

**Alterity in the representation of immigrants
in the presidential speeches of George W. Bush
(2001-2009).**

A critical discourse study

Tesis Doctoral presentada por Elena Catrinescu
Dirigida por Dr. Miguel Ángel Martínez-Cabeza Lombardo



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ALTERITY IN THE REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS
IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES OF GEORGE W. BUSH
(2001-2009). A CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDY

Tesis doctoral presentada por la doctoranda Elena Catrinescu
para la obtención del grado de Doctor por la
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Scrutinising the linguistic minutiae of a number of political speeches may be regarded as a trivial academic exercise only relevant to the university community. This perhaps could be the case had the speeches not focused on immigration, a phenomenon both continual and increasing all over the world. As of 2010, nearly 214 million people were probably living outside their country of birth. Although a great number of the displaced relocate in Europe, Asia and North America are also among the destinies of predilection, according to the latest United Nations report issued in 2009.

In broad simplification, the issue of displacement to the United States involves a protracted battle between the high number of permanent migrants, both authorised and unauthorised, and the unsatisfied demand for temporary workers. Especially in the Southern states, where immigration has traditionally responded to the demands of the North American Free Trade Agreements, the presence of Latino-American immigrants has generated a heated debate over a legislative battle, between state and federal jurisdiction and competences. The Arizona Senate Bill 1070 captured international attention at the beginning of the Obama Administration for their competition over legislation on the matter of immigrants. Following in the footsteps of the Proposition 187 voted in 1990 in California, 1070SB offered an interesting example of how states attempt to make their own decisions on immigration. On a decades' perspective one notes that not only is this becoming a trend, but the tendency is extending especially to traditional immigrant states, farther into the Midwest and Southeast, in an attempt to undertake enforcement decisions at a more local and state-level approach.

The present dissertation aims at disclosing immigrant-related patterns of alterity, as reflected in the public discourses delivered by George W. Bush as a President of the United States of America, that is, between 2001 and 2009. The high-profile of the United States in international politics and policy making as well as the salience of the speech deliverer, as opposed to the low status and weak representational power of the immigrants featured in the presidential speeches, have offered the initial grounds for an approach to this investigation. In other words, the present study approaches the discourse on the immigrant from the perspective of power relations, i.e. as a type of 'other', without hindering the possibility that ideological manipulation be involved in its representation.

The analysis of an issue involving contemporary migration is challenging. On the one hand, we attempt at revealing linguistic evidence connected to structures of power in a significant relation whereby representations are molded to comply with the power design; at the same time, we pursue a fair degree of self-reflection. On the other hand, making sense of the immigrant representation requires out-of-the-box thinking, which involves a documented insight on the immigrants in the contemporary society, as well as the rationale behind the prevailing approaches to regulation. More specifically, careful examination of immigrant-related aspects will be undertaken, as may be the configuration of the society in which representation is construed, its values, institutions, political traditions and the history of the policies regarding immigration. It is only then, one may argue, that the connection between language and power can be satisfactorily explored in relation to

immigrants, allowing the linguist to reason with empirical data for the ways in which language is used to fight against, or enfranchise, inequality.

The critical stance in relation to inequality and its multi-disciplinary nature, argues Critical Discourse Analysis as probably the most adequate framework for the analysis of the discursive representation of the immigrants in the United States. Although the analysis of the political and social depths of text is not new to critical linguistics, what has been imposed as Critical Discourse Analysis, (hereafter CDA) emerged in the late seventies with Hedge and Kress (1979) and Fowler (1996) in open analysis and interpretation of political discourse. In the early 1990's CDA has been completed with a social science perspective by Fairclough (1992), who also described his work as Critical Discourse Studies. The field was further discussed and theorised by van Dijk (1993), who added a cognitive dimension to text linguistics (1988) to disclose the mechanisms of ideological structures. Wodak (1996, 1997) expanded CDA research with an ethnographic or gender perspective, and van Leeuwen (2002) produced serious research into semiotics, with a focus on multimodality. The different directions and the diverse theoretical approaches attempted in CDA went hand in hand with the general pursuit of a more systematic theoretical ground for its criticism, as is the case with Wodak and Meyer (2001) and Weiss and Wodak (2003).

One of the most groundbreaking claims of CDA was that its critique, aiming at revealing patterns of discrimination, can be an instrument of social transformation (McKenna 2004: 9). This programmatic aim has not escaped the association with bias insofar as the critique attempted by CDA would be, according to Widdowson, 'not grounded in any principled methodology of analysis' (Widdowson 2004: 145). Despite this and other criticism addressing CDA, which will be discussed in the chapter devoted to the theoretical framework, Chapter 4, a rich corpus of research into unequal power relations has found its way into academia and the society at large. Some of the most influential studies include the political discourse analysis of Fairclough (2000) on the New Labour Government in Britain, the more theoretical concern with critical realism within organisational studies in Chiapello & Fairclough (2002); over the last decade, the work of Wodak (2006) on the role of cognitive insights to CDA reclaimed the transformative nature of discourse Wodak (2007) in her analysis of the interaction in an European Union context.

The political implication of scholars in various topical subjects (from racism to professional communication) in order to bring positive change is one of the pragmatic goals of CDA. In this respect, a number of studies conducted over the last decade in the field of CDA allow the claim that, since discourse has become a more conscious element of social life, many more scholars would agree that to a certain extent social change either begins with or otherwise involves changes in discourse. In fact, CDA practitioners have noted, without directly taking the credit for it, the increasing consciousness in contemporary society over the connection between language and power (Fairclough 1989: 3), including the way in which language contributes to social developments such as domination, or passive insubordination.

An illustration of the way in which the public responds to discrimination (mediated by language) is offered by the massive demonstrations driven in April 2010 by the Senate Bill 1070, the previously mentioned Arizona Law. The Senate proposition raised much interest in the U.S. and internationally for its exclusionary effects on an ethnic minority which were, to all practical effects, members of the community. In terms of legal procedure, the discomfort came from challenging the singular path in the American tradition of immigration, viz., the federal over state authority. Ever since the first wave of

recorded immigration into United States, that is prior to 1820, displacement of foreign-born population had been a matter of federal policy, even at times when the main concern was the naturalization of solely white, free people, leaving on the states the task of interpreting and enforcing those laws.

A superficial reading of the Article 8 of the bill, with obligations: ‘shall’ combined with possibilities and permission: ‘may’ or ‘could’, and an emphasis on the various exceptions of the statute - “where reasonable suspicion exists”, “when practicable,” or the exception “when verification could hinder or obstruct an investigation”, may focus on the discursive strategies to avoid accusations of racial profiling. As the Arizona territory is the last unfenced US-Mexico frontier, it is also the state with one of the highest growth in Latino population over the last decade. As the first provision of the bill banned the limitation of federal immigration law to less than the full extent allowed, it follows that the targeted segment was of Latino background.

In this sense, the performative language of its provisions operates little change in the sense of ‘empowering’ state and local law enforcement officials to enforce federal immigration laws - and allegedly with little effect (Su 2010: 76) as the federal law is enforced at state level. Instead, the language as well as the contextual information about the state of the law and practice in Arizona allows one to situate the transformative action of this initiative on the level of the relation between state and local structures. Finally, in terms of performative language, the an interesting transfer of authority introduced by this law goes in the direction of holding law enforcement officials accountable to citizen for not applying the maximum provisions of the law at any contact with a suspected alien.

Arizona Senate Bill 1070 and broader immigration reforms illustrate the complexity of power relations at different levels: institutional compartmentalisation in federal, state and local authority and the definitional concurrence over citizenship and non-citizenship, a mere reflection of the power to conceptualise legality and illegality. The Arizona proposition manifests the role of discourse in structuring ‘reality’ in the terms, topics, emphasis, narrative and argumentation schemes, and ratings deemed convenient by the institutions and people in power.

From ontological metaphors to immigrant alterity

The notion of community as a group of people functioning on conventions about possible and necessary figures and roles about the members and the non-members must come from immemorial times. More often than not, the aspiration to an universally valid conception about the self and the other was not an epistemic need. As Plato reveals in the dialogue with Glaucon (Plato 1992: 186-213), an acknowledged truth (within a community) can be, under certain circumstances, nothing but the shadows of the real objects, whose discovery implies turning the eye from darkness in the direction of the source of light. It may appear that what Plato actually does by getting *homo sapiens* out of the cave and onto the discovery of the upper world, is scattering the pieces of the old puzzle, which allow new relations to be observed between the pieces. A multidimensional model of the broader ‘reality’ seems necessary in order to get a fair sense of the self and the other, and such holistic understanding relies on new insights and new methods, which were not needed in the shadows of the cave.

It could be argued that written historical narratives about human groups have revealed little concern with the humanity of the protagonists, viz., what defines them, what fulfills them, etc.; instead, texts have witnessed the impulse of domination of those representing them, whether in force, qualities, talent, or profit. Individualist, and not cooperative mind sets, nested in the minds of powerful (and not so powerful) leaders, has not once put representation at the service of power. A discourse of domination emerged in the evaluative terms specific to the dominant group, one with a high regard for moral values; accordingly, the self is the more powerful, associated to the affirmative, the positive, the strong, the virtuous, the elect, and the others as the opposite of the self. If forceful clash on the battlefield, where dominance used to be disputed, leaves little place for congeniality, on discursive terrain things cannot be expected to invert; then it is not a matter of perplexity that the accounts of otherness include detailed reports of barbarism, primitivism, hazard, backwardness and poverty about the conquered populations. Drawing on a narrative layout hidden in the mists of time, the 'others' of contemporary debates have taken a referent in the 'conquered', the 'indigent', the 'deployed', the 'subaltern', the 'servant', the 'woman', 'the infant', and so on.

Plato warned us that the experience of belief (how people relate cognitively to what they experience in the cave) can be as bewildering as the unmediated experience of knowledge (when he who comes out into the light is blinded by it). Although bewildering at first, deeper understanding of the out-there world must necessarily complete in a higher consciousness about the self. One can wonder whether the postcolonial scholarship, coming out of the Marxist blueprint, which has dealt for the last a century with the problem of representation of 'the othered', even with remarkable insights, has made the return journey to its own self which allows it to really take 'the other' out of the cave and see it in his wholeness. Mainstream postcolonial scholars, criticizing the estrangement from postcolonial themes in later writings, suggest it has not.

To extrapolate Plato's cave myth to alterity, one has to acknowledge Plato's binary construct representation, valid for the realm of being and becoming. If for the Greek philosopher, 'becoming' was linguistically expressed by means of myth, while 'being' was the ultimate expression of knowledge, the influence of contemporary science has determined a philosophical approach which favours 'becoming' (associated with process, causality) over 'being' (associated with 'what is') or tries to conciliate both. Thus, one finds herself in the position to challenge, for instance, conceptualisations about 'nationals' and 'immigrants', or about 'selves' and 'others' frozen at the level of 'being', envisioned as belonging to the reality of the cave, while every other object of knowledge is immersed in the dynamism of 'becoming'.

Although Plato does not use the cave myth as a social critique, the image of community members in chains has reverberations into one of the most pervasive metaphors used in Western thinking, especially in relation to power and agency in political sense, viz., the puppet metaphor. The central idea behind it is manipulation. Whether the gods handle the strings of human fate or a State organises its population, the political metaphor of the 'puppet regime' or 'puppet leader' (standing for a dummy head that masks an obscure or powerful entity), is usually construed with the assignation of people to a fixed category (or dynamic within the limits of its described 'being'), whose freedom is limited to a greater or lesser degree. Additional qualities of the puppets (they argue, have private lives, criticise, rebel) infuse sympathy into the audience and depart the eyes of the spectator from who is actually managing the strings for a determinate representation to take place.

The puppet show metaphor establishes a causal relation between a projected goal and the steps conducing to it. Notwithstanding that, the audience is captured by the representation, gives in to the power of the narrative in detriment of the meta-representation taking place. That is why manipulation, or the subaltern state, is not always grasped, not even that involving themselves, in the sense that the audience is left to see what the puppeteer allows him to see. A particular response is at times obtained with the character of puppet leader, which removes the public sympathy for the puppet and places it upon the audience, whose emotions and sensibilities can be either assaulted or entertained. Especially interesting about this metaphor is its potential for exposing those in power, who presumably commit manipulation, as a critique of politics and politicians. In Halloween celebrations or during street protests, it is not uncommon to see parodical masks, papier-mâché or foam big-heads made in the likeness of political leaders laughed at or even burnt and treaded upon. Finally, in electoral campaigns, one application of puppetry is staged multimodal metaphor realised by text, image and music, whereby politicians' attempts at manipulation are taken to the limits of the absurd and mocked at.

The presidential discourses of G.W. Bush imply taking into consideration the possible interdependence between discourse and power, discourse and ideology (as unprincipled use of power) with the particular issue of (the representation of) national identity. Moreover, the attempt to expose immigrant alterity requires familiarity with the concurring discourses about immigrants, and awareness of the state of the art research in image management, oriented to 'the other'.

The theoretical and methodological model of the present study is indebted to a number of outstanding CDA linguists. First, there is Norman Fairclough's research, for linking the study of semiotics and linguistics, and more particularly, the exploration of traditionally social and political objects of study with functional categories of linguistics. Among them, I found 'order of discourse' to be a meaningful category for the present study, given the prominence of the speaker and the relevance of the two George W. Bush Administrations for the domestic and international politics.

The relation between the topic analysed – the specific field of the present work – and the tenor of discourse, as whatever 'othering' of immigrants could be found in the text, it may not have the same ideological load when stated by a common U.S. citizen or the elect president. In this respect, Teun van Dijk's account of the way in which ideology is produced and transmitted in order to be shared - has constituted an interesting cognitive start in the practical exploration of different patterns of alterity in the presidential discourses of G.W. Bush. Finally, the Austrian sociolinguist Ruth Wodak, who has generated one of the most popular methodological models in CDA, viz. the Discourse-Historical Approach, has provided the insights for the methodology followed in this study. Not least, the work of Wodak in qualitative research has provided the model of critique which the present study has attempted to follow in ways discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, dealing with the theoretical and the methodological frameworks, respectively.

At this point, I feel necessary to define the concept of 'ideology' for the purpose of the study. Ideology is used here to define, more than a political doctrine (Adams 2001: 2), a means of manufacturing consent (Fairclough 1999: 3). More specifically, it is understood as a system of ideas (van Dijk 2006: 115) using a self-serving scheme of positive/ negative evaluation to enforce a unilateral perspective on a specific issue, with the purpose of conditioning a desired response action. Talking about ideologies is obviously a definitional choice of the speaker, alternative conceptualisations being 'system thinking', 'best philosophy', 'political stand', especially focusing on visionary theorising, but de-emphasising action and consequence.

Political ideologies are relevant for the systems they generate, together with the discursive apparatus they display in order to maintain or perpetuate those. Although old distinctions attached to ideology, such as 'right' and 'left', 'conservative' and 'liberal', have enlarged their denotative fields and intermixed to a considerable degree to adapt to political contexts increasingly complex, the concept of 'ideology' maintains its implications regarding consent or manipulation (at discursive level) and coercion (at policy and enforcement level).

There is, I think, sufficient ground to think of a state ideology, bank ideology or school ideology, although, thanks to mainstream institutional discourse, it is more common to associate ideology with the idea of marginal groups and more generally, with groups described as a threat to the structures of power. The present study is based on the CDA assumption that discourse structures and linguistic realisations are involved in the reproduction of ideology, - by enacting, confirming, legitimating or challenging - relations of power in society (van Dijk 1998: 313), which suggests that these models are to some extent traceable at the level of topics or arguments, some of which will be analysed in the results chapter, Chapter 7.

Developments in the field of social identity helped interpret ideology as a self-serving schema for the representation of 'us' and 'them' or 'insiders' and 'outsiders' as social groups (Kramsch 1998: 8). Ideologies may well germinate in individuals but they are socially shared by (social) actors who perform various roles in society, according to their multiple, dynamic and sometimes conflicting identities (Ainsworth and Hardy 2004: 237). This perspective implies that the representation of othered groups is the outcome of a tension between fragmented perceptions at different levels of the society in which power is exercised: community, institutions and political body. It is from this functional perspective that the immigrants' alterity can be explored with social and linguistic tools.

It is perhaps easier to think of ideologies in their more categorical manifestations and then try to identify the shares in interplay for determinate tendencies in our (21st century, North-Western) society. Ideologies develop as a functional consequence of human's predisposition to develop polar belief systems and put them to work in their best interests. Instinctual surviving contributes to the association of the in-built ontology for good and bad with the self and the other, respectively. At some point, the conflicts of interests seem inevitable, as the goals, preferences and rights of one will eventually (seen as) incompatible with another's. Then ideologies start to shape, enacting on different (intensities of) needs, in the form of social profiling as a group and for/ against another group is a central element in the formation and reproduction of ideologies. Groups will be read out in terms of differences and similarities, which correspond to the creation of mental models for 'us' and 'others'. At this specific level, ideologies are manifested in a strategic play on differences so that 'our' evaluation and 'our' positive image should be validated.

A prominent feature of the structure of ideologies is thus group polarisation (van Dijk 2006: 121). In other words, groups act externally towards claiming, legitimating, explaining or managing their interests against other groups in society, while internally rallying their own members behind such claims to make sure that attitudes of individual members (and social practices based on them), co-ordinate and facilitate the realisation of ideological goals.

Understanding how manipulation is formed and enacted in society can increase the researcher's precision of exposing apparently aseptic linguistic choices. The existence of a strategic component of discourse allows the cognitive material to be moulded anew for each particular situation; in a relation of domination, the strategy unfolds in the sense of

what Van Dijk identified as a need for internal cohesion, whether at group-level or in confrontation with existential threats (Van Dijk 1998: 4). For instance, talking about the immigration in the United States triggers a number of mental stimuli such as ‘illegal’, ‘Latino’, ‘work’ but also the more evaluative ‘crime’, ‘unemployment’, ‘burdening the system’.

As van Dijk has argued (1998: 15-126), the cognitive aspect of ideology is systemic, going from the meta-proposition of discourse to more deductive structures of knowledge, which contributes to an internal validity which is often challenged by a deeper, intra-textual and contextual approach on that which is analysed. In addition to projecting knowledge in such a way that it may serve the arguments of those who handle the discourse, the presence of a strategy allowing the reproduction - at the meta-narrative level - of the algorithm used at the micro-cognitive level of knowledge representation (of word meaning), allows a biased interpretation of (partial) data. For instance, the rising rate of Latino federal convicts in the U.S. facilities, which creates a negative mental model associated with danger and insecurity, and the decline of other federal offenders, such as gun trafficking, public corruption or white-collar crime, are data easily convertible in two contrasting group images, of good ‘us’ and bad ‘them’, in ignorance of the sharp rise in illegal immigration and tougher enforcement of immigration laws over the last decade.

As Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Liebhart (2009) have found in their research on the discursive construction of (national) identity, the mental construct of national identity appears to be partly rooted in the socio-political organisation of the human community to whom individuals belong and partially on the economical and psychological necessity of belonging or self-exclusion. From this perspective, citizenship is constituted as the highest formal degree of participation in terms of ownership and belonging to a nation and the type of participation is defined within the limits of its representative institutions.

Depending on the specific identities and narratives they are exposed to, citizens may develop a nationalist ideology (Wodak et al. 1999: 33) targeting other groups. The linguistic representation of those social actors which are perceived as members of a national collective is strategically realised by means of topoi or fallacies, among which are the topoi of difference, of external force/ threat, the contrastive topoi of comparison associated with the topoi of superiority, of lovely/ terrible place, of definition (civilisation, democracy), of appeal to authority, or of consequence (ibid. pp. 36-42). This finding raises one’s awareness as to which less obvious discursive structures may harbour features of alterity with respect to the group of non-nationals in the American political discourse on immigration in the 2000s.

Conceptual predicament

The discussion of alterity on the North American continent can not begin without mentioning the momentous ‘clash of civilisations’ produced in the encounter between the Native populations in the Great Plains and the European colonisers. The collective name attributed to the former by the Europeans, an initial misidentification - is distorting for a number of reasons related to the visceral relation between language and power. First, ‘Indios’ is a super-imposed name, - probably originating in the Latin ‘indigena’ (‘from there’) and dating back to Christopher Columbus. It is a misnomer for the people

inhabiting the continent, as it misleadingly makes reference to a homogeneous population. On the contrary, the great diversity in the Native population points towards a rich diversity, as the inhabitants of the United States at the time of the European invasion were composed of hundreds of different tribes, many of which did not share a common language or similar culture. Moreover, they named themselves and continue to do so, with the collective term Native Americans or First Nations, but most identify themselves with even more concreteness, using their legitimate tribal names.

At the same time, the reference of First Nations can be confusing in present days, in part due to its semantic change suffered in diachrony: posterior to colonisation, it was appropriated by the newly come to refer to the colonisers' children who were born in "the land of liberty"; earlier in the 20th century, it was ideologically used to limit immigration to the United States of America from Southern and Eastern Europe, and ban completely that coming from Asia.

A similar fate has suffered the term 'Native'. After the Europeans settled on the American Continent, they used it extensively in the synthesis of status. It is not casual that this term is ubiquitous in immigration discourse, as in various historical moments of the young American nation 'nativity' has constituted the central stand on which the alterity of new immigrants was construed.

Another source of confusion is related to the axiomatic centre of immigrant representation, contemporarily situated at the heart of the national state: a certain social determinism seems to define the reality of the immigrant as in-coming 'others'. At first sight, the thesis of entitlement by birth to physical presence and legal rights within a territory may betray a relativist conception of rational justification of the selfness. The populations that 'belonged' had been displaced by new populations, which rooted the concept of belonging in the heart of the 'self', setting a precedent of argumentation in the sense of enforcement over future non-natives. This conceptual shift witnesses to a dynamic social 'out-thereness' construed with mutable 'selves' and 'others', occupying specific slots of the social life, according to the greater design of the national state, as it will be argued later, in the section 3.1 on conditions for othering.

The intense experience of migration undergoes several, often multi-generational developments, from (self-) exclusion through identity crisis to gradual increase of economic strength and status. As immigrants are socially visible due to their physical features, customs or use of language, they need to close the gap of otherness by a series of commitments to sameness to the larger social group a part of which they become de facto. Ideally, their different stages of integration should be inversely proportional to their alterity, as immigrants need to exert their individual potential of constructing their own identity.

In theory, the migrants' adjustment in the target country is a function of their efficiency in decoding the mental representations of the nationals of that country but also the values and the needs of the society they come to be a part of, with the sensible aim to play an active part in the respective social paradigms. In practice, the type of agency and degree of involvement in self-(re)presentation is for any social group, including the immigrants, conditioned by the established social and political norms within the cultural paradigms of that society.

Alterity is a discursive category but at the same time one acknowledging a socio-political state of facts. One fundamental aspect related to immigrants is the general opinion that they should integrate into society, however the concept of integration is often disconnected from other aspects implied by belonging to a community, such as determinate

social roles or political participation. Participation is related to membership, which is dependant of institutional implication in the form of full identity scanning leading towards legality; those migrants matching the criteria of utility - economic in their essence, and legislative in their provision - can file for in-state identification and acquire database visibility and official identity by means of a Social Security number.

In this respect, two main types of immigration can be established: highly specialised professional immigration, including business creation, whose presence satisfies and accounts to market regulations; and other - skilled and unskilled – ‘temporary workers’ who are conditioned by specific, measured, time-bond shares in the labour market in order to be admitted provisionally in the system. The renovations to the immigration laws in Germany and Austria taking place in 2002 after the American green-card model, is paradigmatic for the way in which the balance between costs and benefits continues to be the leading approach to immigration. More precisely, the political parties of Germany voted a Social Democratic-Green Party proposal to allow permanent residency to highly qualified foreigners, while at the other end of the immigration enforcement spectrum, detention pending deportation was increasing. This type of double tiered regulation seems to act upon the common representation that high-skilled immigration is beneficial for the receiving countries, while low-skilled immigration is prejudicial for the native population.

Little academic attention has been paid on the role of the high-skilled immigration in the distortions in other labour market segments, including unemployment, although it has been empirically corroborated that high and low skilled labour are close (Kemnitz 2007: 7) in that a higher number of high skilled workers reduces total low skilled employment. Furthermore, if data managed by the official immigration agencies are to be given credit, the causal relation is worth studying between the rising rate of immigrant unemployment over the last decades and the fact that immigrants are situated both at the highest and the lowest end of the skill distribution.

In the case of the authorised population, usually but not thoroughly associated to high-skilled immigration, the legitimacy is associated to loyalty to the contracted occupational role, typically enacted by immigrants which are not unionised and therefore targeted by jurisdictional strikes which protest the assignment of work to members of other, or no unions. A group with low access to collective bargaining over benefits and working conditions, as seems to be the case of skilled migration under the temporary work programs, is hardly a springboard for ascension to power structures, where self-definition can be exercised.

Political narratives have the potential to strike the desired balance between membership and alterity, especially by rehearsing performative language, in other words, whenever a problem is tackled over which a law will be enforced. Structurally, political narratives tend to be unilateral representations in the sense that they out-power the stand from which possible alternatives can be formulated, and therefore (usually) tailored to the agenda of those in exercise of the power, and therefore they are thusly organised and presented that they appear first and foremost as principled and appropriate.

For instance, when the former President G.W. Bush speaks about America’s openness towards Cuban dissidents, the message falls short of telling how Cuban citizens do not normally owe a passport, and are not allowed to travel abroad, but this does not turn the message of the American president fallacious. Choosing the topic and the focus is a privilege of the communicator and allows the illustration of the American vocation of multiculturalism to elude the fact that other Latinos fleeing from similar economic and political conditions and trying to enter United States are offenders of the federal law. The

relevance of one cultural heritage over the other can be decided by a more political contention, which the United States still combats, if only discursively. In this case, the theme of 'deployed immigrants' is framed by 'benevolent America', even if beneath the surface of concern for others, one can suspect a deeper need for world wide acknowledgement of the ideological ego.

As Lakoff (2001: 37) has argued, the narrative controlling strategy is accompanied or predicted by the earlier appropriation of definitional rights at the word level. The semantics for immigrant has moved from 'displaced' in search for better life conditions to 'authorised' to enter and work in a new territory, from 'voluntary action' to 'granted condition'. At the same time, the voyage metaphor has been re-focused from the process of search into the object of destiny, emphasising the 'house metaphor', whereby the national territory is conceived as a private domain and unscheduled visits as (potential) aggressions.

The increasingly restrictive immigration laws in the United States are a reflection on a legal and institutional ground of the narrative emphasis on more concrete (organisational) rationale in the field of labour economics and national security, viz. on profit and safety vs. loss and danger. However, this approach embodied in a series of free-trade agreements has attracted criticism of economic unsustainability. In its first review of the expected effects of the treaty on the New York region, New York Times foresaw important benefits in a number of sectors, such as the banking, high technology, publishing and pharmaceuticals and some adverse effects, predominantly women, African-Americans, Hispanics and semi-skilled production workers, which broadly account for the large segment of the struggling population of the 'dual city' (Mollenkopf and Castells 1992: 226).

