cause’ another time series y, if and only if regressing for y in terms of both past values of y and x is statistically significantly more accurate than doing so with past values of y only. (Arnold, Liu and Abe 2007). Numerically, Granger causation can be expressed as follows:

Let $\{x_t\}_{t-1}^T$ be lagged variables of x and $\{y_t\}_{t-1}^T$ for y, and let $\vec{x}_t$ denote, in

general, the vector $(x_t)_{t-1}^t$. Then, the Granger test is performed by first

conducting the following regressions:

$$y_t \approx A \cdot y_{t-1} + B \cdot x_{t-1} \quad (1)$$

$$y_t \approx A \cdot y_{t-1} \quad (2)$$

and then applying an F-test (or some other similar test) to obtain a p-value for

whether or not (1) results in a better regression model than with (2) with

statistically significantly advantage. (Arnold, Liu and Abe 2007)

It should also be noted that x is only said to cause y if x and y are more statistically significant predictors of y than of x.

Therefore, Granger causation can be used to determine the most statistically significant causal variables. The relationship between the causal variables and the target variable can then be modeled visually in a number of ways. and can be used to create a system of cause and effect among candidate causal variables and the target variable.

This method is especially fitting for this study as it allows for a discussion about the way specific variables trigger, or cause (in a statistical sense at least) a change in negativity toward immigrants. It also allows for root cause analysis of outliers (which are of particular interest in SA), and for ready identification of dates for which actual values of negativity exceed or fall below the predicted level of negativity. This makes for a good starting place for qualitative analysis as will be discussed later.

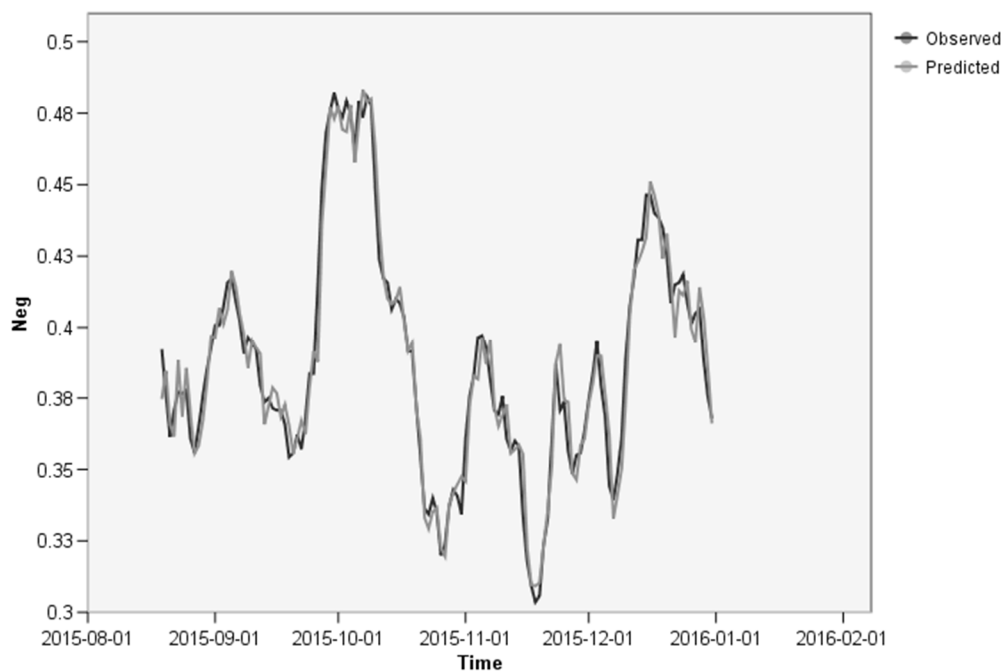
A NOTE ON STATISTICAL CAUSATION

As has been mentioned briefly, this study acknowledges that causality cannot be determined strictly from any given statistical test. However, as Arnold, Liu and Abe (2007:1) noted, “it is hardly satisfactory to merely discover the statistical correlations that exist in the data. Causal relationships between the levers, or variables that are subject to decision making, and the outcomes, those that are objects of optimization, need to be established so that the provided insights can be made actionable.” In other words, statistical tests cannot always completely determine causation (primarily because they cannot always rule out lurking variables), but create an exciting and dynamic kind of analysis that pushes a little beyond just “correlation without causation” (noting also that “correlation without causation” has less direct policy applications because it does not insinuate that a change in X will cause a change in Y).

As described previously in this section, TCM is one type of statistical test that can help to determine causation and makes an excellent quantitative methodology for the main research

question of this study. This is because it is, in effect, primarily concerned with *causation* or, as Arnold and colleagues (2007) put it “levers” of negativity—things that account for a change in negativity. However, TCM also provides a great opportunity for triangulation with other methods because it identifies specific dates and observations that were not explained by the model. Therefore, TCM as a quantitative method indicates opportune places to conduct qualitative analysis, and gives an objective for that analysis—to try to identify a cause of statistically unexplained negativity. For example, Figure 1 shows observed levels of negativity against the levels that are predicted by TCM.

Figure 1. Observed and predicted negativity



Note that the model is a very strong predictor of negativity and that the variables in the model do a fairly good job of explaining negativity toward immigrants (the model will be explained in depth in the quantitative section).

The quantitative study has other limitations that can be complemented by the qualitative study. For example, even though it will help determine statistical causation to some degree, it will not reveal many *details* about ITN and has only a limited number of variables. By contrast, the qualitative analysis will provide more detailed insight across a wider range of “variables.” For example, it will give details into the agenda of the neoconservative agenda and uncover specific examples of different kinds of neoliberal propaganda, thus complementing the quantitative research and making a more complete study.

Finally, the use of methods aimed at statistical causation is more abundant in fields such as economics and may be regarded as outside of the scope of sociology by some. This study subscribes to Durkheim’s notion that sociology is constituted as a scientific discipline by the study of social facts (such as institutions and orientations), and that it should be approached with the same mathematical rigor as other scientific disciplines (Durkheim 2014 [1895]). Therefore, methods that are not traditionally sociological should not only be allowed but encouraged in the pursuit of better understanding the social world.

CONCLUSIONS

Using large datasets of social media and other online messages is a comparatively new phenomenon that presents some challenges but appears to yield reliable and consistent results that can be attained quickly and inexpensively. The collection and analysis of large datasets can be facilitated through the use of software such as Trackur. However, care should be taken by the researcher to match the software tool to the research objectives. For example, the NLTK algorithm labeled over 90% of messages about immigrants as neutral, which suggested that this tool was not sensitive enough for the purposes of this study. By contrast, Trackur labeled roughly

38% of messages as negative, which mirrors negativity toward immigrants in established polls such as Gallup.

Additionally, the collection of time series data, which was facilitated by Trackur for this study, presents an opportunity to push beyond correlation into statistical models of causation. Doing so allows for the data to have more direct policy applications inasmuch as correlation alone does not suggest that changing X will lead to a change in Y, only that they have been observed to change together. While imperfect, statistical causation makes an attempt at uncovering variables that may lead to actual changes in the outcome of interest. This involves using tools that have traditionally been employed in disciplines such as economics; however, as Durkheim noted, sociology is not constituted by the method of analysis but the study of social facts. In this case, rigorous analytical tools from economic and business are being employed in the study of social facts such as the media (a social institution) and opinions about immigrants and their place in society (orientations).

CHAPTER 4: CHARTING THE RISE AND FALL OF NEGATIVITY TOWARD IMMIGRANTS OVER TIME

The collection of online media messages using Trackur was described in the previous chapter. This chapter begins with a specific discussion on the collection and transformations of the original variables and dataset in preparation for the temporal causal analysis. Descriptive statistics and results of ANOVA are then briefly discussed. Following that, the results of the Temporal Causal Analysis of a base-model for the prediction of changes in negativity will be described. The chapter concludes with a discussion on some caveats and methods of cross-checking the results of the TCM.

In gathering data, Trackur attempts to conduct a census of all data messages from nine specific types of media: Facebook, forums, Google, images and video (such as YouTube comments), news/blogs (news-oriented blogs), Reddit, reviews, Tumblr and Twitter. The Trackur report can then be uploaded to different formats, including a CSV (Excel) format. The files can only be exported by individual search terms in batches of up to 3000 which, for this study, necessitated downloading several batches using a date filter. The separated batches were then combined into a common file that and sorted in Excel by search term and then by date within each search term.

Each Trackur file contains the title of the article or message, the URL, a description (one line abstract of the message), date, media type (such as news, Facebook, Twitter and so forth), sentiment (positive, neutral or negative), and influence (of the person/organization posting the message). Additionally, a dichotomous (dummy) variable was created for each variable in order to create counts of each for any given date (the reasons for this are described in greater detail later in this chapter). Dichotomous variables were not created for the title, URL and description

as those variables could take literally thousands of different values, and having thousands of dichotomous variables would have been of minimal utility in the analyses. For similar reasons, influence was not recoded into a dichotomous variable, but instead an ordinal-level variable by quartiles (with Q1 being the lowest influence). The Influence variable had a missing data rate of 80.49% and extreme caution is issued in connection to the interpretation of any analysis using that variable. This was attributable to Trackur’s inability to compute influence for most Twitter users (perhaps because there are so many different individuals posting on Twitter—over 20,000 in this study alone).

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The following table (Table 1) contains an overview of descriptive statistics for each dichotomous variable and the Influence variable in its non-recoded (ratio level) form (missing cases ignored). For dichotomous variables, the mean conveys the proportion of total messages in which the variable was equal to 1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

	Mean	SD
Immigration	0.0053	0.0725
Immigrant	0.1062	0.3080
Immigration Work	0.0049	0.0701
Immigrant Work	0.8836	0.3207
Facebook	0.0219	0.1462
Forums	0.0013	0.0359
Google	0.0478	0.2133
Images/Video	0.0191	0.1369
News/Blogs	0.0969	0.2958
Reddit	0.0010	0.0313
Reviews	0.0001	0.0082
Tumblr	0.0084	0.0914
Twitter	0.8036	0.3973
Negative	0.3860	0.4868

Table 1 (cont'd)

Neutral	0.5472	0.4978
Positive	0.0669	0.2498
Influence	63.6000	27.4333

**N=44,897, Min=0 and Max=1 for all variables with the exception of influence (n=8761, min 0, max 96)*

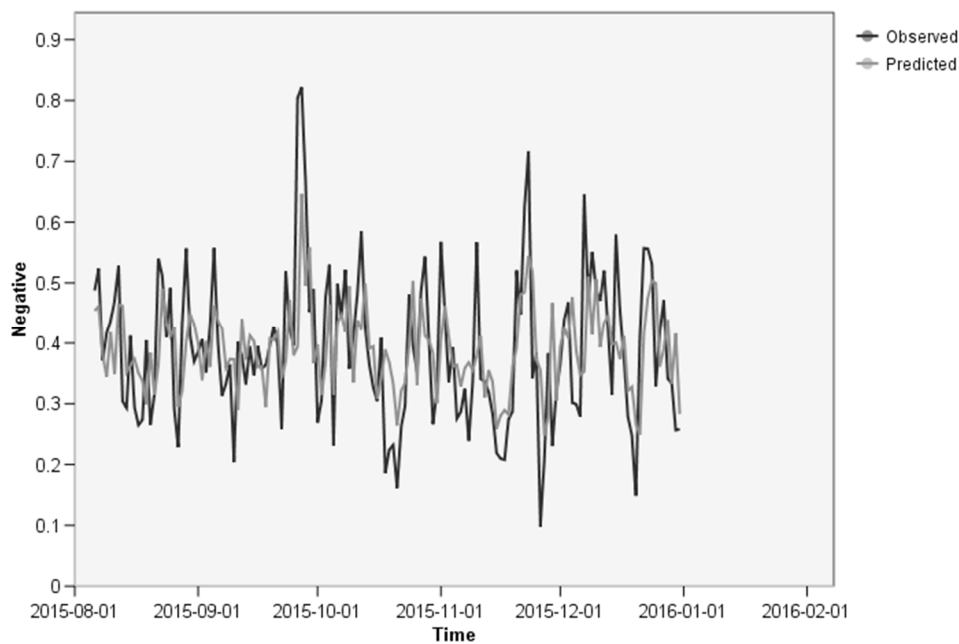
These variables were used to construct the base model described in the previous chapter. Once again, the base model was used to assess how much of the change in negativity could be explained by the Trackur variables in keeping with the SMSA notions of velocity, variety and volume. While this chapter will discuss some quantitative analyses used to cross-check the results of the TCM, the qualitative analysis in the next chapter serves to further cross-check the base model and add to it through inductive analysis. For example, these variables were not intended to provide insight into the neoconservative agenda or to help uncover specific examples of different kinds of neoliberal propaganda.

As noted in the method section, TCM analysis of large datasets such as the one used in the present study yield the best results by first transforming the raw data. One technique is to smooth the data through computing moving averages. Smoothing is generally regarded as acceptable only when there is cause to believe that there is extra noise in the data that is masking the real underlying trend. O'Connor et al. (2010) found support for the notion that this is the case when conducting analysis of big data gathered from social media with daily time intervals (O'Connor et al. 2010). However, a degree of caution is issued in response to the general practice of data smoothing. Specifically, if there is not excessive noise in the raw data (the raw data are an accurate reflection of the real trend) then measures of statistical significance will be overstated (overconfident). Therefore, all measures of statistical significance should be taken with a degree of caution and triangulated against the raw data if possible (methods for doing the

latter will be discussed at the end of this section). At the same time, it should be noted that smoothing has been advocated as appropriate for time series data, especially when it involves social media or other kinds of “noisy” data.

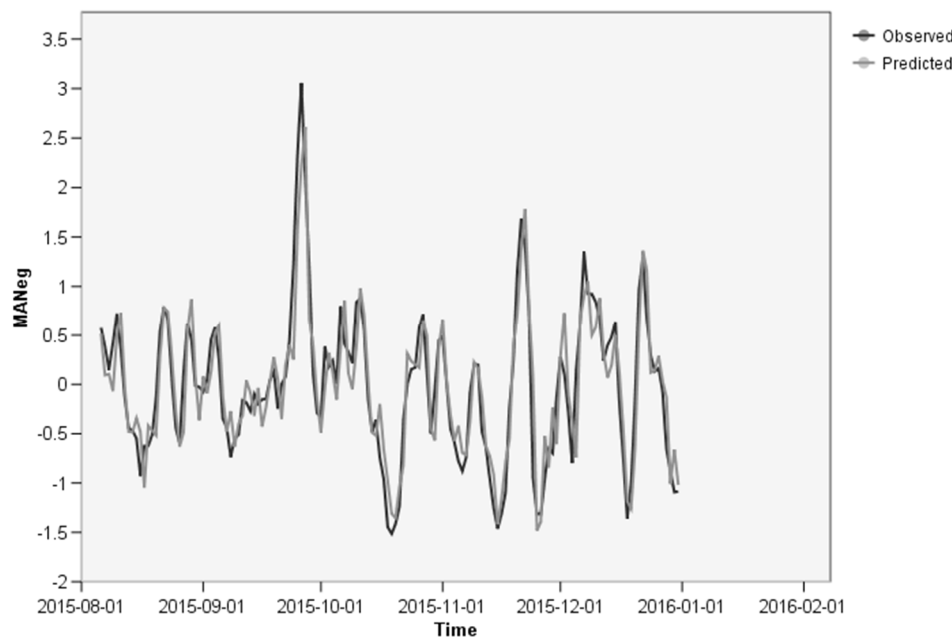
Smoothing the data removes some precision in the ability to pinpoint spikes or dips in negativity; however, if there are too many spikes and dips that are the product of noise, the underlying trends will be masked as well. This is perhaps best depicted graphically. Figure 2 shows an example of predicted negativity using raw data and Figure 3 shows predicted negativity using the same analysis but with data that have been smoothed by taking a three day moving average. (NB. These figures were derived through TCM using the variables: Negativity as the target variable, and all other variables shown in Table 1 as inputs and targets,⁸ with the exception of the Neutral and Positive variables, which were not included in the model in order to keep the focus on the impact the variables have on negativity.)

Figure 2. Example of predicted negativity using unsmoothed data



⁸ Inputs are candidate predictor variables and targets are outcome variables.

Figure 3. Example of predicted negativity using smoothed data (three day moving average)



The data that have been smoothed portray a clearer trend; however, at the same time, they mask some of the peaks and valleys in the data. Therefore, the goal of smoothing in SMSA is to find a balance by sufficiently reducing noise but not “smoothing out” the major trends.

Through several trials, it was determined that a fourteen day moving average provided a good balance. Thirty day moving averages removed any major spikes or dips and fourteen day moving averages improved predictability slightly over three day and seven day moving averages without smoothing out the peaks and valleys. Therefore, fourteen day moving averages were settled upon as a good compromise that would likely create a strong model in terms of prediction, but still allow for identification of major changes in the level of negativity over time.

A table of correlations of relevant variables is also included in Appendix A: Correlation of Variables.⁹ Especially relevant to the objective of this study is the first row within the table, as it depicts the respective Pearson Correlation Coefficients between negativity and the other

⁹ Measures of statistical significance are not included due to serial autocorrelation that would lead to overstatement of significance. The correlations are provided for informational purposes. Note that measures of statistical significance were later derived in association with GEE and TCM analysis.

variables in the study. One might note initially that the Immigration and Immigration Work variables were associated with lower levels of negativity while the Immigrant and Immigrant Work variables were associated with higher levels of negativity. One might also note that adding the “work” term to Immigration made it even less negative than the Immigration term by itself, and adding “work” to the Immigrant term made it even more negative than it was without the work term. (Adding the “work” term increased magnitude in the same direction for each).

The dataset being described was also aggregated into a date-collapsed variant. This can be thought of as a second dataset with individual dates as the unit of analysis instead of individual messages. This is also sometimes called a date-aggregated or date-collapsed dataset. In short, SPSS converted each dichotomous variable into a ratio for each day to the effect that .0128 as a value for the Facebook variable now meant that 1.28% of messages were Facebook messages on the day in question. One might also note (though it is not an essential point) that mutually exclusive and exhaustive variables will add up to 1. For example, on August 14th, the variables Immigration Work, Immigration, Immigrant Work and Immigrant had the respective values of .0042, .7957, .0071 and .1914 (which sum to 1). This was simply a result of each observation being classified as exactly one (and only one) of those four variables. The same is the case for media type, where each message had to be classified as one (and only one) of the nine media types. This is why, for example, the Facebook value of .0128 on August 22nd means that 1.28% of all messages were Facebook messages on that day.

This date-collapsed dataset allowed for analysis beyond those appropriate for binary variables because this had the effect of converting each variable into a ratio level variable. It also allowed for clear identification of trends by date, which is a common approach for handling large datasets in SMSA. Specifically, dates of interest (e.g. dates with unexplained levels of

negativity) could now be readily identified and targeted as dates of particular interest in the qualitative analysis (rather than having to dredge through tens of thousands of individual messages that might be of interest). It should be noted that only this date-collapsed variant of the dataset was converted to a fourteen day moving average, while the original dataset was not. The date-collapsed dataset was also shifted fourteen days so that the observed values on any given day could be interpreted as the average negativity of the previous fourteen days for any given variable.

Descriptive statistics for this date-collapsed variant of the dataset are provided below.

Table 2. Summary statistics for level of negativity by date

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
<i>Search terms</i>				
Immigration	0.7664	0.9386	0.8721	0.0041
Immigrant	0.0521	0.2236	0.1149	0.0400
Immigration Work	0.0007	0.0164	0.0056	0.0096
Immigrant Work	0.0000	0.0336	0.0070	0.0434
<i>Media types</i>				
Facebook	0.0029	0.0593	0.0205	0.0121
Forums	0.0000	0.0064	0.0012	0.0017
Google	0.0257	0.1057	0.0531	0.0142
Images/Video	0.0093	0.0679	0.0214	0.0135
News/Blogs	0.0621	0.1929	0.1017	0.0241
Reddit	0.0000	0.0093	0.0013	0.0018
Reviews	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Tumblr	0.0014	0.0400	0.0096	0.0091
Twitter	0.5871	0.8500	0.7900	0.0475
<i>Others</i>				
Negative	0.3036	0.4821	0.3888	0.0408
Number	93.0000	521.0000	306.0867	90.7609

**N=140 for all variables*

ANOVA

The ANOVA tests used the full dataset with dichotomous variables rather than the date-collapsed variant. While they were not intended to provide any sense of causation, they did provide interesting insight about the level of negativity associated with each variable. These insights were also useful in filling in some gaps in the TCM (to be explained in the next section).

Table 3 displays the percentage of articles that were negative for each of the search terms. While this did not allude to any level of causation or take into account the swings in negativity across time, it was clear that the search terms related to work were less negative than their counterparts, although the “immigrant” versions were also more negative than their “immigration” counterparts in each group (work vs. no work). At first glance, the suggestion here was that framing immigration as a work issue decreased negativity. One should take caution at this point as this was, again, merely an expression of association and not causation. Additionally, this finding was not robust. As already described, in the correlation matrix in Appendix A, adding the “work” term had a different effect, making “immigration” even less negative, and “immigrant” even more negative than they were without the “work” term.