Looking at the economic value of the immigrant work force without attending to the broader context of the free trade agreements in the American Continent which witnessed the great waves of immigration after the first NAFTA was signed in 1993. For a unilateral profit-related approach to immigration, other factors related to the presence of immigrants are downplayed, such as the causes of displacement, tax contribution for basic goods and services, sector economic growth, investment or defence as well as non-economic participation of a cultural, intellectual and spiritual nature. The fracture implied by a dissociative approach to the human reality of displacement is reproduced at the narrative level by restricting the positive value of acceptance to a set of institutional rules and one sensitive topic, that of labour force.

Thus, it might be suggested that through an original twist on power relations, according to which the less powerful appear as the most dangerous, narratives of immigration transmit a frightening story in contexts in which perhaps a tragedy ought to be told, not only about the immigrants but about inequality in the society as a whole. At a more practical level, the political response to the matter consists in a reposition from solution to the social problematic driven by widely criticised economic experiments, to legitimate action against large segments of population whom the laws that regulate these agreements situate outside the law.

Previous research on impression management

In a cultural context where national concerns are debated in institutional settings and echoed by a number of mass-media, the potential of mediation of such discourse is

practically infinite, with a subtle feedback from one mode to another. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the political body and the means of communication relate differently, and even complementarily, to opinion cognition.

First, institutional discourse appeals to the cognitive side of the public: its rigours - in consonance with the rigours of the act of governing, demand high expertise, a pluralist approach to immigration and an official path for opinion polling, provided by the a formal relation between representatives and electors. However, the more general access of the public to institutional discourse - such as the relations among the voters and between the electors and political institutions - is enacted mainly through the mass-media. So, one can argue with a certain degree of certainty that the interests in immigration opinion stems to a great extent from the extent to which mass-media focuses on the issue, but also the manner of doing so, i.e., how it appeals to the public order to get the information across, from reasoned debate to affect and emotions.

Researchers attempting to understand how citizens process political information have advanced the prominence of affect over cognition in opinion-making, suggesting that all social information processing is affectively charged and therefore prone to biases, in the sense that people take longer to process information incongruent with their existing affect and that, paradoxically, this 'motivated' reasoning may actually increase citizens' support of a positively evaluated candidate after learning new negatively evaluated information (Redlaws 2002: 1042). Since affective bias leads to lower quality decision making, then the reverse scheme could be maintained about the broad discourse on immigration, namely that overall negative rating of immigrants can even be reinforced by the posterior inclusion of new positive information about immigrants.

Public discourse has been found to affect popular opposition to immigration in at least three dimensions: emphasis on costs and concealment of benefits, ethnic identity hints, and only marginally the representation of immigrants as low-skilled and (sometimes) high-skilled workers (Scheve and Slaughter 2001: 140). This observation clashes with that made by prominent anti-immigration scholars (Huntington 2004: 31), which envision immigration as an adverse development in economic and cultural terms.

Ethnic identity hints such as pictures of Hispanic immigrants were found to construe negative stereotypes, of low-skilled Hispanic immigrants in the USA. These stereotypes trigger negative emotions when costs are emphasized, which in turn lead to hostile attitudes and actions when group hints push are suggestive enough to cause anxiety (Brader, Valentino and Suhay 2008: 975). With the ethnic category of Latinos, far more than with East Asian immigrants - the second less popular group of foreign-born living in the U.S.A. -, perceptions about the potential economic 'harm' resulting from immigration was found to be modeled into opinions and actions only when the ethnic aspect was mentioned.

According to the same study, the representation of immigrants as low-skilled under-educated people is to a lesser extent mediated by public discourse. However, in the wider context of economic models which correlate skill level with development, this representation is crucial for the national (low-skilled) workers' perceptions of the harm inflicted to them by (low-skilled) migrants.

Numerous studies have stressed the role of economic factors (Scheve and Slaughter 2001) in explaining significant variation in immigration opinion. I found the research of Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior (2004: 49) to advance a very interesting argument when they point out that political attitudes toward immigration are shaped apart from predisposing factors such as economy, education or ethnicity, by "situational triggers".

Along a similar line goes a claim by Brader, Valentino and Suhay (2008: 960), who found out that racial or ethnic allusions trigger emotional reactions which are responsible for the changes in opinion and behavior independently of whether or not there is a change in belief taking place about the acuteness of the immigration problem.

Anti-immigration rhetoric often focuses on groups, so that more or less explicit comparisons are made between 'bad' ethnic or racial groups, such as Hispanics, and 'good' immigrants, those from Canada or Ireland (Huntington 2004: 44-45). These patterns in elite discourse are reflected in the general public attitudes on immigration, which may vary from opposition (Simon and Lynch 1999: 466), to agreement with the measure to reduce the number of immigrants or at least hold it constant (Sniderman, Peri, Figueiredo and Piazza 2000: 48), for 'realistic' economic concerns and especially for 'symbolic' cultural concerns.

In the European context, regarding the impact of political discourse, it was found that opposition to immigration - as the case of Netherlands analysed in Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior (2004: 48) illustrates - is responsive to situational triggers such as the exacerbation of national identity or concern with situations which may be interpreted as economic threats, rather than ethnicity per se.

Finally, in tune with leading approaches to emotion and politics (Lodge and Taber 2005; Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000) which predict that emotions act on one's attitudes (Lodge, Taber and Weber 2006: 30), recent work (Brader, Valentino and Suhay 2008: 976) seems to confirm that anxiety mediates the effects of threatening political stimuli even to the point of shaping behaviour. This argument differs from traditional research on political threats (Miller and Krosnick 2004: 520-23), which attribute (discriminatory) attitudes and behaviour to cognitively based perceptions.

One of the implications of these findings for the public discourse about immigration policy is that, in addition to explicit references to religious, national and racial groups and perhaps further away from that which is said about them, allusions to stigmatised groups attach powerful micro-structures of emotional significance with which political agents address national audience. This explanation covers more force with the multi-modal analysis of 'elite discourses' which allows for an integrated-stimuli approach; accordingly, the power of argumentation in political discourse can be expressed attaching to the power of text other effective powers of feeling, of hearing, of seeing and, in case of 'live' participation, script-guided response, etc.

Immigrant alterity in research questions

As has already been advanced, the purpose of the present investigation is to reveal, by means of analysis of the main linguistics features, the construction of immigrants' alterity and to provide exemplification in the communicative strategies identified in the text as well as expose, whenever possible, the underlying perspective from which they are managed, to converge towards models of immigrant-others.

In order to do that, I formulated a series of research questions in relation to the context of immigration which I felt would lead to a more systematic account for the alterity of contemporary immigrants, but also in relation to the structural elements in the history of the United States which have lead over the last decades to increasing regulatory policy.

The following questions are intended to be answered in the following chapters on alterity and immigration to United States.

Questions about the broader context aim at describing and analysing the broader structural and historical context of alterity, to enquire into the causes of political events, and to profile from the perspective of political sociology the emerging model of alterity to which the representation of the immigrant is indebted.

1. Is there a precedent of alterity known to modernity?
2. If so, what was its philosophical justification? What terms (topoi, images, metaphors) were used to represent and explain the difference between the self and the other? Are these representations converging towards a mental model about the others?
3. Which developmental factors in first world countries had an influence, and in what ways, on the phenomenon of migration (territoriality, economy, institutionality) and what societal responses have prevailed? Were there in the past other possible approaches that could have been taken and were not?
4. What models of migration have sculptured the contemporary immigration policy?

Questions referring to the experience of immigration try to make sense of the mental model of immigrant as molded in the concrete context of the United States, to which historical, institutional, political and legal approaches are expected to offer valuable perspectives.

5. What is the history of the immigration to US and regulation thereof?
6. Which are the factors determining the shifting pro and anti-immigration policies in the US?

Preliminary questions framing the patterns of alterity, subject to the ebbs and flows of the results of the corpus-driven analysis, head in the direction already suggested by the context to alterity and of immigration:

7. How are immigrants placed in the social and legal context, what types of participation are associated to them, who is blamed, for what and why in the context of immigration and what scenarios for the future are taken into discussion or proposed?
8. Which actors and which acts are focused on and what are the prevailing nominalisations and predications about them?
9. How is US represented as political space in terms of political power, opportunity for diversity, correction, etc.?

The line of inquiry formulated through the questions above will be explored in the subsequent chapters 2 and 3, dealing with the concept of 'the other' and immigration-related 'othering', and the socio-political reality of immigration in the specific case of the United States of America, respectively. Insofar as the present chapter is concerned, an overall presentation of the issue under investigation has been introduced, namely the patterns of alterity involved in the discursive representation of the immigrants in the political discourses of G. W. Bush.

Also, a brief formulation of the wide-ranging nature of the subject has been done with a general introduction of the theoretical framework. More specifically, the relation between linguistics and ideology and the potential of CDA as a discloser of the practice of

‘othering’ has been discussed. It has given a condensed account of the preceding research in unequal power relations, more specifically the role of ideology, as well as the discursive representation of national identity.

I considered the necessity to introduce at this moment the link between immigration and alterity, to be later discussed as part of Chapter 2, ‘The other’. Similarly, the concept of ideology as it is understood in the present work is defined at this point, together with some aspects related to immigration which can be potentially used in ideological manipulation. In addition, the introductory chapter makes a short consideration of the research in the domain of communications, weighting the role different stimuli play in the opinion formation related to immigration, and which representations pervade prevail over others during the process of representation. Finally, a guide into the contextual background of immigrant alterity is offered by means of the research questions formulated, whose development constitute the chapters on alterity and the background to immigration in the United States.

This chapter is intended to present and discuss the other starting from a working definition and following with situations in which alterity can be detected and accounted for in social, cultural or political terms. This quest is undertaken on the premise that the answers to the question about who the other is requires the exploration of the boundaries of that 'reality' which serves as a common ground for the outline of the concept. Accordingly, a definition is attempted by exploring the organising principles on which the human ecosystem can be conceived in terms of self and other. Also, one might enquire over the referential solidity of these terms, in other words, whether a one-to-one relation can be attributed between signifier and signified or, on the contrary, the relation is one of permeability, allowing the other to be associated to the self and vice-versa.

1.1. CONCEPT

Common language use indicates that whoever is at a specific moment the other, he or she can be situated outside the physical or conventional private space of something or somebody. From this perspective, 'otherness' can be said to operate both on an integrative and a dissociative approach, i.e., in the sense of completing a whole or separating it in parts. In terms of sign attribution, the decision over who is 'somebody' and who is the other seems a matter of perspective, as everybody can a priori be somebody's 'other', and it seems that for the most part of our social experience, everybody is.

Different meanings of the other have been construed in philosophy, some with only tangential implications for the present study. The philosophical work of Jean Paul Sartre, for instance, approaches the other as an altering presence itself - a feeling or a phenomenon - towards which the world needs to orient itself, but not as life threat demanding resolution. This is a philosophical path which found echo in the practice of community service but with scarce political attractive. In turn, Jacques Lacan articulated the other with the wider world and language, identifying the signifier with the symbolic dimension of the language, acknowledging that it draws on a semantic relation of opposition.

Emmanuel Lévinas speaks of a radical Other (which he chooses to capitalise), in the sense of infinite divinity, prior that is to the self and marking a distinction between 'the saying' and 'the said'. For Lévinas, the former is understood as an exposure to the other, from which generosity/ truth or non-saying/ lie may arouse (with ethical implications) and the latter envisions the other as a fixed identity and convergent point of an ontological quest (Lévinas 1988: 159). From the infiniteness of the Other, Lévinas has argued, other aspects of philosophy and science are derived, with implications for the whole fraternity of the neighbouring others. Lévinas' concept and the more general philosophical path did not have an elaboration in the later critical school. However, the conceptualisation of 'the

otherness' as (at least) a contiguous space to 'the self', can be understood to be shared by the social science construct of the larger society as driven by mechanisms of community and solidarity and therefore also conceivable in terms of a common discursive space for 'the self' and the other.

In general, when employed as a nominal definition 'the Other' is understood in the sense construed by European philosophy, viz. as a locus of struggle, in Hegel's *Phenomenology of mind*, or of intersubjectivity, in Edmund Husserl (1999) and Edith Stein (1989). For the Jewish-born woman-philosopher and convert, who ended her particular enquiry of the Truth in Auschwitz's 'little white house'¹, empathy, viz., inter-subjective dialogue and care, is necessarily *the* approach illuminating the intention of the 'other' as a psycho-physical, and spiritual individual. From a disciplinary social perspective, the concept has been exploited by Simone de Beauvoir to describe the 'minority' of a male-dominated culture, making it salient to the study of the sex-gender system.

Finally, its use in the present work draws strongly on Edward Said, who made the concept popular in the field of linguistics, more generally in relation to forceful destitution and more specifically in the context of colonisation. Drawing on the notion of 'difference', inherent to the distinction between 'self' and 'other', the latter has been used in a large corpus of knowledge in the field of social science as fundamentally a process of differentiation by which societies or groups featuring some type of leadership subordinate others. Thus, 'othering' appears as a process of role attribution inherent to the functioning of a society, in which determinate roles subsume other associated ones in a proto-hierarchy of power. Whether it is the village elder, the best hunter of the clan or the elect president of a country, the existence of human beings commonly features a more or less developed hierarchy, in which the more powerful is conceived at the top or as the central figure and the followers at the bottom or gravitating in different degrees of proximity to the power. Even in the case of co-existence of different powerful figures, as is the case of modern state, one of these - the presidential institution, for example - is assuming a symbolic power over the others.

Understanding the other in the sense of social scientists, as the present work does, implies having recognised a relation of subordination to an actual group - barbarian, African-American, women, - whereby one group can be construed as an alter to the unmarked counterpart. It is the aim of the present study, viz. the alterity of the immigrant 'other', to analyse how this alterity is marked in relation to the symbolic group represented as the 'self'.

The comprehension of such a complex phenomenon as contemporary alterity requires the consideration of philosophical, historical and political perspectives, which in turn encompass social, institutional and discursive aspects. While an exhaustive definition of 'the other' is not the central theme of the present work, a few brushstrokes are nevertheless convenient for the outline of a contextualised working profile.

¹ Euphemistic name for the 'Bunker 2' gass chamber.

1.2. BACKGROUND TO ALTERITY

The careful observation of past patterns of alterity is an opportunity to understand historic and political events in their own contextual and conceptual battles and as a result of principled selection among possible alternatives. At the same time, it allows to see present alterity as probable outcome of past configurations but also as a possible precedent of future subordination. In this chapter the argument is profiled that the practice of alterity at a global scale, have found a reflection in the actual model of development, in the more structural aspects of the societies it has built, and finally in the life of those respective communities.

Colonisation offers a valuable precedent for the analysis of unequal power relations on a trans-national scale, from motivations, proceedings and justifications to possible long-term implications. One of the numerous examples of the inter-relatedness of the global phenomena of colonisation and migration is the striking parallelism between the ‘facilitators’ of the European colonial expansion back in the sixteenth century and the global context of migration over the last three centuries.

If compared with previous models of colonisation, that of the sixteenth century had underwent massive changes, mainly due to technological developments in navigation, which allowed the displacement to more remote parts of the world of large numbers of people, to the economic and strategic benefit of the leading European powers. Similarly, in the last decade of the 20th century, new developments in the aeronautics industry made affordable the displacement of people to more organised labour markets in more developed countries. As back then with the printed word, the salience of communication and mass media in the 20th century point towards the importance of discourse in the structuring of the whole society, from knowledge to the management of the institutions. Finally, philosophic, religious and legal approaches have accompanied, five centuries ago and contemporarily, the double practice of legitimisation and dismissal carried away in the subordinated territories.

1.2.1. Paradigms of domination

The colonisation of foreign territories is among the most analysable forms of domination, in part because the need for critical perspective is called forth by more visible consequences. The terms ‘colonialism’ and ‘imperialism’ are often used interchangeably in literature (Harvey 2003, Young 2004, Sarson 2005), and so shall they be in the present work, although some qualification seems necessary. The term colonialism is frequently used in British political writings to describe the settlement and control by a large population of permanent European residents. Although a significant part of the critique came from scholars with Marxist affinities, according to Loomba (1998: 21), colonialism was regarded as an exploitative, yet necessary, phase of human (social) development. Finally, the term imperialism, traditionally understood as a system of military domination and sovereignty over territories, has also been suggested (Young 2001: 231) to describe the ideology lying behind the colonial enterprise.

The compliance of the Marxist intellectuals with the practice of imperialism is grounded in a developmental perspective on human society. More specifically, they recognised in imperialism a conjuncture capable to push forward the historical process towards socialism; notwithstanding, over the last century, a more updated Marxist approach - breaking away from the framework described by Young (2004: 3) as 'the male Anglo-Saxon Marxist academia' - uses the term 'imperialism' to refer to - and detach from - British and later American economic hegemony (Harvey 2003: 180), regardless of whether such power is exercised with occupation or in the absence of it. Finally, imperialism is also taken to describe an indirect form of domination (Young 2001: 5), namely the situation in which a foreign government administers a territory without significant settlement.

The terminological distinctions enforce the historic events from the perspective of the occupied: 'the colony' and the occupier or the overall result, 'the empire'. Also, the interchangeability of the terms is possible due to a shared overall perspective on social and economic development, in which subordination plays a catalytic part. Finally, the distinction between the two betrays an ideological concern with the actors and circumstances of occupation. As reasonable as it seems to subscribe to Bohemer's argument that the colonial enterprise took place with considerable propaganda at home and away, one is tempted to see further in the ideological manipulation at home (causing millions of people to act against the more natural instincts to a life in peace, while others to develop successful careers or businesses), a useful condition for the construction of a national identity in the sense of a superior race offering the humanity a higher design. One example in this sense is offered by the multimodal texts of the First World War, from the perspectives of two allies, Great Britain and the United States.

The American intervention in world-wide conflicts can hardly be interpreted through the paradigm of geo-spatial proximity, a fact assumed by the U.S. propaganda of war, which largely used the expression, and the top-down triangle logo signifying 'Over here and Over There', or the catchy phrase 'No Mans Land' (original spelling). Rather, the U.S. interventionist policy in a distant war was argued at the time with axiological arguments feeding back into a feeling of community and identity at a national level. Once persuaded about the common values, the public was educated into a salvific mission in the world by means of propaganda posters, stamps and bonds. The practical aim of going to war joined at least two aspects deriving from those values: coherence with one's values and love for one's country. One's attempt to be a better person met governmental designs of preserving and bringing 'liberty' and 'humanity' to the whole world, without making obvious the link between the war on the Old Continent and the destiny of the young nations of the American Continent. In an intense war campaign due to the unprecedented access to large masses, the U.S. Government lured the wider public into the noble mission of 'saving food', reduce the intake of protein-rich aliments, enlist in the army, work overtime, donate a month's wages, purchasing 'liberty bonds', 'visit Palestine', buy savings stamps, do free craftwork, send tobacco, food reserve, and 'contributions' oversea, purchase entries to propaganda movies, and get free legal advice on how to manage their savings and properties. In a wholistic manner, the life of the Americans back home was one of sacrifice, not only for the tragedy of ruptured families, but for the high demand of personal sacrifice in order to fight other peoples' similar limitations; thus, they were expected, even asked ('Humanity calls. Dare you refuse?') to increase the production of Government-demanded goods and services and reduce the consumption which responded to personal, even vital needs, as well as, for the first time on a large scale, to trade money for Government-guaranteed investment such as 'savings stamps' and 'loan bonds'. A good

American was expected to help the 'Government War Work', a task which President Wilson had allegedly expressed in terms of 'conquer or submit'. The strategy included watching over the 'Near East' and bringing 'relief' from starvation for 'the hungry millions of Europe – the Allies and liberated nations' (Duffy 2009).

In turn, the American public at home could brace themselves at the image of self and other representation. On the one hand, the message about the bravery of the American soldiers, e.g., 'Together we win', and 'We don't put down our tools till quitting time', intertwines with the idea of the enemy's under-representation of America or the American troops, e.g., 'And they though we coundn't *fight*' (italics in the original); on the other hand, the others are depicted as the meaner character as compared with the self, by means of ironical commentaries, e.g., 'Come on with the tobacco And we'll Smoke the Kaiser out', 'Get back at the Hun with Liberty Bonds' (original spellings). It is difficult to ignore the financial and entrepreneurial side of war propaganda. One advertising pannel of the period read out 'Are You Working *with* Schwal?' (italics added, original emphasis in red) in which the Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation points out that he wants his employers to fell that they are woking with him and not for him; another poster features a sweet little girl with a red ribbon in her blond curly hair embrassing with crosse arms against her chest a piece of paper and the question 'My Daddy Bought Me a Government Bond of the Third Liberty Loan. Did yours?'. Finally, statements of intentions are also present, whether stating the desire (maybe suggesting) that Christmass may bring peace to the nation or suggesting immigrants to be more enthusiastical about enrollment, e.g., 'You came here seeking Freedom, You must now help to preserve it'.

They can be seen as sharing an interest for upgrading ideological positions, as the two concepts happen to reflect two strategies of government adopted by the two most influential economic and political forces after the second world war, to which the metaphor 'cold war' is often applied. Analysing in retrospect how their respective ideologies have developed, one can say that both political systems, - that encouraging ownership and free movement of capital and that denying private property but enforcing centralised market management – represent, albeit in a simplified manner, the interplay of neo-conservative and neo-liberal directions still at work in the contemporary process of globalisation.

1.2.2. Arguing domination. Arguing alterity

The legitimacy of dominance has been a constant concern for a number of political and moral philosophers, in their attempt to reconcile ideas about justice and natural law with practices of exploitation in the colonies. This purpose however throws a shade on the proper use of the term 'philosophy' in this context, as its etymology implies an inductive process, while the reality of dominance provokes an *a posteriori* reflection, and one of a deductive nature. Rather, ideology seems a more appropriate term in so far as the discursive exercise behind the civilising experience involved alterity, viz. economic, cultural and psychological drawbacks for the colonised groups.

The dominant argumentative path in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries combined the developmental approach with the historical narrative of the Montesquieuan tradition in explaining societies as naturally moving from hunting to commerce, thus shifting as cultures from 'savagery', through 'barbarism', to 'civilisation'. For Ferguson (1995: 1) and Smith (2009: 5), the requisites for 'civilisation' - conceived by the latter in terms of

citizens as opposed to savage, master as opposed to slave (*ibid.*, p. 109) - were property, the material improvement and the practice of common norms towards the moral progress, which would eventually create a refined society essentially commercial in its nature. In any case, the historical imaginary of the civilising process produced, as scholars such as Kohn and O'Neill (2006: 193-5) noted, a narrative celebrating the emergence of a shared Western civilisation characterised by wealth and commerce.

Other writers like the political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville (2001: 70) reflected little anxiety about the legitimacy of foreign domination, in favour of the pragmatics of effective colonial governance: status in front of other powers, revival of patriotism and release from the economic pressure and class conflict at home. In his letters on Algeria, de Tocqueville sees colonialism in terms of permanent opposition between settler and native, to the economic benefit of the former (Tocqueville 2001: 20-6). His argument is of a pragmatic nature, as he finds a legal justification for occupation of another country in what he called the 'right of war' (Tocqueville 2001: 70).

In the nineteenth century, when Europe was reaching its climax as colonial power, the tension between liberal thought concerned with the principles of universalism and equality and the colonial practice was resolved by the argument of the 'civilising mission'. This term was used to describe any military intervention ending in the temporary political dependence of the occupied, bound to finalise when the 'uncivilised' would have adopted the model of liberal institutions and self-government.

If the senior British diplomat Robert Cooper, one of Tony Blair's advisers, is to be given credit, contemporary practice of inequality owes much to its past. He is one politician inclined to think and verbalise that a new imperialism is rising on old distinctions, this time between 'civilised', 'barbarian' and 'savage' institutions of post-modern, modern and pre-modern states respectively. Global War on Terror on progression, in between the Afghanistan invasion in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, Cooper reveals the role of the post-modern states (United States and United Kingdom included) as 'tutors of civilised behaviour and organisation' (Cooper 2002). Similar reflections may be reduced in number and unfree of systematic criticism; moreover, they represent a (refutable) disruption in public contemporary political talk. However, they deserve the recognition that even now and then they allow one to follow the trace of a solid political tradition in Europe, namely one in which the arguments for the colonial practice intertwined with the more global vision of social evolutionism.

The main criticism to the colonial model of domination came from a holistic perception of the relationship between culture, history and progress which displaced the rationality of profit as the universal human capacity in favour of the particularity of human beings and which is in favour of finding ways to deal with the ordeals of human existence without themselves creating harsh injustices and cruelties (Muthu 2003: 77). The philosophical path which prospered instead favoured the colonial enterprise, generated by and requiring an authoritarian political style in order to seize economic growth and political stability. Therefore, by acknowledging the role of institutional organisations in the developmental model promoted by the successful colonies, one is also compelled to allow for the pragmatic goals of expansion and control to play a role in the organisation of the discourse about 'us' and 'the others'.

1.2.3. Approaching the colonial text

Discussing colonial texts can be an intellectual and aesthetic pursuit of encyclopaedic skills. Approaching those leads inevitably to generalisations and presenting a point means a selection whose relevance can be object of principled academic debate. However compromising the task, it seems inevitable to start understanding alterity with a more general concern for the colonial texts as well as the latter in the context of colonial experience. The present sub-section aims at construing that there is such thing as the colonial text, that is embedded in the juridical and political practices which accompanied the passage from colony to early national identity formation in countries such as India, South Africa, but also The United States of America.

In general terms, the corpus of colonial texts has many attractive features. Its size is remarkably considerable. One could affirm that great part of Western European literary work bears the fingerprint of the historical trends of conquest and (sometimes) occupation of exotic territories with the additional pretence of fostering moral, intellectual or social deliverance projected both over the 'self' and the other.

The broad European tradition of representation offered the formal cultural ground for the verbalisation of the colonial enterprise, arguably in a delusive eschatological light, with accent on warfare and the glory of the hero. It starting with the ancient cult of the warrior, followed with the Judaic tradition of representation in which the errant metaphor has a central role in the redemption of the 'chosen', and moved on to the 14th and 15th century traveller's tales or fictions embodied by Marco Polo, when displacement from the British Isles still preserved a commercial character. The art of representation shifted gradually to the Victorian texts of colonial experience as is Daniel Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" or the 20th century fragmentary colonialism manifest in the fictional diaries of Patricia Hermes, in which the Indians were depicted as malevolent people at odds with the divine covenant of taking over and holding the Promised Land.

Other developments have been reflected in the colonial production as well. Partly because of the knowledge and legal system developed in Europe and partly due to the invention of the print, the colonial texts are bent on exploring social or historical matters related to the adventure of colonisation in a factual and informative manner. Rather than literature in the sense of imaginative or creative writing with a primarily aesthetic purpose, as diaries, autobiographies or lyric poetry, these texts belong to the field of historiography, in which private or public affairs are disclosed. This scenario reveals a sensitive topic with the colonial literary texts, namely their volatile presence in historical canvas. Many of the texts considered literary today were not so at the time they were written: some were historical records of correspondence between the governors in the colonies and the monarch which empowered them, some were attempting to create official chronicles of the displacement and settlement in the new territories. The following excerpt from Bartran's "Travels Through North Carolina" is but one illustration of narratives intertwining traveller's notes in idyllic overtones with instances of danger and fear in the presence of the other:

It was drawing on towards the close of the day, the skies serene and calm, the air temperately cool, and gentle zephyrs breathing through the fragrant pines; the prospect around enchantingly varies and beautiful; endless green savannas, chequered with coppices of fragrant shrubs, filled the air with the richest perfume. The gaily attired plants which enamelled the green had begun to imbibe the pearly dew of evening: nature seemed silent, and nothing appeared to ruffle the

happy moments of evening contemplation: when all of a sudden, an Indian appeared crossing the path at a considerable distance before me (Bartran 2004: 27-28).