Table 3. Frequency negative toward immigrants for each search term

	f_x	Total	Percent
Immigration Work	65	237	27.43%
Immigrant Work	70	222	31.53%
Immigration	15,135	39,672	38.15%
Immigrant	2,058	4,766	43.18%
Total	17,328	44,897	38.60%

$\chi^2 = 62.751(3), p = .000, n = 44,897$

However, an interesting point was how few messages there appear to be in cyber space about immigration and work. Is that a reflection of overall negativity toward immigrants and an

accompanying reticence to bring up a positive side of immigration? Or, would an increase in the number of messages about immigrant work decrease negativity toward immigration and immigrants? This analysis alone was insufficient to answer those questions, though it was the subject of the causal analysis—to rule out associations that are not also causal.

The next test was to see if there was a difference in negativity across the different media types. The output of that test is displayed in the following table.

Table 4. Frequency negative toward immigrants for each media type

	f_x	Total	Percent
Reviews	0	3	0.0%
Images/Video	192	858	22.38%
Facebook	266	981	27.12%
Tumblr	124	378	32.80%
Twitter	13,660	36,081	37.86%
Forums	23	58	39.65%
Google	910	2,145	42.42%
Reddit	21	44	47.73%
News/Blogs	2,132	4,349	49.02%
Total	17,328	44,897	38.60%

$\chi^2 = 379.634(8)$, $p = .000$, $n = 44,897$

This analysis suggested that social media messages had the tendency to be less negative than other forms of media. For example, Google and news sites were 42.42% negative and 49.02% negative, respectively, while sites like Facebook and Twitter came in much lower at 27.12% and 37.86%. The suggestion is that news media may be more negative toward immigrants than social media sites. Once again, this analysis simply gives the “lay of the land” in regards to immigrant-related negativity that will hopefully be flushed out in greater detail in the other analyses. An especially key task when using SMSA is to also triangulate the findings with other methods in order to be more certain of the results and associated conclusions. However, it is clear that social

media tended to be associated with less negativity, not considering any temporal or causal trends at this point in the study or any control variables.

Finally, ANOVA was conducted to get a sense of the association of the Influence variable and negativity. Due to the extremely high rate of missing data previously addressed, caution is advised relative to the interpretation of these findings. Additionally, (and unfortunately) influence ended up not being used in the TCM because of its extremely high rate of missing data (the default criterion of TCM is that no more than 25% of the data be missing for any given variable). Additionally, no attempt was made to impute the missing cases, as a review of the missing cases indicated that the values were not missing at random, but seemed to be missing at a higher rate for Twitter users that appeared to be less influential. Specifically, the influence rating was missing for 97.23% (35,082/36,081) of Twitter users compared to 80.49% missing for influence cases overall. Another way to look at it is that 97.08% (35,082/36,136) of all missing cases were Twitter users while only 80.36% of all messages were Twitter messages. The reader might also note that the average negativity of Twitter users was 37.86% which was very similar to the average for the Missing category (37.83%). Further evidence corroborated that many of the missing data observations were from lower influence Twitter users and is presented in the next chapter. Due to the exclusion of the Influence variable from the other quantitative analyses, the ANOVA test became the one opportunity to speculate as to the impact of the Influence variable on negativity in the quantitative portion of the study.

Table 5. Frequency negative toward immigrants by influence (in quartiles)

	f_x	Total	Percent
Q1	323	777	41.57%
Q2	1,110	2,497	44.45%
Q3	833	1,889	44.10%
Q4	1,391	3,598	38.66%
^a Missing	13,671	36,136	37.83%

Table 5. (cont'd)

Total	17,328	44,897	38.60%
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$\chi^2 = 72.076(4)$, $p = .000$, $n = 44,897$

Note a: χ^2 value includes "Missing" as a 5th category

While the results were highly statistically significant (as was the case with all analyses so far), there was no major substantial difference by influence except for the top quartile compared to the others. The most influential 25% of users (for whom influence was known) were up to nearly 6 percentage points less negative than the lower 75% of Influence.

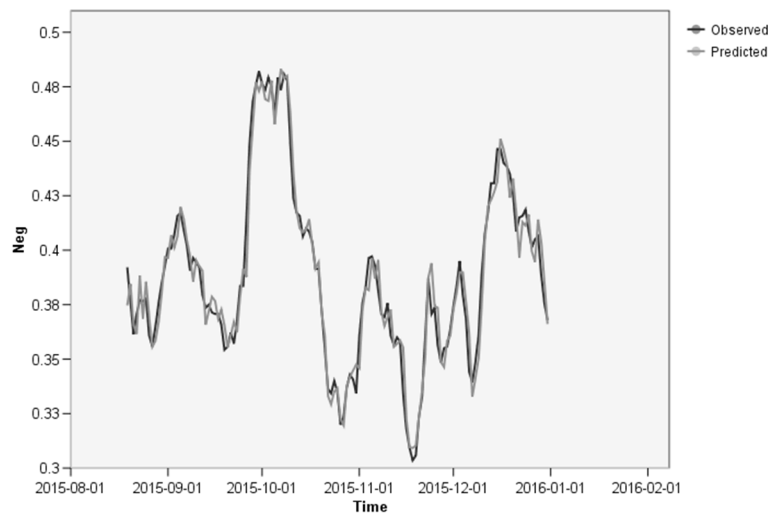
The bottom line is that the make-up of the Missing category is unknown, and that could impact the results in any number of ways. In summary, one might conclude provisionally that more influential people are less negative toward immigration. However, due to the missing data the result is in question.

TEMPORAL CAUSAL MODELING: AN ATTEMPT TO UNCOVER CAUSATION

The fourteen day moving average date-collapsed dataset was used for the calculation of the TCM for reasons already described in this chapter, and the technicalities of the TCM analysis were discussed in the previous chapter. The model was specified in SPSS by entering the variable Negativity as the target variable and the search term variables, type of media variables and Number variable as both inputs and targets. (For a review of variables see Table 1).

Overall, even this base model was a strong predictor of changes in negativity. There were only a few instances where the observed and predicted values differed to any substantial degree, and those dates were investigated during the qualitative analysis (to be discussed in the next chapter).

Figure 4. Observed and predicted negativity-base model



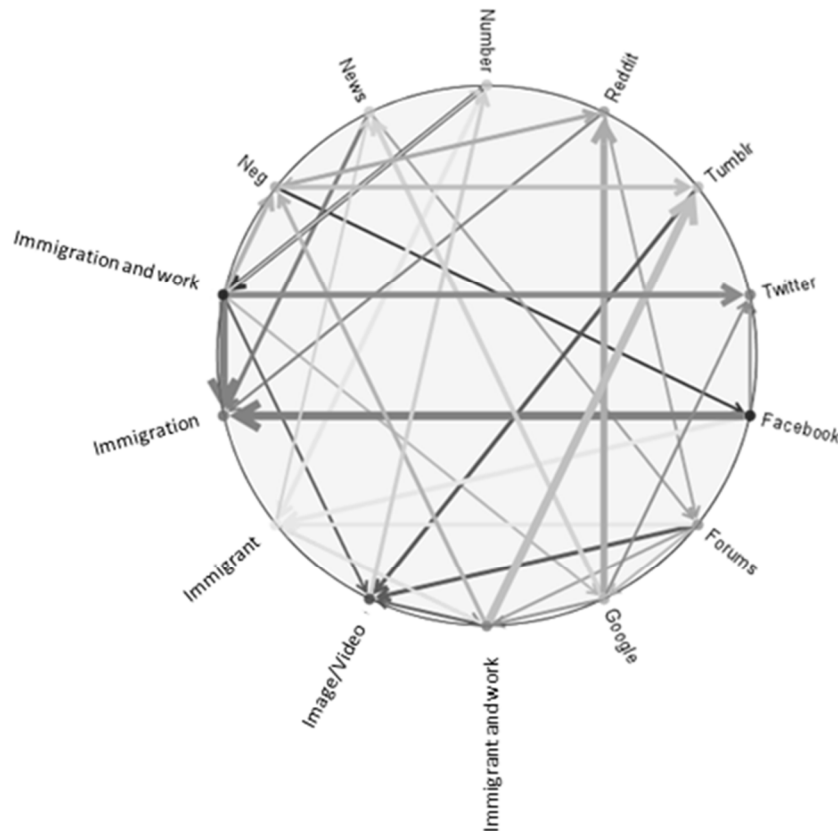
SPSS automatically computed Granger causation among the variables in the model and identified the best models in terms of high R^2 and low p-values. It should also be noted that TCM in SPSS also involves automatic conversion of the variables in order to meet necessary assumptions in regards to the distribution of the variables and their associated residuals. The SPSS conversions were reviewed by the author of this study and deemed to be acceptable on all counts.

In terms of model specification, all variables were entered as potential targets and all variables except for Negativity were entered as inputs. This was done in order to give context about how the variables worked together as a complete system. However, the target variable of interest, in keeping with the main research question, is Negativity, which will be the focus of the interpretations of the TCM in the remainder of this chapter. Specifically, after a discussion of the overall system, a number of sub-systems will be discussed with a focus on the things that caused a change in Negativity.

An interesting approach to TCM is visual modeling of statistically significant causal relationships between variables. Figure 5 shows the overall system of causes and effects between

variables in the model. It should be noted that SPSS selected the variables to be entered based on statistical significance, and only variables that were significant at $p < .05$ were included in the models unless otherwise specified. Causation is shown by an arrow pointing from the trigger variable to the target variable, with thicker the arrows indicating higher levels of statistical significance.

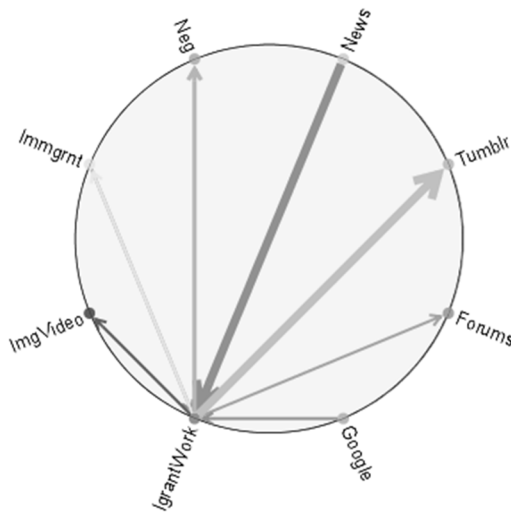
Figure 5. Overall model of Granger cause between variables



One thing that is readily apparent is that there were only two highly significant *direct* causes of negativity: the Immigration Work variable and the Immigrant Work variable. However, that does not mean that other variables played no role in the rise and fall of negative sentiment toward immigrants. Instead, some indirectly impacted negativity through the two direct effects. (In the terminology of other statistical techniques, there were mediating effects).

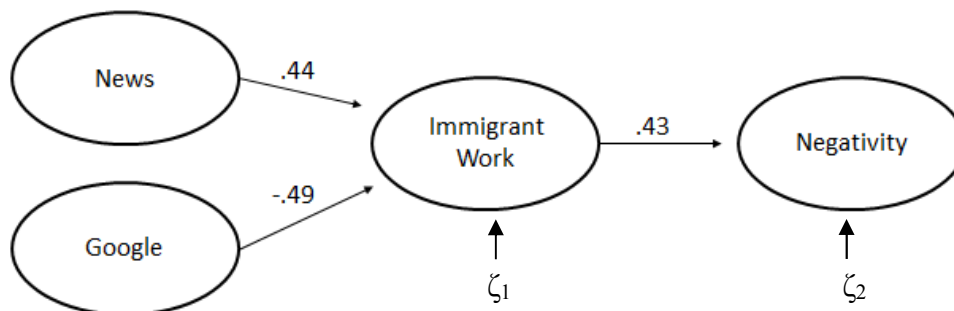
This can more easily be seen through visual displays of individual sub-systems that make up the overall model.

Figure 6. News and Immigrant Work sub-system



Sub-systems like this can be thought of as showing a sort of domino effect. In this case, the news was a highly significant trigger of Immigrant and Work, which in turn impacted negativity. An interesting complement to TCM is building these sub-systems into a sort of path model or chain of causation.¹⁰ In order to keep the focus on the ultimate impact on negativity, only variables in the chain to negativity were included in the diagrams:

Figure 7. Path for News and Immigrant Work sub-system



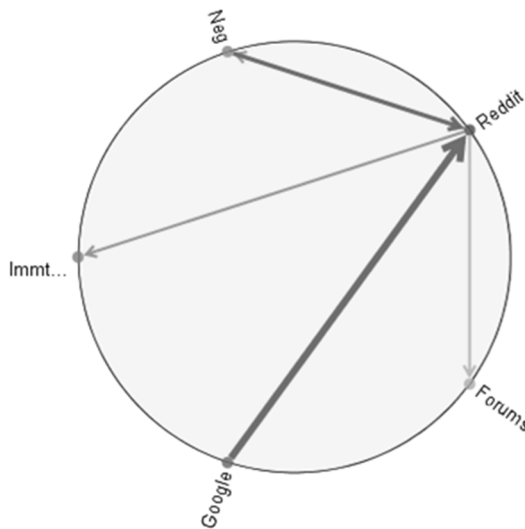
¹⁰ Note that serial autocorrelation (present in the dataset) did not impact coefficients, only measures of standard error. This was confirmed by the author by comparing OLS coefficients with GEE coefficients and is also discussed in: <http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/sas/webbooks/reg/chapter4/sasreg4.htm>

This enriched the TCM by quantifying the overall magnitude and direction of relationships.¹¹

Here, it can be seen that the News and Google variables had an effect that was similar in magnitude, but in the opposite direction. The Immigrant and Work variable led to a direct increase in negativity.

A similar model is the Google-Reddit sub-system. In this case, Google once again had an indirect impact on negativity; however this time, Reddit was the mediator.

Figure 8. Google-Reddit sub-system



The overall impact of each variable was again quantified and depicted in a causal chain diagram (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Path for Google-Reddit sub-system



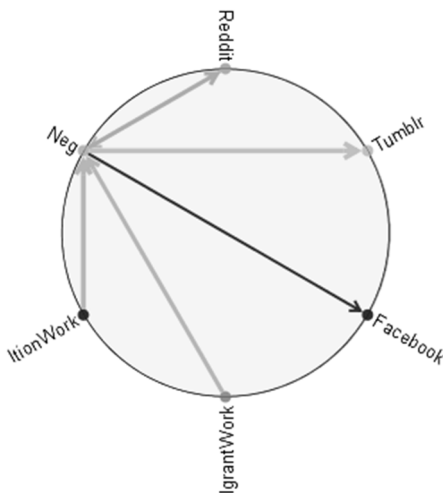
Here, the double-headed arrow between the Reddit and Negativity variables was taken from the result of the TCM analysis. This indicated correlation rather than causation. Consequently, one

¹¹ TCM gives coefficients for the different lags in the calculation (not shown) but not overall coefficients.

might determine that this sub-system was one of the weaker options for explaining negativity as there was only correlation but not causation of negativity in the model. Another model (to be discussed later in this section) also showed Reddit as a cause of negativity, indicating it may be somewhat robust (although it was a rather weak cause in both models).

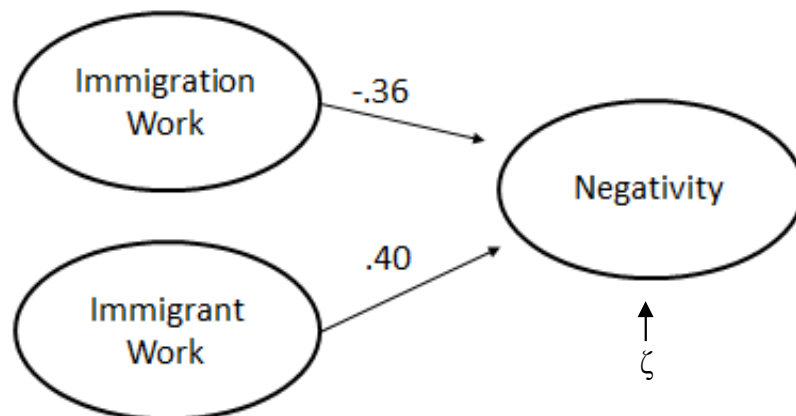
The addition of the word “work” to the “immigration” and “immigrant” search terms was discussed in the descriptive statistics section of this chapter. However, here we can see the impact they had on negativity in statically causal terms.

Figure 10. Work sub-system



In this case, it is apparent that both search terms that include the word “work” impacted negativity. As has been done with the other sub-systems, this model was also supplemented with a path diagram that quantified the relationships in terms of magnitude and direction.

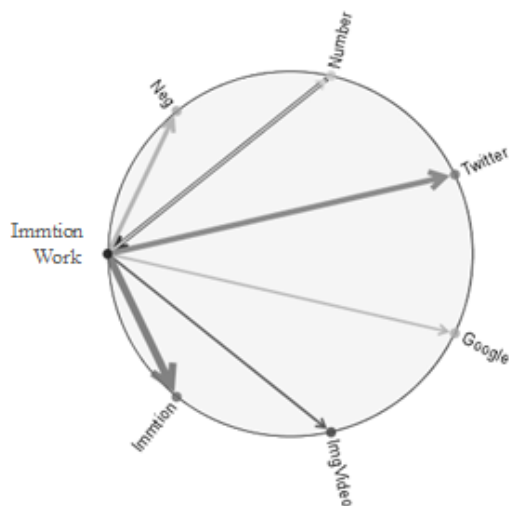
Figure 11. Path for Work sub-system



This sub-system reveals a valuable insight: that both work-related search terms impacted negativity, but in different ways. Immigration and Work caused a decrease in negativity while Immigrant Work caused an increase. The implications of this will be discussed later on in the conclusion chapter of this study.

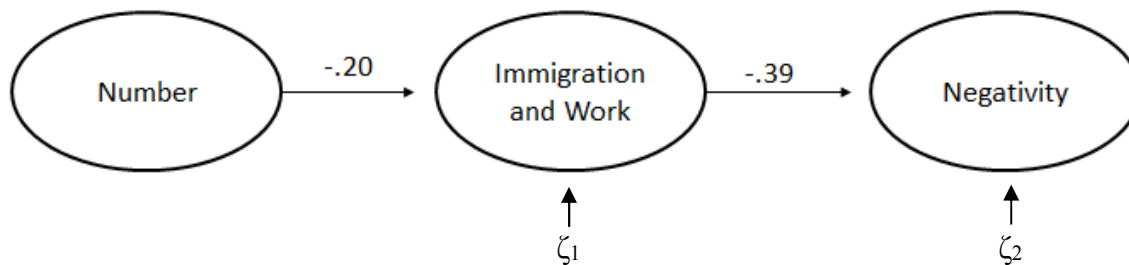
Another sub-system revealed the relationship between velocity and negativity. In SMSA, velocity refers to the number of messages that occur in a given span of time, and is a key point of analysis in terms of the change in sentiment over time. In this case, velocity had an indirect impact on negativity through the Immigration variable.

Figure 12. Velocity sub-system



This sub-system appeared to be more complex, but once the variables that were not in the chain of impact for negativity were removed, it became quite simple:

Figure 13. Path for Velocity sub-system

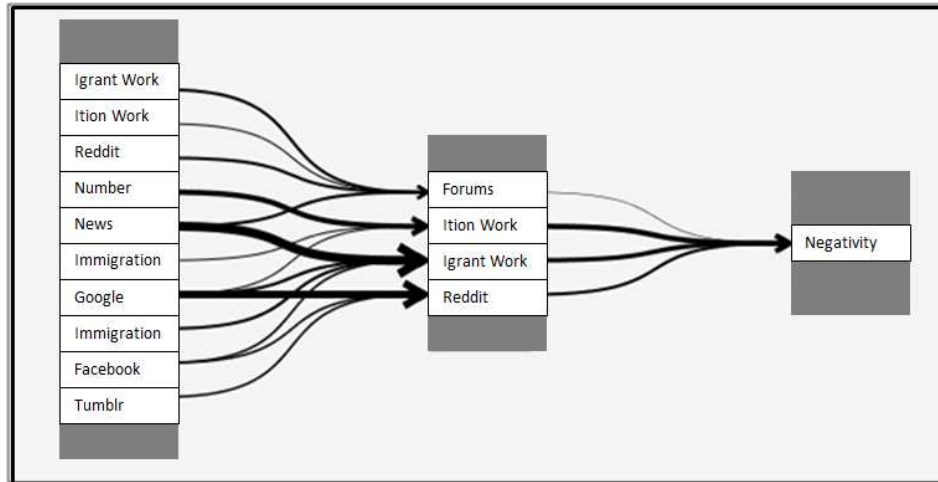


In this model an increase in the velocity (total number of articles) of messages statistically caused a decrease in the proportion of messages that are about Immigration and Work, and an increase in the proportion of Immigration and Work messages decreased negativity.

In general, this system suggested how complex it can be to understand the causes of negativity toward immigrants. Specifically, it illustrated how an increase in one variable can lead to a decrease in a variable that usually decreases negativity. Statistically speaking, this model may be the product of lurking variables that were driving changes in the Number and Immigration and Work variables. For example, shocking xenophobic statements about immigrants as jobs stealers by prominent politicians could lead to an increase in velocity (talking about the shocking statements) *and* a decrease in people thinking about less controversial sides of immigration like immigration and work which was associated with lower levels of negativity in most analyses.

The following impact diagram shows all factors that directly or indirectly impact negativity. In other words, this sub-system can be thought of as an “overall” system of variables that impact negativity in any way (though it is distinct from the overall system shown in Figure 5).

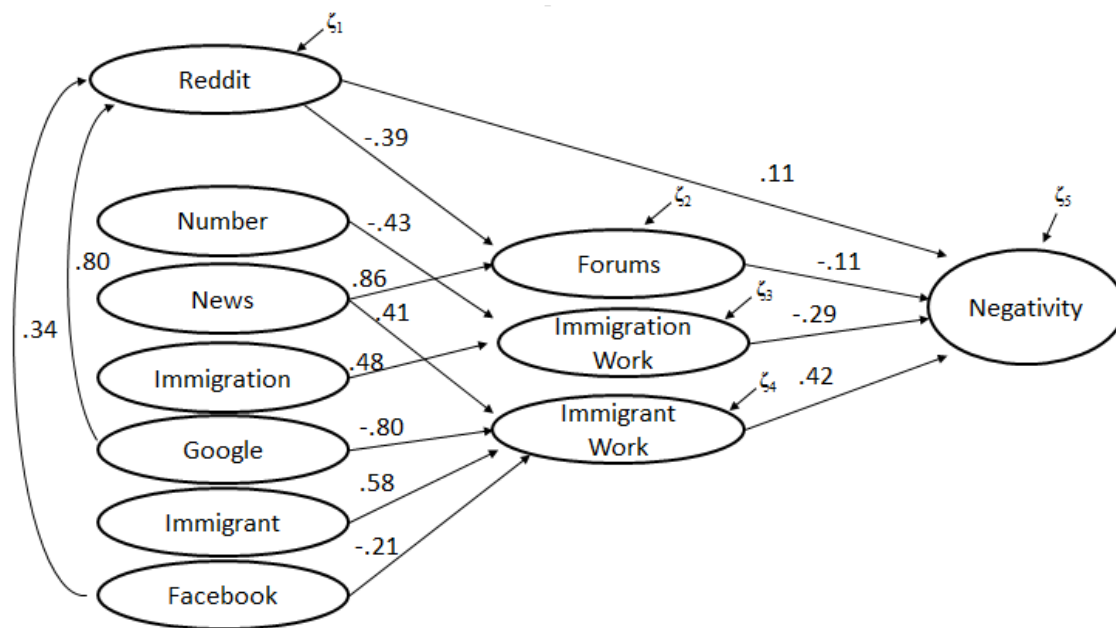
Figure 14. Impact diagram for overall system



The variables on the left are referred to as first level impacts and the variables in the center as second level impacts in the verbiage of TCM analysis. This diagram was produced with somewhat liberal tolerances for statistical insignificance in order to portray a big picture of what impacts negativity. Once again, the Immigration and Work and Immigrant Work variables were at the forefront of explaining negativity, though once again the direction and magnitude were quantified and displayed in a causal chain diagram to give a more accurate picture of that causation.

In creating the causal diagram, first level variables not significant at $p < .05$ were not included in the diagram to improve clarity, though all variables shown in the impact diagram in Figure 14 were included in the calculations of coefficients. The R^2 value of this model is .96. The results are shown in the figure below.

Figure 15. Path for overall system



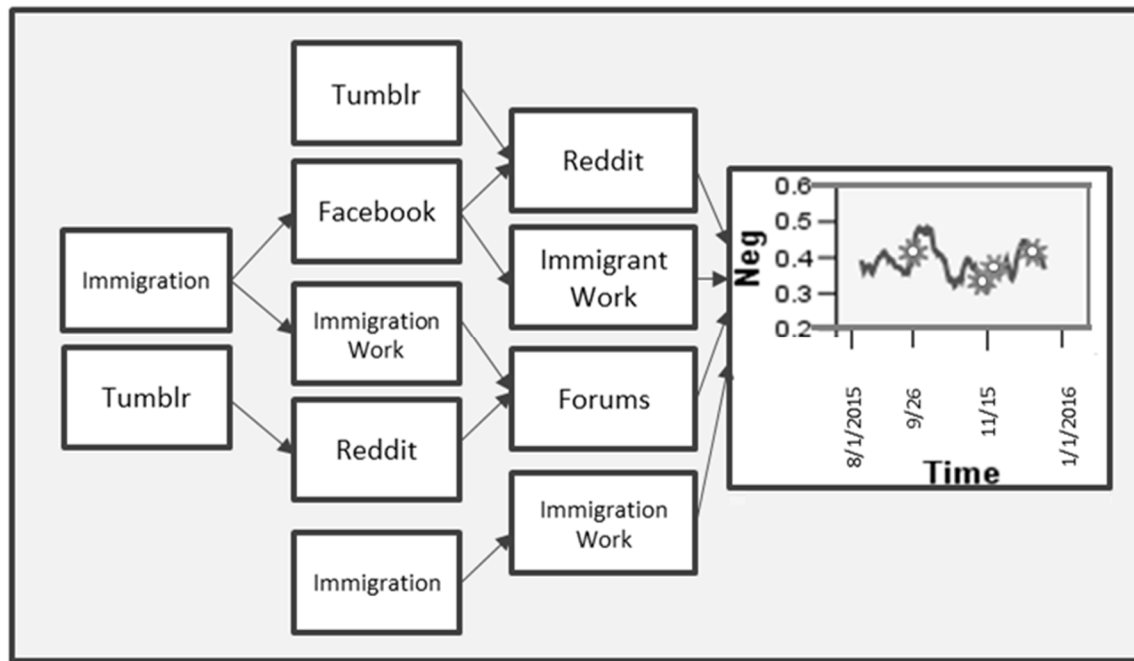
The Immigration Work and Immigrant Work variables were especially significant ($p=.001$ and $.005$, respectively). The Reddit variable was also significant at $p=.01$. However, the Forums variable was not significant at $p<.05$.

This model also illustrated the way not only the news shaped negativity, but also social media sites like Reddit and forums, and, indirectly, Facebook. This is in keeping with suggestions that the “new media” may be carving out a space for “media by the masses” as a political force rather than a mere object of politics. However, these findings were not robust or consistent across the quantitative models discussed in this chapter, and understanding the ability of the new media to empower the masses was an object of particular interest in the qualitative analysis to be discussed in the next chapter.

As previously mentioned, TCM was also used to identify specific instances (exact dates) of unexpected levels of negativity based on the model predictions. This provided another point of departure for the qualitative model to attempt to identify if anything else may have been at work on the levels of negativity on those dates. The specific technique in question is Outlier Root

Cause Analysis (hereafter, ORCA). The ORCA for negativity as the target variable is depicted visually below.

Figure 16. Outlier Root Cause Analysis (ORCA)-base model



There are four dates of interest in which negativity was either higher or lower than predicted by the model. These can be seen in Figure 16 above, depicted as sun bursts in the time plot. They are also listed below for convenience in Table 6.

Table 6. Dates and root causes

	Observed value	Predicted value	Outlier probability	Root cause
9/26/2015	0.41	0.39	1.00	Immigration
11/15/2015	0.33	0.36	0.98	None found
11/24/2015	0.37	0.39	0.99	None found
12/22/2015	0.42	0.40	0.96	Tumblr

On September 26th and December 22nd, negativity was higher than expected (41% of messages vs. the predicted value of 39% and 42% vs. 40%, respectively). As seen in Table 6, there was a high degree of certainty that the values observed were not expected based on the generally high

level of precision in the model. Therefore, these dates were of interest in the qualitative analysis as well. SPSS identified the root cause as the Immigration variable for the 9/26 outlier and Tumblr for the 12/22 outlier.

In the case of the other two outliers (on 11/15 and 11/25) negativity was lower than predicted, and there were no clues as to the root cause, making further investigation in the qualitative analysis especially relevant. Specifically, it suggests that certain key variables in explaining negativity were possibly excluded from the base model.

METHODOLOGICAL CAVEATS AND CONSIDERATIONS FOR BIG DATA

TCM analysis of large datasets containing social media messages is still a comparatively new practice. Consequently, there is some methodological debate related to some practices. This section seeks to provide transparency relative to the methods used in this dissertation, but also to contribute additional evidence for consideration relative to the advisability of certain practices in such analyses. Specifically, this section addresses (1) the (in)feasibility of “cleaning” big datasets, and (2) the use of smoothing.

(1) Cleaning the dataset. The task of going through a dataset of 44,897 messages is daunting (and far more so for larger datasets up to 1 million messages or more). It seems a natural (yet largely unspoken) consequence that researchers must simply “trust” their big data software or third party cleaning software to a degree. For this study, the researcher took a random one percent sample under review in order to make generalizations about the quality of the entire dataset prior to finalizing the models. As a result of this endeavor, it became apparent that roughly twenty percent of the messages produced from the “work” search terms (“immigrant and work” and “immigration and work”) contained irrelevant uses of the term. This included statements like: “Will Marco Rubio’s immigration plan work?” and “Hillary Clinton works to

reform immigration policy”. The majority of articles were relevant and even captured terms related to work such as “employment” and “jobs”. With only 459 cases from the “work” terms it was a feasible task to go through by hand and “clean” (delete) the irrelevant cases.

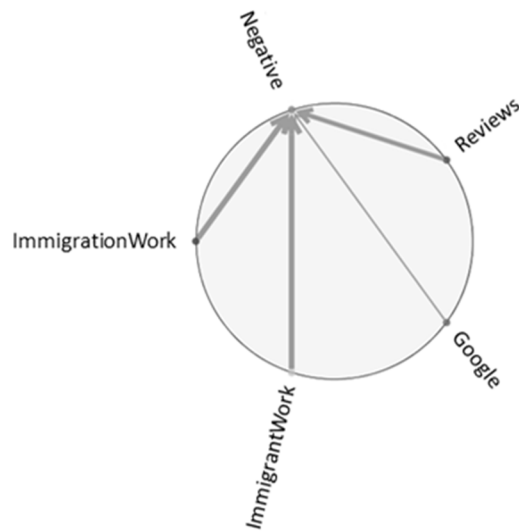
However, this was not unequivocally the best course of action because it may improve the significance of only the cases that match the “work” search terms. Therefore, the analysis presented in the TCM to this point relied on a dataset as it was captured by the Trackur software in order to keep uniformity of practice across the dataset.¹² However, for the sake of parsimony a detailed science will not be made of presenting all possible variants of the TCM and then synthesizing the results (although the author did do so independently in order to present sound models). Therefore, what follows is a highlight of key differences between the TCM described to this point and just a few selected variants of that model. Following that, the results of the different variants will be compared to each other and to the raw data in order to illustrate differences for the sake of transparency of the methodology.

To test the impact of cleaning the dataset, 137 cases were deleted that were deemed irrelevant to the “work” search terms. Subsequently, the TCM was run again with the new dataset in a way that otherwise exactly replicated the TCM described earlier in this chapter. There was little change to the main finding that the Immigration Work and Immigrant Work variables are the main causes of negativity. However, the Reddit and Forums variables were replaced by the Google and Reviews variables as the other direct causes of negativity. Figure 17 shows that model. The Google and Reviews variables were statistically significant at $p=.013$ and $<.001$, respectively.¹³

¹² There are several options for big-data-cleaning software; however, many are currently targeted at finding split or duplicate customer accounts for business databases rather than detecting how well data match a search term.

¹³ Once again, these are p-values from the TCM analysis.

Figure 17. Overall system—“work” variables cleaned



Therefore, the main findings (related to the Immigrant Work and Immigration Work variables) of the original analysis were rather robust to the cleaning of selected variables; however, this may simply be due to the fact that the 137 deleted cases were only 0.3% of the total number of observations (44,897). Perhaps the largest contribution of re-calculating the model was the assurance that the minority of irrelevant cases in the “work” term do not substantially alter the key findings of the model related to the Immigrant Work and Immigration Work variables. However, the difference between the two variants was not entirely inconsequential, as the other direct causes of negativity were not robust to the cleaning of the data (as evidence by the Forums/Reddit change to Google/Reviews as direct effects). A number of other variables were also no longer statistically significant in the overall system. Therefore, cleaning the work variables had an impact; however, this model was not necessarily the best one due to the fact that the cleaning was not uniform across the dataset, and cleaning the whole dataset by hand was not feasible.

The reader might now consider the second point: the impact of using smoothed data.

(2) The use of smoothing. Smoothing data through the use of moving averages or other practices has been widely discussed (Craven and Wahba 1978, Brzozowski, Sandholm and Hogg 2009, O'Connor et al. 2010). As has been mentioned previously in this section, smoothing is deemed appropriate as a means of reducing noise or error in the dataset. Some have suggested that large datasets like the one in this study will be excessively “noisy” without smoothing and will hide trends, decrease comparability across different series and otherwise yield inaccurate results. In this spirit of transparency, this section addresses the other side of the argument: That smoothing (specifically moving averages) increases dependency of cases. By definition, a moving average uses data from previous points in time to determine a new and transformed value for any given data point. Therefore, smoothing the data in this way creates dependency (in the sense that the value of an observation at T_2 is a function of its value at T_1) of cases and artificially inflates the R^2 value and deflates the p-value (overstates significance).¹⁴ (On the other side of the argument, others have noted that moving averages that shift the data effectively “cost” some number of degrees of freedom equal to the number of days the data were shifted. For example, in this study, thirteen cases were omitted because the fourteenth case is the first one for which a full fourteen day moving average could be created. Therefore, there were only 140 remaining cases to be used in the analysis as opposed to 153 that would have otherwise been used).

However, ultimately, the central question in this debate comes down to noise in the data. For example, stock data have widely been regarded as noisy given that smoothed data provide better future predictions. Therefore the implication is that the unsmoothed data is not in the “real” form of the underlying trend, but instead hides it. As mentioned, experiments suggest this

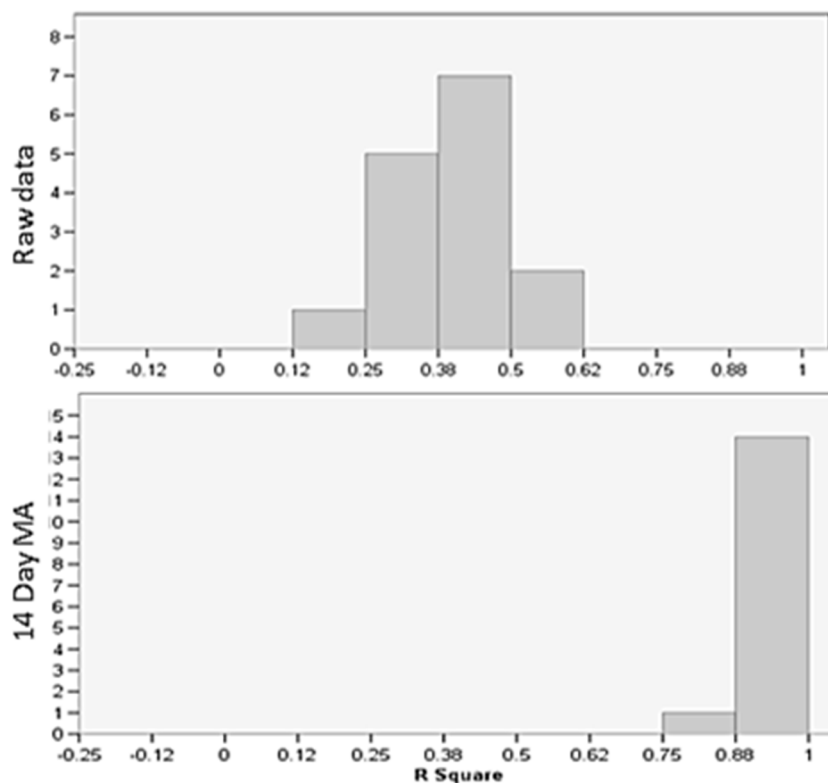
¹⁴ GraphPad Software’s FAQ page gives an example of improving the fit of randomly generated data to an externally derived prediction line by smoothing the data. <http://graphpad.com/support/faq/smoothing-data-can-make-it-seem-as-though-bad-predictions-forecasts-are-quite-accurate/>

may be the case for social media as well (O'Connor et al. 2010). One advised practice in smoothing is to triangulate back to the raw data as a cross-check.

In order to draw a comparison in this study, the same “cleaned” dataset was used to compare unsmoothed data with the smoothed data. In comparing the two, one would do well to remember that the unsmoothed variant of the dataset has 153 total cases as a result of not smoothing (as smoothing costs 13 cases).

Figure 18 shows the comparison of the two TCM analyses. There was a clear increase in the overall R^2 values in the smoothed data, compared to the raw data.

Figure 18. Overall model quality compared: raw data vs. 14 day moving average



The increase in R^2 alone is not enough to determine that the model fit is artificially inflated because it is unknown if data smoothing has artificially inflated a comparatively weak actual trend in the data or if a failure to smooth the data has deflated model fit because of noise

in the dataset. In other words, if the first (top) model shown in Figure 18 is the most accurate reflection of the real trend, the data should not be smoothed, but if model used to create the bottom graph reflects the real trend, it would be incorrect to fail to smooth the data. One approach to this is the triangulate with another method using the raw data.

The model with unsmoothed data indicated no known cause for negativity. The model is not shown because there is no visualization due to an absence of causal predictor variables. (NOTE: The R^2 value for the Negativity variable in the model is .35, indicating the ability to predict values of Negativity from its own past values). Therefore, it is helpful to check if that is a better reflection of the actual trend, because it would debunk all of the other TCM analyses shown to this point.

CROSS-CHECKING THE TEMPORAL CAUSAL MODELS WITH GEE

In order to test the findings against an outside method, Generalized Estimating Equations (GEE) was used. GEE is a generalized linear estimation procedure similar to GLM except that it bases its estimation on population averages, saving a degree of freedom. There are several benefits to using GEE to produce outputs that can be compared to the findings of the three TCM analyses that have been discussed (Smoothed but not cleaned, smoothed but cleaned, smoothed but not cleaned).

GEE allows the researcher to control for subject effects which makes it robust to dependency among observations. It also employs a generalized linear estimation procedure that makes it robust against serial autocorrelation. The reason it was not chosen as the main form of analysis in the study is because it does not illuminate statistical cause like TCM. However, for the current purpose, it can be expected to produce a model that has removed serial autocorrelation and dependency among cases, making it a strong model against which to

compare the others that have been presented up to this point. In short, the model that most aligns with the GEE may be thought of as the model that best represents (among the models presented in this study at least) the raw data with the effect of dependency of cases and serial autocorrelation removed (or attempted to be removed). However, that alone is not sufficient either to determine that the model is the best reflection of the real trend, as GEE may not remove random or “unexplained” noise in the data that is commonly thought to be present in social media datasets.

The model was specified as follows: Subject variable = URL (website), unstructured (robust) correlation matrix, with binary logistic link function. The omitted category for the Search Term variables was Immigration. The Reviews, Tumblr and Reddit variables were also omitted, but in this case the omission was not only a matter of preventing redundant parameters (perfect multicollinearity) but those specific variables also caused Hessian singularity if included in the model. The model output is displayed below in Table 7.

Table 7. Estimated effects on negativity toward immigrants (GEE)

N=44,897, n subjects=44,446			
	β		p
INTERCEPT	-0.698		1.000
Immigration Work	-0.014	**	0.004
Immigrant	0.133	***	0.000
Immigrant Work	-0.097	+	0.098
Facebook	-0.301	*	0.018
Forums	0.229		0.432
Google	0.395	***	0.000
Image/Video	-0.539	***	0.000
News	0.642	***	0.000
Twitter	0.188		1.000
Scale	1		

Table 7. (cont'd)

p-value is two-tailed

+p<.1, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Several of the statistically significant variables presented in this table appeared in other analyses in this study as well, suggesting that they may be especially robust. The Immigration Work and Immigrant Work variables were once again central in predicting general negativity toward immigration. The Google and News variables were also strong predictors in the original TCM (see Figures 6 and 7). Additionally, while Facebook was statistically significant in this analysis, one should note that GEE is limited to portrayals of correlation, not causation. To elaborate, Facebook did appear in the other analyses, but as an *outcome* of negativity rather than a cause of it (see Figures 10 and 11).

The GEE analysis of the raw (unsmoothed) data shown here corroborated the major findings of the initial TCM. Additional research is needed on this nascent subject of data smoothing in SMSA, but the results of this study were largely in keeping with other findings that suggest smoothing as an effective way to uncover underlying trends hidden in the noise of internet media big-data sets.