The narrative goes on to tell how the traveller tried to elude 'his sight' while the other 'espied' him, turned around, urged his horse onwards and galloped to an unequal encounter with the frightened and unarmed explorer. Finally, and despite the intrepid Siminole's 'look of malice, rage and disdain', the encounter ended pacifically, and even, in the travellers' own reflection, by breaking the negative canons of intercultural interaction between white Europeans and Indians, pre-determined in terms of enmity.

Although invariable in their effort to superimpose elements of their own culture in the new territories, the colonizers were reorganizing the new society upon their own traditions of philosophy. For the Spanish conquistadores, who treated the conquered societies in the American continent as part of the Hispanic world, the Amerindians exhibited signs of humanity that could be interpreted in the direction of the natural law theory, which however did not free them from being indexed as vassals of the Crown of Castile and Aragon. Probably in consonance with the British tradition of empiricism and its incipient materialism, first-hand British accounts of Indians were either ignored (as seen in Williams (1643), it is their names, origin, customs, religious rituals which center the discourse) or mentioned as an exemplification of the radical differences between the natives and the Europeans (as in Long 1774). For Long, a British colonial administrator and historian, for instance, the Africa Americans, which he calls Negroes, share the 'bestial manners, stupidity and vices which debase their brethren' back in Africa (1774: 423). It can be argued with Pencak (2011: XX) that the ethnocentric ideology has been differently perpetuated in the situation of the Indians and indigenous people of mixed races in the Americas; he observes that up to our days, in the united States these people retain to a greater degree an 'otherness' based upon origin and color than in Hispanic America, where they are more or less integrated into the mainstream.

As colonial texts are often historic texts, they offer a testimony of the ideas and truths embraced by the colonisers as well as the complex circumstances which accompanied the processes of colonisation and nation formation. Abraham Lincoln's writings between 1859 and 1865 constitute another illustration of the way in which a historic fact, this time the management of the settled territories into an incipient federation, is being construed simultaneously with the altering of the displaced population, which are collectively associated to dissidents or Indians. In his 1862 message to the Congress, the 16th President of the United States, acknowledged public land as a source of revenue and the practice of public land distribution for further colonisation and exploitation, while at the same time deploys the spirit of insubordination of the Indians causing rebellions, killings and property destruction.

A large portion of her [the State of Minnesota, personal note] territory has been depopulated and a severe loss has been sustained by the destruction of property. The people of that State manifest much anxiety for the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of the State as a guarantee against future hostilities (Basler 2001: 675).

Although Lincoln's address maintained a careful distance towards the truthfulness of the accusations, the political debate of the matter indulges on a frozen picture of the whole territorial war, viz. the settlers' property rights and their protection and, from the perspective of a self-appointed constitutive authority.

Another feature of the colonial texts is that they manifest the centrality of the concept of 'profit' in European political thinking, and its relatedness with another powerful notion

for the history-making in the homeland and the colonies, namely that of ‘historic transition’. For instance, the historic representation of India unfolds a development from a society similar with that of medieval Europe to modernity, viz. regard to the (modern) law. In his “History of British India”, James Mill approaches, among other numerous aspects of a rich and heterogeneous culture and society, the concept of property, the laws and moral codes of Bharat, as class and genre bonding, their language as indelicate or even gross and their practices as inegalitarian. If the exactness of the account points towards a scientific quest whereby the occupied are subject of comparative study, the complexity of detail in the legal practice of the country, surely related to a cultural diversity too vast to be embraced in a taxonomic travail, is reduced by the colonial writer to a problem of excessive detail and ‘intranslability’ (Mill 1816: 303), due to unaesthetic language and the indelicacy of the Hindus in general.

Among recurrent representations of the colonial texts, ‘the making of history’ represents an integrative perspective, as it allows the ‘self’ to be united to the other in a common enterprise, whether civilising or destituting. In the context of power, the inter-relatedness of the two forces, that of the colonised and the coloniser, implies the growth on one side to take place with the corresponding decrease of the other. The self-conscious imperial goals and its their pre-emptive strategies at work in the construction of an ideal self, focal with the colonial writings illustrated above, respond to aspirations that can go beyond awakening aesthetic emotions. But even in the more chronicle-styled colonial texts, the aspiration to reason depicting the self and the instinctual violence representing the other resulted in attitudinal models about the self and the other. While the idealised image of the self lifted the spirits and channelled the emotions of the ingroup into political and social rearrangement at home, it lured the colonised into surrender to a form of government self-acknowledged as superior, with the promise of certain intra-ethnic freedoms.

Another remarkable feature of the colonial compliant literature is the rich cross-fertilisation of facts, philosophical debates and political perspectives present with the texts of colonial experience. Thus, through methodical display, historical, geographical, biological, psychological and moral issues are interwoven to create a complex canvas on which the Occident is carefully crafted in opposition to the Orient or the South. The uncontested perspective of an emerging ‘self’, a common body of accepted knowledge about the civil society and political responsibility, and a constant inter-relation and inter-reference among these contribute to the elaborate architecture of many colonial writings.

One could take the colonisation of the new Continent as an illustrative example of the recourse to colonial discourse even in the fight for independence. In his political discourse, General Alexandre Hamilton condemns the British attempt of colonial governance in America and legitimises the political power of the Congress in guaranteeing the settlers’ freedom and the right to property on the New Continent (Hamilton 1842: 43). By establishing this, and not other opposition, the American General chooses to highlight the process of ‘othering’ exerted by the British Crown on the American settlements at the same time as it occults the marginalisation suffered by the First Nations population in the process of constituting those settlements.

Another instance of alterity is provided by the documents of early U.S. colonisation policy. Well known for his legislative battle culminating in the emancipation of African slaves, Abraham Lincoln’s writings do not leave room for integrative suppositions. In the debate on slavery, he writes: ‘it does not follow that social and political equality between whites and blacks, *must* be incorporated, because slavery *must* not’ (Basler 1985: 328, italics in the original). The anti-abolitionists favoured that the famous statement of the Declaration of Independence according to which all men were created equal’ did not refer

‘at all to the negro, nor the savage Indians, nor the Fejee Islanders, nor any other barbarous race. They were speaking of white men. They alluded to men of European birth and European descent - to white men, and to none others’ (Basler 1985: 296). From a more conservative perspective as the previous, the topic of freeing slaves was sensitive in that it entailed giving them rights, which was considered either untimely or unacceptable. On a more liberal side, favouring each state to legislate for or against slave property, Lincoln promoted a segregationist policy, whereby the freed slaves, some returning combatants of foreign wars, were presented with the alternative of emigration to the Hawaiian island.

As part of an agreement initiated by Lincoln and signed between the State Department, the British Legation in Washington, D.C. and other colonial powers, British colonial officers were authorised and provided material and logistic support to recruit and transport slaves to the Caribbean and Central America, as a solution to the political consensus of banning emancipated slaves from citizenship (Magness and Page 2011: 7). Negotiated under strict diplomatic secrecy, and leaving little-noticed paper track, Lincoln’s post-slavery project consisted in the creation of an Emigration Agency with the role to organize and locate colonies, supervise the immigration, settlement, or colonization of colored people of African descent who agreed to emigrate.

Although stimulating from a narrative and anthropological perspective, a fault could be often found in the relation of the colonial text to the practical governance of the colony. Since they often passed across as factual descriptions, they had an impact on the minds and the attitudes of the colony rulers regarding the subaltern. Informed about the inferiority of the other, or fearful of their potential, the general attitude generated in the wider society of selves about marginal groups survived the attempts of mediation undertaken by political forces. In the specific case of slave emancipation, even after its enactment, the social participation of black people was still limited, migration being often perceived as an alternative to either maintaining slavery or ruling it out.

1.2.4. The post-colonial perspective

In the 20th century, and after a longstanding literary tradition of centrality on the ‘self’, ‘the othered’ were gradually conquering a space of visibility. The authority of public figures like Nobel-prize winner Rabindranath Tagore and a series of writers from the marginality represented by Edward Said made possible the taxonomic shift from avant-garde to ‘English literature’ of a parallel textual exercise, concerned with the discursive violence transported in the representations of the other (Loomba 2005: 30), which would be referred to as ‘post-colonial’.

The emergent literature was confronted with reiterated criticism regarding the degree of self-management which can be attained by a literature whose referent is that against which it rises or at least to which it follows. For some critics the paradox stemmed from the fact that, while challenging the colonial practices, post-colonial writers made use of terms like ‘the other’ or ‘negro’ to refer to themselves, which seemed incoherent, or, in other interpretations, denoting an ironic attachment to the colonial syllabus and a symbolic rallying to its (historic) heritage.

The contrary interpretation assumes the categories ‘we’ and the other as already historic divisions but rejects their content and the moral value assigned to them as well as

the figure of the definer in that it is strategically managing flawed concepts and categories in its own interest. With the 'we' and the 'us' as a reference point, the other is defined negatively, that is, by what is left. The nominalisation is then assumed by the writers and thinkers belonging to the marginality of the Empire, by the same rotary logic with which the label 'negro' was embraced to be made into a lemma of the African-American affirmative action in North America.

The emergence of the postcolonial literature, with its inheritance but also its own coding and wording did not only manifest as breaking away from literary canons. It also expressed a strong disavowal of the truth-value veining the colonial representations, and whose negative effects on real people's existence the post-colonial scholarship meant to expose. In an attempt to make sense of the contradictions created by colonialism, postcolonial literature revealed the political, economical, and social circumstances that flooded the literary vein of its writers, in order to look forward to a new literature, which Fanon (1961: 311-6) had envisioned as an advent of a universal brotherly community capable of decolonising the future.

If colonial literature was broadly exposed as self-absorbed and dichotomical in its general conception, then eclecticism, individuality and diversity are common aspirations for the post-colonial production. From Salman Rushdie to David Henry Wong, one of the main concerns of the post-colonialists is to reveal stories and perceptions of people caught between cultures with their own voices. However, the cultural hybridity recurrent in the post-colonial writing need to be understood beyond the synchronicity of a determinate historic event such as the colonisation, with the colonists' 'us' and the colonised 'them', but further on, even in the sense of divergent representations of the migrant experience, many indebted to the cultural debates engendered by the post-colonial diasporas.

The diversity featured in the post-colonial literary production sometimes makes it possible that one writer may dwell differently on the same issue. For instance, in his essay, "New Society", Salman Rushdie elaborates on the alterity of the post-war immigration in terms of a varied vocabulary of abuse, for instance 'frog', 'Paki', and semantic restrictions – 'immigrant' for 'black immigrant'. In turn, in his "Satanic Verses", the race-based alterity of the immigrant 'other' is de-focalised by the exact exploration of their cultural hybridity. In a telephone conversation across the Atlantic, the New Yorker Mimi voices her experience as a minority member of the metropolis:

I am conversant with postmodernist critiques of the West, e.g. that we have here a society capable only of pastiche: a flattened world. When I become the voice of the bubble bath, I am entering flatland knowingly, understanding what I am doing and why... Don't teach me about exploitation... Try being jewish, female and ugly sometime. You'll bag to be black. (Rushdie 1988: 261)

The Satanic Verses seem to suggest the difficulty to address identity and specifically difference in a global world apparently full of contrariety. Both chatters represent cultural 'borderline' figures: Mimi Mamoulian is a Jewish ad-woman with a traditionally Armenian surname, living in a white minority population city and Saladin Chamcha, an Indian-Pakistani living with his compatriots in a London ghetto to which his satanic conversion made him retrocede. The relation is not defined by hierarchy or by a transitional reality such as displacement, but rather one exploring the depths of personal experiences and feelings, as a contingency of 'others'.

As with the plurality of themes and foci in post-colonial writings, the state of the art postcolonial theory continues an academic path which is gradually moving away from the original mainstream. One say without fear of mistaking that the new direction parallels

historical transitions, such as the passing of the different stages of anti-colonial and independence struggle, posterior to which the focus of the post-colonial literature relocated to the geo-political strategy involved in world governance.

However, over the last decade this re-perspectivation caused some debate in the rows of mainstream post-colonial scholars. Said, for instance, argued that the seduction of a more theoretical approach underscores the need for deeper analysis of existential situations which are 'part of a broad adversarial or oppositional movement' (Said 2004: 138) such as the global power of imperialism, the corporate finance capital or the conflicts in the Middle East. He argued the new *raison d'être* of post-colonial studies as shifting to being eclectic, pluralist and self-proliferating, more tuned in with the tropes of transcontinental alliances and the emergent globalisation.

- *On representation*

If representing is a manifestly subjective act, the texts discussed above take a step further to illustrate a certain failure of power narratives to acknowledge its own subjectivity in exploring identity. Moreover, the representation of the other takes place not just along a sharp dichotomic line but in a monologue which frustrates the actual exchange of meaning, well aware of the fact that a more accurate representation is one pursuing as large a measure as possible of agreement stemming from the conversation with respect to that which is aimed to be represented.

The postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak (1988) has made an insightful contribution to theories of representation by insisting on the difference between this concept in a literary or semiotic sense as opposed to its representation in (social) politics. She has argued this distinction based on what she constructed as an universal capacity of people to be the agent of or to stand for the will of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 306-9) in a relationship between subject and agent that takes place without learning about the other. Talking about the 'mimetization with the subaltern' - which she broadly defines as people without access to the lines of social mobility - the scholar makes a distinction between learning and the production of knowledge systems about the indigenes, which transforms them into some type of intellectual property.

It may not be completely wrong to assume that Spivak's theory of representation allows the argument that the logicity of the knowledge system is contained within different kinds of cultural production which acknowledge alterity, as are, for instance, the representations of marginalised groups from developing countries. The heart of Spivak's argument is that the representations of the developing world conflate two related and discontinuous meanings of representation (*ibid.*, pp. 275-6): 'speaking for,' in the sense of political representation, and 'speaking about' or 're-presenting,' in the sense of making a portrait. While Spivak recognises that representations cannot escape 'othering,' she invites to undertake it in a scrupulous manner, especially in the case of unequal power relationships, when representing the West's Other (the developing world) and the developing world's Other (the subaltern). However, it seems sensible to observe that for a representing task to be illuminating, it needs being focalised not just from beyond the narrative perspective, but perhaps from above the social and political paradigm itself.

“The Confessions of a Thug” (1839) marks a slight shift from the traditional first person narratives about the other to first person narratives of the other about himself. Drawing on his personal experience as a British clerk involved in the prosecution and execution of Indian Thugs, P.M. Taylor has Ameer Ali deliver a cold first person narrative, roughly consisting in (speaking about) 719 ritualistic murders of travelers and merchants. With scarce overflows of human introspection, the confession of the repented Thug turned into a British informer unfolds a series of murders, some targeting females with which the leader of the group had been involved.

Although there is plenty of reference to local gods, Muslim customs and local geography, which gives the narrative an oriental flavour, there are other aspects suggesting a path to misrepresentation. First of all, the thug Ameer and his interlocutors reveal - in a well-educated English -, a number of crimes, whereby themselves are negatively represented, in contrast with the positive reference to the British occupiers. Secondly, and despite claims of first hand knowledge of the life and customs of his own people, Ameer’s portrayal of the characters does not lack inconsistency: the powerful Khan, a Muslim, confesses his interest in taking a job with the British after tasting some of their wine (Taylor 1839: 96); as a Muslim he restrains from dancing because ‘it would be scandal’ (ibid, p. 98), which disclaimer makes him sound medieval European.

The mimicry of the West is present in the language used by the characters, from idiomatic to vernacular: ‘by your soul, no!’ (ibid, p. 95), ‘they are jolly dogs’ (ibid, p. 96), ‘peace be to his memory’ (ibid, p. 100), ‘excellently well’ (ibid, p. 102), as well as politeness moves which appear authentically English: ‘I feared I should have missed your tent’, ‘I have kept you waiting’ (ibid, p. 94), ‘I would not take it whole’ (ibid, p. 95). The conversations of the villains and their leader’s with the victims are dense with references to or concern to sound British: ‘I will quaff the last drop both as a true Moslem and as a Ferighee. Ha, said I not well?’, ‘Thou saidst they drink standing; and what do they say?’, ‘Bismilla (...) hip! hip! hip!’ (ibid, p. 102). The cult to the hero, with his own internal logic of excellence, is present in Amir’s respect for the Thugs’ skills, rituals and even code of honour. But it is also reflected in the positive representation of the British: ‘they defended their charge nobly’ (ibid, p. 65), ‘you English are praised for your justice’ (ibid, p. 405).

Negative other presentation is delivered by the voice of an indigent miming selfness. The conversations of the repented transgressor reveal a company of men enchanted with the order of the empire, and dismissive about their most immediate reality : ‘So clashing are human interests and so depraved is the social state of our country’ (ibid, p. 40), ‘A curse on the water of this country, which spoils a man’s singing’ (ibid, p. 101), ‘How, Meer Sahib, we get but little in this poor country’ (ibid, p. 106), ‘you have curious customs in this country’ (ibid, p. 251), ‘This is an unblessed country’ (ibid, p. 159), ‘This is a wild country you live in’ (ibid, p. 239), ‘a more unsainted country I never saw’ (ibid, p. 262).

Finally, Ameer has a voice because he presents himself as an interlocutor with the empire, by methodically revealing the secret practices of his confraternity of murderers. In this respect, Amir can be assimilated to a collective voice, that of the native, in behalf of whom he can be taken to speak. Far than showing any sign of contrition for his past decadence, and rather respectful towards the skills and precision attained, he is pragmatically critical about the larger (political and social) environment but cynical with respect to the lives sacrificed. His action is transformative in that he empowers the empire, and brings upon the destruction of the (imperfect) colony, which alludes to an (indirect) evaluation scheme.

The transformation does not only take place in Ameer's interior, in the form of detachment from a criminal past, but in the geography of Hindustan as well: the whole territory falls gradually under the influence of the British East India Company and the 'Ungrez Foreghee' (English foreigners) (ibid, p. 65). Inspired from the life of a repented thug, the confessions open up the spectrum of positive-self/ negative-other representation to first person narratives, but also to a variety of insights whose complexities stem from multiple identities which challenge mononuclear models of group. The subaltern of the past, defined by incivility, assumes the role of speaker when he turns to colonial cognition and behaviour. In other words, Ameer's new consciousness leads him to a discursive space which allows him to speak for the other from a comfortable distance from subalternity, in the same way second or third-generation immigrants feel entitled to speak about, for, against, or on behalf of the newcomers.

- *A post-colonial reading of the other*

In textual representations, the other emerges with the postcolonial reading of life under colonialism, specifically, the life of the subjugated people in the context of military occupation, settlement, exploitation and political control. With the term 'postcolonialism' I refer to the political and theoretical struggles of societies that experienced the transition from political dependence on the British Empire to sovereignty, while the term 'colonialism' is here taken to describe the project of British political and economic domination which lasted from the sixteenth century to the twentieth and ended as far as Europe is concerned, with the national liberation movements of the 1960s.

In a postcolonial reading, the concept of other is involved in a narrative of disclosure, telling from the perspective of the occupied a story about themselves in terms of struggling lives, social exclusion and cultural disguise. Thus, the other concentrates on identity as a rallying place where post-colonial or post-slavery people strive to be recognised whatever conquest – economic, religious, military, political – which the larger part of the society they live in may have reached. More generally, the others are displaced, i.e. people who are forced to leave physical and social locations and people to come to new mental and physical places, although the more simplified aspect of geographical displacement has traditionally captured the attention of the centrality.

The intense discursive exercise, the colonial settlement, exploration, mapping, naming, defining and legislating by which the others were made sense of, were drawing on the cultural and scientific myths of those times engendered by empiricism, pragmatism and exceptionalism. In the post-colonial literature this has been referred to as the 'colonial gaze' (Boehmer 1995: 71) a description emphasizing the self-assumed license of peeping into the life of the periphery from the heights of the metropolis, with the aim of observing, classifying and unilaterally making sense of the other.

Always with reference to an expanding empire, the colonized people were represented as less human, less civilized, immature (child or savage) or as headless mass. A more congenial characterization was reserved for the European, which could be a diligent colonial officer, a provident profit-maker or an enthusiastic explorer in the wilderness. According to Boehmer (1995: 60-97), several key-themes are particularly indicative of the process of othering in the colonies, namely the imperial centrality, masculinity and contamination. The imperial centrality, which implied Europeans'

superiority over the colonized, was at the same time a powerful metaphor for those who remained back home, where urbanity needed to get prominence over the rural character.

Another traditional trope emerging in a past of martial confrontations is that of masculinity. Perhaps paradoxically, the belief system behind the cult to the hero is to be understood pragmatically, in its most social sense. Taken to represent practical and strategic authority, manhood was associated with the task of construing a more civilized society, as opposed to femininity, commonly associated with emotion, feebleness and even alienation. The representation of the self and the other at home served as a model for the ideological representation of the colonial self and the different other in a global perspective. The image of national victory over barbarian others was intimately related with the structural advantages offered by the empire (Boehmer 1995: 12), viz. the promise of wealth and status as a British (clerk) and as a man.

The representation of groups in terms of possessiveness, masculinity, combativity and force and the concept of a unique destiny are not difficult to encounter in the American narrative of national representation. Metaphoric descriptions about America and Americanness abound: land of the free, home of the brave, the promised land, beacon of hope, the most powerful nation on earth, land of opportunities, the (new) chosen people and the greatest nation on earth are but a few .

1.2.5. Socio-political implications of othering

Colonial texts have been found to enforce a highly idealised positive identity of the self-group involved in the making of the British Empire and, by contrast, a forceful negative representation of the natives in the conquered territories (vid. Maxwell 2000: 136). The background of this double tiered representation is to be found in the beginnings of colonial expansion of the British Empire (16th century), rooted in the general climate of rivalry for hegemonic power in an Europe marked by the incipient construction of national states. On a more economic dimension, industrialisation in Europe also determined a quest for other resources, of cheaper and more diversified material and labour, which has been incessant and growing from the 18th century on.

By comparison with an idealised concept of European society, people in the occupied territories were represented as irrational and primitive and therefore in need to be civilised. On the American Continent, that implied territorial re-arrangements which quarantined the native population in ever-changing pacts. Resistance in their own culture meant for the American Indians direct rejection of the new social and political order whose instauration altered them, while integration entailed acceptance of subordination. Either way, alterity emerged as the only possible outcome in the short time span.

Two aspects of the contrastive model self/ other merit a short elaboration, in strong relation with Spivak's theory of representation introduced above: the definitional and the social. First, 'speaking about' the other is the absence of the self-defining exercise. By means of it, the assignation of the defining attributes is altering inasmuch as rooted in the value system of those who do the assigning. More specifically, this group will perceive itself as central and positive and the others as part of their particular ecosystem. The assumption of entitlement underlying such taxonomic travail is nevertheless wired with a logical bias. When the oneness is rooted in the particular perspective of self-assumed

centrality, it subordinates all other perspectives. For example, if oneness means white European or citizen, it will 'speak for' Hispanics or non-citizens, forcing out other perspectives with which it is almost certain to conflict.

As a negative self-presentation is hardly possible, conclusions about the others are more likely to share an argumentative prejudice in that the false inferences they may produce would be thus inferred because they please those who infer them. High rate of Latino criminality in prison facilities is often an argument against immigration, but less so an intellectual stimulus to analyse legislative practices and the concept of immigration crimes in the United States. The false inference about the vile nature of the Latin Americans (and the urge to keep them out of the United States) can out-rate other lines of reasoning which could challenge positive self-representation, such as impoverished life conditions, precarious employment or ineffective law enforcement.

Competing representations of the self and the other are solved in terms of authority. Common discourse schemata have it that society-wise, the more powerful self-attributes the (more) positive (self) representation. Indeed, self-deslegitimation is hardly observable in the discourse of the authorities or politicians, and legitimisation (or positive representation in general) is open to failure if entrusted to others. Discourse-wise, the more powerful tends to represent both oneself and the other. The challenge that may come from attempts to self-representation of the others can be easily frustrated for reasons of limited access to media of communication and persuasion, with the risk of the others consistently being represented. The social implication is that even after sufficient knowledge has been generated in the society to recreate a better representation, the practical consequences thereof are either difficult to mend or irremovable.

In this sense, the link between knowledge, representation and society could submit a valuable source of illustration. H.H. Goddard's social activism of eugenics and his scientific belief in the innateness and inalterability of human intelligence made him an advocate of the Intelligence Quotient tests performed to school children and immigrants. Contrary to the educative practice initiated in 1904 by Binet, who had tested to supply an educational need, the American psychologist envisioned a test capable of measuring (innate) intelligence. His recommendations of social policy included sterilisation of the feebleminded, unwed mothers and children with disciplinary problems as well as immigration restrictions. Tight immigration laws were enacted in the 1920s and even when serious criticism was formulated, more than 7,500 men and women had been sterilised only in the State of Virginia between 1924 and 1972 (Gould 1996: 365).

Thus, the consideration over what causes the tension of the self with respect to the other cannot be seriously answered based on solely instinctual behaviour or high self-esteem. In fact, one important part of the welfare society in the more developed world stands firmly upon the principle of social contract between state and citizens: it is an issue of utility or participation. Participation is a socially constructed aspect of the identity of the other, typically occulted in the entanglements of discourse. Due in part to a confusion between agency and authority, but also to a problem of social visibility, it is generally assumed that participation only occurs at the macroscopic level of institutional representation. As a principle, a rough quantitative interpretation that allots all merits to the promoters of the process will at the same time give little or none to the social agents situated farther from the point of visibility. Thus, the other emerges mainly as a non-contributor to the common good of society, and selective membership in the larger group benefitting from it.

Secondly, there is the reciprocal feedback between ‘discourse’ as form of representation and ‘reality’ as the pervading representation of a more complex social otherness. Discourse sculpts to a significant extent the social clustering of the individuals which are represented by it, beyond the mere meaning of the words ‘us’ and the other and beyond the social contingency. Discourse can contribute in the individuals being (or ceasing to be) made sense of as subaltern ‘others’ by the society at large, but also by the institutions, who manage a determinate social and cultural capital. For example, the power of racist discourse lays partially in the perception of such discourse as unitary, therefore competent, likely to out-power a sum of individual perceptions of the other, and more so if there are institutional roles attached to them.

The social roles available to those existents perceived as ‘others’ on the one hand, and deeper anthropologic aspects related to them as cultural groups on the other, are easily filtered back in the pervading discourse in the form of argumentative schemes, in the sense of verifying the initial representation which best characterise those roles. From this point of view the discourse is both factual and creative and therefore an important part of the construction and spreading of more specialised knowledge. When the discourse breaks conventions, it can contribute to a local re-focalisation, but transgression still preserves the wider system of thought unchallenged. For instance, a ‘corruption scandal’ at the White House is an unexpected word combination for an American reality, given the pervading image of the U.S. as a democratic country. The originality of the cluster is thus precisely because it enforces the general idea of democratic institution, while further variations can be hardly expected to take place, namely clusters such as ‘corrupt president of the United States’ or ‘corrupt political system’.