As an interesting lead-in to the next chapter, all three variants of the TCM analysis found unexpected levels negativity between the dates of November 11 and November 26, 2015 (not all shown, and dates varied slightly). Perhaps not coincidentally, November 13, 2015 was the day of the Boulevard Voltaire bombing, which might be expected to give rise to negative conversations about immigration and associated fears about terrorism. On November 12, 2015, Donald Trump asserted that he would “bomb the shit out of” ISIS and take all of their oil. Curiously, however, most of the unexpected levels of negativity toward immigration on those dates (according to the

TCM outlier analysis) were *lower* than expected. This was in keeping with the notions of counterhegemony and counter-narrative that were described in the beginning of this dissertation.

These types of connections between the quantitative and qualitative observations, along with endeavoring to uncover and describe variables not included in the quantitative models, is the endeavor of the next chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter gives a quantitative introduction to how ITN occurs in online media through the quantitative analysis of a baseline statistical model (a model that uses only the variables of velocity, variety and volume available through Trackur's initial collection and analysis of articles). Because SMSA yields the best results by employing multiple methods (triangulation of methods), ANOVA, GEE and TCM were employed in order to indicate the most robust findings.

TCM revealed a number of notable sub-systems that speak to the elements of velocity and variety that cause changes in negativity.

(1) As the velocity (number) of Google+ messages increased, the velocity of the Immigrant Work frame decreased. As the velocity of news stories increased, the velocity of the Immigrant Work frame increased. As the Immigrant Work frame increased, negativity increased. Therefore, the velocity of Google+ and News stories had indirect effects on negativity, with an increase in velocity ultimately leading to a decrease in negativity in the case of Google+ (through a decrease in the velocity of Immigrant Work) and an increase for the News (through an increase in velocity of Immigrant Work).

(2) An increase in velocity of Google+ caused an increase in velocity of Reddit, which caused an increase in negativity.

(3) An increase in the velocity of the Immigration Work frame decreased negativity and an increase in the velocity of the Immigrant Work frame increased negativity.

(4) An increase in the overall velocity of messages about immigrants and immigration decreased the velocity of the Immigration Work frame. The Immigration Work frame decreased negativity. Therefore, an increase in overall velocity indirectly increased negativity by decreasing the velocity of the Immigration Work frame.

(5) A larger system suggested that overall velocity and the velocity of News, the Immigration frame, Google+, the Immigrant frame, and Facebook had an indirect effect on negativity through Forums, Immigration Work and Immigrant Work. Reddit had a direct effect and an indirect effect (through Forums) on negativity.

However, the most consistent findings across the different methods of analysis were the “immigration work” frame and the “immigrant work” frame. The statistical causal analysis (TCM) suggests that the “immigration work” frame decreases negativity, while the “immigrant work” frame increases negativity. This illustrates a valuable contribution of the causal analysis as the “immigration work” frame was correlated with lower levels of negativity than the “immigrant work” frame, but it was not clear from those analyses that the “immigration work” frame causes a *reduction* in negativity. For example, in the GEE analysis, the only conclusion that could be made was that the “immigration work” frame was associated with *lower* levels of negativity than the “immigrant work” frame, but not necessarily that it caused a reduction in negativity in general.

These findings supported several theories in this study. For example, ITN is exclusionary language directed at individuals rather than at immigration in general and that is supported in the finding that immigrants are regarded with greater negativity than immigration. The causal

models extend that and indicate that framing discussions in terms of “immigration” *reduces* negativity while framing them in terms of “immigrants” *increases* negativity. The analysis also reflect the idea of resource threat as the “immigration work” and “immigrant work” frames were more robust across the different types of analysis and also increased the magnitude of the effect for the “immigration” and “immigrant” search terms (making “immigration” even less negative and “immigrant” even more negative).

CHAPTER 5: DEEP-DIVE ON IMMIGRANT THREAT NARRATIVE

The purpose of this chapter is to complement the previous chapter. This chapter is largely qualitative and inductive in its purpose. Specifically, the purpose of the analysis is to give details, descriptions and examples of ITN and also to uncover additional variables that might be added to a predictive quantitative model. That having been said, a revised quantitative model is suggested briefly at the end of this chapter with the intention of connecting these findings back to the original quantitative model. Because an in-depth, inductive and critical examination of the full dataset of 44,897 messages would be prohibitive, this chapter largely draws on a 1% random sample. The sample was generated using the random sub-sample feature in SPSS. The random sample generated 413 observations (the number is lower than the expected 449 messages because the random sampling process in SPSS yields a number of observations that is *approximately* 1%). The cases sampled are included in Appendix B: Randomly selected cases.

The beginning two chapters of this dissertation synthesized extant theories about what shapes negativity toward immigrants. To recapitulate, those who are dominant in society have privileged access to the media that can be used to shape an environment of immigrant exclusion. However, predicting the change in ITN over time is also complicated by a number of additional forces such as natural disasters, economic recessions and wars. Fluctuations in ITN over time also interact with political ideologies, such as neoliberalism and neoconservatism, and with micro-level orientations and dispositions. Finally, with the rise of the new media, many scholars suggest that the masses might be able to also exert an influence on ITN politics rather than being mere objects of politics (as media hegemony theory has often suggested).

These theories guided the qualitative analysis; however, the analysis also remained flexible enough to remain critical and reconstructive in keeping with the notion by Kahn and

Kellner (2005) that such should be the case when studying the new media. Therefore, it was not the intention of the qualitative analysis to be limited only to the theories found in this dissertation, rather to be guided by them while remaining flexible enough to recognize outside ideas if the data suggest something that was outside of the theoretical framework of this study.

For convenience, each case is given a code in the format: Name, date, media type, sentiment, shares/likes (if applicable). As an aside, the number of shares and likes are not available on all sites and are not exactly equivalent from one site to the next. For example, Google+ uses “+1” while Facebook uses “Like” and people may not respond to those in exactly the same way. Still, this notation serves as an interesting way to think about the response to the message that appeared online. These are measures of how many people the message is reaching and their expression of approval or support relative to the message. This code (name, date, media type, sentiment) will be used in connection with any quotes or excerpts as the reference to the online message.¹⁵ The following are examples of the coding system and the way messages will appear in this chapter:

“Elusive US crime wave data shows frightening toll of illegal immigrant criminals..Trump was right!” (anon, 9/16/15, Twitter, negative, 0 retweets/0 likes).

“Ben Carson's Immigrant Visa Idea Favored By Farmers As Nation's Crops Rot” (American Farm Bureau, 9/18/15, Twitter, positive, 0 retweets/0 likes).

“GOP candidate Chris Christie elaborates on his immigration plan” (anon, 9/2/2015, Twitter, neutral, 0 retweets/0 likes).

The three example quotes just given also provide an example of each type of sentiment. Original spelling and grammar are exactly preserved unless otherwise noted. A forward slash (/) is used to indicate a break (new line) in the original message. When an original message is

¹⁵ In keeping with a growing practice, some user names are altered to promote anonymity.

quoted together with comments that are responding to the message, the comments will be placed below the original with an extra offset (indentation) as follows:

“Rush Limbaugh spent the program touting Donald Trump's immigration plan: <http://mm4a.org/1hI0RCz>” (anon, 8/17/2015, Twitter, neutral, 17 retweets, 10 likes).

“Fortunately @anon @anon & #flushrush have him down to 625 stations and Armed Forces Network so nobody heard it, right @anon?” (anon, 8/17/2015, 1 like).

“A big mouth bigoted idiot supporting the same creature. DT delivers numbers & ratings. Rush needs both” (anon, 8/17/2015, 1 like).

There are some other details related to sentiment that should also be addressed in advance of the analysis itself. First, sentiment does not always equate with the message originator's stance on immigration, as the originator sometimes takes a sort of “narrative” role that may be intended to get people to think about the impact of the opposing side. Here is an example:

“DONALD TRUMP/ a rapist/ a racist/ putting immigrant lives in danger/ a misogynist/ pro life/ STOP VOTING FOR HIM AS A JOKE” (anon, 8/31/15, Twitter, negative, 26 retweets/37 likes).

This Twitter user most likely supports immigration as is evidenced by speaking out against Mr. Trump's ITNs. However, the phrase “putting immigrant lives in danger” conveys a negative outcome for immigrants, making this message negative. In a sense, this message originator was narrating about ITNs in order to go on to discuss their impact. Therefore, one should not conflate negativity of a message with opposition to immigrants. In relation to ITNs, negativity should be thought of as an indication that ITNs are taking place, but not that the message originator is engaging in them. Other messages like this one might say something like,

“Immigrants are being portrayed as job-stealers and criminals” or “People seem to hate immigrants— why?”

Additionally, the sentiment assigned by Trackur seems to be a reflection on the entire thread of a message, including comments. For example, after it was announced that Arnold Schwarzenegger would take over the “Celebrity Apprentice” show, the same post was retweeted prolifically: “Donald Trump lost a job to an immigrant” (Benjamin Freed of *the Washingtonian*, 9/14/2015, Twitter, *negative*, 1953 retweets/1702 likes). A very similar version of this was tweeted by another user: “Donald Trump just had his job taken by an immigrant” (anon, 9/14/2015, Twitter, *neutral*, 13 retweets/12 likes). However, the latter had no comments and the former had comments such as the following:

“Which is fine since he’s came here legally” (anon, 9/14/2015, 0 retweets/0 likes).

“U CANT GET RID OF BEING AN IMMIGRANT! FILTH IS EVERYWHERE IN AMERICA” (anon, 9/14/2015, 0 retweets/0 likes).

Therefore, while Trackur’s algorithm is proprietary information, it does appear that the SA applies to an entire thread rather than just the original post. An informal review of several articles seemed to confirm this as well.

Finally, as has been noted elsewhere (Flores forthcoming) all SA programs and algorithms have some trouble with sarcasm, though it does not seem to pose a substantial problem for SA with large sample sizes. This is because a small proportion of articles appear to use sarcasm that is undiscernible to the SA software; therefore, large samples are expected to also have a small proportion of such sarcasm. (It is less likely to draw a sample with a problematically large proportion of sarcastic messages that happened on a fluke). Additionally, there have been some efforts to develop algorithms that can detect sarcasm in SA (Maynard and Greenwood 2014).

In a scan of over 2000 messages and a careful review of over 100 messages, the author of this study found that *indiscernible* (by Trackur) sarcasm was rare. In many cases, Trackur is able to determine that the post is sarcastic. However, as Maynard and Greenwood (2014) noted, irony as a specific kind of sarcasm can be difficult for SA software to discern, and Trackur occasionally falls victim to that kind of sarcasm as well. Here is an example:

“I can't tell you how many times I've had issues with illegal immigrant gangs in #Baltimore, @realDonaldTrump Oh yeah, it's none.” (anon, 9/16/15, Twitter, negative, 0 retweets/0 likes).

The algorithm appeared unable to discern “I can't tell you how many times I've had issues with illegal immigrant gangs in #Baltimore” as an ironic expression, and consequently rates it as negative. In a sense, it could also be argued that this is in keeping with the idea already described in this section that negativity is often a reflection of ITNs that are happening, even if the originator of the message is not engaging in it. In this message, it is clear that the originator has been exposed to the idea that “illegal immigrant gangs” are a problem (in this case it was @RealDonaldTrump sharing a CBS news story to that effect) even though the originator of the message is not intending to agree with the ITN to which they have been exposed.

Ultimately, in conceding that not all forms of sarcasm can be correctly identified by software, one would do well to note that the same is true for humans conducting SA as well (Maynard and Greenwood 2014).

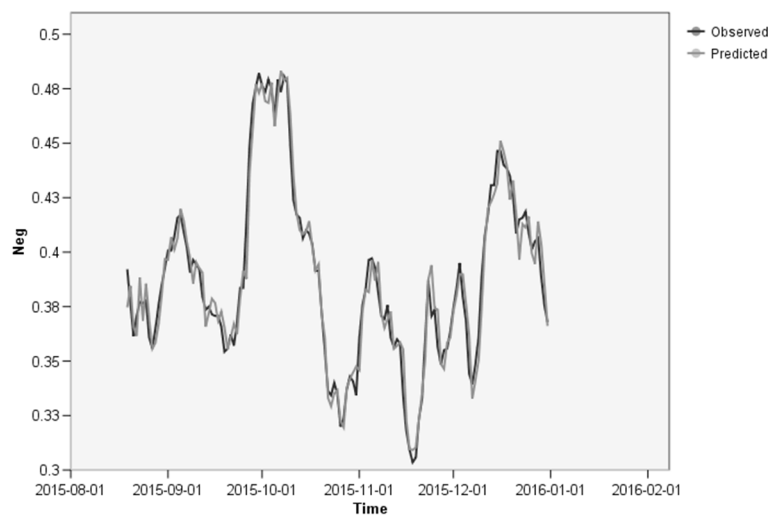
This chapter begins from broad generalizations about the rise and fall of negativity toward immigrants and then works toward more specific discussions. Specifically, it begins with general trends in negativity, then moves on to discuss broad themes of social stratification and resource threat, then discusses whether the inveterate notion of dominant elites having the most power to influence the social climate seems borne out or if the new media is creating a new

platform for political influence by the masses, and finally, draws out specific connections to the influence of the neoliberal and neoconservative projects (respectively) on immigrant sentiment.

GENERAL TRENDS AND EXPLAINING UNEXPECTED NEGATIVITY

For reference, Figure 19 shows the rise and fall of negativity over time. As mentioned in the qualitative chapter, this is a ready point of departure for the qualitative analysis. Specifically, dates in which the Observed and Predicted lines do not line up are prime candidates for qualitative analysis because unexplained negativity may be the result variables that were erroneously excluded from the model.

Figure 19. Rise and fall of negativity over period of study



Unexplained negativity (which shows up as gaps between the two lines in Figure 19) can be more readily seen in the following table.

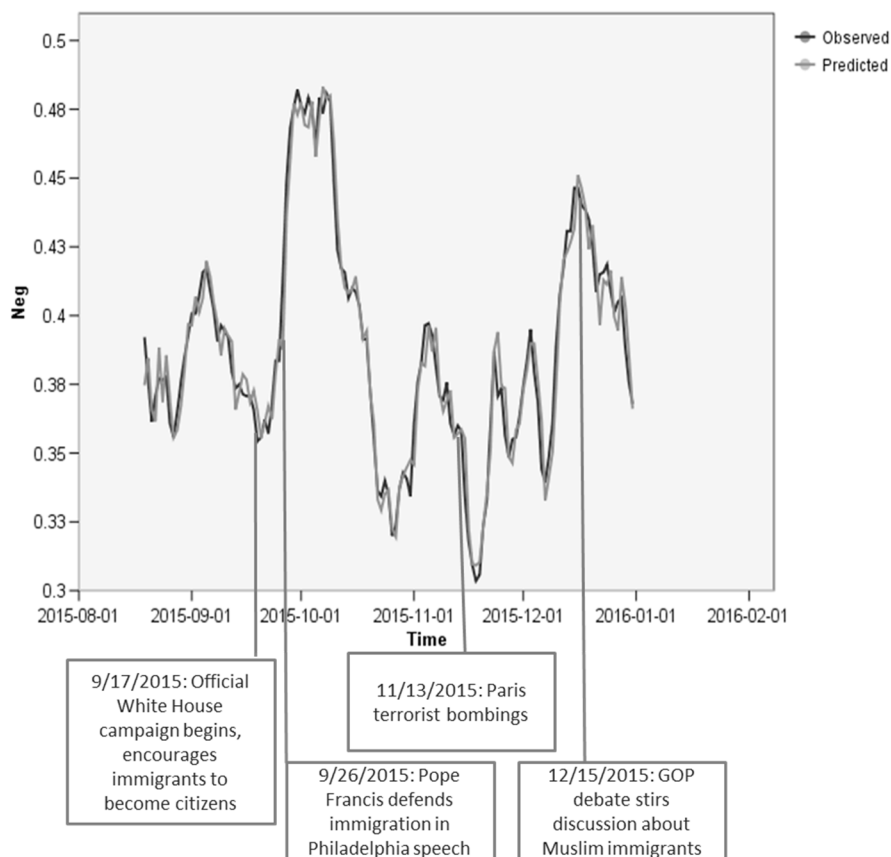
Table 8. Dates and root causes of outliers-revisited

	Observed value	Predicted value	Outlier probability	Root cause
9/26/2015	0.41	0.39	1.00	Immigration
11/15/2015	0.33	0.36	0.98	None found
11/24/2015	0.37	0.39	0.99	None found
12/22/2015	0.42	0.40	0.96	Tumblr

These dates represented observations with higher- or lower-than-expected negativity toward immigrants compared to what was predicted by the model. In other words, these dates represented insufficiencies in the model’s ability to predict negativity. Qualitative analysis of those dates can help fill in those gaps in the model; however, some of the unexpected negativity may simply be “fluke” spikes or dips in the data.

The messages in the 1% sample were analyzed one-by-one for the two week period leading up to each date of unexpected negativity. The two week time frame is a reflection of the fact that 14 day moving averages were used in the quantitative analysis. Figure 20 displays some key outside events that seemed to drive higher- or lower-than-expected negativity leading up to each date of interest.

Figure 20. Major events during time period of study and possible impact on negativity



One notable trend was the way major events, like the Paris bombings, were often focused on opinions about specific politicians rather than immigration. For example, the following was a common retweet after the Paris bombings:

Rand Paul Slams Marco Rubio In Florida On Immigration After Paris Attacks
(Twitter, various dates around 11/13/2015, neutral).

The Paris bombings on Friday, November 13, 2015 seemed to spark conversations about immigration and those conversations were negative, but that negativity was directed at politicians and their immigration plans that they offered in the wake of the bombings. In general, these observations suggested that a promising area of future research is to better understand the forces that are likely to shift negativity away from immigrants themselves and toward politicians and their immigration policy proposals. This observation may also partially account for the lower levels of negativity for the Immigration variable compared to the Immigrant variable inasmuch as the Immigration variable is more likely to encompass conversations about politicians and their plans for the foreign-born while the Immigrant variable is less likely to also mention politicians and policies. (Logic dictates that “immigration plans” and “immigration policies” are more likely phrases than “immigrant plans” and “immigrant policies”).

By contrast, when Pope Francis visited Philadelphia on September 26, 2015, he spoke directly to immigrants in an effort to encourage them and higher levels of negativity followed. Interestingly, while the Pope’s visit was mentioned frequently in the data, those messages were largely neutral in sentiment. However, there was an increase in negative messages around that time period. As can be seen in Figure 20 the increase in negativity began a few days prior to the Pope’s visit. While there is no mention of it in the dataset, the spike in negativity (that is also the largest in this study) began just after the official White House campaign to encourage legal immigrants to become citizens.

Because this campaign was not mentioned in the data, this is circumstantial evidence at best. However, it is in keeping with many theoretical assertions of this study such as a feeling of resource threat that some feel when others are given more rights and Gramsci's notion of counterhegemony that always exists in an attempt to balance out hegemonic forces. Delgado and Stefancic (2012) similarly described the counter-stories that take place to offset high profile narratives. In this way, one can see counterhegemonic forces as responding to both the pro-immigrant White House campaign *and* Donald Trump's anti-immigrant narratives. These observations suggested that the new media may be giving greater political power to counterhegemonic forces.

There was some additional evidence in the data that supported this notion as well. For example, as illustrated in Table 9, there were often higher levels of negativity in the messages when "liberal" or "Democrat" was mentioned compared to when "conservative" or "Republican" was mentioned.

Table 9. Frequency negative toward immigrants for political spectrum terms

Key Term	Percent Neg.	Freq. Neg.	Total
Liberal	66.7%	4	6
Democrat	54.5%	6	11
Republican	40.0%	6	15
Conservative	16.7%	1	6

A review of these messages revealed the hostility that pro-immigrant positions seemed to invoke in certain people. One message read:

Ted Cruz DESTROYS This Liberal Talking Point About Illegal Immigration!!"
(anon, 12/3/2015, Twitter, 0 retweets/0 likes).

This message was linked to a Conservatives United web page article on the subject:

"Cruz emphatically says that there is nothing "compassionate" about allowing
illegal immigration and he's about a thousand percent correct!!/ One of the

premises that the liberal left keeps getting away with is when they say that it's "compassionate" to let illegal aliens stay in the country./ Exactly "who" is it compassionate to? It's not compassionate to the Americans who are losing their jobs to illegals, and it's not compassionate to those illegals who die or are killed on the illegal route up to America." (Conservatives United 2015)

This counterhegemony sometimes applied to specific politicians as well. For example, messages that mentioned Hillary Clinton were negative 66.7% (8/12) of the time. This trend was not robust within political parties. For example, 71.4% (5/7) of all messages that mentioned Republican Bobby Jindal were negative, compared to only 10% (2/20) of those that mentioned Chris Christie (also a Republican). Additionally, only 16.0% (4/25) of articles that mentioned "reform" were negative, and only 16.7% (2/12) that mentioned rights. Therefore, while there was evidence of counterhegemony in the study, it seemed to be especially present in relation to very high profile events and people, but was by no means universal. However, a major conclusion related to counterhegemony is the way it did seem to be present in largest swings in negativity throughout the study (a likely result of the way counterhegemony seemed to be stronger the more prominent the event or person in question was).

This notion of counterhegemony is evident in many of the examples that follow in the coming sections. A related notion that will become evident throughout those examples is that of hijacking: taking over and shifting the tone or sentiment of an original message by posting counter-narratives in the comments section.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND RESOURCE THREAT

This section juxtaposes the theoretical notions about social stratification and resource threat with the observations of the qualitative analysis. As mentioned in the Literature Review

chapter of this dissertation, the foundation of ITN is the same as that of any kind of discrimination—the human tendency to differentially rank and exclude the out-group from accessing scarce resources (Parsons 1940). Discrimination of this kind is deeply embedded in and pervasive throughout society at all levels (Feagin and Elias 2013).

It seemed that many social media users (as opposed to news sites for example) struggled to produce terminology to express the idea of immigrant exclusion. Specifically, while news stories often used terms such as *xenophobia* or *immigrant exclusion* social media users often used the term “racist” to convey the idea. For example:

...Donald Trump is not racist for being against ILLEGAL immigration. It is illegal for a reason (anon, 8/20/2015, negative, 16 retweets/12 likes).

Other social media users asserted that it is not possible to be racist against immigrants because “immigrant” is not a race. Immigrant status does intersect with race in ways that help to describe the immigrant experience and society’s views of immigrants; however, this will be discussed later on in the chapter. The relevance of these observations to the current discussion is that many people were able to recognize immigrant exclusion and xenophobia as discrimination that is similar to racism. This point was raised throughout the earlier chapters of this dissertation as well and it is interesting that social media users showed some level of consciousness about it—even though others opposed the notion that ITN is similar to racism (in keeping with the observation that for every narrative there is a counter-narrative Durham and Kellner 2009, Delgado and Stefancic 2012).

One major way that social media users participated in ITN was to use “othering” language, as suggested in immigrant exclusion literature. Ninety-one messages contained at least one of the following terms: undocumented, alien, criminal/crime, illegal. The distribution can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10. Frequency negative toward immigrants for selected "othering" terms

Key Term	Percent Neg.	Freq. Neg.	Total
Undocumented	100.0%	8	8
Alien	100.0%	4	4
Crime/Criminal	100.0%	2	2
Illegal	90.9%	70	77
Total	92.3%	84	91

As is illustrated in the table, the mere presence of these terms was associated with extremely elevated levels of negativity, averaging 92.3% across these terms. The most frequent of the terms was “illegal.” Notably, this often extended to the portrayal of the foreign-born as criminals, though this was observed less-often than anticipated by the researcher in this study (with only one message using the term “crime” and one using the term “criminal”). However, a deeper analysis revealed the heated nature of the term “illegal” and the way it appeared to extend to portrayals of the foreign-born as criminals.

For example, Hillary Clinton issued an apology for using the phrase “illegal immigrant”, but instead of being appalled at her choice of words, many were instead appalled that she was apologizing.

“Illegal immigrants” poor choice of words? Is she just playing to the gallery or what? Certain immigrants ARE illegal (anon, 11/24/2015, 1 retweet/9 likes).

“playing to the gallery and some people are stupid enough to fall for it” (anon, 11/24/2015, 0 retweets/2 likes).

“Nothing wrong with saying illegal immigrants, that's what they are. Better than saying criminals which they are too” (anon, 11/24/2015, 0 retweets/7 likes).

Here, an apologetic, pro-immigrant message was hijacked by internet users advancing “othering” language, and portraying the foreign-born as inherently illegal and prone to commit crime (noting again that this is a notion that does play out in research and that promoting such a notion also dehumanizes certain people, or at least puts them in an “inferior” group status).

There are two main observations that stem out of this: (1) a number of people engaged in the specific “immigrants are criminals” threat narrative, and (2) a political candidate met opposition from an attempt to separate herself from such narratives. The latter is an illustration of the way politicians are in a delicate balancing act when it comes to immigration. Curiously, Donald Trump has maintained strong support despite his notorious engagement with ITN, a reflection of his ability to garner support from a segment of the population that are more accepting of discrimination due to their downward mobility and frustration.¹⁶

Interestingly, several narratives in the study seemed to be very strategic, complex and at times well researched. For example, a Google+ post seemed to portray a well thought-out analysis of the politics of immigration:

...Democratic candidates have avoided the same colorful rhetoric (referring to anti-immigrant rhetoric in the GOP), but their proposals don’t move the needle much more. Bernie Sanders is content supporting Obama’s 10,000 Syrian refugee policy. Both Hillary Clinton and Martin O’Malley have called for an additional 65,000 Syrian refugees to be accepted over the next five years. That’s a paltry sum compared to the hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees currently fleeing to Europe... (Bakken Law—US Immigration Lawyers, 12/1/2015, Google+, neutral, 0 shares/1 like).

This social media user is an organization (Bakken Law) and seemed to be somewhat influential with fifty followers; 61,073 views; and influence rating of 96 on Trackur. The user appeared to be setting up an argument that even the Democratic Party does not ultimately support immigration, even though they do not portray the same anti-immigrant front as the GOP.

Similar messages to this appeared somewhat frequently. For example, another message stated:

“#WhiteGenocide/Ted Cruz Just Exposed Why The Democrats Are Pro Illegal Immigration /<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H68nVxUZaZk>” (anon, 8/13/2015, Twitter, negative, 0retweets/0likes).

¹⁶ Neil Irwin and Josh Katz (March 12, 2016). “The geography of Trumpism,” *The New York Times*.

The YouTube video being shared in the tweet is of Ted Cruz “explaining” that Democrats favor a pathway to citizenship for “illegal” immigrants because they will go on to vote Democrat and it will “keep the big government Democrats in power”. Messages like these are reminiscent of Menjívar’s (2013) notion that the status of immigrants in society is largely a product of political forces rather than a decision about human rights or the holistic well-being of the foreign- and native-born.

Part of this, however, is counter-narrative on the part of prominent politicians on the right. For example, one tweet stated:

“Ted Cruz DESTROYS This Liberal Talking Point About Illegal Immigration!!”
(anon, 12/3/2015, Twitter, 0 retweets/0 likes).

This tweet contained a link to a story about Ted Cruz’s statement to which the tweet referred.

The article appeared in ConservativesUnited.com:

Cruz emphatically says that there is nothing “compassionate” about allowing illegal immigration and he’s about a thousand percent correct!!/ One of the premises that the liberal left keeps getting away with is when they say that it’s “compassionate” to let illegal aliens stay in the country./ Exactly “who” is it compassionate to? It’s not compassionate to the Americans who are losing their jobs to illegals, and it’s not compassionate to those illegals who die or are killed on the illegal route up to America. (ConservativesUnited.com, 12/3/2015, “Ted Cruz DESTROYS This Liberal Talking Point About Illegal Immigration!!” <http://linkis.com/conservativesunited.com/dNj96>).

It seemed that this is another example of counter-narrative from the political Right (the political affiliation can be inferred from the name of the website), attempting to debunk the immigrant-compassionate stance of the political left. This, and the other messages seemed to reflect some consideration of the arguments for and against immigration and the different political projects and their respective assertions about immigration and then to craft a counter-argument accordingly. However, one might note that the majority of these types of messages appeared to

be driven by corporations (such as Bakken Law), prominent politicians (Ted Cruz) and organizations (Conservatives United).

This substantiated Massey's (1995) notion that immigration myths are often the result of unarticulated fears on the part of the masses. However, these observations suggested that this notion may not apply as much to corporations, prominent politicians and organizations.

In short, the notion of social stratification in terms of "othering" language was very present in the data although the masses appeared to largely be taking cues from prominent politicians, companies and other organizations when it came to discussions that reflected ideas of social stratification.

This study also revealed several messages that depicted the foreign-born as a threat to resources, which is also in keeping with the social stratification literature discussed in the Introduction chapter of this dissertation. Consider for example the following Tweet and its selected responses:

"MARCO RUBIO PROMOTES WELFARE & CITIZENSHIP FOR ILLEGALS IN MIDDLE OF U.S. IMMIGRATION CRISIS <http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2015/09/23/marco-rubio-promotes-welfare-and-citizenship-for-illegals-in-middle-of-americas-immigration-crisis/> ..." (anon, Twitter, 9/24/2015, 156 retweets/755 likes).

"Marco Rubio Screwed America Big Time!" (anon, 9/24/2015, 7 retweets/4 likes).

"thats why RUBIO doesn't get my support" (anon, 9/24/2015, 1 retweet/2 likes).

"To deliver message to Rubio with zero in a polls" (anon, 9/24/2015, 0 retweets/3 likes).

The original Tweet seemed to suggest that immigration was a crisis and that "illegals" should not have access to citizenship or public benefits. Whatever the intention of the original post, the comments illustrated the way posts of this nature can bring out ire in people. Specifically, the

notion that Rubio would seek to extend certain rights and privileges to those who are undocumented is a threat to America (“Marco Rubio Screwed America Big Time!”) and enough to encourage certain people to discourage his presidential campaign. Another response to this Tweet suggested that the foreign-born exert such a drain on resources that they are not even exploitable within the neoliberal “pyramid scheme”:

“EVERY PYRAMID Scheme relies on NEW INVESTORS.Only problem Immigrants take more than give” (anon, 9/25/2015, 1 retweet, 0 likes).

Another thread of Tweets further illustrated the way the foreign-born were portrayed as a drain on resources. It also illustrated the way the new media allows for reciprocity between prominent politicians and the masses. The thread began with a Tweet from Bernie Sander’s campaign:¹⁷

“We need immigration reform to make sure corporate America can't exploit vulnerable migrant workers. The 2007 bill didn't meet that standard.” (@BernieSanders, Twitter, 10/13/2015, negative, 1,894 retweets/3,234 likes).

This message was coded as “negative” by Trackur, probably because of the way this pro-immigrant message was subsequently commandeered by ITN in the responses by the Donald Trump campaign:

“@BernieSanders if we send them all back to Mexico think of the money we will save in welfare!” (@RealDonaldTrump, 10/13/2015, 2 retweets/3 likes).

This quote by the Donald Trump campaign was one of the most direct examples of ITN in the study. A dominant person (or his representative) used the media (Twitter) to reposition the foreign-born from vulnerable human beings with at least some level of basic human rights (as Sanders suggested) to a homogenous group (apparently all Mexican, according to Trump) that drain public resources. Even though scientific studies indicate that immigrants pay more into the system than they take out (Massey 2005) (and Trump may well know that), it appears that the

¹⁷ Messages posted by @BernieSanders are by staffers unless there is a “B” at the end of the message.

Trump campaign is aware of the potential support to be garnered from echoing fears about resource threat that are present among certain segments of the population.

This was illustrated in some of the comments to “@BernieSanders” that followed the Trump comment:

“@BernieSanders oppose #J1Visa and #H1BVisa to help the unemployed and underemployed Americans and others within the United States of America” (anon, 10/13/2015, 0 retweets/0 likes).

“@BernieSanders how bout getting rid of the wetbacks instead?” (anon, 10/15/2015, 0 retweets/0 likes).

Not only did these comments support the notion that some segment of the public approve of comments like @RealDonaldTrump’s, but they also provided additional evidence that the masses seem in many ways to remain an object of politics, taking cues from the likes of prominent politicians and other influential people and organizations. In this case, it was not even the nature of the comments alone, but the fact that the tone of the comments seemed to change abruptly after @RealDonaldTrump hijacked the message. This suggested that his comment may have influenced the others in some way to engage in rhetoric that they otherwise might not have.

THE MASSES AS POLITICAL OBJECTS

Notably, the masses seemed to largely be influenced rather than to exert political influence, with the major exception being the counterhegemony described earlier in this chapter. However, even that seemed to be accomplished through hijacking other posts from more hegemonic forces, rather than through the production of original messages with novel content. As evidence of this, consider the most retweeted messages in this study displayed in Table 11 (taken from the full sample of 44,897).

Table 11. Most commonly retweeted messages

Retweets	N	Percent of total
RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is a member of the Gang Of Eight or, very weak on stopping illegal immigration.	676	1.52%
JINDAL, RAND PAUL, TRUMP QUESTION MUSLIM IMMIGRATION	410	0.92%
RT @realDonaldTrump: Jeb Bush is weak on illegal immigration	403	0.91%
RT @realDonaldTrump: Lightweight Senator Marco Rubio is VERY weak on immigration	391	0.88%
RT @realDonaldTrump: Hillary Clinton is weak on illegal immigration, among many other things.	294	0.66%
RT @realDonaldTrump: Anybody that believes in strong borders and stopping illegal immigration cannot vote for Marco Rubio	207	0.47%
RT @realDonaldTrump: @Watchman4the1: Chuck Schumer: Sen Marco Rubio Is Totally Committed To Obamas Immigration Agenda	174	0.39%
RT @fl_dreamer: Donald Trump supporter pulls the hair of a young immigrant at a rally. Yep, this is still happening in 2015.	173	0.39%
RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio will not win. Weak on illegal immigration, strong on amnesty	165	0.37%
RT @TheOnion: Out-Of-Control Scott Walker Injured After Wildly Careening Between Stances On Immigration	153	0.34%
RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is totally weak on illegal immigration & in favor of easy amnesty. A lightweight choker - bad for #USA!	148	0.33%
RT @Johnny_Petrini: JINDAL, RAND PAUL, TRUMP QUESTION MUSLIM IMMIGRATION	135	0.30%
RT @DailyCaller: Rand Paul Slams Marco Rubio In Florida On Immigration After Paris Attacks	134	0.30%
RT @nytopinion: Bernie Sanders's immigration plan is wise & humane. There's nothing Republican about it.	131	0.29%
GOP candidate Chris Christie elaborates on his immigration plan (Vine by @actualGOP)	129	0.29%
RT @realDonaldTrump: Further proof that Gang of Eight member Marco Rubio is weak on illegal immigration is Paul Singer's, Mr. Amnesty, endo	117	0.26%
RT @actualGOP: GOP candidate Chris Christie elaborates on his immigration plan	116	0.26%
RT @TheOnion: Out-Of-Control Scott Walker Injured After Wildly Careening Between Stances On Immigration	113	0.25%

The full list of re-tweets is not provided for the sake of parsimony, as it is rather lengthy. However, the list provided in Table 11 represents a major trend observed in this study—a tendency among the masses to restate or react to messages from corporations and prominent individuals rather than to carve out original ideas within political space. There were a couple of notable exceptions such as the Twitter users known respectively as @Fl_dreamer and @Johnny_Petrini. The former had 1,682 followers and the latter 8,266. They may represent the potential political power that the masses can wield through the new media. However, highly influential Twitter users like this were a minority among non-elites in terms of their ability to influence others (in this case, to re-post their messages). Another way to think of this is simply that Twitter users accounted for 80.36% of all messages in the study, but only 11.11% (2/18) of the most retweeted messages. This also suggested that the large number of Twitter users with no Trackur influence rating (as discussed in the last chapter—Table 5) were likely to be lower influence Tweeters (as the number of retweets is a measure of influence). This also explained why the lower three quartiles in terms of influence showed higher levels of negativity than the top quartile because Twitter users (that appeared to generally have lower levels of influence) were excluded in large numbers.

POLITICAL PROJECTS: NEOLIBERALISM AND NEOCONSERVATIVISM

A related notion is the influence exerted by certain political projects. Some of the quotes already given reflect on the political projects that are at work in ITN. For example, consider the way the Trump campaign attempted to reposition the Sanders campaign's portrayal of the productive immigrant that is vulnerable and subject to exploitation, as was just explained in the previous section. Ironically, the Trump campaign did the very thing the Sanders campaign was warning against by engaging in ITN that exploits the foreign-born as a vulnerable group (in this

case by scapegoating them as a social problem—a drain on welfare—even though scientific evidence suggests that this is not the case).

The Trump campaign’s approach seemed to reflect what has been described throughout this dissertation in terms of the use of neoliberal and neoconservative rhetoric on the part of the Political Right. The assertion that immigrants are all from Mexico and exert a drain on welfare, socially positions the foreign-born as a single group with a single experience that are geographic others (all from Mexico—even though that is not accurate) and a threat to resources (exert a drain on welfare). Once again, given the extensive scientific evidence that the foreign-born contribute more than they take, such assertions are probably rooted in something deeper (such as scapegoating to hide the detrimental impact of resource hoarding among elites, or playing to a constituency that already feel their resources are threatened).

As stated in the first two chapters of this dissertation, this is not the complete story of neoliberalism or the political Right either. While the focus of this analysis is on ITN, one might note that the neoliberal values of free market, free trade and small state are conducive to support for immigration. Consider the way that was reflected in the following messages:

“Scott Walker's new immigration hard line could harm #Wisconsin's farmers #republicans #usnews #uspolitics” (anon, 8/30/2015, Twitter, neutral, 0 retweets/0 likes).

“We need to recognize there's a global war for talent. We should rethink and rebuild our immigration system: @anon #Can2020” (anon, 11/19/2015, Twitter, neutral, 0 retweets/1 like).

These quotes suggest that there is a segment of the population that favors immigration from an economic standpoint. However, the Political Right in general appears to be fractured when it comes to immigration (Fry 2007) and the positive influence of this aspect of neoliberalism is often offset by the influence of neoconservatism (Harvey 1999, Brown 2006).

The Bernie Sanders campaign alluded to the role of neoconservatism in an influential message:

“I despise appeals to nativism and prejudice and believe in immigration reform that gives aspiring Americans a pathway to citizenship.” (@SenSanders, 11/30/2015, Twitter, *990 retweets/2,789 likes*).

As Brown (2006) noted, the neoconservative project is characterized as patriotic with a mission to preserve traditional ways of life and often regards anything outside of that with suspicion or even disdain. Therefore, as @SenSanders notes, neoconservatism relative to immigrants often involves appeals to nativism and resistance to “others” that could be described as “prejudice”.

An excerpt from a longer Google+ message described and in some ways quantified these observations:

...In a Gallup poll conducted this past summer, 63 percent of Americans said that immigration is a “good thing” for the country overall. But a Bloomberg Politics poll last week, conducted in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Paris, found that 53 percent of Americans don’t want to accept any Syrian refugees; 11 percent said they would only accept Christian refugees from Syria. Unfortunately, this is well in line with America’s history with refugees. In 1948, a Gallup poll found that 57 percent of Americans would disapprove of resettling 10,000 displaced Europeans in their state. In 1975, only 36 percent of Americans wanted to take in Vietnamese refugees; in 1980, 71 percent of Americans were against Cuban refugees coming to the U.S. Some habits die hard... (Bakken Law—US Immigration Lawyers, 12/1/2015, Google+, neutral, 0 shares/1 like).

The message creator (Bakken Law) appears to be highly influential with 50 followers, 61,073 views and an influence rating of 96 on Trackur. The point being made is that support for immigrants that fit the neoconservative bill are more likely to be accepted by the public. An interesting aside is the way the American public is more likely to

recognize that immigration is beneficial in general (with 63% in agreement)¹⁸ but far less likely to be accepting of certain immigrants, especially those seen as less “American”.

This corroborates the quantitative results of the last chapter that suggested that messages about *immigration* were associated with less negativity but those about *immigrants* were associated with an increase in negativity. This puts an interesting twist on the saying *America is a nation of immigrants*, suggesting that when it comes to public opinion, it may be more accurate to say that: *America is a nation of **immigration** more than of immigrants*. It may be that Americans take pride in the immigrant heritage of the nation and general concept of the economic benefits of immigration for the nation, but are less comfortable with the notion of admitting people and groups that are not sufficiently “Americanized”.

The “othering” terms discussed earlier in this chapter seemed to be more prevalent among neoconservatives in the study. However, this was complicated by the observation that neoconservatism is an archetype which no one individual may perfectly and by the way that people in the study did not identify themselves overtly as “neoconservatives”. However, there were some clues that could be used. For example, one Twitter user that used the term “illegal aliens” also had the phrase “patriotism vs. globalization” in their mini-bio. This suggested possible alignment at least with the neoconservative value of nationalism. While patriotism does not necessarily equate unequivocally with neoconservatism, it did provide a clue about that person’s support of certain political ideologies. The associated quote follows:

“John Kasich pushes mass #immigration & AMNESTY for illegal aliens.
#nhpolitics” (anon, 9/2/2015, Twitter, 0 likes/0 retweets).

The emphasis on the word AMNESTY seemed to be intended to suggest that the reader should be appalled that “illegal aliens” not be deported. Notably, there was no intimation at economic

¹⁸ Note that 38.6% of the messages in this study were negative, corresponding closely to this poll. Such observations served to further validate Trackur’s algorithm for computing negativity.

resource threat as in other messages that have been discussed in this chapter, which suggested that the mere status of being an “illegal alien” was enough cause for deportation (no amnesty).