The link between representation and unmediated existence may escape plain observation; however, a complex society owes part of its complexity to the strong ties between the structural factors guiding the decision of individuals’ access to specific role models and the relevance of discursive representation for those roles to be accordingly performed. Success stories, and more generally the narratives of exceptionality, which could be perceived as a national genre in the United States, are an interesting illustration of the above. It is due to their exceptional character that they get access to the public: past immigrants’ acquisition of status, through hard work and business initiatives are now part of a national epic and present immigrants’ determination to fight the heavy burdens of federal bureaucracy as they try to follow the law fill the pages of present-day American press. In this breaching representation, the immigrants are winners of a battle of breaking free from structural conditions offered by society and against the mainstream public image of the immigrants as low-skilled and welfare clientele.

One may suggest that it is against the background of relatively predetermined options that people in general and immigrants in particular socialize. The social networks they may access start with the most physical (birth, family) and end with the most abstract (party, nation). The domains of interaction which they access enable them to perform a series of roles ranging from the less skilled to the highest level of professionalisation, and potentially satisfy a range of needs, from the physiological (food, housing) to those related to social belonging, (self-) esteem and (self-) actualisation. Especially for the immigrants in the process of assimilation, socialisation is related to a series of familiar and occupational roles, whose opportunities of positive change may lay in growth-tested educational and labour assistance or occasional beneficence.

To all intents and purposes it can be said that imprecise discursive representation produces additional constraints to social networking, and together make an excellent breeding ground for adverse and sometimes long-lasting developments in the life of the

‘othered’. The ideological agenda behind some transitory scientific theses about races have led to racial conflicts of the 19th century. In the United States, for example, exclusion did not end with the public denial of the scientific misrepresentation of the black people as racially inferior. As of 1963 it still took a federal order and a National Guard escort for the then governor of Alabama to admit two African American students to that state university.

2.3. THE MIGRANT OTHER

In the United Kingdom and the United States current ways of structuring communal life practically as well as theoretically are generally assumed to have been built over the last five centuries with the bricks of the Anglo-Saxon individualism and Judeo-Protestant entrepreneurship. Their continuous expansion into the most powerful nations of the modern world has caused the incorporation of new territories and on occasions the displacement of huge populations and with it the creation of a complex institutional apparatus of administration. In this context, I argue that the concept of ‘otherness’ did not arise as a natural outcome of people’s physical displacement to a new territory, as we are typically tempted to think, essentially because the colonial logic imposed an imagery of a civilising conquest, whose accents fell on the superiority of the newly-come. It was only posterior to the implementation of the administration apparatus in the colonies that the rationale of ‘natural belonging’ in that territory emerged.

Had the travelling metaphor, so pervading in colonial narratives of different periods, been presented together with an interpretation key attached to the in-coming movement, the colonisers would have emerged as the element of alterity themselves. Looking at facts about Hispanic migration to the U.S. over the last decades, I feel encouraged to formulate that the process of ‘othering’ is rooted in the failure to allow institutional acknowledgement to those who have been dispossessed or otherwise displaced, whether in a foreign territory or their own native lands. I argue that immigrant alterity experienced in the targeted countries can be expressed as a relation between dispossession experienced in the home countries and a (variable) series of requirements faced at the entry of the new country.

I shall exemplify the argument using a less studied perspective on immigration to the United States, that of the Eastern Europeans, with similar trends as the Latin Americans. Since the 1990s, several countries of this hemisphere have qualified among the top ten immigrant-sending countries (Robila 2009: 36). Some were immigrants and asylum seekers from Bosnia and Hertzegovina, displaced by the war in the Balkans. But more generally, the socio-economic developments following the disintegration of the common market of the Soviet satellite states (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance-COMECON) destroyed large numbers of jobs, an already precarious economic stability and prospects of a better economical future. An original push factor seldom brought in the discussion was constituted by the freedom of expression and of circulation brought by the political and ideological changes. In Romania, for instance, the right to hold a passport conceded after 1989 and the professional potential offered by the capitalist market generated a significant trend in high-educated migration, occasionally resuscitated by political discourse (President Bănescu, TVR1, 4/08/2010, special edition). In this specific case, the alterity experienced by high-skilled and legal labour migrants is deeply rooted in

the sending countries, in the lack of coherent policies to create economic growth and social restructuring, and a certain social stigma of the emigrants as opportunist runaways applied to returned emigrants.

The degree of alterity experienced by different generations of ‘othered’ and the multitude of personal stories, with their respective evaluations, plead for a more heterogeneous understanding of the process of ‘othering’, as a reality no less dynamic than the social and political context they are observed in. Different aspects of their identity are more or less manifested by different generations of immigrants and under specific societal conditions. For instance, in the out-coming phase, there are a series of limitations which lead to the decision to emigrate. In the in-coming phase, alterity tends to be total, while second and third-generation incomers are more likely to rally to the euphoria of national belonging, as a manifestation of a lesser degree of ‘othering’.

Although newcomers and second or third generation of migrants cohabit in the same socio-political environment, they fit into different narratives of otherness, by means of different strategies. While the newly arrived struggle to pamper themselves of as much predominant culture as possible, previous immigrants allow themselves to celebrate their elements of diversity. The ebbs and tides of the constant movement of population leave natural room for some to become part of the mainstream with the passing of the decades, making room for new others which migrate with the facilities but also the constraints of the societies they aspire to inhabit.

The slowness of assimilation illustrated by modern institutions together with the anachronism of the discourse about the other reveal a disjunction between the global direction towards which economic and political change is heading – as they imply mobility and multiculturalism – and the beliefs and attitudes about otherness. The way in which the other as a social reality relates to the discourse about it, prompts up a third category, that of politics and policy, which in the case of immigration could use a similar measure of liberalisation as the phenomena that caused it.

2.3.1. Determinants of othering

In the context of immigration to the United States of America, the conditions for othering are to be found in its colonial ontogenesis and the posterior processes of independence, union, expansion and institutionalisation knowledgeable from the texts that accompanied them. The canons for the illustration of the immigrant other on the New Continent can be related to the initial momentous clash between European and the Native Americans. The colonial start allowed the displacement of people, industries and governance to a new domain characterised by the lack of decisive constraint from the opposite band. The factual aspects of territorial occupation and the subsequent relocation designed to people the new territories materialised in a corpus of related colonial texts, some of which have been commented in this chapter. They have constituted a referential body of knowledge about us and them, with the help of which the need was argued for civilising interventions into foreign territories. With them, dominance came in the form of descriptive and prescriptive representation, and the related social costs, as already argued in section 2.5.

The concept of ‘savagery’ routinely attributed to people in the colonies by the European colonisers is indebted to the Aristotelian distinction between Greeks as ‘rational’, ‘real men’ and the ‘irrational’, ‘near beasts’ which were ‘ruled by their passions’. Aristotle’s thesis about the sublime law of nature, according to which instinctual but robust slaves were fit for menial works, while the rational, more delicate free man was suitable for political life, or else for the tasks of war and peace (Politics, I.5) was used by the European strategists as a code of behaviour with the historic populations living on the American continent. Perhaps not casually, the first form of organised displacement to the new continent was contractual indentured servitude Africans (starting from 16th century), but also Europeans or European Americans (from 17th century), before the gradual evolution of this system into racial slavery.

As far back as 1705, alterity of newcomers was expressed in terms of a legally binding set of rules regarding resource management.

All servants imported and brought into the Country (. . .) who were not Christians in their native Country (. . .) shall be accounted and be slaves. All Negro, mulatto and Indian slaves within this dominion (. . .) shall be held to be real estate. If any slave resists his master (. . .) correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction (. . .) the master shall be free of all punishment (. . .) as if such accident never happened (The 1705 Virginia General Assembly Declaration).

The key concepts around which the legal text is organised offer an insight into contemporary alterity. These concepts are displacement (‘imported and brought’), race (‘Negro, mulatto and Indian’), labour as merchandise (‘real estate’), human beings as ascribed within a territory (‘dominion’) and finally, the authorisation of (absence of) guilt (‘free of all punishment’). Each of these aspects will be briefly analysed in the following sub-sections in an attempt to zoom in on past conditioners of present-day alterity of immigrants.

- *Displacement*

Although the representation of immigrants over the last century has zoomed in on the picture of their arriving to a new place (ours) as a natural cause for (their) alterity, the argument is nonetheless conveniently modern. Before the topic of threatening in-territory flow of alien population gained popularity in the Anglo-Saxon representation of ‘the other’, the central argument for ‘othering’ had been a representation of superiority (‘civilised, therefore authorised’) consistent with the multi-layered ‘cartography’ of the world, where people, places and regions were ranked in terms of selfness: central (geographically and strategically), higher (in power), superior (as civilisations), independent, state, national and democratic governance.

The bi-polar evaluation of displacement is in itself othering: the European colonisers’ was the expression of the aspiration to freedom, material and spiritual deliverance while that of the present-day displaced appears like an act of insubordination and a menace to the domestic and international entropy. That the act of displacement is not in itself a factor of alterity is manifest in a number of immigration schemes that are encouraged and authorised by the U.S. government. But it can be a serious one when displacement is enforced, as has been the case with the social othering of local populations such as the Indian Americans or the indigenous populations of the conquered and annexed territories. The negative perception on displacement occurs when it is caused by outsiders

and enacted on the self, in which case it is commonly construed as violating domestic or international laws and posing economic or security threats.

Beside the incongruities related to the colonial past and the global present, this framing underscores the ideological discourse behind territorial conflicts and invalidates civilising or scientific pretences for subordination. It is the colonial model of economic and political growth, rather than displacement, what set the ground for a trend of legal, in the sense of institutional, authorised alterity in the administrated territories. In the case of incoming others, it is the absence of a contractual arrangement with its expectative of profit which calls for the juridical distinction legal/ illegal and, by the same token, it is economic regulations and agreements, and the economic incentives, which makes out-going (business) migration legal and therefore positive.

The wealth accumulated by the former colonies, followed by the twentieth century increase in capital movement, did not occur without a complementary decrease and economic castigation materialised into unprecedented levels of inequality. Whether analysing growth effect or poverty effect on people, three perspectives seem to throw light on the implications of being the other in the era of global restructuring, namely territoriality and mobility on one hand and institutionality on the other.

Migration in the 20th century has increasingly underscored the economic rationale. The out migration of U.S. citizen has related to investment, security and business relocation, while in-migration efforts were oriented towards talent and skilled migration to strike the desired balance in the national economy. The costs and benefits are also recurrent topics in immigration debates, more often than not the costs supported by the host economies and the benefits from returns on the end of sending countries. Additional periods of economic slowdown accentuate this perspective with even more chances of setting the tone for restrictive policies.

Analysing migration from an economic perspective implies entering in a debate over data, sources, perspectives and methodologies at the level of which the practical findings are to be situated. The paradox of the immigration debate lays in the difficulty to bridge the gap between the labour-economical and human-social perspectives on immigration. On one hand, the economic approach fixes a series of requirements over the number of immigrants authorised, the roles they are bound to perform, for how long they should stay and what they are legitimate to do upon termination of contract, which is leave the US territory. On the other hand, a number of humanitarian concerns stem from the state- and labour-related reduction of the human beings involved in immigration, such as the presence of a family, the use of social services, personal aspirations, etc, but also concerns related to their temporary status, visibility as ethnic and cultural others, and possible social stigmas. One of the aims of the present work is to see how G.W. Bush deals with this equation in his political discourses.

- ***Territoriality and mobility***

The immigrants have often been perceived as others to the national culture and national identity of the majority, and the fact that significant immigration to the British Isles came from the colonies did not entail a change of optics, as they had been othered by the Empire in the middle of their own nation and cultural identity. Therefore, one can suspect a need for 'othering' immigrants in observations that associate territoriality with

the pragmatics of territorial struggle, such as the economic growth and the formalization of governance upon the national criterion.

For a hardcore post-colonialist as Edward Said, the ethnocentric assumptions underlying mainstream European thinking and political practice spotted the historical and contemporary political policies and practices with a separatist, chauvinistic and authoritarian concept of nationalism (Said 1985: 14). However, as he himself has stressed, the repudiation of the generous human reality of community among cultures, peoples and society was a choice made by the political architects of colonialism in favour of the nationalist pathos and at the expenses of the more intellectual trend within the general nationalist consensus (Said 1994: 262).

Another common assumption reflected in modern political discourse and social science is the concept of territorialism defined as a consequence of the evolution from empire to nation. However, this perception is challenged by voices which emphasize that, despite the differences and conflicts between them, imperial and national forms of territoriality have been coexisting and overlapping. In Europe, the United Kingdom, and America, The United States, have enriched national territories by practices of union or conquest of (foreign) territories which become part of their (multi)national territories. Even if independence from the colonies allowed nations a space of identity and progress, it is interesting to note that the legal frame of national independence was a political declaration with effect within their own territorial limits, while the internal (structural) and external variables of power enacted by the (former) empire, persisted de facto, even in the new epoch of national states. For instance, long after the independence from the British took place, the commerce of slaves not only continued, but it was given a specific time of tolerance in return to a Government levied tax and a political pact to eventually end the slave trade:

The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person. (The American Constitution, Art.1, Section 9, Clause 1)

The legal text is illuminating for a number of reasons. It can be taken to represent an early model of discrimination in the extreme example of slavery. But it also establishes an explicit link between the slavery and immigration, as slavery is conceived in terms of immigration and importation. The absence of the words 'slave' or 'slavery' and the reference to it in terms of the hypernym 'persons', and that in the company of an estranging pre-determination ('such') point towards a lexical choice of alterity, viz., by means of which a dehumanising state-of-facts was refused to be acknowledged. The delays in the prohibition of slavery lead to a radicalization of slave trade and the gradual subordination, to extents that had no recognizable precedent in the British Isles or the Spanish Peninsula, but in which they contributed as slave suppliers.

The notion of displacement to a new territory, importation, prohibition and tax situates the othered at the crossroads between entrepreneurship and labour migration. There is raw material (slaves, servants (to-be)), a supplier (British or Dutch slave dealers), a buyer (the owner or an intermediary), a contractual agreement (life ownership), labour roles and responsibilities, and a set of sanctions at play in every kind of indentured servitude. Saving irreconcilable differences, the relation with early immigration to United States is self-evident. Young, unskilled Europeans were contracted in contingents to work for an American employer for a fixed period of time, with no reward besides

transportation, food, clothing, lodging and other necessities (Moraley, Klepp and Smith 2005: 21-3).

Apart from the displacement caused by the demand of immigrant labour, the ‘othering’ of the immigrants based on territoriality has additional inconsistencies, stemming from the conceptual argument between national territory and globalization. Treating national territory as the only relevant frame for world mapping, many scholars conceived globalization as a capitalist practice which delegitimizes territoriality (Gavin 2001: 16-19) by creating cross-border flows and networks that form new domains of entitlement. From this perspective, the theory that a radically new kind of non-territorial capitalist empire is supplanting the territorial authority of national states (Hardt and Negri 2000: 347) is an important contribution insofar as the term ‘empire’ is used to express a spatial relation of power which goes beyond the national unit and actually is a piece in the complex puzzle of global mobility. However, by implicitly de-authorising the marriage between a traditional concept of territoriality and a neoliberal concept of economy, they chose to downplay the regulatory role of the modern state - varying in model and intensity from one Western state to another – in capital development and mobility, with the implicit boundary loosening - in the rise and strengthening of economic empires, which provided in the 19th century the economic instruments of the modern state.

A close parallel can be drawn in the periodisation of the rise of the nation-state and the rising of significant economic power back in the 19th and contemporarily. It is to the extent to which (national) governments detached from a very territorial mindset that they opened to the international market and could grow economically stronger and institutionally more solid, although the complementary also holds. Habermas goes as far as to say that the modern (national) state, which he associates with bureaucracy and capitalism, has turned out to be the most effective vehicle for accelerating social modernization (Habermas 1996: 126). However, common belief and political discourse do not always seem to acknowledge the reciprocally-beneficial relation between globality (as the idea of competing with everybody, from everywhere and for everything) and economic growth. If the success of the territorial state is understood from an isolated national perspective, it is not implausible to grow nationalist gurus ready to warn against immigrant menace to both the nation and its welfare. Especially in times of recess, economic arguments are even more effective in the talk against immigration, outscoring the racial, ethnic and cultural arguments which prospered in the twentieth century.

Finally, the global world today, with its patterns of empowerment are inconceivable without the coexistence of the two forms of territoriality. The vast articulation of globalisation with more subtle forms of power and authority is involved in the liberalisation of (national or otherwise territorial) markets, in structuring capital possession and in managing status. From this perspective, it is no exaggeration to say that globalisation, with its concentration of capital and financial mechanisms, does exert a coercive potential over the dependent others in the form of subordinate response.

- *Community and society*

The common perception about immigration stemmed from a strong sense of community. As immigrants’ presence responded to the colonial need to people an immense territory, alterity was rather related to ethnicity or religious belonging, and only later with social constructs such as race, poverty and illegality. The world defining system of national

state territorialism against which the immigrant issue is legally considered is actually no older than 1940s, but strong enough to create a normative commitment to it in the heart of social science and political practice. The 1960s and 1970s state bureaucratic development into the welfare state contributed to the creation (or strengthening) of new domains of differentiation along functional areas, which lead to a series of peripheralisations in the social tissue.

At this time America lived a period of violent confrontations and change: the civil rights movements, the abolishment of racial segregation, the feminist movement, an opening towards ethnic diversity in the implementation of racial quotas. In immigration, the decade of the 60s and 70s recorded increased and more diversified immigration as well as the end of the importation of temporary contract labourers from Mexico. According to some specialists in international migration, the end of the program coincided with the Mexican Miracle, a time of intensive urbanisation and industrialisation. But also a time of increased emigration, as the leading party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), allowed every other petitioner an immigration visa, in part as a development strategy but also as an escape from intense pro-democracy demonstrations (Gauss 2007: 19-22). The continuous economic disarray pushed the Mexican workforce into the arms of NAFTA in the 80s and 90s and settled the patterns for legal immigration of the Latino Americans (Garcia y Griego 1996: 45-62) in posterior decades, in strong correlation with economic and political developments.

On the side of social alterity, that structured in the home countries pre-determine to a great extent immigrant alterity in the host countries. Very much alike the Romanian president's comments discussed above, the Mexican President Vicente Fox, who served during the same decade with the former U.S. President G.W. Bush, insured that Mexico's competitive advantage would remain its cheap labour. Responding to the discomfort of the African American community in the U.S., mass media defocalised Fox's discursive othering of his own compatriots or what their actual situation would be, in favour of analysing whether or not saying that the Mexican workers were 'doing jobs that not even blacks want to do there in the United States' (15/05/2005, CNN.com) was discriminatory against African-Americans.

To a certain extent, the concept of temporary work and the subsequent programs can be understood in relation to the social reality of compartmentalisation in spheres specific to Western practical thought and rooted in the experience of industrial production. The discipline of specialization requires a particular set of established values and norms, specialisation of tasks and professionalisation of occupation or procedures for decisions, etc of which are generally isolated from criticism by the society, and which determine the way people understand themselves and the others in society. Because immigration legislation takes into account this structural reality when it balances cost and profits, short-term guest work programs appear more idiosyncratic while massive illegal immigration may pose a cultural dilemma.

The British philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre formulates a moral dilemma in relation to the previous. According to him, the moral agents in a society need to understand themselves (and the others) not just as individuals – in respect of their inborn virtues and the goodness of their lives – but as individuals that filter through discernment the performance of determinate social roles (MacIntyre 2006: 190). He is concerned, and often educational curricula are also, about the chances to suppress critical thinking from this model of society by the over enforcement of the professional persona. In the public management that institutions make of the problematic of unauthorised immigration, the point of 'no awareness' (MacIntyre 2006: 202) can be reached when the content is

processed from the perspective of a law specialist, for instance, with her respective concepts, terminologies, scale of values, and perceptions about possible intervention, all based in her professional role, expertise, experience, intuition, grasp, etc, but not one's own.

From a cognitive point of view, it would be accurate to infer that ultimately the knowledge of the others goes through uncompromised knowledge of the self and cannot detain in the acknowledgement of a professional category. The way in which society posits itself on immigration (observable in the construction of American identity, in public debates and political talk), albeit dual on occasions, are not 'unaware' of the implications these have on the immigrants. Rather than oriented towards consensus on immigration policy, the recurrence of the debate assured a certain continuity in the negative representation of the immigrants. And while the institutional take on the matter and the public report is to a high degree embraced in the private domains of life, there is also freedom for individuals and groups to reserve their own experience, to denounce stereotypes and to be active on the side of community work, with certain difficulties stemming from taking alternatives to the established roles.

Macintyre's interest in the capacity for change of a particular society in the context of the elaborated social structures is not singular. Foucault for example expressed the need for a change of perspective in the social participation, namely by disconnecting 'the growth of autonomy' from the intensification of power relation (Foucault 1984: 49) which he attributed to the technologies of economic production, social regulation and communication. According to the public image of the social order pursued, individuals are entitled to social choice with a number of criteria (Arrow and Raynaud 1986: 63), but at the same time they experience the inertia of institutions as self-enforcing systems (Pierson 2000: 251) as well as the obstacles to change posed by organisational norms (North 1990: 83) designed to make existing patterns self-perpetuating.

This apparent dilemma stems from the descriptive misrepresentation of the nature of social concerns to strictly economic ones, which is at the same time a misrepresentation of practical reason. Many of the problems of the contemporary others - from famine to environmental problems - rely on value formation through public dialogue (Sen 1995: 18). It seems to be the task of politics to create the opening for dialogue and to mediate between the two tendencies so that citizens who assume an identity other than the identities of role and office, feel free to see themselves and the others as persons who bring to the community qualities of mind and character inherent to them as individuals, and not mere pursuers of corporative tasks. To what extent this aspect is reflected in the political discourses of G.W. Bush on immigration is to be confronted in the discussion chapter.

- ***Roles, institutions and citizenship***

From a critical perspective on othering which links the public domain with the social ground, the immigrants can be related to a series of identities and social performances unassumed by the nationals. One of the main incentives of legal immigration consists precisely in its double attractive: for the migrants coming from less developed countries it is the chance to grow to their full potential and live better than in their countries of origin, while the local contractors minimise labour costs and increase productivity. In temporary work programs the basic assumption is that the compartmentalisation of society in general and labour market in particular allows employers to assign determinate roles and spheres

of access to the immigrants as well as make realistic provisions in the near future for the time the contract is in effect. One aspect of immigrant alterity stems precisely from the possibility, legally constituted, of binding them to occupational roles which are marginal in one way or another, and which are to be filled by U.S. citizens, but also discarding them at will after the contract finishes. Construed from an institutional perspective, such alterity is maintained by approaching immigrants as a positive economic value to be institutionalised, but a non-value from a political perspective, as they do not vote and are under-represented in institutions.

One such peripheralisation gains visibility if approached from the perspective of border control over for the mobility of goods or people. In this case, the enforcement of state control is achieved through the relationship between the individual and the statutory aspect of community, which divides people into citizens and non-citizens. Most of the research on citizenship has taken place in the context of national state and society. From this perspective, citizens can be defined in the sense described by T.H. Marshall, namely as a status attributed to those people who are full members of a community, equal among themselves and having the rights and responsibilities which are inherent to their status (Marshall 2009: 84). It is worth noting that for this fundamental concept of the modern state, there is no universal principle telling which those rights and obligations. Describing the historic evolution of rights in England, Marshall distinguished three types: civil, political and social. With respect to the class, the availability of those rights extended from white property-owning Protestant men to other categories, such as women, the working class, Jews and Catholics, blacks, etc (Marshall 1950: 78-83). Social citizenship in particular related with civilisation (welfare and security) as it allowed people 'to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society' (ibidem, p.72).

The former system viewed citizenship as a natural and generally integrative development, and coexisted with a period in which integration in the form of citizenship represented the success of an economical and political system that embraced and harboured diversity and internationality. In recent years, Marshall's account is argued to no longer stand as the (developing) countries undergo a fast process of actualization in all three aspects, causing the effectiveness of some rights to extend to all others (Møller and Skaaning 2010: 481). The latter account is not to be taken in oversimplification, since the opposite holds no less logical validity: the ineffectiveness in some people's rights can also generate ineffectiveness with respect of other people and other rights.

For instance, a series of limitations experienced by the immigrants to U.S. can be interpreted as inherent to the distance that separated them from citizenship. As it was briefly exposed in the introductory chapter, they are hindered or denied the access to a series of civil, political and social rights such as the right to non-discrimination, to procedural fairness, vote, education or health care. As these limitations are construed by means of legal texts and institutional discourse, one may reasonably reflect on the direction undertaken by that part of contemporary political philosophy which impedes to make effective the expansion of the three rights to all the population (Kymlicka 2002 : 287).

From a socio-political view on citizenship, citizens are taken to belong to a political entity formally constituted, the state, and a socio-historical context defined by the interaction between social forces and juridical institutions; by contrast, the non-citizens are people who live and interact within a community, mainly defined by more or less informal social relations (church, community centers, parents' associations) and participate in a selective manner to the rights and obligations of the formal citizens (voting rights, voting representation, etc.).

One major implication of the status of non-citizen rounds about what Anne Philips called ‘the politics of presence’ (Philips 1995: 12) in the welfare state. As the Western political culture seems to be determined by the flexibility of demand, that leaves apart the aspirations of other, less powerful groups in the community, whose dissatisfaction is no potential threat to the legitimation of power. From Philips’ perspective, there is a strong demand for a proportional representation among social groups which see how political action is affecting them, which is to say that the lack of representation is a severe impediment for (political) equality, as it favours decision-making which please of the (more) dominant groups. Always against the background of dissatisfaction with the welfare state, at the opposite end stand those who see the potential for political crisis in a society in which, they consider, citizens’ rights are clearly formulated but not so their responsibilities. In this respect, Tony Blair pointed out the disconnection of society’s demands of civil rights from the responsibilities implied by citizenship and the mutual cooperation between individuals and institutions (Blair 1998: 61).

Both tendencies acknowledge the risk of a lack of democratisation in the practice of decision-making at the level of community, whose ‘politics of presence’ has deprived society of an important potential of response. In this respect, immigrants may be seen as an extreme example which illustrates the case of social and political otherness, whenever they cannot aspire to rights commonly associated to citizenship. The practice of social grading in terms of citizenship, and the rights derived from it entails a political problem for the immigrants, in that it marks the ground for social conflicts which cannot be fully assumed nor fully discarded. In absence of a finely-tuned account of the relation between citizenship and rights, two broad tendencies can be observed: the positive reinforcement of citizenship in favour of the nationals and the right restrictions for the immigrants, in the sense of permitting or obliging not to act in a specific way.

However, this theoretical underpinning of citizenship, from whose perspective the immigrants are socially and politically othered through a negative legal formulation, is increasingly challenged by voices demanding the dilatation of political space to adjust to the new territorial concepts implied by globalization. The transformations taking place contemporarily raise questions about the confinement of citizenship within the boundaries of national state. The shift in perspective is attributed (Sassen 2003: 41) to at least two, partly interrelated, factors: the challenge to re-define itself posed to the national state by the various forms of globalization, and secondly, the increased visibility of groups and communities which celebrate different forms of otherness in front of the formalism imposed by the national state.