To elaborate somewhat and build on Gary Becker’s (2010) notion that immigrant exclusion is economically irrational, amnesty for undocumented immigrants may benefit everyone by increasing opportunities for specialization and exchange. Some people may be acting economically irrationally in excluding immigrants, but it goes beyond this because there is also another kind of (non-economic) resource that is being threatened. Logic would dictate that in the case of the neoconservative project, the resources being threatened is the “traditional” way of “American” life. The foreign-born are, by definition, not American and may constitute a threat to American traditions and ways of life as described by the neoconservative perspective. Additionally, the less “American” a foreign-born person seems to be, the more neocons may feel that the foreign-born threaten American ways of life.

This becomes a case of intersectionality in the sense that immigrants come to be regarded not only as immigrants but also with respect to their national origin, race, religion, sexual orientation, and so forth. The result is that immigrants can face double, triple or perhaps even quadruple jeopardy based on the intersections of their migration status, national origin, race, religion and sexual orientation (or other characteristics).

Neocon rhetoric was not only observed to be an expression of public opinion, but also became strategic political rhetoric. For example, a Google+ user posted:

GOP presidential candidate Rand Paul Monday called for a "moratorium on immigration" from the Middle East, noting that the woman involved in last week's mass shootings in San Bernardino should not have been in the United States. "It appears she was dishonest on her papers to get here," the Kentucky senator told Fox News” (Liberty Pen, 12/9/2015, Google+, negative, 0 shares/0 likes).

Rand Paul may actually have a personal suspicion of people just because they were born in the Middle East; however, it seems more likely that his call for a moratorium on migration from the Middle East was playing to a segment of the Political Right that harbors neocon values that make people suspicious of individuals from certain countries or geographic areas (like the Middle East). As Johnson (1996) noted, this can be a dangerous practice, because while they are “only” words, prominent politicians may be able to shape consciousness in a way that encourages people to believe that there is a single story for immigrants from certain countries (here the suggestion is that people from the Middle East are terrorists).

A similar, yet simpler, message in the study that was immensely popular (second most retweeted message accounting for .92% of all messages in the large dataset of 44,897) was the following:

“JINDAL, RAND PAUL, TRUMP QUESTION MUSLIM IMMIGRATION”
(various, 8/16/2015, Twitter, negative).

In the terminology of the internet, this message was “viral”. It was unclear in the data gathered for this study who originally posted the message and there were several versions with subtle differences conveying the same idea. The original message sounds somewhat neutral, conveying only the idea that certain politicians were “questioning Muslim immigration”. However, this message consistently opened a deluge of negativity in the data analyzed for this study. Overall, messages merely containing the word “Muslim” were negative 42.1% of the time compared to the average negativity of 38.6%. These numbers may be hiding some negativity toward Muslim immigrants because the term Muslim often appeared in the same messages with other terms referring to non-Muslim immigrants as well.

However, the fact that the mere presence of the term “Muslim” increases negativity directed toward immigrants is notable. It seems to be in keeping with the idea that the overall sentiment toward immigrants decreases when picturing specific people or groups that are not White, Christian, or otherwise in keeping with neocon values.

For example:

“Billy Graham's son: We should halt all immigration @CNNPolitics
<http://cnn.it/1NvI5IS> I agree #NOAMNESTY #BOREFUGEEES” (anon,
 12/16/2015, Twitter, negative, 10 retweets/9 likes).

“With you Rev Graham, and a lot of other Revs White and Black know
 Christianity is under attack” (anon, 12/16/2015, 1 retweet/1 like).

These messages suggested that “all immigration” is a threat to Christianity. Therefore, as asserted earlier, it appears that the neoconservative project extends resource threat beyond only economic resources, suggesting that immigration (or at times even being bold enough to suggests that *all* immigration) is a threat to neoconservative values like Christianity.

The following table summarizes the levels of negativity based on the mere presence of certain terms that refer to people as non-White, non-Christian, non-straight or of non-American national origin. Hereafter, these will be referred to as “neocon terms.”

Table 12. Frequency negative for "neocon" terms

Key Term	Percent Neg.	Freq. Neg.	Total
Black	100.00%	3	3
Gay	100.00%	1	1
Franklin Graham	100.00%	1	1
Muslim	42.11%	8	19
Latino	40.00%	4	10
Transgender	33.33%	1	3
Asian	0.00%	0	1
African	0.00%	0	1
"Non-white"	0.00%	0	1
Mexico/an	0.00%	0	3
Cuba/n	0.00%	0	1

Table 12. (cont'd)

Total	40.91%	18	44
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As described in the theoretical section of this dissertation, opinions about immigration are filtered through individual-level orientations and this was observed throughout the study. While neocon terms were more negative than average (at 40.9% compared to 38.6%), Table 12 makes clear that certain terms were more likely than others to elevate negative feelings about immigrants, while others were not (observing that there are very few cases for some terms and they alone are likely to not be representative of actual trends).

Therefore, a major conclusion of the interplay between the neoconservative project and immigrants is twofold. (1) On one hand, neocon terms in general are associated with higher levels of negativity. (2) This increase was not deterministic, but seemed to be filtered through individual-level orientations. In substantiating the latter point, the reader is referred back to the description in this section about the way messages about Muslim immigrants that are outwardly very similar seemed to be varied in the responses they invoked in the readers based on the individual readers that commented on the post.

However, individual-level orientations may be difficult to draw out in a study like this, but some attempts are being made to create algorithms that will crawl social media profiles to detect clues about the person posting a message or commenting on a message. For the time being, it is the considered opinion of the author of this study that this would be more efficiently accomplished through surveys or interviews, and is a weakness of SMSA compared to those methods. However, the base model described in the previous chapter explains a great deal of negativity with only a few variables related to velocity, variety and volume.

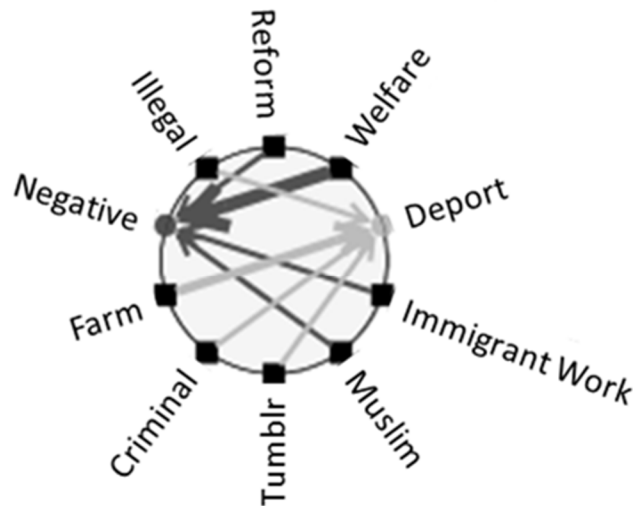
POTENTIAL FOR BUILDING ON THE DEEP-DIVE STUDY

The analysis undertaken in this chapter suggests several other possibilities that could improve the model even further. For example, current coding methods even in highly accessible tools like Microsoft Excel allow for a researcher to code even extremely large datasets for the presence of key terms (for example, even simple coding building off of the SEARCH function in Excel allows for the coding of very large datasets). The analysis in this chapter revealed several terms that would likely improve the base model, as they appear to account for some level of negativity. These terms include othering terms (alien, illegal, criminal), “necon” terms (related to race, religion and gender identity), political terms (liberal, Democrat, conservative, Republican), and other related terms such as “deport”, “welfare” and “reform”.

For illustrative purposes, the terms described in this section along with other terms that appeared in the analysis, were used to create additional dichotomous variables in the 1% dataset used in this chapter. Using the SEARCH feature in Excel, each term was coded as 1 if the term was present in a given message and 0 if not. Then, in keeping with the methodology described in the previous chapter, the dataset with the expanded variables was date-collapsed and a new TCM was run in the same way that has been described in the previous chapter.

The overall model (shown in Figure 21) was cleaner than the base model presented in the previous chapter. Specifically, the additional variables replaced all of the old variables with only two exceptions: the Tumblr and Immigrant Work variables. In the last chapter, the Immigrant Work variable was noted to be especially robust, and the new model supported that assertion once again.

Figure 21. Overall model of Granger causation with additional variables



The ORCA also further supported the notion that the unexpected levels of negativity in November were especially robust. However, in the new model, the Reform variable also explained the negativity for November 15 that was unexplained in the base model. This also supported (though indirectly) the notion of counterhegemony described earlier in this chapter. Specifically, the kind of anti-immigrant rhetoric Donald Trump and others disseminated after the Paris attacks were largely discussions about tightening border security—a type of reform.

Table 13. Comparison of outlier root cause between base and expanded model

Base model	Observed value	Predicted value	Outlier probability	Root cause
9/26/2015	0.41	0.39	1.00	Immigration
11/15/2015	0.33	0.36	0.98	None found
11/24/2015	0.37	0.39	0.99	None found
12/22/2015	0.42	0.4	0.96	Tumblr
Expanded model	Observed value	Predicted value	Outlier probability	Root cause
8/22/2015	0.37	0.35	0.97	None found
11/1/2015	0.36	0.34	0.97	None found
11/15/2015	0.34	0.36	0.99	Reform

Table 13. (cont'd)

11/24/2015	0.37	0.39	0.99	None found
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Once again, these findings are presented not in order to engage exhaustively with that analysis, but to illustrate the potential of a QUANT→qual→quant approach (Morse 2003) in this kind of analysis. The first (quant) study is a base model. The second (qual) study is inductive and builds on the shortfalls of the first study. The final study revises the first quant study based on the observations of the qualitative analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

The influence of major political projects like neoliberalism and neoconservatism on ITN was readily apparent in an in-depth analysis of the online messages in the study. For example, neoliberal ideals of meritocracy were evident in the way people discussed the net economic contributions of immigrants as a justification for whether or not they should be allowed to remain in the country. However, there was also evidence of neoliberal ideology that welcomes and encourages immigrants as the free movement of labor across national borders.

The neoconservative project was also readily identifiable. For example, several people advocated reductionist migration policies for those that are not Christian. Muslim immigrants were a particular target of animosity. While there were some mentions of race, it was less apparent than negativity on the basis of religion or nationality. This may be due to the stigmatization related to using race overtly as a basis for exclusion.

As might be expected, resource threat was also apparent as a basis for immigrant exclusion, and “othering” language appeared to be both a tool in that exclusion as well as a manifestation of the human nature to differentially rank and exclude (Parsons 1940).

Finally, the new media theory that the rise of social media is politically empowering the masses was not supported. There was evidence for counterhegemony among the masses in the sense that a positive message about immigration from a powerful force was usually met with a backlash of negativity (and the reverse was also observed). However, this counterhegemonic expression was usually accomplished by appealing to quotes or ideas from more powerful forces. To be specific, the majority of people voiced opposition through retweeting a message from a more powerful person rather than carving out a new way to look at the issue or expressing a unique opinion.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Recently there was a news story about how the number of organized hate groups posted a record increase since before the Civil Rights Era (Hattem 2016). The article noted that this increase was associated with a “growth of hate groups and also hate speech in mainstream politics to an extent we have not seen in decades” and “fears about immigration.” As Johnson (1996) noted two decades ago, this is more than just a game of words. Negative rhetoric towards individuals that packages them all as a group of sub-human “others” has dangerous consequences. It can set an environment of exclusion that penetrates the deepest levels of society and ripples throughout it in unexpected ways. As Schiller noted, “Communication...includes much more than the messages and the recognizable circuits through which the messages flow. It defines social reality and thus influences...the basic social arrangements of living” (Schiller 1975: 3).

The theoretical premise of this study is that the elite of society may use the media to attempt to exclude immigrants, and that the basis for that exclusion is situated in a context of political projects like neoliberalism and neoconservatism and rooted in the human tendency to differentially rank and label certain groups as “other”.

The motivating question of this study was how ITN occurs in online media and a supporting question was whether the rise of social media is politically empowering the masses (or if they are largely an object of politics). Methodologically, this was investigated in a more general sense related to basic characteristics of the media messages as obtained through SMSA software and their ability to predict the changing tide of ITN. The baseline model was a very powerful predictor of changes in negativity toward immigrants. In that model, the Immigrant

Work and Immigration Work frames were key variables in predicting negativity across different types of analysis (ANOVA, GEE, TCM).

However, the Immigrant Work frame tended to increase negativity while the Immigration Work frame had the opposite tendency. This was a reflection of a robust theme throughout this study: That American appears to be a nation of immigration but not of immigrants. Americans are generally accepting of the general idea of immigration, but that support drops when picturing specific people that are foreign-born (because foreign-born is by definition un-American). The “othering” language of ITN only deepens the lack of acceptance for the foreign-born because it emphasizes and exaggerates the “threat” associated foreignness.

This was also supported in the qualitative analysis in which people expressed support for immigration but less support for immigrants, especially those that seem to be “un-American” such as non-Christian or non-white immigrants. The deep-dive analysis also found support for the use of “othering” terms related to immigrants, while there was no comparable use of pejorative terms related to immigration as a process. Specifically, such terms do exist (e.g. “invasion”, “take-over”) but were not nearly as prevalent in the study as were pejorative terms referring to people involved in the process of moving to a new country (e.g. “aliens”, “illegals”). The summary is that the most pervasive and robust findings in this study suggest that Americans are generally fond of immigration and see it as an economic solution but they see immigrants negatively as outsiders and as threats to American resources and ways of life. In short, ITN is accomplishing its goal as evidenced by the American public describing immigrants negatively almost literally in the same breath as their more positive depictions of immigration.

The qualitative analysis suggested a number of additional variables related to neoconservative and neoliberal ideologies as well as to resource threat and social dominance.

These variables were created from terms uncovered while coding a 1% random sample of the 44,897 messages. These additional terms were coded as dichotomous variables (1 if the term was present in each message and 0 if not). When added to the TCM, some of these additional dichotomous variables were very statistically significant as causes of negativity, specifically “Muslim”, “Welfare” and “Reform”. However, Muslim and Welfare increased negativity while Reform decreased negativity. The Immigrant Work frame remained one of the strongest causes of negativity even in the new model, suggesting that it is especially robust.

Additionally, the neoliberal and neoconservative projects respectively work on public opinion about immigration in ways that can be negative or positive. This was already described in detail in the Introduction and Literature Review chapters of this dissertation. However, juxtaposing those theories with the empirical evidence of this study suggests that those political projects are useful concepts that underlie public opinion about immigrants. In terms of the qualitative analysis, one empirical difficulty of working with these two concepts was that they are ideal types and not necessarily mutually exclusive. In other words, any person might exhibit some level of adherence to the general ideologies of both projects, certain aspects of each project, or may not exhibit any level of adherence to either project. A good example is the following Twitter quote:

“Ben Carson wants immigrants to work in the fields and Donald Trump wants to ethnically cleanse Muslims from America” (anon, various dates, Twitter, mostly neutral).

The negativity toward immigrants in this quote may be a product of neoliberalism (wanting immigrants to fill jobs that might not otherwise be filled—“working in the fields”) and neoconservatism (wanting to eliminate immigrants that are not Christian—in this case, Muslims).

Additionally, the adherence of a person to those projects is not readily identifiable in SMSA. Specifically, if people do not mention their adherence to either ideology or their acceptance of certain tenants of those ideologies, the researcher will not be able to tell how well the individual aligns with those projects or ideologies. Surprisingly, there were some cases in which people posted information in their profiles or mini-bios that gave some clues about their alignment with the ideologies of those projects. For example, one Twitter user referred to the foreign-born as “illegal aliens” also included the phrase “patriotism vs. globalization” in their mini-bio. This provided a clue that they align more with the neoconservative project vs. neoliberalism (which often espouses globalization). In general, messages that referred to the foreign-born by using “othering” terms such as “illegal” or “alien” were negative toward immigrants 92.3% of the time, and a number of internet users that described immigrants as threats also described immigrants as non-white, non-Christian or un-American. This gives support to the idea that neoconservative values go hand-in-hand with negativity toward immigrants.

Additionally, there was empirical evidence that there is a group of people that support immigration for its contributions to the economy in a way that is very neoliberal. For example, one person described reductionist immigration policies as potentially harmful to agriculture and another described immigration as a “global war for talent”. These both seem to be evidence of the neoliberal project at work as those who embrace the ideology of neoliberalism would be expected to embrace immigrants as embodying the free movement of labor across borders. They would also be expected to trust in the free market to control the level of migration (if there is not work for them to do they will not come).

However, in practice there can be some difficulties in separating the impact of neoconservatism from that of neoliberalism in causing negativity. At times, politicians on the political Right even deploy rhetoric from both projects to garner support from conservative and business-oriented constituencies. As a political project, neoliberalism also uses rhetoric to draw attention away from the negative outcomes it creates and this can lead to scapegoating immigrants. Neoliberalization also commodifies society and shifts debates about immigration from the human rights to the economic sphere in a way that can dehumanize immigrants. Therefore, “othering” language could be a product of either political project, both political projects or something else, such as individual-level orientations. For example, researchers have noted several individual-level orientations that impact negativity toward immigrants: seeing the world as a zero-sum game with finite resources that will have to be divided up even more by sharing with outsiders (Fry 2001), having a non-cosmopolitan worldview (Haubert and Fussell 2006) or to having a natural tendency to think in terms of dominance and differential ranking (Pratto et al. 1994). These orientations play to the human tendencies that underlie all forms of discrimination: the tendency to differentially rank and exclude outsiders from sharing in scarce resources (Parsons 1940; Fry 2007; Kerbo 2007).

Once again, these tendencies were readily observed in this study, especially in the qualitative analysis. For example, several messages described the foreign-born in “othering” terms and also mentioned the “drain” they exert on resources (suggesting that the foreign-born are a homogenous group of outsiders with a single experience that threatened scarce resources).

Therefore, notions about neoconservatism, neoliberalism and certain individual-level orientations influencing negativity were apparent in the study. However, it may be that these specific phenomena would be more effectively measured, quantified and controlled through

surveys or interviews because the researcher can craft specific questions in an attempt to differentiate between and quantify the effects of these different factors. It is a recognized weakness of SMSA that the researcher is restricted to whatever the public decide to state about a given topic (like immigration) and cannot go beyond that. However, a survey or interview could be designed to ask specific questions to identify the degree to which the respondent subscribes to the respective ideologies of neoconservativism, neoliberalism and individual-level orientations (such as zero-sum game belief, cosmopolitan worldview and social dominance orientation).

Finally, of interest in the study is whether the new media may be giving new power to the masses that changes the rules of the game (given the inveterate notions that the dominant have particular power in agenda-setting through their privileged access to institutions such as the media). The empirical evidence in this study suggested that the masses are largely still an object of politics. There are a few exceptions such as the Twitter users known respectively as @Fl_dreamer and @Johnny_Petrini. The former has 1,682 followers and the latter 8,266 as of the time of this study. They crafted original messages that were widely liked and retweeted. However, they represented a very small minority of Twitter users with the majority retweeting or reacting to messages from prominent people such as politicians, elite business people or celebrities. There was some evidence from the basic TCM that social media sites (like Google+ and Facebook) have at least an indirect impact on negativity; however, this was not consistent from one type of analysis to the next, suggesting that the findings are not robust and may not reflect what happens in practice.

On a somewhat related note, the vast majority (97.08%) of messages with missing influence ratings were from Twitter users. Therefore, a study that would be of utility in

improving the quantitative analysis would be to develop a methodology for better coding influence of Twitter users (perhaps Trackur will soon develop its algorithm to do so).

A final note is on counter-narrative and counterhegemony. As has been noted in theory, for every narrative there is a counter-narrative and for every hegemonic assertion there is a counter. Counterhegemony seemed to be especially present in regards to large swings in negativity that seemed to be the opposite of what one might logically expect. For example, negativity dipped to the lowest levels of the study during Trump's extreme rhetoric about shutting off all Muslim migration in the wake of the 11/13 attacks in Paris, and hit the highest levels just after the White House pro-immigrant campaign encouraged immigrants to become citizens. Around the same time, the Pope visited Philadelphia and delivered a message intended to encourage immigrants. This suggested that the new media may enable counterhegemony. However, this does not necessarily contradict inveterate notions about who can exert political power, as counterhegemony among the masses has been a widely accepted premise dating back to Gramsci.

A major approach to the counterhegemony of the masses was hijacking original messages from powerful people promoting the opposite view point. (However, tangentially, even the Donald Trump campaign hijacked a pro-immigrant message from the Bernie Sanders campaign). A good example is the way Hillary Clinton posted an apology for saying "illegal" immigrant and it was promptly hijacked by people that were asserting that immigrants are criminals and expressing shock that Clinton even apologized for the wording. However, this did not bear out universally throughout the study and additional research is needed in order to better understand when counterhegemony takes place.

In summary, the results of this study suggest a great deal of promise for understanding trends in the rise and fall of negativity toward immigrants over time. Basic models using variables created through using a software package like Trackur are likely to be able to predict trends in negativity. However, models that take into account key terms related to neoconservatism, neoliberalism and individual-level orientations may improve the predictions of base models. For example, the key term variables in this study, once added to the model, replaced the more basic variables as the most statistically significant predictors. Therefore, as adept as the base-model was at predicting negativity, the model with the expanded variables appeared to be even better.

The results of these quantitative models, and the qualitative analysis were a largely successful first step in a larger goal of understanding the swings of negativity in the media, the forces that cause them and the broad impact they might have on the mobility of the foreign-born over time. However, they are only a first step. Those that seek to advocate the benefits of immigration from economic and human rights vantage points would greatly advance the cause by joining the academic conversations that are taking place behind a broader goal of better understanding the role the media can play in creating an environment of acceptance for the foreign-born.

The next major phase of this research is to engage in studies that connect negativity in the media with other anti-immigrant behaviors. At the same time, the media has long been documented as having an impact on public perception and action as evidenced in a host of studies from marketing to propaganda. Therefore, attempting to connect negativity in the media with anti-immigrant behavior is a promising area of future study.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Correlation of variables

Table 14. Correlation of Trackur variables

	Immigration	Immigrant	Immigration workers	Immigrant workers	Facebook	Forums	Google	Image/ Video	News	Reddit	Tumblr	Twitter	Number of messages (per day)
Negative	-.229	.173	-.390	.428	.245	-.180	-.227	-.228	-.097	.186	-.310	.177	-.169
Immigration		-.971	.206	-.563	.092	-.028	-.353	-.136	-.342	-.461	.007	.324	.539
Immigrant			-.304	.365	-.074	-.039	.441	.059	.286	.511	-.082	-.288	-.499
Immigration Workers				-.068	-.057	.408	.072	.460	.398	-.223	.571	-.454	-.201
Immigrant workers					-.070	.110	-.253	.166	.173	.053	.071	-.074	-.282
Facebook						-.209	-.308	-.422	-.155	.101	-.334	.123	-.029
Forums							.048	.872	.651	.052	.885	-.742	-.305
Google								.107	.544	.694	.065	-.575	-.262
Image/ Video									.551	-.073	.964	-.702	-.394
News										.506	.558	-.942	-.357
Reddit											-.094	-.496	-.368
Tumblr												-.708	-.372
Twitter													.477

Appendix B: Randomly selected cases (approx. 1% of all cases)

Table 15. Cases selected for qualitative analysis (n=413)

ID	Search Term	Title	Date
1	immigrantsWork	RT @MattMurph24: So Ben Carson wants immigrants to...	17-Sep-2015
2	immigrantsWork	RT @sean7296: Ben Carson wants to force immigrants...	17-Sep-2015
3	immigrantsWork	RT @UKIPonline: immigrants must understand civilis...	03-Sep-2015
4	immgtionWork	Paul Ryan Says He Wont Work With Obama on Immi...	01-Nov-2015
5	immgtionWork	US House Speaker Ryan rules out work with Obama on...	01-Nov-2015
6	immgtionWork	RT @TrumpNH: .@realDonaldTrump releases immigratio...	17-Aug-2015
7	immigrant	Las Cruces LEGAL Immigrant Convicted Of Rape Of A ...	05-Aug-2015
8	immigrant	Lets Engage Employers In Immigrant Integration	11-Aug-2015
9	immigrant	#sigh Undocumented Immigrant Children Banned from ...	13-Aug-2015
10	immigrant	Sutter's Fort 1888 Postcard California Central Bui...	14-Aug-2015
11	immigrant	RT @JonFeere: Bernie Sanders supporter shoots immi...	21-Aug-2015
12	immigrant	RT @TUSK81: Ben Carson talked immigration w/AZ She...	21-Aug-2015
13	immigrant	RT @CNNPolitics: Donald Trump's immigrant wives ht...	01-Sep-2015
14	immigrant	RT @JessicaGKwong: Guest column: Santa Ana #librar...	02-Sep-2015
15	immigrant	RT @KatherinAthena: DONALD TRUMP a rapis...	02-Sep-2015
16	immigrant	RT @AllAmericanGirl: Judge: Illegal...	04-Sep-2015
17	immigrant	RT @MikeBPR: Court rules felon-illegal immigrant c...	05-Sep-2015
18	immigrant	RT @brfreed: Donald Trump lost a job to an immigra...	14-Sep-2015
19	immigrant	Raise-A-Reader: Story time helps immigrant parents...	17-Sep-2015
20	immigrant	RT @FearDept: Rand Paul agrees with Trump that 14t...	20-Sep-2015
21	immigrant	#HuffPost Man Claims He's An Illegal Immigrant And...	23-Sep-2015
22	immigrant	Illegal immigrant hands himself over to police bec...	23-Sep-2015
23	immigrant	RT @AlMonitor: Once an immigrant himself, @Chobani...	05-Oct-2015
24	immigrant	RT @amberinzaman: Profile by @pinartremblay Once a...	05-Oct-2015
25	immigrant	RT @SocEconB: Richer countries attract immigration...	07-Oct-2015
26	immigrant	Senior Audit Manager, Group Risk Management, Inter...	10-Oct-2015
27	immigrant	@PFTCommenter A pregnant immigrant t-bones a gay c...	13-Oct-2015
28	immigrant	@rosso_mf Invades #europe street galleries. Suppor...	14-Oct-2015
29	immigrant	RT @BlissTabitha: Hillary Clinton's Latino Outreac...	16-Oct-2015
30	immigrant	Byk ada gnden . #gk #immigrant #picoft...	16-Oct-2015
31	immigrant	#AnonHQNews California law aims to help immigrant ...	24-Oct-2015
32	immigrant	California law aims to help immigrant victims get ...	24-Oct-2015
33	immigrant	Donald Trump wants to deport every single illegal ...	11-Nov-2015
34	immigrant	BBC - Donald Trump wants to deport every single il...	11-Nov-2015
35	immigrant	RT @RhodesNews: @JohnKasich, @JebBush pander to il...	11-Nov-2015
36	immigrant	Donald Trump thinks its economically feasible to b...	14-Nov-2015
37	immigrant	USA Refugee quandary: Immigrant legacy vs 9/11-e...	17-Nov-2015
38	immigrant	RT @kindcutestevie: Immigrant hater Sen Jeff Sessio...	19-Nov-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

39	immigrant	Even Their own children are not safe in Israel.<...	20-Nov-2015
40	immigrant	RT @CNN: Clinton says her use of term illegal imm...	24-Nov-2015
41	immigrant	Immigrant Artists Share Stories About the Visa Pro...	06-Dec-2015
42	immigrant	RT @thehandofbeadle: I'd love it if excited famili...	07-Dec-2015
43	immigrant	RT @aduanebrown: Nothing like Black lives matter p...	15-Dec-2015
44	immigrant	RT @aduanebrown: Nothing like Black lives matter p...	15-Dec-2015
45	immigrant	...- Massage Therapy's Facebook Status - Sutherlan...	16-Dec-2015
46	immigrant	...imagine that the leadership team at Airbnb woke...	17-Dec-2015
47	immigration	@Bishop64 @cpyne It was Rudd who doubled immigrati...	02-Aug-2015
48	immigration	Massive strike hits Aussie airports as Abbott plan...	03-Aug-2015
49	immigration	Kelly Osbourne Latino Comment: Shes Exposed the...	05-Aug-2015
50	immigration	RT @joshcorman: How DHS Immigration does DevOps, M...	11-Aug-2015
51	immigration	Garden Grove City Council Rescinds Support of Obam...	11-Aug-2015
52	immigration	John Kasich comes out as a liberal on immigration ...	13-Aug-2015
53	immigration	#WhiteGenocide Ted Cruz Just Exposed Why The...	13-Aug-2015
54	immigration	EXCLUSIVE: Ted Cruz Wraps Up Bus Tour, Talks Immig...	15-Aug-2015
55	immigration	No word from John Kasich, Jeb Bush or other Republ...	16-Aug-2015
56	immigration	RT @peterdaou: Yesterday, CNN lead: Defiant Clint...	16-Aug-2015
57	immigration	RT @Johnny_Petrini: JINDAL, RAND PAUL, TRUMP QUEST...	16-Aug-2015
58	immigration	Liverpool isn't racist?, okay, ask most taxi drive...	16-Aug-2015
59	immigration	Jeb Bush on the stomp - against Trump's immigratio...	17-Aug-2015
60	immigration	RT @mmfa: Rush Limbaugh spent the program touting ...	17-Aug-2015
61	immigration	RT @nytpolitics: Chris Christie assailed Donald Tr...	17-Aug-2015
62	immigration	#news #donalddump First Draft Chris Christie As...	17-Aug-2015
63	immigration	Donald Trump's clueless immigration plan http://dl...	17-Aug-2015
64	immigration	First Draft: Chris Christie Assails Donald Trump...	17-Aug-2015
65	immigration	Donald Trump stuns with his new immigration policy...	17-Aug-2015
66	immigration	RT @JenHenCNN: Must watch: @RogerJStoneJr talking ...	17-Aug-2015
67	immigration	RT @lsferguson: Donald Trump Wins Praise From Expe...	17-Aug-2015
68	immigration	Donald Trump Releases Immigration Plan, Including ...	17-Aug-2015
69	immigration	RT @irritatedwoman: Donald Trump Wins Praise From ...	17-Aug-2015
70	immigration	Donald Trump takes immigration war to Facebook's M...	18-Aug-2015
71	immigration	Jeb Bush on Donald Trump's immigration ideas: 'A p...	18-Aug-2015
72	immigration	Scott Walker sides with Trump on immigration and o...	18-Aug-2015
73	immigration	Somaliland: With Tough Immigration Talk, G.O.P. Ag...	18-Aug-2015
74	immigration	Today in Politics: Donald Trumps Immigration P...	18-Aug-2015
75	immigration	RT @Aslans_Girl: Steve King: Donald Trump's immigr...	18-Aug-2015
76	immigration	RT @thenation: The Racist Roots of the GOPs Fav...	19-Aug-2015
77	immigration	RT @ForeignPolicy: The dean of American scholars o...	19-Aug-2015
78	immigration	RT @Salon: Ben Carson takes immigration debate to ...	20-Aug-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

79	immigration	RT @Little_Emma: And Donald Trump is not racist f...	20-Aug-2015
80	immigration	Ben Carson takes immigration debate to insane new ...	20-Aug-2015
81	immigration	RT @bluenewstalk: Mainstream: Polls Show Americans...	21-Aug-2015
82	immigration	Is Ted Cruz shifting right on immigration to match...	21-Aug-2015
83	immigration	Lowry: Yes, pander to Trump on immigration	21-Aug-2015
84	immigration	NYDN: Know-nothings on parade: On immigration, Gov...	21-Aug-2015
85	immigration	#HappyHolidays #fun Jeb Bush faces Trump-led headw...	21-Aug-2015
86	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Jeb Bush is weak on illegal i...	22-Aug-2015
87	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Jeb Bush is weak on illegal i...	22-Aug-2015
88	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Jeb Bush is weak on illegal i...	22-Aug-2015
89	immigration	RT JakeWilk RT Commentary: Marco Rubio Wont Pan...	22-Aug-2015
90	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Jeb Bush is weak on illegal i...	23-Aug-2015
91	immigration	RT @CBSThisMorning: Chris Christie calls Donald Tr...	23-Aug-2015
92	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Jeb Bush is weak on illegal i...	23-Aug-2015
93	immigration	Chris Christie: Trump immigration fix is just too...	23-Aug-2015
94	immigration	#VPoliticsCD Alabama tried a Donald Trump-style imm...	23-Aug-2015
95	immigration	Jeb Bush defends his comments on immigration http:...	24-Aug-2015
96	immigration	Donald Trump to Jeb Bush: Illegal immigration not ...	24-Aug-2015
97	immigration	Ben Carson gets brutally honest with CNN on immigr...	24-Aug-2015
98	immigration	RT @ThisIsFusion: Jorge Ramos: Donald Trumps im...	25-Aug-2015
99	immigration	Chris Christie pans Donald Trump's immigration age...	25-Aug-2015
100	immigration	RT @Slate: From abortion to immigration, Scott Wal...	25-Aug-2015
101	immigration	Why FWD.us Is Taking On Donald Trump's Immigration...	25-Aug-2015
102	immigration	RT @rightwinglatina: Marco Rubio Wont Pander to...	25-Aug-2015
103	immigration	Trump anchors his lead on immigration	25-Aug-2015
104	immigration	RT @JDSalant: @RickSantorum says Scott Walker and ...	25-Aug-2015
105	immigration	Chris Christie calls Trumps immigration plan ...	25-Aug-2015
106	immigration	RT @GingerLanier: I can STOP illegal immigration W...	26-Aug-2015
107	immigration	HOW IS MARCO RUBIO, AN IMMIGRANT ON IMMIGRATION RI...	26-Aug-2015
108	immigration	GOP Operatives Warned Sidestepping Immigration Ref...	26-Aug-2015
109	immigration	RT @HillaryClinton: How do Jeb Bush and Donald Tru...	27-Aug-2015
110	immigration	Immigration Reform 2016: Jeb Bush Texas-Mexico Bor...	27-Aug-2015
111	immigration	@moralintelligen do you know the immigration polic...	27-Aug-2015
112	immigration	does donald trump wake up every morning just to an...	28-Aug-2015
113	immigration	@ScottWalker Out-Of-Control Scott Walker Injured A...	28-Aug-2015
114	immigration	RT @TheOnion: Out-Of-Control Scott Walker Injured ...	29-Aug-2015
115	immigration	RT @RandPaul: Rand Paul touts small government, t...	30-Aug-2015
116	immigration	Scott Walker's new immigration hard line could har...	30-Aug-2015
117	immigration	RT @TheOnion: Out-Of-Control Scott Walker Injured ...	30-Aug-2015
118	immigration	RT @kjhealy: Just got a sneak peek at Scott Walker...	31-Aug-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

119	immigration	Hillary Clinton's misleading claim that Jeb Bush a...	31-Aug-2015
120	immigration	GOP candidate Chris Christie elaborates on his imm...	02-Sep-2015
121	immigration	@DennehyGOP @JamesPindell @JohnKasich @DanteVitagl...	02-Sep-2015
122	immigration	RT @kjhealy: Just got a sneak peek at Scott Walker...	02-Sep-2015
123	immigration	Lorna Wuertz's Facebook Status - What are we doing...	02-Sep-2015
124	immigration	Chris Christie is Christie desperate immigration p...	02-Sep-2015
125	immigration	RT @susanpai: Look at the facts & the record on ca...	02-Sep-2015
126	immigration	Immigration study backs Trump's 'freeloader' attac...	03-Sep-2015
127	immigration	RT @OfAllThingsAli: GOP candidate Chris Christie e...	03-Sep-2015
128	immigration	Double Agent: Marco Rubio Caught Making Different ...	04-Sep-2015
129	immigration	RT @actualGOP: GOP candidate Chris Christie elabor...	04-Sep-2015
130	immigration	Ted Cruz Questions ICE Official Over Illegal Immig...	05-Sep-2015
131	immigration	According to Jeb Bush illegal immigration is an ac...	06-Sep-2015
132	immigration	Court blasts Immigration judge who compared transg...	07-Sep-2015
133	immigration	RT @Morlen4Distrct1: John Kasich suggest we shld h...	07-Sep-2015
134	immigration	Hillary Clinton promises to take on Donald Trump o...	07-Sep-2015
135	immigration	@INDIANA_BIRD13 Cameron believed the pro immigrati...	07-Sep-2015
136	immigration	San Diego Immigration Tunnels - San Diego Deals wi...	08-Sep-2015
137	immigration	Donald Trump's call to end birthright citizenship ...	08-Sep-2015
138	immigration	@JimMerrillNH @marcorubio Marco Rubio & Jeb Bush p...	08-Sep-2015
139	immigration	Ben Carson criticizes Trump immigration plan http:...	09-Sep-2015
140	immigration	So its racist to be sceptical bout MASS immigratio...	09-Sep-2015
141	immigration	@NoahCROthman Now please do that with Marco Rubio ...	10-Sep-2015
142	immigration	GOP candidate Chris Christie elaborates on his imm...	10-Sep-2015
143	immigration	Ben Carson slams Trump's 'double whammy' immigrati...	10-Sep-2015
144	immigration	RT @official_jaden: GOP candidate Chris Christie e...	10-Sep-2015
145	immigration	Via @TPJustice: Ben Carsons Immigration Plan Co...	11-Sep-2015
146	immigration	Univision News Marco Rubio, Jorge Ramos lock h...	11-Sep-2015
147	immigration	A television ad launched on Sunday by the National...	13-Sep-2015
148	immigration	Four Things We Know About Rand Pauls Immigratio...	13-Sep-2015
149	immigration	Rapper Azealia Banks supports Donald J. Trump Amer...	14-Sep-2015
150	immigration	Why do #antiwhite elties sponsor massive non-White...	14-Sep-2015
151	immigration	Jeb Bush Says He Would Not Repeal Obama Immigratio...	15-Sep-2015
152	immigration	RT @Ricky_Vaughn99: #Cuckservative Glenn Beck writ...	16-Sep-2015
153	immigration	These ratings are based on 10 immigration policy i...	17-Sep-2015
154	immigration	@Univision @Telemundo @MiamiHerald RT ...	17-Sep-2015
155	immigration	Just caught a segment of Donald Trump and Ben Cars...	17-Sep-2015
156	immigration	#Immigration #Jaitmigrant Les Chancen fr D...	17-Sep-2015
157	immigration	Find Trump's immigration plan at http://donaldjtru...	17-Sep-2015
158	immigration	OMG I agreed with Jeb Bush on immigration and slam...	18-Sep-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

159	immigration	RT @vdare: #carlyforina is the worst of the bunch...	19-Sep-2015
160	immigration	JINDAL, RAND PAUL, TRUMP QUESTION MUSLIM IMMIGRATI...	20-Sep-2015
161	immigration	RT @hateful_heretic: @Elocutioner Rothbard and Hop...	20-Sep-2015
162	immigration	Rand Paul says hed probably stop giving Cubans ...	22-Sep-2015
163	immigration	Did Jeb Bush Reverse His Stance on Immigration Ref...	23-Sep-2015
164	immigration	@123 Did Jeb Bush Reverse His Stance on Immigratio...	23-Sep-2015
165	immigration	Please make correct grammar your friend. MT @AnnC...	24-Sep-2015
166	immigration	RT @ThePatriot143: MARCO RUBIO PROMOTES WELFARE & ...	24-Sep-2015
167	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is a member of th...	26-Sep-2015
168	immigration	RT @AP: Latest on pope's US visit: Pope on his way...	26-Sep-2015
169	immigration	RT @okchristinx: GOP candidate Chris Christie elab...	26-Sep-2015
170	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Lightweight Senator Marco Rub...	26-Sep-2015
171	immigration	RT @SirGeraldEezer: Remus Hamza. That old well kno...	26-Sep-2015
172	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Lightweight Senator Marco Rub...	27-Sep-2015
173	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is a member of th...	27-Sep-2015
174	immigration	RT @Mediaite: Marco Rubio Seen Wiping Away Tear Wh...	27-Sep-2015
175	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is a member of th...	27-Sep-2015
176	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is a member of th...	27-Sep-2015
177	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is a member of th...	27-Sep-2015
178	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Lightweight Senator Marco Rub...	27-Sep-2015
179	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is a member of th...	27-Sep-2015
180	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is a member of th...	27-Sep-2015
181	immigration	JINDAL, RAND PAUL, TRUMP QUESTION MUSLIM IMMIGRATI...	28-Sep-2015
182	immigration	RT @BrettMDecker: #Boehner invite to #PopeFrancis ...	28-Sep-2015
183	immigration	...talking to my SJW cousin about the refugees and...	28-Sep-2015
184	immigration	RT @mimi_saulino: Marco Rubio Promotes Welfare and...	30-Sep-2015
185	immigration	Wow, A Sick Puppy! Flash: Democrat, #LEFTIST Marco...	01-Oct-2015
186	immigration	RT @JonFeere: Marco Rubio Fails To Support a Singl...	01-Oct-2015
187	immigration	RT @bluenewstalk: EXCLUSIVE: MARCO RUBIO FAILS TO ...	01-Oct-2015
188	immigration	RT @JonFeere: Marco Rubio Fails To Support a Singl...	01-Oct-2015
189	immigration	Clinton campaign wants N. Carolina immigration bil...	02-Oct-2015
190	immigration	Las Vegas Family Immigration Blog 2013 March	03-Oct-2015
191	immigration	How immigration service movers only packers activi...	03-Oct-2015
192	immigration	RT @wef: Which countries view #immigration most fa...	03-Oct-2015
193	immigration	3PercentHENRY: JINDAL, RAND PAUL, TRUMP QUESTION M...	03-Oct-2015
194	immigration	RT @AngelLacasse: When Pope Francis gives an addre...	04-Oct-2015
195	immigration	...and my experience with your delightful im...	05-Oct-2015
196	immigration	RT @TNTweetersOH: Gov Kasich needs to answer some ...	06-Oct-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