- *Economic growth and inequality*

It has been argued in the section 3.1.2 that the debate on territoriality supplies one element of representation of the immigrant other, namely mobility, whether it be framed by empire, in which context otherness was associated with nativity and permanence, or nation, against which it is the displaced and the non-native who was construed as the other. In order to make sense of this inconsistency in framing ‘otherness’ in the colonial as opposed to the global mindset, a close look on the transformations in the concept was felt necessary.

The hundred year process of national territorialisation initiated by the national revolutions of 1848 in Europe and broadly ending with the independence movement from colonial jurisdiction in the late 1940s, took place in reigning conditions of inequality. In

his *Recollections* of the period, de Tocqueville noted that society was cut in two - 'those who had nothing united in common envy and those who had anything united in common terror' (Tocqueville 1987: 98). Whether the elimination of inequality as a system was even a realistic hope under the revolutionary circumstances is an argument of deeper debate depending on the terms of analysis and the implications under scrutiny. However, Tocqueville highlights the two inseparable sides of economic growth, wealth and poverty coexisting in society, the respective group identities and the conflicts deriving thereof.

Long-term trends in international wealth inequality suggest a century-long imperial cycle connects the present to the late nineteenth century polarization discussed above. Lant Pritchett has shown, for instance, in a study initially commissioned by the World Bank, that between 1870 and 1985, the differences in per capita income between rich and poor countries increased over six-fold, but also that income levels dispersed over an increasingly wide range, with rich and poor countries clustering more and more on opposite ends of the graphic (Pritchett 1995: 3). In that global context, development efforts in poor post-colonial countries after 1950 were a modest struggle against the tide of modern history, because new wealth produced by economic development around the world has tended since the late nineteenth century to augment disproportionately the wealth of already richer countries.

Over the last decade world inequality has confirmed the tendency illustrated above. Looking at the intricacies of global development, the 2005 UN Report on the World Social Situation validates the construct of economic and social inequality and further points out that the situation of inequality is maintained due to a persistent tendency of economic superpowers to channel wealth up the ranks and concentrate it at the uppermost levels. For the UN analysts, even when part of the benefits are reused to spend and invest, that reduces increasingly in time the proportion of wealth available to people in already lower economic. Based on correlations of statistical facts, the study argues that the circularity in capital flow does not only affect the distribution of wealth at entrepreneurial levels, but also at the level of state and society. In the case of the immigrant, their 'othering' entails difficulty to move out of the poverty circle they tried to break precisely by emigrating to more developed countries.

The global space-economy which exemplifies globalisation is the relevant background against which intricate relationships emerge not only between capital and space or territoriality, as debated earlier, but also between capital and the state as institution. The key argument for the existence of capitalist state is that it provides the conditions of existence for capital (translated in capital accumulation), which in turn legitimizes its own existence (Jessop 1990: 39). However, when capital expands beyond its territorial limits and engages in inter-nationalization, it presents a contradiction for the individual state, whose ability to continue to provide its conditions of existence becomes constrained and an effort of adjustment is required, given the social implications of internationalisation in its territory.

One implication of the fact that the internationalization of capital demands from the state to internationalize itself in order to enable the (re)production of capital, is that national space remains integral to the (re)production of capital and capital accumulation globally. It seems relevant to note the contradiction between the romanticized end-state view of globalization reflected by the perception of a 'consumption' of (national) space by capital, manifested in the spheres of circulation (transport and communication) and production (to which human resources are paramount) and, for example, the importance of home-country governments in the internationalization of national firms or the regulatory role of states in halting immigration but not emigration.

With the ideal of economic growth, globalisation emerged as a facilitator of capital flows and required states to delegate part of their authority in order to satisfy the demands of the social contract. In turn, negotiating with transnational economic powers implied at least partially adopting a developmental model, with its benefits and drawbacks, to be divided by the whole society. Within the general context of growth in inequality argued here (p. 34), the polarisation in groups of national selves and immigrant others can induce attitudes of exclusion towards the latter.

Whether in the sense of inducing or advertising emigration (pp. 11, 23 and 29) or regulation of undesired immigration, alterity can be defined as a sum of contrasts between the opportunities of central groups and the rest, from those perspectives exposed above, namely the prospect of displacement, full civic, political and social integration, the equal opportunity to access economic, social and political roles, etc.

The present chapter deepens into the concept of alterity, which emerged as a colonial representation of the dispossessed and critically exposed by the post-colonial writers, both of which are put into perspective and their respective criticism briefly discussed. It also dwells upon some implications of the defining task, as well as the perspectives and the practical aspects eventuated from common representation. In order to draw near immigrant alterity, a precedent is argued the colonial other, in the exploration of historical, cultural and argumentative patterns surrounding the texts of the colonisation, as well as the cognitive and social implications of textual 'othering'.

The second part discusses the commonalities of the colonial framework and present-day immigration, and claims continuity in the use of themes and motives about 'others'. The discursive continuity, it is further argued, draws a certain parallelism with the developmental model adopted in the countries of immigration, detectable in a series of social and political transformations such as the compartmentalisation of social life, which structure the prevailing discourse on and the way in which people relate to immigration.

Finally, this chapter focuses on a series of aspects of the globalised world which can constitute a common place for alterity, such as territoriality (in and out migration), community and institutions (non resident, (non) citizen), and economic power (development and inequality). Based on data shared by the World Bank economist Lant Pritchett, alterity is approached as the other side of development, a structural niche filled by groups of others, and immigrant others too.

CHAPTER TWO. THE AMERICAN BACKGROUND

Immigration has been a dominant factor in population growth and nation building in the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, in several South American countries, in Asia, Oceania and the Middle East. When the great empires began formal colonization, local peoples were pushed back or subjugated and ex-soldiers given land in conquered territories to control indigenous communities. Push and pull factors encouraged migration within empires. Other mobility trends were imposed by force: slave migration, involved in several early modern empires, had been present in the USA until the end of the 19th century.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, the national efforts of selection swapped from attracting immigration to opposing it. The United States, which define themselves as a nation of immigrants, although never entirely open towards immigration, is having a hard time solving at a discursive level a dilemma between its ontogenesis and survival instinct. Whether the argument goes in favour of welcoming or of reducing immigration, immigration panellists seem to agree on America's ambivalence about it.

2.1. IMMIGRATION AND REGULATION IN U.S.A.

With the Europeans' arrival in the New World, different types of alterity imposed a new population to the indigenous peoples inhabiting North America. According to Briggs (1992: 38), three types of deracination took place involving the almost one million 'Indians', the Mexican and the Africans captured in order to be made slaves. It is estimated that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the total number of displaced people involved in the slave commerce amounted to 7.7 million (Zolberg 1978: 245), the greatest part of which was supervised by either the colonial authority who sent the convicts, or the transport companies and their sponsors which realised the passage and the delivery. Immigration, as we conceptualise it in the contemporary society, was only a later development, one involving different degrees of personal choice, as opposed to the previous stages of colonisation and coercion. The framework of the society that has become the United States took shape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when English colonists who built communities at Jamestown and Plymouth, seized control from the Dutch in New York, incorporated American Indians through political deals, Mexicans and Spanish through war settlements and French residents through the purchase of Louisiana. These types of coercion added another important share of foreign-born non-English speaking population.

From F.D. Roosevelt, to J.F. Kennedy and G.W. Bush, salient personalities of the American political life have highlighted the role of immigration in the building of the American nation. Immigrants, along with the colonisers, the slaves, the Indigenous

Populations, and their descendants, are the Americans of our days. The in-coming of new immigrants has continued to take place, with variations under different economic conditions in the United States and worldwide and in an increasingly dense climate of regulatory policies. There are four major peaks, also referred to as the four major waves of immigration, which will be reviewed in this chapter, in relation to the corresponding intents of regulation.

Each major wave of immigration adds interesting information which relates to present-day immigration in a number of ways, some of which deserve a brief mention. One contextual aspect is cultural and religious identity, traceable in the terms of immigration and community membership, traditionally more open to white male Protestant immigrants. Although a distant antecedent, it accounts for early reactions towards outsiders which could be more generous terms of entry and equal membership to co-religionaries, or recruiting for labour under the circumstance of limited rights. Long before race was even a dividing issue among the immigrants, religion constituted the stand against which early discrimination was enforced. It was the case of Irish and Italian immigrants to the U.S., whose alterity is still traceable in ethnic clichés about aggressive heavy drinkers and mafias. Some of these lines of thought will be elaborated in the last section of this chapter in a discussion of the extent to which regulation of immigration can be said to involve racial profiling.

Another aspect related to the previous has to do with the different traditions of governing of the founding generations of the American colonies, which accounts in part for the conflicts of the incipient federation, such as the South American Confederation and the federal proto-government. In the long run, these tensions have led to significant institutional building, both at the state and the federal level, as will be later developed in the section dedicated to the major determinants in the immigration policy of the U.S. Finally, as the economic aspect was the foremost reason for immigration, an indentured system was implemented at the end of the eighteenth century, whereby many potential immigrants who lacked the material means to emigrate indentured themselves for the passage; in some cases, they did as much as five years of labour on the New Continent for the employer who paid for their displacement. This procedure, albeit in a primary form, can be seen to relate conceptually to the present employer-sponsored immigration scheme in the United States.

Before further correlations are made between the main waves of immigration and its regulation, an observation seems necessary regarding the incipient structuring of political life in the United States. In the overall fever of the first settlements, the vocation to freedom of the newcomers was a sum of local freedoms negotiated in small political, economic and religious circles of each ethnic or national group, which represented the community level. On top of it, and triggered by the political need for self-definition, an institutional process of structuring took place. These concurring processes have led to different approaches to immigration in the history of the United States, which has caused some to speak of contradiction and ambivalence as to the U.S. immigration policy. However, one can affirm without fear of mistaking, that this complex background has witnessed the beginnings of political life in the new territory, destined to write, sometimes through alliance, other times through competition, the project of a common legal ground for immigration and naturalisation.

2.1.1. Old immigration and regulation

Precise assessment of immigrants before 1820 is unavailable, since the federal government did not require that ships' passengers be counted (Shenton 1990: 12). However, circumstantial data provided by the companies which drafted immigrants in Europe indicate that the majority of second-wave immigration (from 1820 to 1860) originated in Northwestern Europe, mainly from the British Isles. The second wave of immigration (1820-1860) incorporated German, Scandinavian, Belgic and French people, who played an important role in a period in which significant frontier modification took place.

Contrary to what is the contemporary concern for immigration, regulation until 1882 was concerned with the naturalisation - and not banning - of free, white persons residing in the United States, since immigrant entry took place in an orchestrated manner, by the plans of the authorised companies. However, the gradual restrictive nature of requirements for naturalisation, rising from two, to five and to fourteen years may indicate the presence of anti-immigrant feelings which appear contradictory to the initial design of the new nation.

In this respect, the American immigration scholar Daniel Tichenor (2002: 16-18), advanced the thesis that the apparent contradictory stands on immigration had to do with the building of a legal framework to approach immigration rather than with the presence of immigrants. At least in the short term perspective, early regulation of immigration seems to be characterised by a cycling pattern of fascination with immigration, and the possible contradictions come from more local or state variables, such as immigrant ethnicity or skills. Especially welcoming of immigrants were less inhabited states or those in plan of development, and it was the opportunity of new labour force what caused the different states to be interested in managing immigration and naturalisation.

The third wave of immigration started at the end of the nineteenth century and ended with the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, in which period another 1.2 million people entered the States. It marked an opening in the U.S. immigration system previously reluctant to multiculturalism. Southern and Eastern European immigrants broke for the first time the North-Western pattern of previous immigration, and together with several hundred thousand Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian labourer caused a further change in population configuration, in terms of race and religion. The western-centrism inertia produced by the first waves of immigration manifested itself in the first explicit anti-immigration laws, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, directed as the name has it, against people from Asian countries, and China in particular. This act is also illustrative of the competition between state and federal institutions over the regulation of migration, as its enforcement was carried on in violation of existing treaties between the United States and the Chinese government. It is also noteworthy that the Exclusion Act also prohibited the immigration of 'convicts, lunatics, idiots' and those individuals considered that might need to be supported by government assistance. Welfare issues were aired in an attempt to maintain productivity of immigrant workforce and reduce the possibility of unexpected costs, which caused economic concerns to turn into an argument against immigration.

Although the borders were nearly closed to immigration during the first half of the 20th century, the Literacy Test adopted in 1917 did not succeed in deterring immigration from Southern, Central and Eastern Europe - predominantly Slavic and traditionally Christian, but also Jewish population. Admission based on official examination, as that practiced upon entry in the United States during the first World War, was later criticised as

culturally biased, yet the concept has been adapted and implemented to test immigrant's worthiness of the American citizenship.

U.S. regulation of immigration could not be properly understood without the Quota Act of 1921, which laid the framework for a fundamental change in favour of national origins. Elaborating on the already existent ethnic shares, this preference system allowed for the first time people of Asian origins to obtain a visa (Reimers 1985: 72-5); also, Latin Americans, including those inhabiting Texas and New Mexico and tamper territories situated at the boundaries between the two countries, were presented the possibility to require one.

2.1.2. Post-war immigration and regulation

Although the periods involving the two World Wars were a relative pause in immigration, towards the 1940s and 1950s, immigration from Mexico became increasingly important, although well behind that from the Western Hemisphere. The 1952 the Immigration and Nationality Act, did not challenge the European leading place in U.S. immigration, while it increased from 3 to 6 percent the Asian share of immigrant population and from 15 to 22 percent that coming from Latin-American countries (Pedraza 1996: 4) with respect to the earlier decade. In its provisions, it introduced a new criterion of preference within the national quota, by which educated and skilled foreigners has access to visas.

Interestingly, the 1952 Act established that immigration from Latin America and the Caribbean stayed exempt from numerical limits, which may suggest that mobility of Latinos was perceived as natural or at least unnecessary to be legislated for a long time after the 1848 Mexican-American War. This hypothesis is not contrary to the fact that the physical barriers along U.S. - Mexico boundaries were relatively few before the early 1970s.

Contrary to the little political interest manifested in building border enforcement with the South until relatively recently, at the end of the World War II, Mexican immigrant workers had already become the target of border patrols, not only at the border but also at work place and in their communities (Hernandez 2010: 3), at the same time as Mexican labourers filed nearly five million 'Bracero' contracts. In 1954 alone, more than one million Mexicans were already apprehended on the U.S. side of Rio Grande and sent back as illegal entrants by the Texas border patrols. Similar inconsistencies between policy and enforcement may only be apparent if focalised from the perspective of institutions. In this respect, Tichenor (2002: 3) has argued that immigration regulation has contributed to the strengthening of the institutional apparatus, as the apparent contradictory stands on immigration manifested by different ideological, economic and political groups had to do with the building of a legal framework to approach immigration rather than with the presence of immigrants.

Generally and on a short term perspective, early regulation of immigration seems to have gone in the direction of attracting more immigration, especially when the control over immigration and naturalisation fell in the responsibility of the state. New immigration implying more diversity, more authority seems necessary to manage the general interests whereby immigration was encouraged. With a reference to growing institutional power, the

American immigration scholar Hernandez understands the growing figure of Border Patrols in the borderlands as circumstantial to the expansion of federal law enforcement in the last centuries' American life (Hernandez 2010: 222). The issue over how the United States have resolved local issues arisen by the presence of new immigrants after the American federation had become a stable institutional and political structure cannot be disconnected from the use of power. Nearly half a century ago, Foucault had linked political power with violence (Foucault 1990: 137), envisioning the future of regulation in terms of bio-politics, namely through the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations.

The Nationality Act of 1965, popularly called the 'cautious reform', made family reunification the central issue of immigration policy and abolished quotas based on country of origin but maintained a regional one, which lead to the first regulation of Western European immigration ever. It also for the first time opened to refugees, albeit restricted to (notable citizens from) communist-dominated countries. It established a number of preferences which still serves as the basis of U.S. immigration policy, notably in the direction advocated by G.W. Bush, i.e. the special talent and the skilled migration scheme, the latter based on short-supply of occupation on the American labour market.

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) granted temporary residence status to individuals already living illegally in the United States previous to 1982. The amnesty was accompanied by a stricter control of the remainder of the immigrant population, mainly occupying the large agricultural temporary job openings, which is why the law was construed by its critics as targeting Latin Americans, especially those born in Mexico. It imposed sanctions on those employers who hired undocumented workers, and, even if the system was not implemented for reasons of costs and manageability, one can argue with certain safety that it presented the American public with the sensitive issue of identity cards, approached as the persecution of identity theft and the necessity of safe verification system implantation. This Act was followed by highly publicised (and highly criticised) border apprehensions and fence-building actions, first "Operation Hold the Line" in El Paso and later "Operation Gatekeeper" in San Diego. They manifested at the same time the unprecedented specialisation undergone by Border Patrol, from virtually territorial defence during the World War II to policing unsanctioned Mexican immigration in the 1940, to finally federal law enforcer, armed and in capacity to use deadly force against unauthorised immigrants.

The 1990 Immigration Act (IMMACT), passed at the end of the Cold War, eliminated the preference categories for employment-based immigrants, which more than doubled employment-related immigration and encouraged workers of exceptional ability, with advanced degrees, investors, etc., but also unskilled workers; also, it created a preference category for under-represented nationalities with the outcome of increasing the diversity of the immigrant flow.

Much of the immigration reform captured by the presidential discourses of G.W. Bush is related to the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), aiming at the creation of a free trade zone stretching from the Guatemala border to the Arctic Ocean. The Agreement was intended to regulate the labour market, in the sense that would enforce continent-wide opening of capital, consumer, and commodities, which lead to stricter controls at the U.S. border with Mexico and internal employer sanctions.

Moreover, NAFTA was followed by a series of state propositions, strikingly resembling the Arizona Senate Bill 1070 in so far as community policing is respected. For instance, Proposition 187 in the 1994 Agreement limited the access of undocumented

migrants from public services such as schools, hospitals or public assistance. It also empowered at the same time as it demanded teachers, medical personnel, and welfare caseworkers to report cases as any immigration enforcers. These efforts were echoed in the 1996 federal legislation forbidding non-citizen immigrants from receiving most means-tested federal and state benefits, and applying penalties to people who overstayed temporary visas.

The effects of NAFTA have been under methodical analysis over the last decade. In broad terms, the Agreement reinforced market policy reforms undertaken previously: it extended liberalisation to new sectors in the Mexican economy and eliminated the remaining US trade barriers. As a result of the inflow of foreign capital in the Mexican territory, local economy fell and imports from the US have grown sharply, while the multifarious development made industrial reorganisation along regional lines impossible. Facing internal critique as to the environmental and labour provisions of the Agreement, during the ratification talks in 1991, President G.H.W. Bush accepted a causal link between the reform and the displacement of US workforce on one hand and Mexican workers' labour rights on the other.

Although NAFTA only addressed the entry in the US of only business-related personnel, it has marked the beginnings of illegal immigration as it is approached by the current legislation. It was Bill Clinton who ratified 1992 the trilateral agreement with the aim of eliminating barriers of trade and investment between the US, Canada and Mexico. The short-term effect of the Agreement on immigration was under-appreciated in length and intensity; however, along with federal funds for social reforms, the US government began to invest in steel barricades, concrete ditches and a fence across the US-Mexico borderline.

The November 1994 elections created the first Republican-dominated Senate and House of Representatives since the early 1950s, with the rhetoric of a populist pact to 'discipline' categories such as immigrants, poor people, and those advocating reproductive rights (Joy 1996: 12). Under a general climate of tensioned relations with a series of 'others', and one year after the April 19th bombing of the United States Federal Government Building in Oklahoma City, President Clinton signed into law the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act in an intent to 'deter terrorism, provide justice to the victims, provide for an effective death penalty, and for other purposes' (75 Wash. U.L.Q. 1707: 2241). This piece of legislation marked a turning point in the U.S. immigration laws, in so far as the terms, provisions and the debate created around retroactive applicability, notwithstanding the Supreme Court historical aversion to law enforcement other than perspective. Among other provisions, it expanded the role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and imposed the death penalty for terrorist crimes.

Whether or not the governmental response to the criminal violence betrayed arbitrary standards for anti-violence enforcement (Joy 1996: 18) is an interesting query which shall not be explored here. If the tragic outburst of the Oklahoma bomber, a white militia sympathiser was caused by his discontent with the FBI violent intervention in the Davidic sect at Waco, Texas, it didn't give the former Golf War combatant the satisfaction of causing what he considered a tyrannical federal government to turn to the ideals of non-violence.

Prudent about the depiction of a national as a public enemy, especially that of an ex-combatant in an American War, the enforcement of the law favoured the public perception of enemy identity in the direction international terrorists. It would not be until 2007 when attempts to locate forms of terrorism in the homeland took the form of a legislative

proposal, in the The Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act. Sponsored by the Republicans, the bill attempted to define terms like ‘violent radicalization,’ ‘homegrown terrorism,’ and ‘ideologically based violence’, but the controversy created contributed to its being disavowed by the Senate.

The 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act settled the ground for a incriminatory approach to immigration in the context of terrorism, which was spelled out in the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act and the notion of ‘unlawful present’ persons. Its main enactments (Fragomen 1997: 438) include doubling Border Patrol funding as well as of other areas of immigration law enforcement, urging the construction of a fence along the Southern Border and the simplification of deportation procedures.

2.1.3. Immigration policy of the G.W. Bush Administration

In many respects, the immigration policy of the two G.W. Bush Administrations represents a moment of continuity in a larger enforcement history of the United States, adapted to the speed of the 21st century. If in the pre-September 11 era of history of immigration legislation, from 1790 until 2001, 187 directives were formulated and enacted to amend U.S. immigration laws (0.7 per year), since the September 11 until 2007, over 49 proposals were made (the equivalent of 8.16 per year), all during the Presidency of G. W. Bush. This is fact particularly attributable to this president: his successor, Barack Obama, took a different line of reason on the matter, when he announced in a speech to the National Council of the non-profit organisation La Raza his administration’s intentions to ‘enforcing flawed laws in the most humane and best possible way’ (25/07/2011), a hint to deportation.

As a presidential candidate, G.W. Bush appeared sympathetic with Latinos and talked both of offering a path to naturalisation for the unauthorised immigrants already living in the U.S. (Washington, D.C. 26/06/2000), but also, as a measure of detaining illegal immigration, he announced his intentions of continuing border enforcement (Bush 1999: 237). While still holding on, discursively, on the two-way immigration solution, for his first eight months in tenure, 9/11 urged him to take the most resolute legislative steps of his administration, i.e. in the direction of the enforcement-oriented terrorist-driven legislative path initiated by the Clinton Administration.

Together with the war in Iraq, immigration reform becomes the public priority of G.W. Bush’s first tenure at the White House. Accordingly, G.W. Bush carries on and expands border militarisation in the South and implements high-technology surveillance on the Northern border with Canada, which he approaches as an issue of national security. He also he updates the North-American agreement with Mexico and other Latin-American countries and stresses the importance of new temporal-worker programs.

The most significant legislative contributions include:

- The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001, in its full name Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism.

- The 2002 requirement under the National Security Entry Exit Registration System (NSEERS) to register male visitors to the United States under the threat of detention or deportation (as opposed to catch and release).
- The proposal of a renewed Temporary Work Program.

Apart from the guest-worker initiative, the relation between the legislative piece and immigration regulation is not explicit. In this sense, the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 expanded on the framework of the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, argued as globally concerned with biopower in the Foucaultian sense of population and risk regulation, and locally instantiated as an alien/ terrorist act. Concrete measures included 'new powers' to conduct electronic domestic surveillance over the Internet by the Central Intelligence Agency, and a series of structural re-arrangements such as the putting law enforcement under the authority of the Justice Department and the prospect to create an Immigration Court to deal separately with immigration issues. Renewed criticism came from human rights organisations that this approach expressed blatant disregard to the constitutional rights of both citizens and non-citizens (Whitehead and Aden 2002: 1081). If previous reforms, such as NAFTA, enabled different professionals to report on foreign citizens, The Patriot Act breaches privacy rights or rights of association, not only by encouraging civilians to report suspected aliens and groups of them, but also summon law enforcement officers to investigate them.

One specific measure, viz. the 2002 requirement under the National Security Entry Exit Registration System (NSEERS), targeted male foreign-born population verification; specifically that coming from twenty-five Arab and Muslim countries (but also North Korea). They were required to voluntarily comply with the demand of registration and voluntary interview, with the provision that the people who obeyed faced the possible detention without warrant and fines, even in an overall absence of terrorist charges. Despite posterior modifications ratified in December 2004, voices from the Department of Homeland Security and even from the Congress still denounced abuses and raised questions of unconstitutionality.

Finally, in January 2004, President Bush proposed new modifications to the then incumbent temporary guest-work program to match new or undocumented foreign workers within U.S. with U.S. employers, when no native candidates were found to fill the position. The legislative emend had an emotional load of expectations attached to it, since it aimed at 'making America a more compassionate and more humane and stronger country' (7/01/2004). As those workers were already holding jobs, the proposal allowed them the liability of paying a fine in order to become visible for America's economy, and receive the promise of legal protection. Perceived by the political majority as a path to amnesty, the proposal met major opposition to the extent that a debate did not even take place in the Congress. This law affected especially low-skilled immigration from Mexico, as did back in the 1990s the decision of many states to deny governmental services to immigrants. By updating the past concept of temporary worker scheme, - berated by low-skilled American workers and confederated unions, but used by immigrants as a path to permanent residence -, George W. Bush appeared to act on a pro-immigration agenda with the purpose of re-establishing Hispanic support for the Republican Party in the 2004 election, which he eventually succeeded.

During his second presidential campaign, although clinging onto the melting pot metaphor about immigrants, G.W. Bush still disclosed no intention of simplifying the process of authorisation for the immigrants already living in the country. At the end of 2005 The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act (IICA)

was passed by the House of Representatives but was stopped by the Senate (Verea 2006: 273) and accompanied by large protests. This initiative included a series of measures to discourage illegal entry and permanence in the U.S. as well as the larger community which harbour illegal immigrants, such as border militarisation, arrests of suspected aliens, employer and home rental verification. Formally, it created a unique border inspection process for immigration, customs and agricultural inspections and a database of complete fingerprints; conceptually, it engendered a new category of ‘terrorist and criminal aliens’ or ‘dangerous aliens’ which could be detained by the government indefinitely (IICA, Titles I and II). The measure to raise penalties for illegal immigration and prosecute not only illegal immigrants but anyone who loaned them, hired them or helped them enter or remain in the US has not been free of criticism and accusations of racial profiling of Arabs and Latinos, which enlarged the area of manifest discrimination to citizens as well. Instead, the demand for an effective reform of the immigration laws was formulated, including a path to citizenship for all undocumented immigrants.

After 2006 local and national efforts to expand criminal sanctions against illegal immigrants and their employers have led to massive street protests. At the same time, a debate was generated within the mainstream conservative Republicans, who became uneasy about the congressional compliance with Bush’s proposal of reform legislation seeking to balance border control with a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants. Under this pressure, the Senate pressed for an immigration project focusing on border security, a guest-worker programme and an adjustment of legal immigration quotas to include illegal immigrants already living in the United States.

The last major legislative attempt of the Bush Administration related to immigration is the 2007 Save America Comprehensive Immigration Act, which failed to deliver on the presidential promises of increasing employment-based immigration but doubled, according to some specialists in immigration policy (Wasem 2010: 37) the numbers of family-sponsored and diversity visas, two of the categories of migrants with most facilities to become permanent residents

2.1.4. Implications of the actual model of enforcement

The re-contextualisation of the legislative actions affecting immigrants in the US and worldwide covers more significance after a series of terrorist attacks on civilians following 9/11. While national security and economy remain key concerns for a nation, the implications of tough enforcement on various categories of immigrants who do not represent a threat to US security are nonetheless worth taking into account. When the supposed interdependence between immigrants and violent criminals materialises in legal propositions, it also (independently of its odds to be approved by the Congress, signed into law, enforced and for how long) sets the tone for anti-affirmative action and exclusion from basic entitlements. Both actions would be unconceivable without the careful pre-selection of linguistic categories and the argumentative devices that best verbalise the political intention, as presented in Chapter 7, dealing with results.

Starting from 2002, The United States Citizen and Immigration Service (USCIS) replaces the former Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as a department within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) which administers legal immigration. Immigration enforcement, however, is carried out by the U.S Immigration and Customs

Enforcement (ICE), within which Enforcement Customs and Border Protection (CBP) is responsible for enforcement at the border, and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) for enforcement within the United States. ICE may apprehend suspected illegal immigrants at the border as well as during employment or household raids, at traffic stops, after reporting or having been convicted of a criminal offense.

An immigration officer makes the decision about whether or not an 'arriving alien' apprehended at the border will remain in detention. Although USCIS instructed that an unexecuted final order of removal is not a bar to admissibility (Kenney 2008: 1), however denial of adjustment applications has become a practice at the border, and without the possibility of review of the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) due to USCIS jurisdiction. Even if entering or remaining in the territory of the United States without authorization is a civil violation and not a crime, immigrants and asylum seekers pending removal proceedings spend time in detention facilities somewhere between a month and three years and a half (PHR 2003: 5). This is because in the United States individuals detained on grounds of civil immigration violations, as opposed to those charged with criminal offenses, do not have the right to free legal counsel (AI 2006: 6) which allows one to argue her/ his detention before a court of law.

Structural factors related to jurisdiction and a series of imperfections related to the law and the access to legal advice, has allowed as of 2006 many asylum seekers but also US citizens to enter arbitrary detention. As the possibility of review by an immigration judge is limited by Department of Justice regulations (8 CFR §§1003.19(h) (2)(i)(B); 1236.1(c)(11)), more than a half of these detainees - men, women and children - live in state and county jails with criminal offenders. Finally, in their March 2009 report, Amnesty International exposes the sharp increase in the use of detention at the border and inside the U.S. as an immigration enforcement mechanism which is carried on with a triplication of public spending since 1996 and violations of human rights (AI 2006: 3). With personal stories, the report deepens in the effect of the immigration legislation of the last decade in the lives of new and old immigrants alike, some of them permanent residents with American children and grandchildren.

The alternative to detention is arguable cheaper but poses human rights queries. The US Congress approved funding for the exploration of alternatives to detention, such as electronic monitoring of individuals who are eligible for release. As a result, in 2004, I.C.E. implemented an alternative-to-detention system consisting in supervision programs which use electronic monitoring devices, check-in telephone, residence verification and restrictions on movement. Acknowledging the importance of the alternatives to detention, Amnesty International has formulated concerns that such programs may be used in ways that violate immigrants' human rights and criminalize the whole group (AI 2006: 28). The placing of electronic tagging devices on immigrants who are not considered security threats or flight leads to criminalize immigration in general and opens a breach in fundamental rights such as that to liberty, privacy and human dignity.

In overall simplification, immigration, together with other types of deracination which accompanied the process of formation of the federal state, has been a key factor in the economic and political calculations of different groups. Valued by some as positive and necessary, and by others as a threat or a burden, America proudly holds on to its immigrant past but fearfully to its future immigration. The concern related to immigration has shifted in time from the entry and settlement of different ethnic and religious groups to the management of the process of naturalisation, back to enforcing border detention and deportation of unauthorised immigrants.

In the framework of bilateral, trilateral and international cooperation, the trade agreements signed by the U.S. in the 1990s marked a new era of illegal immigration, viz. immigration occurring outside the agreed conventions on free circulation of goods and services in the partner territories. Beyond the general economic success reaped on the U.S. side from agreements such as NAFTA, the mid-1990s were marked by a domestic political competition to crack down on immigration. Under NAFTA, the immigrants enjoyed the labour status of unsyndicated guest-workers, and therefore living in the United States in a temporary situation.

In response to a share of population concerned about extending those rights in the case of over-permanence of the Latino population after their contracts expired, political parties entered a discursive competition over who is the toughest enforcer, materialized in the above discussed 1996 legislation. Furthermore, pondering on national security concerns in the context of Oklahoma Bombing of the federal government building, the legislative efforts in the domestic matter of immigration were reinforced by the more cogent frame of terrorism. Besides general provisions targeting a series of foreign-born citizens and an overall increase in the surveillance technology budget, the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act can be argued to have contributed to a shift in the topicalisation of immigration from the field of economics to that of national security; more specifically, it transferred the responsibility from the field of labour economics, in which context authorised and unauthorised immigration emerged, to that of foreign terrorism, in spite of the investigation which attributed the authorship of the Oklahoma bombing to a young American citizen.

The discursive strategy allowed Clinton to get re-elected by the American voters, without distressing the traditional position of the Democrats towards immigration. However, his second term of office marked an important moment in the American politics, specifically the need of Latino representatives capable of catering for the already important share of Latino voters existing in the U.S. Indeed, one campaign later, the vote of the Asian and Latino immigrant population became one of the vaulting horses of the Republican G.W. Bush in his ascension to the White House.

In his memoirs, G.W. Bush makes at least a couple of unexpected remarks related to his presidency: the first is his regret as to the of the most important legislative peace posterior to 9/11, namely Patriot Act and his disappointment at the failure of the immigration reform (Bush 2010:). The first discontent is attributed by the president to his opponents' attitude of delaying and complaining (Bush 2010: 240), only to renew it with great majority and even maintain its main provisions in the early 2010s, with a heavily Democratic Congress. In this case, the former president gives a personal account of the complicated political scenarios in which immigration policy took shape. In relation to immigration, the timing and the voting procedures required by the Senate and the House of Representatives are presented as contextually outlining the toothed wheels of the political gear (Bush 2010: 448-451). Caught in between the political cooperation with the Democrats and their 'vitriolic speeches' (Bush 2010: 449) of criticism towards Iraq, G.W. Bush approached illegal immigration as two sides: the older and the recent, which allowed for two types of discourse, in tune with the traditional position of political parties on immigration (15/05/2006).

At the initiative of Republican senators, a five-part plan was approved to reform the immigration system, around border security, a temporary worker program, stricter workplace enforcement, assimilation and the two-tiered immigration approach mentioned above. The failure of this initiative to be further approved by the House is attributed to the Democrat takeover of the Congress in the November 2006 (Bush 2010: 449). In retrospect

the former president acknowledges to having been opened two inter-related socially-sensitive Pandora's boxes. G.W. Bush's post-tenure reflection points towards the need to have tackled immigration first and with greater chances to approval, it being a bi-partisan bill, and to have reaped on the former's success for more consensus over the social security initiative. His post-tenure critique goes in the direction of American politics in general, viz. the tendencies towards isolationism, protectionism and even nativism manifested during the immigration debate in the Congress of the United States (Bush 2010: 452) to the point that it ended in blocking free trade agreements with some South American countries.

Finally, and in broad strokes, the former president relates the American tendency to ideological extremes to the electoral system. More specifically, his vision favours the presence of non-partisan elders instead of 'partisan state legislatures' (Bush 2010: 453). Under the claim to a more productive government and a more civilized politics, for the good of more competitive general elections and less polarized Congress, G.W. Bush is reviving a historical friction in American politics, that between state and federal jurisdiction and ultimately a delicate issue with the American public, namely presidential powers.

The self-consciousness of America as a country of immigrants implies that immigration regulation in the United States has also accompanied the process of creation of a national identity. The ethnic, religious and cultural identities converging in the American identity makes it possible to reasonably approach immigration as a rich and enriching human phenomenon. However, against the many, structural, economic, social, political and institutional battles, immigration emerged as an issue related to the U.S. national laws and economic agreements with regional and international reaching, and less so as a human phenomenon with physical and psychological implications for the individual and for the smaller or larger group within which immigrants move.

Meaningful stereotypes about immigrants in the United States history of immigration and regulation appear to be of divergent ways. Some are capable of attaining a greater degree of generalization, starting from external perceptions such as physical aspect (race), cultural heritage (appearance, group interaction and conventions), education (literacy, acculturation tendencies), personal history (family already naturalized in the United States, philosophy of life or group causing isolation), training (skill, Intelligence Quotient, talent), a mix of the previous and/or good luck (Green Card Lottery). These are the immigrants with an option to permanent residence.

The different paths to authorized immigration correspond to the different types of immigrants. Perhaps the most pervading perception on immigration stems from a dominant mind frame on the whole society, viz., the economic, and the type of intervention expected from the political institutions, which is through a legal and social channel. It would be hard to imagine the distinction between legal and illegal immigrants without the reality of a regulated market economy in which goods, services or people conceptualized as labour force are similarly computable variables. For instance, a study on the determinants of and long-term trends in smuggling across the U.S.-Mexico border has revealed the sensitivity of smuggling to major macroeconomic and events (1994 change in import tariffs or labour market conditions in Mexico) and tougher U.S. border enforcement policy in the form of increased working hours for apprehension, or the 2003 change in U.S. drug policy (Buehn and Eichler 2009: 348). At the same time, the study pointed out the humanitarian crisis represented illegal immigration, although it can be argued that the conditions under which the crisis is produced are to be found in the labour market, rather than the other way around.

Another category of migrants contemplated by the law are economic migrants. Always with a preference for the former group, immigrants that come to U.S.A. with a temporary worker program have had, albeit under the crossing fire of political contend, a chance to permanent residence, after undergoing a passage to legality (affidavit, bond/ fine, identification card, etc). Finally, there is the large category of illegal immigrants, the financially unfortunate, often economically or politically displaced, who dabble economic and political agreements of their countries with the U.S.A. and enter the territory without authorization.

Especially the last two categories draw the attention of the legislators, those related to market liberalisation southwest and especially the first are evoked by the national narratives of welcoming country and nation of immigrants. Certainly the recently arrived of the last category inflames the immigration debate and over the middle category are political elections won or lost over. A chronological variant adds to identify whom they speak of when they talk about immigration. In 2006 recent immigrants were those entering after 9/11, in rough appreciation, those immigrants who entered illegally after 2000. They were the ones who reaped political consensus in October 2005, when the homeland security bill provided an additional \$7.5 billion for border enforcement, namely the double of Border Patrol and more federal detention facilities.

2.2. MAJOR DETERMINANTS OF THE U.S. IMMIGRATION POLITICS

Immigration studies, as well as more general theories of American politics have advanced explanations for different policy patterns by analysing the causal importance of historic and economic conditions, social interests, national values, electoral variation and the role of state and federal institution in immigration policy. In the present section, a brief analysis is attempted of those whose greater or smaller inter-relatedness has played a structural role in the evolution of the entire immigration policy in the U.S. Some of them have already been introduced in the section dedicated to immigration and regulation: race, institutions, economy and ideological supremacy.

2.2.1. The political-institutional variable

Immigration policies have played an important role in the American political landscape. As we have already advanced in the section discussing the American tradition of immigration regulation, the government efforts to stop immigration, irrespective of their success of failure, contributed to the building of the U.S. national state, at the crossroads between national identity and international politics.

The way in which political structures related to immigration depended in part on the different institutional and ideological affiliations to the national state and political party system but also on the concept they had of the new nation. For instance, the early regulation of immigration promoted by the Jeffersonians may appear intriguing insofar as some liberals, the fore-fathers of the Democratic Party and politically supported by the

immigrants, acted in the sense of reducing immigration. However, as illustrated in section 2.3 with American Indian displaced population, the perspectives of the community and the state were managed within the larger framework of the federal government. Indeed, if one takes into account the traditional rivalry between state and federal power over regulation of immigration, the policy of the government was not directed toward reducing the number of immigrants but aimed at a careful selection which allowed them to preserve the racial, cultural and economic model of the country.

On the other hand, the recurrent restrictions of immigration implied increasingly complex forms of intervention by the national state in a political culture commonly uncomfortable about federal government. The two levels of government needed to cooperate in order to preserve intact the core structures of institutional power, in the face of tertiary forces; one example is the creation of immigration barriers at the Southern border with Mexico, which meant the defeat of powerful coalitions of pro-immigration advocacy groups, including highly organised business and ethnic groups with strong interests in maintaining strong immigration opportunities.

One general conclusion that can be made about the policies designed to restrict new immigration is that they relied on the primacy of the 'national interest', aiming, that is, at preserving the socioeconomic and political status quo of its citizens. At times, this approach proved incomplete, and on the long run, immigration has pervaded the public opinion as an increasing economic and security concern. The implication of such legitimisation in a country built on immigration is that its promoters assumed as a natural consequence the othering of 'nons': non-white, non-western, non-citizen, etc. In this respect, an original contribution is made by the Bush political dynasty to the constellation of 'nons', as presented and discussed in Chapter 7, on Results. The NAFTA-resounding term 'non Mexican', together with other categorisations, witness a population policy which resembles a hunt for enemies both at the borders and within the nation, racial profiling, extended surveillance, and more generally, saturation intervention of the public space, which is increasingly denounced by the media worldwide (*National Times*, March 19, 2010).

Even if the effectiveness of restrictive immigration policies has been scarce in relation to its full potential, the successive attempts and the related public opinion formation accompanying them, has contributed to the creation and consolidation and re-definition of new state structures and powers. The 2003 expansion of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security to include the Immigration and Naturalisation Service and its immediate re-structuring in two separate agencies, one associating immigration to border enforcement and the other with citizenship, and their further specialisation and jurisdiction, is but an illustrative example.

The internal competition over jurisdiction between federal and local governments has generated the consolidation of both institutions; pending on a mere issue of acquisition and transference of power, the former imposed as the highest authority in immigration and the latter, settled as an enforcer of federal legislation at and within national borders. Further fragmentation of power in the U.S. governmental system, into smaller units that govern counties, cities, towns and villages, constitutes a locus in which a lot of overlapping is produced, and the possibility of a great diversity of alliances with potential of pursuing policy goals. One similar goal has been the maximisation of production and profits allowed by temporary worker programs, in which the farming investors saw the opportunity by disposing of more cost-effective labour force than those existent on the internal market, which called for a more open immigration policy. Once such perspective has imposed, the

alliances supporting immigration attained structural advantages over their opponents, whether institution-wise at the federal level or within of the party system.

Additional structural factors favoured immigration and prevented the opposite stand to prosper. One can be found in the fragmented constitutional structure and the rotating political institutions have caused political actors and factors to be displaced over time by either different immigration activists who perceived institutional openings for their respective groups in the governing institutions, where from to militate in favour of immigration, or by the financiers of the incumbent politics who have been building and maintaining institutional support for both open and restrictive policies.

The issue of financial support for one political group or another is still the object of public debate in the United States. The complexity of this issue comes from the mixed nature of the forces with a potential to lobby private or public interests into political decisions, which has caused the worn out of political coalitions. At least since the second half of the nineteenth century, immigration policy has polarised the map roughly into an American 'Right' of advocates of the free market (therefore pro-immigration), but also cultural preservationists (therefore anti-immigration), and an American sector of principled multiculturalists, in favour of (ethnic) diversity.

Finally, the practical prospects of liberal democracy implemented at the end of the twentieth century have caused political practices to oscillate between hyper-individualistic and anti-individualistic community enforcements, the former focusing on the economic development, the latter centred on equitable access to community resources. From this clash of priorities, the different attitudes toward public spending made difficult the creation of a coalition powerful enough to pursue a disciplinary immigration policy, even under the condition of a Republican majority in the legislative and the executive branches of the government as that tenured by the former President G.W. Bush.

2.2.2. Ethnicity and religion

Although the role of family and religion in the configuration of immigrant shares deserves serious investigation in itself, it seems that a different religious identity could have influenced in the process of regulation, more specifically ethnic immigration quotas. Not once nationality, ethnicity, race and religion have been used as a substitute for one another in the attempt to create a group identity based on a limited set of data. Criticising this tendency, Katznelson has warned of the importance to begin social science analyses with events in the early period of immigration, which have a determinative impact on subsequent patterns of group behaviour and not restrict their studies to the groups' behaviour patterns (Katznelson 1973: 24). However, the historic conditions of the religious reform in Europe, leading to the apparition of Protestantism and different Neo-Protestant denominations in specific territories of the Old Continent, favours the argument that at least for the early immigration to the United States the correlation can be established between religion and ethnic identity. Consequently, one of the primary sources of argumentation of alterity of the several waves of American nativism can be argued in religious differences. Random starting points in exploring ethnic and religious diversity could be Thomas Paine's (1953: 22) urge to the older American immigrants to surmount the force of local prejudice towards the newly come, but also George Washington's (then) liberal extortion open towards and embrace Dutch and Irish immigrants.

Around 1870s, during the second wave of displacement, the increasing number of Irish and Italian immigrants caused a shift in the religious composition of the country, making the Roman Catholic Church the largest denomination in the United States. Although outnumbered by the total amount of various Protestant denominations, with their increasing presence, Catholic immigrants from Ireland and Italy caused a breach in the West-European hegemony, also along a religious line, creating groups of Protestants and the non-Protestants, viz., South and Central European Catholics, South and East European Orthodox people and non-Western Jews. Old immigrants referred to the Italians as the 'Chinese of Europe' or 'just as bad as Negroes' and forced them to attend all-black schools. One reporter described the neighbourhood of Slavic workers as 'so noisome and repulsive that one must visit the lower quarters of Canton to meet their like' (Dinnerstein, Nichols and Reimers 1979: 123). Greeks were attacked or chased away from the cities and Poles dehumanised ('like animals'), or otherwise alienated ('with stupid faces', working 'in the sun and dirt') (idem, p. 36). They were seen as a group of inferior outsiders: 'sub-common' 'oxlike men', 'people of low mentality', being treated and behaving savagely: 'food thrown to the immigrants as if they were dogs, and the immigrants fishing for it like wild animals' (idem, p. 70). More direct ad hominem attacks in the characterisation of immigrants include the strategy of presenting them as out of place appearance: 'clearly belonging in skins and at the close of the Great Ice Age, inferior of type' (Waters 1990: 2). The use of libellous language overpasses the disdain with which words are chosen to speak about immigrants, to be completed by means of argumentation. Thus, a distance is created between the self and other groups, for example, by recurring to different suppositions, theological for the former and mythological for the latter. Foreigners are placed out of the world of ordered godly creation, into one of randomly straying spirits: 'one might imagine a malicious jinn had amused himself by casting human beings in a set of skew-milds discarded by the Creator' (Ross 1914: 285-286).

Unlike Catholics and Orthodox believers who experienced particular difficulties in integration already with the second wave immigration, the Jews had been coming to the American shores from Northern and Western Europe all through the 17th century before those coming via Central and Eastern Europe faced serious discrimination. Like other categories of altered in the American soil, new Jewish immigrants had already experienced immigration from the Germany to more eastern territories, and therefore an important share of alterity in those European countries. Although In the U.S. they faced less religious persecution than in Europe, some of their drama of second time migration came from the Puritans and the Jews already established decades or centuries before, which banned them from their communities and the latter ridiculing their appearance, ceremonies, behaviour, political radicalism and warning about the dangers of chain migration (Rockaway 1990: 206). The hostility towards non-western Europeans caused a drastic fall in the numbers of American Catholics and American Jews from Central and Southern Europe following the 1920s restrictive immigration laws (Waters 1990: 3).

The discursive othering on religious grounds included a steady anti-Catholic crusade of conspiracy theories about them wanting to take over Mississippi Valley, books, pamphlets and newspapers inspired in the British Catholic Emancipation of the 1820s, stories of baby murdering, graphic stories of orgies, and the 1834 burning of the Ursuline convent in Charleston. Politically, Catholic hate materialised in a highly ritualistic secret society later to become the political party of the 'Know Nothings' determined to fight for the Anglo-Protestant national identity (McCaffrey 1984: 100-2). The religious division continued after the nativist recess of the 1920s into the ideological battles of the Civil War and, subtler still, in a public passion alimeted by either scholarly arguments or uncooked

hate. The death and resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan as a supremacist organisation meant the intimidation and persecution of Catholics, Jews and African Americans. Even if in poetic terms, Emma Lazarus's statement on the Statue of Liberty (Lazarus 1883: Introductory) referred to newcomers in terms of 'tired', 'poor', 'huddled masses yearning to breathe free' or 'wretched refuse' embraced by protective 'Mother of Exiles'. By throwing the Empire's displaced in the arms of a new institutional setting, the Jewish-American writer provokes irony in regard to the existing slave system and the lynching practices of the time, at the same time as it rises broader questions about cultural representation of immigrants in this country.

Analysing the religious entities, processes and the roles presumed in political discourse, Chilton highlights that the American political rhetoric includes religious language and religious speech acts, albeit reserved to particular parts in the general structure, usually the conclusion, typically in the form of blessing (Chilton 2004: 174). Making a comparative analysis of two discourses, of G.W. Bush and Osama bin Laden respectively, he identifies a series of differences and similarities in the explicit invocation of deity in contexts presumed, at least in the West, to have a secular character. More specifically, two discourses are focused on, George Walker Bush's Remarks at National Day of Prayer and Remembrance at the National Cathedral on 14th of September 2001 and the BBC's English translation of Osama bin Laden's discourse broadcasted by the Aljazeera television. A comparison between the former's reference to God in a religious setting (approximately 0.7 percent of the words) and the latter's (about 2.6 percent of the words) are a reasonable indication of two different political cultures that relate differently to the model of separation between state and religion.

The first text is delivered in a religious setting, in a traditional act with renewed international political implications. Bush not only recurs to religious expressions to construe the glorious past and present of America in the world (moral design, history, Roosevelt, freedom's house and defender), an ethic of patriotism (unity of faith - joining political parties, the commitment of our fathers is now the calling of our time)' and a model of response to the recent terrorist attacks (unity of grief - resolve to prevail against our enemies). What is surprising in Bush's discourse is not the use of religious references in a funeral service taking place at the National Cathedral, but rather the use of mental schemes related to the religious practice to enforce a group identity, with people serving 'a will greater than our own', a 'moral design', and whose semiotics is to be found in 'candlelight vigils, in American flags, which are displayed in pride and wave in defiance'. It is, in Chilton's own words, a speech that both draws on and consolidates a politico-religious community (Chilton 2004: 189). As on other occasions, he leads the prayer service and ends by asking God to bless America, but the initial projection into transcendence made available by the linkage to religious background knowledge is not once narrowed down to for political or strategic suggestions. Thus, the religious act of praying 'We come before God to pray for the missing and the dead' acquires political significance: 'in many of our prayers this week there is a searching and honesty', a request: 'to give us a sign that He is still here', a bid for successful response 'grant us patience and resolve in all that is to come' and a legitimation of future outcomes 'guide our country'. It has been noted (Chilton 2004: 186) that there is a degree of theological presupposition involved in the speech of the American president - for instance, what is the moral design a schemata for, what is the taxonomical value of the speaker's elaboration on prayer -, but also ingroup compatibility: for example, different types of prayer respond to different traditions of faith, although perhaps at a distance from those not holding a religious belief.

The analysed translation of the bin Laden's discourse shares common grounds with that of Bush in that the deliverers make a claim to political and moral authority to give the speech, the speeches are certain to receive international exposure and presume important background knowledge, whether the Bible or the Koran. Both begin with the invocation of God, present the self as victims of 'the bad and the evildoing', acknowledge, albeit differently, that God is in control of the last developments in the United States: 'God hit the United States', 'rendered successful', 'allowed them [a convoy of Muslims] to destroy', acknowledge the role of faith and prayer in relation to the events, even if more frequently, more directly and as a causal explanation of the developments. Finally, both speeches end with a blessing and a prayer of request, bin Laden's seeming more extensive than Bush's, due in part to the higher frequency of theological references.

In terms of deontic conceptualisation, Bin Laden's discourse seems to revolve around the doctrine of justification, in the Semitic sense that God permits destructive acts to take place to legitimise those who are righteous and submit the will of their enemies. His discourse situates the attacks in the wider setting of a moral fight against 'infidelity' and 'hypocrisy', but on whose combatants he inverts little illocutionary force, by referring to the ingroup as 'a convoy of Muslims', 'the vanguards of Islam' and absorbing the humanity of the outgroup in the 'United States', 'vulnerable spot' and its 'greatest building'. The cognitive scripts he uses plays on the image of victors in the fight between purity and contamination and drawing strongly on a recurrent metaphor with religious discourse, namely the path, with subjacent actors and roles also specific to political leaders: guidance, leadership, speaking about and speaking for the people, etc.

Temporal and spatial representations play an important role in both discourses. A vertical dimension of space can be modelled about bin Laden's discourse with God both at the remote end of the spatial axis and as an acting entity (Chilton 2004: 166) on the one hand and the United States on the other. The texts do not only rely heavily on doctrine-specific presumptions, but on representations of time and history as well. Bin Laden uses analogy to bring past events or religious narratives into contemporariness, with different processing models: the former orients the interpretation of current developments in the light of wider historical context - the Western influences in the Middle East prior and following the World Wars I and II, its economic and political interests, etc, whereby the Arabs appear as victims; the latter, though a reference to Hubal, invites to a moral analogy, by means of which the Muslims appear as victors of a spiritual battle and himself as a spiritual leader: 'I witness that there is no God but God and Mohammed is His slave and Prophet', 'I ask god Almighty', 'I swear by Almighty God', 'God is great and glory to Islam', etc. In an attempt to underpin the 'new role of religious belief systems' (Chilton 2004: 173), political representation has been found to rely on spatiality (understood to relate to time and physical and psychological space), with the self as the origin and the other at different distances from it and at the intersection of a number of dimensions, such as modality, society or rightness.

2.2.3. Race

The historical and social perspective on immigration and the corresponding regulation could not always offer a satisfactory answer to the quest as to why in different times the public opinion inclined in favour or against immigration. However, this

perspective supports to a certain point the argument that in times of economic difficulties, anti-immigration or even nativist racist feelings (Chang and Aoki 1997: 1395) abound. Reversely, the other case could be argued, namely that it is precisely ethnic prejudice what makes the dominant group self-attribute the whole credit for economic success what could encourage racial discrimination and causes opposition to immigration to increase, not only in periods of prosperity but especially so in economically uncertain times.