197	immigration	Obama changes his story: 'Born to a single mom' - ...	08-Oct-2015
198	immigration	RT @IUBAsianAm: Hashtag 4 our big immigration even...	09-Oct-2015
199	immigration	Were tired of seeing students slaughtered': ...	10-Oct-2015
200	immigration	RT @bcwilliams92: Ted Cruz on Stopping Illegal Imm...	10-Oct-2015
201	immigration	.@MdMIItaly #hcb2015 - need safe and legal route o...	10-Oct-2015
202	immigration	At Sky High Farm Everything Thats Grown Goes To	10-Oct-2015
203	immigration	RT @actualGOP: GOP candidate Chris Christie elabor...	12-Oct-2015
204	immigration	RT @lupstaplease: I wish they'd talked more about ...	13-Oct-2015
205	immigration	RT @bcwilliams92: Ted Cruz SCHOOLS Jorge Ramos on ...	13-Oct-2015
206	immigration	Imagine fleeing your country because of heightened...	13-Oct-2015
207	immigration	#passport #certificateofbirth #drivelicense #secon...	13-Oct-2015
208	immigration	RT @BlissTabitha: In Latest Immigration Flip-Flop,...	14-Oct-2015
209	immigration	RT @BernieSanders: We need immigration reform to m...	14-Oct-2015
210	immigration	#merkelistan around the corner. germans being told...	15-Oct-2015
211	immigration	Rand Paul Touts Small Government, Talks Immigratio...	16-Oct-2015
212	immigration	History : gopclubpb.org	17-Oct-2015
213	immigration	Donald Trump reckons he could have stopped 9/11 wi...	18-Oct-2015
214	immigration	#News Marco Rubio and immigration reform: the devi...	18-Oct-2015
215	immigration	Marco Rubio and immigration reform: the devilry is...	18-Oct-2015
216	immigration	Marco Rubio and immigration reform: the devilry is...	18-Oct-2015
217	immigration	The ambitious and cunning illegal immigration fli...	18-Oct-2015
218	immigration	RT @RichardWeaving: FLASHBACK: JEB BUSH ADMITTED L...	19-Oct-2015
219	immigration	FLASHBACK: Jeb Bush Admitted Leaky Immigrati...	19-Oct-2015
220	immigration	Younes Semri jailed for breaking officer's jaw at ...	19-Oct-2015
221	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: @SweetFreedom29: Hey @realDo...	19-Oct-2015
222	immigration	RT @EspuelasVox: Anybody keeping count of the flip...	20-Oct-2015
223	immigration	RT @SmythRadio: FLASHBACK: Jeb Bush Admitted Le...	20-Oct-2015
224	immigration	RT @JlStronger: #USlatino @senmarcorubio vee...	21-Oct-2015
225	immigration	Latino Dems Slam Sen. Marco Rubio's Immigration Vo...	21-Oct-2015
226	immigration	RT @ImwithMarco: The Hard Line Sen. Marco Rubio ...	21-Oct-2015
227	immigration	Carly Fiorina talks about immigration during campa...	22-Oct-2015
228	immigration	WATCH: Jeb Bush loses his cool when student dre...	22-Oct-2015
229	immigration	@White House PR @BernieSanders Countries need a co...	22-Oct-2015
230	immigration	@RepDeSantis @RepWebster END STATUS QUO, END PLANN...	22-Oct-2015
231	immigration	RT @americasvoice: Latest On Immigration From @Jeb...	23-Oct-2015
232	immigration	Opinion: Rubio attempts an immigration magic trick	23-Oct-2015
233	immigration	RT @EspuelasVox: Anybody keeping count of the flip...	24-Oct-2015
234	immigration	RT @washingtonpost: Why immigration reform wont...	24-Oct-2015
235	immigration	Prison Planet.com Villains In New Captain Amer...	24-Oct-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

236	immigration	JINDAL, RAND PAUL, TRUMP QUESTION MUSLIM IMMIGRATI...	25-Oct-2015
237	immigration	#BizTrend Marco Rubio: Donald Trump's immigration ...	25-Oct-2015
238	immigration	Marco Rubio has one immigration policy in Spanish;...	25-Oct-2015
239	immigration	#WeakWhiteMen supporting mass immigration & the de...	25-Oct-2015
240	immigration	FIRST AT 5PM: Rally over immigration control turns...	25-Oct-2015
241	immigration	RT @Campaign4Kids: Marco Rubio: Donald Trump's imm...	26-Oct-2015
242	immigration	RT @RWSurferGirl: Jeb Bush supports Common Core, C...	27-Oct-2015
243	immigration	John Kasich slams GOP rivals' tax cut, immigration...	28-Oct-2015
244	immigration	Marco Rubio Argues That The Immigration System Tha...	29-Oct-2015
245	immigration	Write Wing Thought of the Day: Vol. 124: Today's T...	30-Oct-2015
246	immigration	mag05's India Immigration Skilled and Work Applica...	01-Nov-2015
247	immigration	RT @rightwinglatina: Marco Rubio talks immigration...	01-Nov-2015
248	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Further proof that Gang of Ei...	01-Nov-2015
249	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio will not win. Wea...	01-Nov-2015
250	immigration	RT @sheabutter33: Happy Halloween from Donald Trum...	01-Nov-2015
251	immigration	 diane wants to write : May 2015 	02-Nov-2015
252	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Anybody that believes in stro...	02-Nov-2015
253	immigration	@LindaSuhler @Donald_Trump_16 MARCO RUBIO WELFARE...	03-Nov-2015
254	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio will not win. Wea...	03-Nov-2015
255	immigration	RT @harleypirate02: Marco Rubio Fails To Support a...	04-Nov-2015
256	immigration	Immigration Laws and the Global Talent Battle: The...	04-Nov-2015
257	immigration	http://ift.tt/1NeAVa2 Marco Rubio Says He'd End Pr...	04-Nov-2015
258	immigration	Conservative America's Facebook Status - Represent...	04-Nov-2015
259	immigration	@Thailand #Bangkok Russian fraud suspect busted in...	04-Nov-2015
260	immigration	Rubio, Ryan back off comprehensive immigration ove...	04-Nov-2015
261	immigration	How Rubio Survives Immigration - National Review O...	04-Nov-2015
262	immigration	San Francisco sheriff loses re-election bid after ...	04-Nov-2015
263	immigration	Ernie Gruner's Facebook Status - This Sunday I'll ...	05-Nov-2015
264	immigration	Amnesty activists opposed to Donald Trump and his ...	06-Nov-2015
265	immigration	Top Dem predicts Senate takeover - Florida Sen. Ma...	06-Nov-2015
266	immigration	RT @mmfa: After right-wing pundits told him to, Ma...	06-Nov-2015
267	immigration	RT @FlaDems: Marco Rubios Immigration Reversal ...	07-Nov-2015
268	immigration	RT @jaketapper: Here's my intv w/ @randpaul. We ta...	08-Nov-2015
269	immigration	RT @NahBabyNah: From the Libs: Marco Rubio's Rival...	08-Nov-2015
270	immigration	RT @blewthebigone: @realDonaldTrump Marco Rubio do...	09-Nov-2015
271	immigration	Immigration: Appeals Court Deals Another Blow To O...	09-Nov-2015
272	immigration	RT : Sen. Ted Cruz also supports temporary legaliz...	09-Nov-2015
273	immigration	Trump Kasich Battle at GOP Debate Over Immigration	10-Nov-2015
274	immigration	Immigration, minimum wage, economy dominate GOP de...	10-Nov-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

275	immigration	Obama to ask high court to rule on immigration plan	10-Nov-2015
276	immigration	Republican debate: Trump's immigration plan savage...	10-Nov-2015
277	immigration	President Obama Takes Immigration Reform to the Su...	10-Nov-2015
278	immigration	RT @politico: Appeals court keeps block on Obama i...	10-Nov-2015
279	immigration	RT @RT_com: Federal appeals court blocks Obamas...	10-Nov-2015
280	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: @Watchman4the1: Chuck Schume...	10-Nov-2015
281	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Anybody that believes in stro...	10-Nov-2015
282	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Marco Rubio is totally weak o...	10-Nov-2015
283	immigration	Ted Cruz Hits GOP Field Over Immigration After Deb...	11-Nov-2015
284	immigration	RT @DanRiehl: It's almost as if Marco Rubio wants ...	11-Nov-2015
285	immigration	Marco Rubio got grilled on immigration in 3 back-t...	11-Nov-2015
286	immigration	@rushlimbaugh Rush said the moment of the debate w...	11-Nov-2015
287	immigration	Cruz: Immigration is a Very Personal Economic Issu...	11-Nov-2015
288	immigration	Sharp Battle on Immigration in G.O.P. Debate in Mi...	11-Nov-2015
289	immigration	Sharp Battle on Immigration in G.O.P. Debate in Mi...	11-Nov-2015
290	immigration	Rubio's immigration muddle: Marco Rubio insisted h...	12-Nov-2015
291	immigration	RT @GarzaVillanueva: #USlatino @marcorubio#...	12-Nov-2015
292	immigration	First Draft: Ted Cruz Keeps Up Fight With Marco Ru...	12-Nov-2015
293	immigration	First Draft: Ted Cruz Keeps Up Fight With Marco Ru...	12-Nov-2015
294	immigration	@elkay101 @RealJamesWoods @hughm88 So Obamas su...	12-Nov-2015
295	immigration	RT @DavidJo52951945: Thanks to immigration we now ...	12-Nov-2015
296	immigration	RT @AG_Conservative: Cruz just flip-flopped and pr...	13-Nov-2015
297	immigration	What Rubio vs. Cruz Means: Marco Rubio and Ted Cru...	13-Nov-2015
298	immigration	Service : Bankruptcy Attorney, Family Law, Divorce...	13-Nov-2015
299	immigration	RT @DrMartyFox: #TedCruz Calls Out #Rubio On #Immi...	13-Nov-2015
300	immigration	Rand Paul Slams Marco Rubio In Florida On Immigrat...	14-Nov-2015
301	immigration	RT @NolteNC: This is an excellent read from @mboyl...	14-Nov-2015
302	immigration	Marco Rubios History on Immigration Leaves Cons...	14-Nov-2015
303	immigration	RT @DailyCaller: Rand Paul Slams Marco Rubio In Fl...	15-Nov-2015
304	immigration	RT @DrewRyun: I think we can put the Rubio attacks...	16-Nov-2015
305	immigration	RT @YoungBLKRepub: Rand Paul introduces bill to pa...	16-Nov-2015
306	immigration	Immigration issue makes Marco Rubio #1 with GOP es...	16-Nov-2015
307	immigration	Its Time to Discuss Americas Immigration Pol...	16-Nov-2015
308	immigration	Donald Trump and John Kasich clash over Trumps ...	16-Nov-2015
309	immigration	RT @rickwtyler: Ted Cruz Distinguishes Himself Fro...	17-Nov-2015
310	immigration	'It's offensive,' new web ad says of immigration r...	18-Nov-2015
311	immigration	RT @RandPaul: Back when @Marcorubio used 2 vote in...	18-Nov-2015
312	immigration	RT @jensan1332: #TedCruz - a Jeff Sessions Republi...	19-Nov-2015
313	immigration	We need to recognize there's a global war for tale...	19-Nov-2015
314	immigration	RT @BertShad: Rand Paul Slams Marco Rubio In Flori...	20-Nov-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

315	immigration	Do you participate in Brazil's renewable energy de...	20-Nov-2015
316	immigration	@megynkelly . You left out the part of Donald Trum...	21-Nov-2015
317	immigration	Disagree with Marco Rubio on immigration? Respect....	21-Nov-2015
318	immigration	RT @search4rr: Sen. Rand Paul: Rubio, Schumer Made...	22-Nov-2015
319	immigration	RT @DailyCaller: Rand Paul Slams Marco Rubio In Fl...	22-Nov-2015
320	immigration	Carly Fiorina on the Immigration Battle: https://y...	23-Nov-2015
321	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Hillary Clinton is weak on il...	23-Nov-2015
322	immigration	RT @OABAINFO: .@ChuckGrassley H-2B provides legal ...	25-Nov-2015
323	immigration	RT @nytopinion: Bernie Sanders's immigration plan ...	26-Nov-2015
324	immigration	Retweeted mia farrow (@MiaFarrow): Be...	26-Nov-2015
325	immigration	RT @GRForSanders: #Bernie2016 New York Times edito...	26-Nov-2015
326	immigration	RT @swaldman: With immigration rules, renewable en...	26-Nov-2015
327	immigration	RT @NationalMemo: Marco Rubio's immigration flip-f...	27-Nov-2015
328	immigration	RT @wcgirl1: The NYT Praises #Bernie Sanders #I...	27-Nov-2015
329	immigration	RT @leftsidestoryUS: New York Times editorial boar...	27-Nov-2015
330	immigration	RT @damionacke: Ted Cruz Attacks Marco Rubio on P...	29-Nov-2015
331	immigration	First Draft: Ted Cruz Attacks Marco Rubio on Priva...	29-Nov-2015
332	immigration	Vince Cable points to political issues of identity...	29-Nov-2015
333	immigration	RT @CAPimmigration: A year after executive action ...	30-Nov-2015
334	immigration	RT @SenSanders: I despise appeals to nativism and ...	30-Nov-2015
335	immigration	CinemAfrica is a non-profit organisation that work...	30-Nov-2015
336	immigration	A Fair and Humane #Immigration #Policy #BernieSand...	01-Dec-2015
337	immigration	These 5 #facts explain #America 's shameful reac...	01-Dec-2015
338	immigration	RT @CaptivatingNews: Bernie Sanders Spells Out His...	01-Dec-2015
339	immigration	RT @28Dave38: .@MarcoRubio Fails To Support A Sing...	02-Dec-2015
340	immigration	Ted Cruz DESTROYS This Liberal Talking Point About...	03-Dec-2015
341	immigration	RT @sunriselamb: Sens. Ted Cruz and Jeff Sessions ...	03-Dec-2015
342	immigration	Ted Cruz DESTROYS This Liberal Talking Point About...	04-Dec-2015
343	immigration	RT @Badbadfox: Rubio voted against Rand Paul's bil...	04-Dec-2015
344	immigration	Paul: We Need to Put a Pause on Immigration from M...	04-Dec-2015
345	immigration	RT @periclesusa: How Marco Rubio gave in to Democr...	05-Dec-2015
346	immigration	RT @FoxNewsInsider: .@RandPaul Calls for Moratoriu...	07-Dec-2015
347	immigration	Jeb Bush, John Kasich, Chris Christie BASH DONALD ...	07-Dec-2015
348	immigration	.@BernieSanders asked how he'll garner bipartisan ...	07-Dec-2015
349	immigration	Ted Cruz: 'Destroy ISIS.' Fix Broken Immigration S...	07-Dec-2015
350	immigration	Rand Paul sponsored Stop Extremists Coming Under ...	08-Dec-2015
351	immigration	Pro-Muslim Chris Christie: Trumps Proposed Musl...	08-Dec-2015
352	immigration	RT @FoxNewsInsider: .@RandPaul Calls for Moratoriu...	08-Dec-2015
353	immigration	RT @JulieBorowski: Will Rand Paul come out against...	08-Dec-2015
354	immigration	Out of Touch Establishment Marco Rubio and Lindsey...	09-Dec-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

355	immigration	http://www.redflagnews.com/headlines-2015/rubio-gr...	09-Dec-2015
356	immigration	Cesar Vargas: Bernie Sanders Champions Immigration...	09-Dec-2015
357	immigration	Rand Paul Calls For Moratorium On Middle East Immi...	09-Dec-2015
358	immigration	RT @DailyCaller: Rand Paul Stands With Trump: W...	10-Dec-2015
359	immigration	RT @realDonaldTrump: Why Franklin Graham says Don...	10-Dec-2015
360	immigration	Yes. I am amazed that Jeb Bush now agrees with Tru...	11-Dec-2015
361	immigration	RT @seanhannity: Rand Paul Wants To Suspend Immigr...	11-Dec-2015
362	immigration	@Alisair17 Marco Rubio (economically smart and for...	11-Dec-2015
363	immigration	Scott walker ratings went up the moment he talked ...	13-Dec-2015
364	immigration	RT @pcanon: Constitutional Prof: Clear Statutor...	13-Dec-2015
365	immigration	Billy Graham's son: We should halt all immigration...	15-Dec-2015
366	immigration	Retweeted CNN Politics (@CNNPolitics): ...	15-Dec-2015
367	immigration	Billy Graham's son: We should halt all immigration	15-Dec-2015
368	immigration	RT @NILC_org: Ted Cruz says economic impact of #im...	15-Dec-2015
369	immigration	@LilMissPrepper @A_M_Perez @my3gts you must suppor...	15-Dec-2015
370	immigration	RT @washingtonpost: Ted Cruz and Marco Rubios b...	16-Dec-2015
371	immigration	RT @washingtonpost: Ted Cruz and Marco Rubios b...	16-Dec-2015
372	immigration	RT @MarkSKrikorian: .@SpeakerRyan promised @RepMoB...	17-Dec-2015
373	immigration	GOP rivals Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio face off again...	17-Dec-2015
374	immigration	RT @nytpolitics: Ted Cruz escalates attack on Marc...	17-Dec-2015
375	immigration	RT @vmpercott: Billy Graham's son: We should halt al...	17-Dec-2015
376	immigration	RT @Ready4Santorum: Props to Bret for calling out ...	17-Dec-2015
377	immigration	Jeb Bush Defends Unlimited Muslim Immigration, Tru...	17-Dec-2015
378	immigration	RT @daveweigel: Rand Paul: No evidence Cruz's 2013...	18-Dec-2015
379	immigration	Global Halifax's Facebook Status - Immigration Min...	18-Dec-2015
380	immigration	RT @ted_cruz_news: Krauthammer on Ted Cruz' immigr...	18-Dec-2015
381	immigration	What immigration activists want from Hillary Clint...	18-Dec-2015
382	immigration	RT @Juliet777777: #JebBush WANTS UNLIMITED MUSLIM ...	18-Dec-2015
383	immigration	Marco Rubio: Ted Cruz is not such a purist on im...	19-Dec-2015
384	immigration	RT @LoveuLynn: Trump: We are going to build a wall...	19-Dec-2015
385	immigration	Rand Paul: Cruzs Immigration Explanations Ma...	19-Dec-2015
386	immigration	Marco Rubio: Ted Cruz is not such a purist on im...	19-Dec-2015
387	immigration	In 1999 Memo, Ted Cruz Took Milder Tone on Immigra...	19-Dec-2015
388	immigration	Phone scammers target newcomers to Canada, pretend...	19-Dec-2015
389	immigration	RT @NahBabyNah: CRUZ DIDN'T WRITE GANG OF 8 BILL; ...	19-Dec-2015
390	immigration	Paul on Cruz: He wants it both ways: Rand Paul pil...	20-Dec-2015
391	immigration	RT @nytimes: Read Ted Cruz's immigration advice to...	20-Dec-2015
392	immigration	RT @RoyBeck_NUSA: In pre-debate, Ana Navarro says ...	20-Dec-2015
393	immigration	Ted Cruz accidentally makes a good point: The Demo...	20-Dec-2015

Table 15. (cont'd)

394	immigration	RT @GlennKesslerWP: New #FactChecker: @tedcruz imm...	21-Dec-2015
395	immigration	Ted Cruz fires another shot at Marco Rubio in batt...	21-Dec-2015
396	immigration	The Truth on Ted Cruz's and Marco Rubio's Records ...	21-Dec-2015
397	immigration	Jeff Sessions Warns Marco Rubios Gang Of Eight ...	22-Dec-2015
398	immigration	Ted Cruz, the Bible and immigration - http://DesMo...	22-Dec-2015
399	immigration	ARIZONA REPUBLIC: #election2016 #tedcruz McCain, F...	23-Dec-2015
400	immigration	International #migrants day #migrantscontribute #i...	23-Dec-2015
401	immigration	Santa Ana Refrigerator Body Not Reported Because o...	23-Dec-2015
402	immigration	.@TEDCRUZ IS STRONG ON: Constitut...	23-Dec-2015
403	immigration	RT @kausmickey: TRUE: Jeff Sessions Warns Marco R...	23-Dec-2015
404	immigration	Evolution of Mass Muslim Immigration into America<...	23-Dec-2015
405	immigration	Marco Rubio Tries to Navigate Shifting Positions o...	24-Dec-2015
406	immigration	RT @kausmickey: TRUE: Jeff Sessions Warns Marco R...	24-Dec-2015
407	immigration	RT @WSJ: Marco Rubio tries to navigate shifting po...	25-Dec-2015
408	immigration	@AnnCoulter @NewsHour I pray Donald Trump will be ...	27-Dec-2015
409	immigration	RT @DeeC748: Marco Rubio Promotes Welfare And Citi...	28-Dec-2015
410	immigration	RT @kylie_oneil75: Marco Rubio EndorsementBringsTr...	30-Dec-2015
411	immigration	Marco Rubio Endorsement Brings Trey Gowdy's Radica...	30-Dec-2015
412	immigration	Jimmy Tomasella's Facebook Status - Critique de l'...	30-Dec-2015
413	immigration	Jason Shepard's Facebook Status - I'd like to spea...	30-Dec-2015

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