The diachronic perspective on immigration and regulation highlights the role played by racial discrimination, by drawing attention to the degree of confidence with which even the name of a law acknowledges it. The Chinese Exclusion Act has determined a regulation path that has been hostile to Asian presence in the U.S. for a long time in its history. By contrast, the entry for most white European newcomers has been unlimited for mainly the same time, viz. until the end of the nineteenth century. Racial exclusion was also (successfully) enforced at different times, against Irish and Italian people, against Southern and Eastern Europeans, and against non-whites in general.

The practice of lobbying as well as the dependence on economic groups for the funding of electoral campaigns allowed the political skills of both liberals and conservatives to converge towards an articulated 19th century reform to prevent immigration of Asian background. As such, the literacy test ruled in 1917 brought Chinese exclusion policies and limited through national quotas the selection of other immigrant groups until the second half of the century. During the 1960s, when national origins quotas were finally dismantled, the preference system was reshaped to reserve most annual quotas for those immigrants who already had family connections to U.S. citizens and permanent residents. Nevertheless, in subsequent years, an increasing population of Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean ethnics contributed to a surge of popular anti-immigrant views in the country.

The changes in the racial composition, shifting from predominantly white Europeans to Caucasians, further on to African American and Latino American can to a certain extent account for anti-racial feelings in the U.S.A. But it has also displaced the old (economic) catastrophist perspective in the anti-immigration discourse in favour of a cultural pessimism, which perceives racial change as a 'dilution' of American cultural identity, and a 'weakening' of the 'social fabric' of its population (Daniels 2003: 180). Especially the immigrants from Latin America are perceived by a part of academic elites and the larger public as conflicting with the culture and values of mainstream America, and as a risk to American culture (Huntington 2004: 31). Other immigration scholars argue this perception to be counterintuitive. A number of studies which undertake a close examination of the behaviour of Latino immigrants and their descendants reveal that, in terms of language, religion, education and employment, they feature the exact American attributes (Hanson 2005: 360), while the analogy with the Southern Italians immigrants of the twentieth century (Alba 2006) places them in a near future among the intellectual elite of America.

From a developmental view on society, the racial re-shaping of America brought by immigration triggered inevitable remodelling of political life. In this sense, policies which endorse 'new' immigration eventually capitalise on the demographic and racial shifts in the American population to cause political turning points and on the longer run a change in the way political power relates to ethnicity. Indeed, new immigrants have influenced the electoral calculations of party leaders and individual candidates (Tichenor 2002: 6), making established interest groups define their policy goals, building new ethnic organisations to influence governmental actions, even contributing directly to shifts in social science expertise with relevance to policymakers. Among the most active have been the lobbies opened by Jewish, Irish, Italian, Greek and finally Latin American

communities, who engaged in organised social forums aiming at dismantling anti-immigrant feelings but also promoting affirmative action and other local policies.

2.2.4. Economy and international politics

That an important affluent of economy is immigration was no secret back in 1907, when opposition to immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe led the Immigration Commission to conceptualise immigration 'primarily as an economic problem.' (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911, vol. 1, p. 25). This statement of the question takes immigration beyond the domain of social theories and into considerations of quantifiable economic realities.

It seems paradoxical for a country situated at the vanguard of political liberalism to raw upstream its own multicultural roots in the name of acrimonious bookkeeping. It makes sense though if you turn the page of individual freedom and come across the endnotes of economic liberalism, whereby the welfare of the larger society is addressed through a small number of interacting actors, first beneficiaries of a prosperity that spreads gradually to the larger society. The two sides of the every story made out wealth the driving force of American liberalism, from which social and political interaction are condemned to be indivisible.

From this point of view, the policy of the G.W. Bush Administrations has been seen as taking a step further, in the sense of neo-liberal corporate culture. Relying on a hardcore group of radicals, from Protestant Christians, neo-conservative Republicans, media gurus and corporate business (Giroux 2004: 494), he undertook a series of deregulations which allowed welfare and public sphere to be assumed by the private and the corporate (Steinmetz 2003: 337). The importance given to private charity, especially faith-based, is a corroboration of it.

In his State of the Union Address delivered on February 2, 2005, G.W. Bush made a proposal for changes in Social Security, based on partial privatization but did not offer more details until a couple of months later; in which he recognised reducing benefits for a part of the retirees. This could explain in part the lack of decisiveness in G.W. Bush's approach on social security, featuring equal taxation, and causing regressive tax to affect the most poor. In a system described by the former president as 'headed for bankruptcy' (2/02/2005), with a regressive demographic rate and a prospected financial regress, immigration provides an injection of income regardless whether the work is legal or illegal, on the regulated market, or in the private economy.

Certainly, the issue of economic contribution of immigrants has had different interpretations at different moments of the US history and the expectancy about the 'correct' contribution or the length of stay have not been exempt of political and cultural pressures over the time. For instance, the general Northern European Protestant environment which characterised early state-formation in North America had envisioned a rural republic, in tune with the affinities of early colonisers of contributing, through farming, to the economic viability of the New Continent. From this perspective, shared by 'moderate restrictionists' (Zeidel 2004: 24), 'new immigrants' were under suspicion for settling in ethnic groups in the cities, hence the politics of segregation of the larger native group commonly taken to epitomize the American civilization.

The modern debate about immigration, despite the undeniable ethnic component, has still paid significant attention to economic arguments. One can say that President G.W. Bush's support for guest workers and the 'path to citizenship' is not deliberately one targeting the racial-other (as with incidents at the borders, race is present as a collateral circumstance), but thoroughly obeying labour market discipline. Consistent to a utilitarian approach to immigration, which accounts immigration in terms of costs and benefits, American immigration policy of the last decades has balanced the scepticism about large scale (low-skilled) immigration, typically immigration from low-income strata of home societies, with the enthusiasm about highly-proficient students, engineering and IT professionals, university professors and entrepreneurs.

A common waiver of ethnic prejudice is wrapped in the discourse about the impact on taxes and spending policies, with the large number of low-skilled workers incriminated for exacerbating the flaws of the welfare system, and the increase in population distorting the environmental rights. These stereotype arguments betray the assumption that illegal immigrants do not pay taxes, which increases the taxation of the natives and reduces access to government benefits. This hypothesis is only partially verified by a number of economic studies related to immigration. Thus, the NRC estimates that immigration imposes a short-run burden of extra 0.12 % of GDP on the average native household at a national scale (Hanson 2005: 363). Moreover, on the long-run, the fiscal impact of immigration, in concept of immigrants' own contribution to Social Security and their offspring's, is predicted to be positive under the present conditions of rising taxes. The same study concludes that the costs are unequally distributed. Accordingly, capital owners, land and housing owners, commerce and the whole community enjoys benefits associated with immigration which could, in those states with high immigration rates, balance the costs.

On the other hand, the benefits of immigration - amounting to slightly more than 0.1% of GDP - come from better exploitation of local resources, reinvestment of capital, cut back on import, pension funds surplus, sales taxes and even contributions to Social Security by illegal immigrants using false identification numbers. If the short-term local implications of immigration are preferred, the conclusion that immigration is a threat to the U.S. well-being turn into an ideological booster of anti-immigration feelings in the population

Economic liberalism makes the issue of immigration overpass the field of domestic affairs, projecting immigrants at the intersection between market economy and ideological primacy. The different shifts in U.S. immigration policy argued in section 2.1 and 2.2 do not contradict the thesis that the periodic struggles between ideas and political actors of the twentieth century have indeed transcended the national territory. More specifically, they made possible a global competition between two ideological blocks commonly referred to as 'communism' and 'capitalism', which related antagonistically on the short run, but assured a certain complementarity on the longer run, also with respect to immigration.

The communist block had enforced a paternalistic role towards its products and its citizens. Its strategy consisted in confining the former to an internally agreed space and the latter to the borders of the nation-state. On the contrary, the capitalist block invested time and political efforts in trans-national outsourcing and economic agreements and made a positive effort to welcome new immigrants coming from the enclaves of the Soviet zone before and after the Perestroika. The sympathetic opening towards determinate categories of immigrants, at the same time enforced the political ideas of popular sovereignty in the American public and to the whole world the special relevance of U.S.A. internationally. In a conjoined effort, liberal human rights advocates (in favour of more expansive refugee/asylum policies) and conservative Cold Warriors (perhaps predicting the ideological and

economic disestablishment of the East), had courted the skilled and the intelligentsia escaping those areas of influence, such as Vietnamese victims of the anti-communist U.S. intervention or the displaced Indochinese.

In spite of the theoretical overture, the U.S. immigration system operated selectively: while at certain times it advertised specifically targeted openings, at the same time, many Chilean, Haitian, Filipino, and South Korean refugees fleeing regime persecution were virtually ignored. One such example is represented by the approximately fifty Haitians who received asylum in the United States between 1972 and 1980, out of the total number of 30,000 Haitians asylum-seekers (Tichenor 2002: 224). The oscillating attitude about immigration is not only applied to the decision about who can come and who cannot, but also about the entitlement to the local resources of those who are already in the country. The example of some labour unions complaining about the absence of labour rights for the immigrants who come under the guest worker program, or the millions of illegal immigrants living for more than ten years in the territory coping with the constant danger of deportation confirm the ideological rationale behind some of the openings in the immigration policy.

2.3. SOME ASPECTS OF DISCURSIVE ALTERITY

It can be concluded with a certain degree of safety that, in the long run, the history of immigration regulation in the U.S. has had a positive effect on the immigrants. It provided its population a legal framework for settling, living and prospering in the new land and it attempted to carry on positive change in the life of their descendants, creating a model of prosperity which still attracts millions of people every year. Whether initially accepted, tolerated or not, the present success stories of millions of Americans had sometimes required the experience of limiting, often exclusionary conditions, and the corresponding share of alterity. Some went there being poor, lured with narratives of fertile lands and indentured themselves for passage to local developers. The lack of previous infrastructure left them at the will of their employers for work rights and that of the individual states for decisions concerning naturalization. On the darker side, undesired immigrants rejected at the ports of entry or identified in the territory have experienced alterity in the form of return, deportation or detention. However integrated or rejected, all immigrants have been identified as others at some point of their experience. To the practical everyday alterity experienced on the street, at work or at home, has added the reported truths about immigrants, with degrees of subtlety provided by the re-focalization from race to labour, and the increasing role of media communication in different aspects and formats.

Earlier in this chapter the notion was argued that human evolution is defined by migration, which implies temporary or permanent settlement in territories other than the birthplace. If anything, at the heart of the national narrative of the United States of America lays its long-lasting immigrant character. The steady concern of the U.S. government with the regulation of immigration represents the legal facet of a phenomenon whose social relevance cannot be disconnected from its history of economic development. A sober account of the representation of the immigrants counts on good knowledge of these contextual variables which accompany the facts and the experience of immigration to new places.

On the other hand, what is also important for the study of language and politics is the concurrence of the representational and referential perspectives, as ‘the way in which alternate ways of referring to the same *entity* can have different meanings’ (Chilton 2004: 49) (original emphasis). For instance, the noun phrases ‘the Commander-in-Chief’ and ‘number 41’ denote or refer to the same person in a moment in time, namely the former president of the United States G.H.W. Bush, but they don’t have the same meaning. In addition to reference, the examination of political text implies adopting an ethical stance on a specific linguistic expression, as deciding truth and falsity in relation to people, objects and events so that in the end representation can end in divergent interpretation of perspectives, intentions and propositions.

The contextual information on immigration to the United States - and its regulation - offers a frame of situation or experience which allows the conceptualisation of the incoming foreigners in terms of temporal, spatial and societal source domains. There is a temporal distance between old immigrants whose present representation comes in the schemata of success story and the new unauthorised immigrants, presently underpinned as law, or more generally, entropy breakers. There is a different legal approach in the case of Latino American immigrants to the U.S., Mexicans especially, and newcomers from other countries of the world, such as those on the governmental list of eligible countries. Finally, there is a social and moral distance between immigrant criminality and all other people, citizens or non-citizens living in the U.S.A. commonly reflected in the legal system and (political) discourse about immigration.

Observing metaphors about foreigners, whether in educated speech such as the political discourse of the British Conservative Enoch Powell or the argotic talk of a group of white suspects in the murder of a young black man, Chilton has found political talk to feature common frames rooted in experiences such as movement, journey, containment or boundary-setting (Chilton 2004: 52-57). Moreover, he has noticed a particular salience of spatial representations and modality, in relation to which the speaker positions actors (which can be identified as the self and the other) and processes. The extensive presence of non-explicit meanings (Chilton 2004: 111-117) identified in the 1968 discourse on immigration of Powell can be seen in the context of political communication to perform the function of epistemic and deontic legitimation (‘they have got it exactly and diametrically wrong’, ‘they know not what they do’ and emotional coercion through fear (‘the rising peril’), or affinity (‘in fifteen or twenty years’ time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man’).

The differences between the two discourses - one is a monologue, the other is cooperative talk, one is catering for value judgements, the other presupposes common ideological grounds, one is directed to an educated audience, the other is unrestrained talk recorded in a police surveillance videotape, and the almost three decades which separate them - does not save them from featuring common strategies of argumentation. The absence of legitimation (Chilton 2004: 126) in the casual talk does not prevent it from engaging the group into feelings of aversion, or presenting past apocalyptic provisions as right (‘he was right, they (...) have ruined it’) and obeying a common group ethic (‘why (...) should he want niggers to win it’). The emotional coercion comes in the form of instigation to violence against the out group (‘I reckon every nigger should be chopped up mate’); finally, despite the shared ideological affinities, one can see an argumentative move directed towards strengthening group membership by alluding to a commonly shared past and prospect future (‘supergrass thing mate only took off since niggers come into the country’).

There are elements of similarity in the analyses of alterity carried on by Chilton and van Dijk's account of the ideological square device or Tenorio's 'language of evil'. All three linguists acknowledge the centrality of the self in political (and politically motivated) discourse and the use of evaluation in the representation of the self and the other. As previously illustrated, Chilton situates the self at the intersection between spatial, temporal and social axes of the narrative world, whose analysis implies a salient cognitive component. Also, Chilton shares with van Dijk the enthusiasm for the cognitive insights in critical analysis of discourse and both have produced a wealth of linguistic evidence of the bi-polar representation of actors and processes, viz. *we/* the self and *them/* the other, as well as the centrality of the self in political (and politically motivated) discourse.

Concerned with the presence of ideology in discourse, van Dijk proposes a multidisciplinary framework that combines social, cognitive and discursive components to account for how ideologies are expressed, reproduced, represented, acquired, confirmed or changed, and perpetuated. They acquire textual visibility in the polarization between in-groups and out-groups, viz. in the way in which members of the ingroup emphasize their own good deeds or practices and the bad ones of the out-groups, and mitigate or deny their own bad deeds or practices, and the good ones of the outgroup (van Dijk 2006: 115). Considering an article published in the Sunday Telegraph on the 8th of August 2004, van Dijk has highlighted with empirical data ideology at work in political discourse, in which alterity is both representative of and instrumental to domination. In an attempt to counter the criticism over the Government policy on the specific matter of income difference between 'rich and poor', the conservative British newspaper undertakes a strategy of argumentation which consists in de-authorising the source of information, namely an IPPR report and a colleague in the press which echoed it, the Financial Times. The ideological implications of what appears to be an economical issue are made evident right away in the topic choice, since income redistribution is typical ideological propositions of the Left, and one of the most dividing issue in politics, precisely for the predictable positions towards it. A hint is made to the opponents' ideological bias in the representation of the newspaper as 'pinko paper', linguistically realized by a playful association between the Left-wing political views and the Financial Times' page colour: 'FT has been getting pinker and pinker', 'No, it was not the Morning Star. It was the Financial Times' (The Telegraph, 08/08/2004).

One variant of the strategy of negative other/ positive self-representation is realized by group sub-division and subordinating the former evaluation to the latter. More specifically, positive self-representation is undertaken by invalidating the cognitive grounds on which the opponents based their statements (which are discrepant from those of the self) and validating those of less mainstream left-wing newspapers which share the same opinion with the self: 'The more thoughtful commentators on the Left have begun to see what a blind alley this is'. In this case, 'the others' are: the Institute of Public Policy Research, characterized as 'left-wing', therefore ideologically biased and having an agenda 'with staggering predictability produced yet another report' and the Financial Times, itself 'resolutely distributionist' – an ironic hint to its loss in circulation, besides the matter of wealth distribution, and whose endorsement of the Labour candidate in 1992 is alleged to affect its image of neutrality ('after all, it endorsed Neil Kinnock'). The path metaphor is intertwined with the experience of healing, as a segment of the political opponents, presupposed as lacking (visual) perception and (perhaps despite this condition) walking on an ally, have experienced the recovery of sight and therefore rectitude.

Following on legitimising and delegitimising strategies and the emotive effect caused by those in the audience, Chilton has argued claims of epistemic and deontic truth from the

part of the speaker when representing foreigners as invasion, domination, imminent threat, unspecified dangers, outsiders, dependants, but also, domination, destruction, madness, death, fire and the comparison with the Nazi threat of invasion (Chilton 2004: 111- 116). Chilton shares with van Dijk the enthusiasm for the cognitive insights in critical analysis of discourse and both have produced a wealth of linguistic evidence of the bi-polar representation of actors and processes, viz. we/ the self and them/ the other. However, he tends to attribute a behavioural cause to the phenomenon of the centrality of the self in political (and politically motivated) discourse, and situate it into a broader evolutionary frame, while the latter argues it as ideological use of language, in the light of its social implications.

In a practical exercise of critical analysis of discourse, the Spanish linguist argues with examples the case of alterity in the media treatment given to the long-tenured Iraqi president Saddam Hussein at the time of his capture, as well as in the discourse accompanying the debate over legislative formula in the case of homosexual marriage and adoption. Despite the differences related to the nature of moral conflicts assumed by the debate and the consequences in the immediate and broader societies in which either problematic is risen, the evidence indicated that the others are those whose opposite cognitive and moral strands are criticised, or otherwise devaluated, arguably for not lying 'at the centre' of the self, or not being 'natural', 'normal citizens', in an overall binary opposition between (natural) good and (perverse) evil (Hidalgo Tenorio 2010: 41-60). Thus, the others are disqualified by associating his description with similes of irrationality, for example by suggesting psychological deviance ('problems'), being ill or wrong ('disorder', 'other things'); in the field of international politics, the other is represented as septic ('scumbag') or evil ('evil wretch', 'Specter'), threatening or abiding future perils ('he enslaved people', 'he threatened to attack your neighbours', 'a symbol of defiance to the U.S. plans in the region'). On a more creative side on negative representation, the other is situated lower (and more outdated) on the evolution scale ('the old beast of Baghdad', 'snake') or somatically fragmented by zooming in on the face ('hair checked for lice', 'his eyes') and messy ('over-grown grey-white beard').

An account of the complex American historical and institutional context provides a sound basis for the analysis of U.S. immigration through an account of its regulation, linking, first in a historic, then in a political key, the role played by institutions in different periods of its history. It has further construed that the significant state-building took place with the consequential 'othering', first of the local populations, then of the newly arrived, in a longstanding American tradition of alterity. Thirdly, an insight is given into previous analyses of discursive alterity, namely Chilton's account of centrality of the Self (capital in original) across at least three dimensions, time, space and modality (Chilton 2004: 57-58); van Dijk's 'ideological square' and Hidalgo Tenorio's account of the 'language of evil'.

The examples chosen to argue alterity in political discourse have revealed the existence of common features of realization in terms of (types of) actors and participation, which oriented the linguists towards similar approaches in their analytic task, and even the reliance on cognition and metaphor to account for the link between language as form, use and context on the one hand and society on the other. How immigration is portrayed in the presidential discourses of G.W. Bush, in similarity but also contrast with past concepts of alterity, and how immigrants are construed as others is a quest that will be pursued in the following chapters, especially so in chapter 7, dealing with textual results and their discussion.

CHAPTER THREE. THEORETICAL FRAME

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for the analysis of the patterns of alterity in relation to the immigrants to United States of America, as identified in the speeches of G.W. Bush. The framework is to be explained in the light of the interdisciplinary approach promoted by Critical Discourse Analysis.

3.1. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

CDA represents a heterogeneous approach to language study, which accounts for linguistic expressions in the light of the functions they perform, and thus situating them in the context of their production and reception. From its functional approach to language stems a number of analytic practices applied at the levels of text, discourse and those aspects of the larger society prompted by the matter taken into consideration. It is widely recognised that CDA is particularly indebted to the interdisciplinary nature of the Frankfurt School, whose principal concern can be roughly summarised in the concept of criticism as applied to scientific models, and exemplified with the more specific concerns with the role played by theory and experience in shaping knowledge, and the Hegelian concept of *Weltgeist*, which regards history as an intelligible result of past contradictions. On the more practical side, the critical theory aimed at disclosing ideological manipulation and contribute to the "the emancipation of human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (Horkheimer 1976: 219).

The analytic mode proposed by the critical approach has produced changes or readjustments in the understanding of a series of linguistic and cognitive matters. One specific adjustment regards the need for a new scientific apparatus, materialised in the social science, different from that used by the natural sciences. Such enlargement and readjustment touched fundamental research questions in the study of language, as, for example, what is understood by text, intertextuality or discourse, issues which shall be dealt with below. Although CDA has been the object of (past and present) criticism regarding its methodological diversity and the concern with ideology (issues tackled in the section dedicated to criticism), its interdisciplinarity avails it as a practical tool for the analysis and interpretation of the discursive representation of the immigrants in the United States of America at the beginning of the 21st century. Such analysis will be completed by the discussion of how ideology can be constructed and socially reproduced and how political discourse can in turn make its contribution to the reproduction of ideological beliefs in society and with what implications.

Moving within the field of discourse studies, the present investigation undertakes a socio-political perspective on language (use), which differs from traditional structural descriptions in that it brings into play the communicative component motivating the text in

the first place, whose knowledge orients on the meaning of a given linguistic formulation. In the present research, 'text' is used with the broader meaning of 'corpus' while 'discourse' designates a communicative event, i.e., the discourse(s) of G.W. Bush. However, it appears that a number of terminological distinctions need to be made at this point about key concepts such as text, discourse, intertextuality, and their implications to critical discourse studies.

3.1.1. Text and discourse

Text is often identified as 'an actual use of language' (Widdowson 2007: 4), in contrast with the intended/ interpreted meaning, or as a language unit 'with a definable communicative function' (Crystal 1992: 72), integrating a 'continuous stretch of language (...)' often with some coherence whereby an argument or narrative is transmitted (ibid, p. 25). In either case, text appears as a product intermediary between sentence and discourse, while discourse is often taken to link the logical content of language to the processes involved (communication, society), therefore calling in social and cognitive aspects to construe a more functional approach to language study.

These language distinctions are not new: the dichotomy *langue-parole* established by Saussure already envisioned language as an abstract system of signs from the actual linguistic realisation, distinguishing, that is, between units and processes. For the linguists researching outside the synchronic, normative and non-communicative paradigms it was obvious that the study of 'language in use' (Crowley 1991: 6), implied refocusing from sentence as a formal unit of analysis to whole 'stretches of connected sentences' (Birch 1989: 145). However, carrying language study beyond the sentence seems to have opened Pandora's Box in language studies. Lacking a proven analytical apparatus, the search for meaning and purpose meant breaking the scheme of formal, de-contextualised analysis of a stretch of language (Cook 1989: 158). The answer to the need for broadening of the linguistic perspective (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 5) came from the examination of the extra-linguistic processes which accompany the process of text production and reception and which are accountable for the linguistic forms and uses selected in the text. Finally, a conquest was made in the understanding of a text, from ideal author and ideal reader to text producers and receivers, who are, as Beaugrande puts it, 'social and cognitive agents' and 'whole human beings', with their own identities, who engage in discourse interaction, and who follow their goals and pursue access to knowledge (Beaugrande 1993: 427).

Certainly, the definition of 'discourse' in linguistic approaches to discourse analysis is far from unchallenged: while some conceive of discourse as the actualisation of language as talk (Wodak 1996), others see it as a social formation of meanings such as bureaucratic or institutional discourse (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). Occasional CDA practitioners work in their research with a notion of discourse including both written and spoken language (Martin 1992), while some others understand discourse in broader semiotic terms (Iedema 2003) as virtually any kind of signal carrying a potential message.

Coming from the field of critical narrative, van Dijk (1997a: 2) is one of the first scholars to elaborate on the notion of discourse. He argued for a three-dimensional concept in which form, meaning and action could be integrated, each in its own particular way. The first refers to the formal structure, that is, the organisation of elements, sentences and syntax of the actual text. The second dimension, related to the previous, is concerned with

the way in which information is organised. More specifically, it is related to the way in which meanings interact to render coherence to the text; therefore it inquires into how the information is presented by means of focus, topics and subtopics, and in what ways these relate to the outside world by bonds of reference. Finally, van Dijk's third dimension of discourse focuses on the social actions performed or brought about by the discursive act, in the immediate community or the broader society at large. As Fowler and Kress (1979: 26) noted, this third dimension implies that the social aspect of communication needs to be given a place in the interpretation of discourse and vice-versa, the analyst needs to recur to society and culture in which discourse is produced in order to decipher the meaning of discourse.

However, for clarity and concision, this chapter dedicated to the theoretical framework acknowledges at least two specialised meanings of discourse, one oriented towards language as a process and the other as socio-cognitive loading. A process-oriented distinction between text and discourse, allows the former to be seen as a product while the latter as a process of social interaction (Fairclough 1989: 20) during which meaning is generated. At the same time, discourse can be viewed as structured forms of knowledge (van Dijk 1998: 5), while text can be taken to refer to concrete utterances, spoken or written (Wodak and Mayer 2009c: 6). In recent years, Wodak has argued for discourse as 'a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action' (Wodak 2009: 89).

The novelty of the analytical purpose of CDA does not relate therefore to its focus on functions, understood as relations established between units of language, their roles and the values attached to them (Martinez-Dueñas 2002: 21). Its originality should be attributed to the emphasis it gives to the metafunctions performed by language, especially as defined by Halliday (2004: 29-30), although the argumentation theory and rhetoric have also been theoretically put in the service of methodical CDA research. By describing an interpersonal and ideational function of language, Halliday establishes a distinction, shared by CD analysts, between text - understood as 'a string of messages which is ascribed a semiotic unity' (Hodge and Kress 1988: 63), and discourse - seen as the social process in which texts are embedded (Hodge and Kress 1988: 6). From this perspective it is possible to maintain that different uses of language present themselves with a background for the 'rational reconstruction' of meaning from the many possible meanings made available by the complex 'semiosis' of language. Hodge and Kress's concept of define semiosis, i.e. 'the processes and effects of the production and reproduction, reception and circulation of meaning in all forms' (1988: 261-263) cannot be properly understood without 'the capacity to imply some version(s) of reality as a possible referent', which they call 'mimesis' (idem). In other words, the rational reconstruction argued above implies the possibility that previous meanings become available for posterior re-contextualisation, whence they become available for new instantiations.

Halliday's perception of language as part of the larger social semiosis can be traced in CDA theoretical core, namely by acknowledging the distinction between different levels of linguistic analysis and rationalising the need for a contextual background not only regarding the textual 'facts', but its social embedding as well, as a procedure stemming from the nature of the object under analysis. Decodifying language as a function-oriented social system, as Halliday does, allows for new and more complex approaches to the analysis of language. For instance, correlations or contradictions can be detected between language use (for example, words and topics used to talk about immigrants) and other social practices (education, charity, labour, entertainment), especially in political

discourse, which challenge the linguist to locate them with increased precision and account for their (lack of) manifestation.

Unlike discourse analysis and text linguistics, which also attempt a language description, CDA aims at showing how linguistic (discursive) practices are linked to the socio-political structures of power (van Dijk 1990: 85). A number of its practitioners, such as Fairclough, van Dijk or Lazar, have dedicated time and effort to theoretical and practical accounts of ideological discourse. Thus, ideologies may be seen as ‘distorted representations’ of the social reality (Althusser 1971:169). Picturesque as it is, and perhaps not entirely faulty in its clinical picture, Althusser’s concept appears partial as it draws on a class-related sociology in which classes are oversimplistic categories. It is rather Michelle Lazar’s definition which the present work is more indebted to, according to whom ideologies are ‘representations of practices formed from particular perspectives in the interest of maintaining dominance’ (Lazar 2005: 6). The choice is motivated by the fact that it allows for the understanding of dominance in a moral key, and because it puts at the centre of the phenomenon the very persons who suffer it. In so doing, it allows the researcher to draw a more thorough image of the real character in play. In the case of immigrants, such underpinning illuminates facets occasionally obscured by public discourse, such as the most fundamental dispositions of human beings: the quest for self-realisation, autonomy, neutrality, participation, etc.

Different researchers of the school have understood to contribute to the common goal of exposing ideological manipulation slightly differently. Some studies focused on the role of discourse in the reproduction/ challenge of unequal power relations (van Dijk 1993: 249) and others explored the relationships of causality and determination between discourse as practice, events and texts on the one hand and social structures, relations and processes on the other (Fairclough 1995: 132).

3.1.2. Text and context

A linguistic perspective on CDA cannot be properly presented without exploring the way in which it intends to deal with the relation between analysis and interpretation, which can be roughly summarised by the proposition that the analysis of discourse, unlike that of the text, is interpretative and explanatory. The early work of Fairclough already embraces the discourse view of language as a form of social practice (Fairclough 1989: 18-20). More specifically, language is a part of society, therefore linguistic phenomena are also social phenomena, determined by social relationships and determining (maintaining or challenging) them, in the virtue of its function of representation. Even though, Fairclough warns, not all social phenomena are (primarily) linguistic: language is instrumental to the acquisition of power, whether in social, political or scientific contexts.

The present study draws heavily on Fairclough’s model for CDA, which takes into account three dimensions of discourse, each working with different aspects of language and therefore requiring a different approach, intimately related to the methodological model discussed here. First, language is *a product*: an utterance, a command line in a computer operating system, a joke or a book. The object of analysis, i.e., the discourses of G.W. Bush, is decoded by means of text analysis, viz. description of the vocabulary, grammar, and meaning-making devices such as cohesion, polarisation, etc.

Secondly, language can also be understood as social *process*, by means of which the object is produced and interpreted. Accordingly, the selected speeches are understood as discursive practice produced, circulated and consumed in society (Bloomaert and Bulcaen 2000: 448), and conversant with American contemporary discourse in topic, argumentation, values, etc. Attention is also given to discourse representation –the way in which utterances are selected, modified or contextualised; accordingly, the representation of the immigrants may access cognitive (and narrative) resources about historical conditions under which a nation emerged in North America, or present news about increased Latino presence in federal prisons. Being the product of social change, the discourse features ‘intertextuality’ and ‘interdiscursivity’ (Fairclough 2006: 85), which shall be dealt with in 4.1.3. They can be made visible through the process analysis, viz. interpretation, of the different discourse types, genres or styles which can be identified in the text.

Finally, language is *socially conditioned*, through a series of cognitive resources characterised by a cyclic evolution in that they have social origins, are socially transmitted and serve in turn as a base for social practice. Therefore, discourse is social interaction and ideological discourse is a locus of social struggle, whose origins, reproduction and practical consequences need to be tackled whether in order to legitimise or change them. Typically exposed by CDA as practices of dominance, ideological discourse is expected to be made transparent by background social analysis, viz. the explanation of the socio-historical conditions which govern those social processes.

In viewing language as social practice, CDA moves beyond the strictly formal account of language, into the exploration of its ‘text-immanent’ and ‘socio-diagnostic’ contexts (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 32). The former is revealed by analysing the linguistic selections and co-occurrence, signifiers, etc., and the latter by focusing on the historical determinations of those respective selections and the conditions under which those realisations have specific meanings. In Fairclough’s terms (Fairclough 1989: 21), a relationship is pursued between text, interaction (in the process of text production) and context (or the social conditions of production and reception).

The perspective of language as a social process enriches the analysis with the focus on the social constraints involved in the communicative act. However, this critical device is not to be attributed to CDA exclusively. Literary theory, for instance, had turned to contingent aspects to the text surface to explore the language complexity found or suspected underlying literary texts. Perhaps it even did so with a taste for explicit and organised methodology that critically turned against CDA (see for instance, the criticism formulated by Henry Widdowson, and discussed in 4.1.6).

Fairclough approaches the contribution of broader social constraints to the analysis of language use in terms of ‘order of discourse’ and ‘social order’ (Fairclough 1989: 25); the latter, more general, refers to social institutions which configure spheres of action and types of interaction, while the former is related to language use as moulded by those practices and visible in the structure of discourse, the degree of formality and institutional practices, in which relationships of power are manifested.

Both constraints are particularly relevant for the present investigation, since the discourse performer is an icon of American power but also the President acts in representation of the highest institution in the United States and as such the delivery of the discourses can be ascribed to the sphere of politico-institutional communication. These constraints allows the investigator to approach G.W. Bush’s discourse as part of the process of power management while one of the main tenets of CDA indicate power

relations as a highly sensitive context for ideological discourse. Therefore, even though explicit ethnic discourse is unlikely to be produced, possible cues that could be detected and solidly argued as hate discourse can create or enforce a cognitive substructure, with far more implications - social and discursive - than with any other performer.

3.1.3. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

The work of Fairclough (see References), has been among the most influential in CDA from a socio-semiotic approach, to the extent that he has employed the tools made available by Systemic Functional Linguistics and SFL has received an useful feedback from his theorising and analysis of news media texts (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 139-155). Moreover, it is his recurrent concern with the language of media what prompted him to develop a theory of intertextuality, born out of the specific concern for the pace at which changes in the media accompany, when not directly proceeded changes in the larger society.

Intertextuality, as theorised by Fairclough, aimed at accounting for the way in which the abstract social-cultural context of media texts is constituted, mostly through the incorporation of intertexts (1992c: 101-136). He draws on Bakhtin's notions of dialogism, heteroglossia and polyphony (1986) to conceptualise intertextuality and on Bernstein's (1996) work on the inevitable operationalisation of ideology in any re-contextualisation of knowledge (Fairclough, 2006: 26). For instance, news texts are found to be construed from or in tune with other texts, whose presence in media texts betray micro-trends which are constitutive of the broader changes taking place in the context of mass media. An important implication of this conceptualisation of intertextuality for political discourse is the need to examine whose interests are served by the choice of intertexts and how they are re-contextualised in order to suggest a complete the interpretative travail. Wodak notes that recontextualisation is realised by reference to a common topic, actor, event, by allusion, arguments, etc. (Wodak 2009: 90) which turns the comparison between Bush's political speech on immigration and his policy as a valid analytic move.

Fairclough describes two types of intertextuality, the 'manifest' and the 'constitutive'. The resources for manifest intertextuality have to do with the transfer of meanings from other texts in the form of knowledge, positions, texts, sources, etc. The level of 'constitutive intertextuality' (interdiscursivity) on the other hand, deals with a series of external 'discourse conventions' (Fairclough 1992c: 124-125) secant to a text, as opposed to specific external in manifest intertextuality. Discourse conventions used in interdiscursivity include 'genres', 'activity types' and 'discourses', and also 'styles', 'modes' and 'voices' (Fairclough 1995: 76-77). From a Systemic Functional perspective, these refer to a higher level source of meaning than those provided by intertextuality, located at the level of genre, register and/or discourse semantics.

Fairclough emphasises that intertextual analysis is a separate stage and a different kind of analysis from linguistic analysis of a text. More specifically, his exemplifications of interdiscursivity in text are linguistically or semiotically involved, bridging the levels of linguistic analysis with the functions of interpersonal meaning (Martin and White 2005: 33-35) at the discourse semantic level, but also remotely with the functions of ideational or textual meaning. Central to the analysis of interdiscursivity is the incorporation of different 'discourses' and different 'styles' in a single text (Fairclough 2005: 194-102), a point made

earlier by Foucault when he defined discourse as a (diachronically formed) group of statements characterised by order, correlation, position, function and breaks (Foucault 1972: 37-8, 97-9). For Fairclough, the external discourses traced in the text are recognisable at the text level in lexical choices and metaphors (Fairclough 2005: 96), which are loaded with evocative and evaluative power.

For CDA practitioner Ruth Wodak, interdiscursivity points towards a notion of discourse defined by openness and hybridity (Wodak 2009: 91). In other words, it takes into account the possibility that, at any point, a topic may be illustrated by other subtopic(s), belonging to other fields of the social reality. Drawing on Reisigl (2007: 34-35), she comes up with eight different categories, organised in fields of action, with their respective (sub) genres and topics, which are used in the arena of political action. They include: lawmaking procedure (law/ bill, MP/ minister/ presidential speech, regulation/ recommendation), public attitude/ will formation (press release/ conference/ interview, radio/ TV intervention; press article/ book), party (internal) formation (declaration/speech), organisation of interstate (international) relations (ideological (peace, war, hate, non-violence) speech, note, ultimatum, treaty), political advertising (slogan/ speech/ brochure/ poster/ spot), political executive and administration (decision/ rejection; major's/ chancellor's, farewell/ resignation speech) and political control (declaration of the opposition, parliamentary question, press release, petition for referendum).

Fairclough illustrates interdiscursivity in the shift towards a more conversational style produced in the media in the 1980s and 1990s; for this period under study, it was found that for the first time in the media the formal merged with the more familiar, even intimate speech, due to their orientation towards large, increasingly international audiences. Also, Fairclough detected a tendency towards dramatising (2005: 89-93), and more generally towards entertaining, which was cultivated strongly in the period following the critical approach of the 60s and 70s. Other social changes traced in the texts are represented by technology and corporatisation, in what Fairclough called 'commodification of the news' (1995b: 130-166), viz. a strategy of adopting entertainment roles in order to sell. Based on a large possibility of resources, this well-documented study revealed different types of interdiscursivity, which he described in terms of value-loaded meanings. A number of critical linguists have drawn on Fairclough's seminal work for further research, which made possible over the years van Leeuwen's semiotic analysis of multimodal and verbal-visual 'texts' (1996), with his research in social actors and sentiments and Chouliaraki's (2006) inquiry into spectator roles and emotion, to name but a few directions.

3.1.4. Theoretical and methodological osmosis

Various directions in CDA differ in their theoretical underpinnings, however, particular impulse was given by Halliday's 'social semiotics' (1978), attuned with Foucault's 'discursive regimes' and sharing concerns with Habermas' 'power of reflection' (Habermas 1996b: 170). The marriage between the social semiotics and the social theory has made possible the emergence of a number of linguistic schools, in which the generativist Chomsky could neighbour Halliday, the socio-linguistics of Labov and Bernstein could cross fields with theorists of language from outside the discipline of linguistics, such as the psychoanalyst Freud. Notwithstanding that, two major

methodological lines have emerged and occasionally intertwined: Halliday's Systemic functional Linguistics and Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach, with a particular mention to van Dijk's contribution from cognitive linguistics and critical narrative.

Halliday developed the concept of social semiotics in linguistics, allowing language to be conceptualised as social fact, whose use can be revealed by interpreting language within its socio-cultural context (Halliday 1978: 2-4). The primary focus on verbal language marked the beginnings of the Critical Linguistics project, pioneered by Hodge and Kress (1993 [1979]; 1988). Emerging in a semiotic paradigm, 'Critical Language Studies' fostered an integrative study of the relation between language and power (Fairclough 1989: Introduction) which allowed different types of linguistic material to be studied for different subject-matters, and even non-linguistic material, as is the case with the multimodal analysis used by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001). Although the emerging field was identified for some decades with the name Critical Discourse Analysis, some of the most celebrated practitioners have often defined their scholarship as 'Critical Discourse Studies'

It is relevant to note that Halliday's SFL and the broader CDA discipline have developed as open dynamic systems, partly originating in "metalinguistic contact situations" (Matthiessen, 2009: 15) in which both operated since the 1960s. Halliday's conception of language as both system and behaviour shares the concern manifested by CDA in relating the textual with the social and provides to the latter an account of the social construction of meaning. Moving within the functional paradigm, linguists like Fowler (1979), Kress and Hodge (1979) and Fairclough (1989, 2000) relied on Halliday's meta-functions for their research into the connection between language and power. Other researchers reached out to other fields for their analytic enterprise, as their object of investigation demanded. One such example is provided by van Leeuwen (1995, 1996, 1999, 2008), who took a Social Actors and Multimodal Approach to integrate macro social theories with linguistic analysis.

CDA analysis working with the functional paradigm has taken into discussion three language (meta)functions, namely the ideational, interpersonal and textual (Halliday 1985: 53). Later developments in SFL allowed researchers to refer to a four-class distinction, viz., experiential, interpersonal, textual and logical (Halliday 1994: 36) to account for meaning in a text-context relation. For the investigation of immigrant alterity in the discourses of G.W. Bush, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 61) have been found to present the appropriate relation between and the four metafunctions determined back in 1994 and the different types of meaning they construe:

1. The experiential metafunction construes a model of experience and corresponds to the approach of clause as representation
2. The interpersonal metafunction is involved in enacting (social) relationships and is rendered visible when the clause is approached as locus of exchange
3. The textual meaning has the role of creating relevance to context, corresponding to clause as message
4. Logical metafunction is involved in construing logical relations

For the purpose of the present work, the Hallidayan tradition was explored for experiential and interpersonal meaning and choice far more than textual meaning, although logical and textual meanings have also been explored in the form of argumentation,

especially by recourse to the Discourse-Historical Approach, which will be introduced briefly and will be illustrated in section 5.2 of the following chapter.

Other theoretical grounds in CDA, apart from Halliday's SFL, were offered by the Vienna School and cognitive linguistics, pioneered in varying degrees by philosophers like Bertrand Russell and Ludwig Wittgenstein at the beginning of the 20th century. Logical positivism was a shared orientation within The Vienna Circle, holding that formal logic should be put to work to underpin empirical data, with the consequent rejection of other epistemic perspectives. Among these, ethics and aesthetics were dismissed as subjective preferences, while theology and metaphysics were not even considered valid epistemic concerns, as they appeared to the Vienna School as meaningless.

Applied to the study of language, this philosophical stand has oriented CDA research into fieldwork and analysis of gathered data, in a number of problems such as the disorders of discourse, discourse and racism, or national identity (Wodak (1996), Wodak and Reisigl (1999), Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (2009b). The School's engagement with logical positivism (logical empiricism) led the said linguists to attempt a theory of the context and argumentation within CDA, which materialized in the Discourse-Historical Approach. DHA presents itself as a triangulatory analytical template, problem-oriented in its approach, deductive in its methodology, working with multi-disciplinary empirical observations, theories and methods and using background information in order to carry on critical analysis.

Finally, cognitive psychology contributed a third dimension to the theoretical perspective to the study of language and society. Drawing on the philosophical and political ideas of the Frankfurt School, van Dijk proposes a theoretical framework (van Dijk 1998, 2005) to account for the way in which discourse structure influences the formation, reproduction and challenge of mental models and social representations. Owing to his experience in critical narrative, van Dijk approaches the textual level, as a complex structure whose macro-structure orients the interpretation of a text through a suggested model of events. More specifically, ideological manipulation is found to take place according to a four-move algorithm, by emphasising our good/ their bad behaviour followed by de-emphasising our bad/ their good behaviour (van Dijk 2006: 124)

Working with one or more theoretical frames, CDA practitioners have looked into and disclosed a broad series of ideological practices in various fields of inquiry, with the aim of informing and causing change in favour of the most affected by injustice. Thus, different types of discourses of dominance encountered include gender inequality at work (Tannen 1994); in the media (Fowler, Kress, Hodge and Trew 1979), in media and cultural studies (Fairclough 1995), news discourse and racism in the press (van Dijk 1992, 1992b). Critical political discourse was undertaken, among others, by Chilton (1985, 1988, 1995, 1996) on the language of the nuclear arms debate, Orwellian language in politics, security metaphors, etc, Chilton and Lakoff (1995) on foreign policy metaphor, Lazar (2005b) on gender hierarchy at the workplace, home, and public sphere, to name only a few notable linguists working in the field. Although in an instrumental, rather than theoretical manner, research combining CDA and Corpus Linguistics, a series of researchers in collaboration with Ruth Wodak (Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravinik, Krzyzanowski and Wodak 2008) allowed the unprecedented investigation of large collections of texts, both quantitatively - revealing the formal characterisation of texts, but also, qualitatively - by the more critical selection, of text-driven contextual relevant linguistic patterns.

Irrespective of their diversity of approaches, CDA practitioners share a common interest in 'demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic investigation of

semiotic data' (Wodak 2007: 197), which was not a goal with the study of language isolated from context. For instance, a global approach on the discourse on immigration can be expressed as the sum of mental processes convergent towards the scrutiny of local meanings microstructure-generated meanings – and whose result could be that of 'understanding' the actions, practices, intentions of G.W. Bush as part of the social phenomenon analysed -, these findings would still not account for the larger, structural characteristics of this phenomenon, such as: the causes of displacement, class rearrangement as a result of immigration (both in sending and receiving countries), social and cultural codes attached to immigrants or the impact of the ideal standard of community and community member in their social representation.

3.1.5. Critical standpoint

The previous subchapters have argued the originality of CDA at the time of its emergence, viz. the proposal of a discourse analysis reaching simultaneous strata of the linguistic system and its particular uses, in the light of more complex data concerning the text but also those located in other social practices. It has been illustrated that CDA, undertakes the linguistic analysis with a moral consideration towards particular manifestations of language, specifically those abusive uses towards the outcast, which could resume laconically its critical stand.

At this point, the nature of its critique deserves some consideration. In CDA, critique needs to be understood in the sense of 'perspective' from which the theorising, analysis, and application (van Dijk 2003: 352) is carried on, but also as CDA researchers' awareness of their social role in the management of knowledge. If language acts as a vehicle for power, then exposing structural relations of dominance present in language requires that social critique should accompany the linguistic and account for that presence. This type of introspection makes alternative types of explorations necessary, like that carried on by CDA, which imply taking a step further the description of text structures, into explaining them in terms of properties of social interaction and more generally, as relating to social structure.

Put simply, CDA focuses on relations of power and dominance as enacted in discourse. As Weiss and Wodak (2003: 14) have shown, a particular interest is manifested in the ways in which language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions which is not an estrangement from the affirmation that that power relations are discursive. Dealing with mediation, in turn, involves understanding the cognitive moves accompanying the process of text elaboration and text interpretation in the sense defined by van Dijk, namely by focusing on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (van Dijk 2003: 353).

From a linguistic analysis perspective, CDA meant an opening towards alternative readings, viz. interpretations of discourse, justifiable through cues in the text (Kendall 2007: [32]). As Wodak (2007) noted, this framework allows to integrate many layers of critique into the analysis, namely textual, social and self-reflexive (Kendall 2007: [33]), which have pointed out the need for an integrated theory of context (Wodak 2000). As such, this type of linguistic analysis involves further aspects which are central to CDA theory and practice:

- its reliance on context.
- the proximity to a theory of communication, rather than with a methodology, (Kendall 2007: [38]), within which different approaches specific to other fields of knowledge, notably social science, are integrated for the object under investigation.

Both aspects are relevant to CDA production, for which reason a summary consideration seems necessary here. The focus on context is intimately related to the critical stand of CDA; as Wodak noted, the context of language is crucial to the better understanding of the relation between language and power (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 12), precisely because methodical criticism - evaluations and judgements - can be solely done under conditions of comprehensive context knowledge (2000b: 185). This perception, born out of the inter-disciplinary impetus of CDA researchers led many of them to rely in their work on the Discourse-Historical Approach elaborated by Wodak (2001: 63-94), on which it shall be dwelt later in the chapter on methodology. On the other hand, the lack of one methodology in favour of a wider search for results induced from the very nature of the object under query, has led to a number of different theoretical underpinnings related to the different topics and approached to them (Wodak 2000: 123-5). The latter aspect will be recaptured below in order to offer a global perspective.

From the perspective of CDA empirical enterprise, critique refers to the need for self-reflection at every level of analysis: in the choice of the categories of analysis, the construction of the framework, the interpretations of results, etc. More specifically, Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 32), distinguish between three dimensions of critique:

- the text-immanent (Fairclough's 'intertextuality' (2003: 113)),
- the socio-diagnostic (Fairclough's 'interdiscursivity' (2003: 115)) and
- the prospective/ retrospective, which are to be reflected in the multiple layers of context displayed by the analysis, and which occasionally may require recursive moves from text to context and back to text.

Not in the least, critique in CDA research implies, according to Wodak (Kendall 2007: [38]) the exercise of 'retroductibility' in research i.e., the property of transparency which should allow the reader to trace and understand the depths of textual analysis. The need for this exercise is inspired in the theoretical battle within the Frankfurt School itself, regarding its own understanding of critical theory in the context of the paradigm change from objectivity to inter-subjectivity. The eight step programme for Discourse-Historical Analysis (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 96) offer a methodological way to perform such research. Whether or not CDA practice has succeeded in delivering the desired criticism and how it is dealing with its own criticism is the object of the following sections.

3.1.6. Critical Review of CDA

The theoretical stance of CDA has been in many ways illustrated, and occasionally challenged, by the analytical practice of renowned scholars who have engaged in critical discourse analysis as already illustrated, such as Kress, Hodge and Trew (1979),

Fairclough (1989, 2003), Fowler (1996), Billig (2003), Wodak (2007) and van Dijk (2008) among others.

It is perhaps ironical that, given the self-assumed anti-relativism in approaching power relations, the core criticism formulated in relation to CDA came from the non-critical strand of discourse analysis and aimed precisely at its critique. The primordial reason for dispute is to be found in the linguists' philosophical stand on what categories of language deserved the attention of linguists, how discourse were to be explored, and fundamentally the enquiry into what is and what is to be expected of discourse analysis.

As earlier advanced, in its theoretical foundations, critical discourse analysis was build up upon a political philosophy on the making, which was at that time a critical alternative to the (rising) political and economic mainstream. The need for social engagement reflected in the thoughts of (neo)Marxism philosophers and scholars like Foucault, Bordieu, Bakhtin, de Beaugrande or Gramsci, influenced important CDA research of practitioners such as Fairclough (1989), Van Dijk (1993), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Mills (1997), Jarowsky and Coupland (1999), Wodak (2001b), etc. A long string of CDA researchers have contributed complementary scientific interests but had in common a declared concern for the problems of a society divided by inequalities, specifically on the side of the disowned. Whether it was the common citizen displaced by the over-professionalisation of social actor roles and language (Fairclough 1989: 98) reflected in the interaction between a doctor and a patient or the topical legitimization of classical capitalist ideology about the freedom of enterprise in the case of Bill Gates' alleged persecution by the U.S. Government (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 69), CDA researchers have underlined the link between socially shared representations and cognition in the management of discourse as an ideological option.

It can be safely argued that the methodical criticism brought to CDA has been formulated in relation to its ontogenesis, associated with a social-studies approach to knowledge rather than the logico-mathematical or rational perspective dominant in the practice of science. In other words, it is not only the disagreement with the presence of subjectivity in the academic field what strikes a particular note about criticism in CDA, it is situating it at the very methodological heart of its practice. On the other hand, ignoring the environment involving the beginnings of CDA, including the more political choice to stay on a particular (precarious) side of the power spectrum, would have been inconsistent with its own critique of ideological manipulation, which has the specific character of serving the most powerful. The beginnings of CDA pre-determined this field in at least three inter-reliant ways:

- Previous discourse analysis was conceived as moving within the boundaries of an 'elite' mind-set, beneficial, as CDA postulates, to instrumental ideological reproduction.
- The claim of 'neutrality' was aborted as (ideologically) biased, and terms like 'subjectivity' and 'objectivity' valid for natural science are rendered irrelevant for linguistic practice and human studies in general. If validity of constructs and methods for the former aimed at demonstrable objectivity, the latter's is assessed in terms of 'polyphony' or 'intersubjectivity', viz., the sharing of private (subjective) experience (meaning).
- CDA is internally engaged into a fight its definitional rights within linguistic studies, with a view to change narrative models and possibly bring social (and discursive) change.

Henry Widdowson provided one of the most methodical criticisms to CDA, which we now benefit in the form of responses between this author and Norman Fairclough in the mid 1990's (Widdowson 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998, 2004; Fairclough 1996; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2004). Although they deserve the linguists' attention for the excellent dialectic display and the authentic passion they emanate, some reviews do not seem to target CDA's specific concerns, and others coincide with its practitioners' confessed directions of improvement. Also relevant is the criticism directed by Michael Stubbs (1996, 1997).

Widdowson claims that CDA is an incongruity in terms in the sense that research cannot be critical and analysis at once: while the latter is supposedly objective, cool-blooded enterprise, the former belongs to the domain of interpretation, judgment and ideological implications. He finds a fault in the claim of proposing and directing an analysis that is both subjective and objective. This criticism can be seen to stem from the hermeneutic tenet of rejecting embedded explanations, in favour of interpretative understanding of the 'text'.

Later developments in CDA (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2004) and interdisciplinarity with social theory favoured the thesis that the two processes are not antithetical and that, in any case, reasons are not to be treated as the only cause of behaviour, since they do not always predetermine it. For instance, one can hear Bush talking about Latino criminality and still be in favour of immigration. Furthermore, the three CDA practitioners acknowledged the need to supplement CDA with other analyses of extra-discursive domains in order to avoid reductionism.

Another claim refers to denomination proper. Widdowson finds a fault with the self-identification of this type of linguistic analysis as critical. According to him, CDA was a trendy label, exploiting the term discourse, which had become very fashionable in that period. This criticism was confronted by Fairclough (1996) on the terms of Widdowson having misunderstood the main tenets of CDA, on account of the latter's orthodox and mainstream formation. If text analysis can be envisioned as a snapshot, even a detailed one, of the meaning particles and their interaction, the critical approaches allow a more dynamic perspective on 'text', which made CDA practitioners turn to discourse for enhanced meaning, as discussed in section 4.1.1. If the type of text is, as has been increasingly the case in applied linguistics, computerised corpus analysis, Widdowson's criticism can be set aside on grounds of construct validity.

The social realities it set out to analyse are accountable for the widening of the analytic frame from text proper to discourse (in terms of what can be considered a unit of analysis), from written to (also) verbal communication (in terms of which language samples stand for meaningful stretches of language), and from the end-product to any creative potential of discourse (in terms of which aspects contribute to the final, or widest, understanding of communication). At least with respect of the last contribution, the 'life' of the text and its 'raison d'être' can be rendered more visible if the linguistic content is perceived as a result of continued social change and invested with particular goals.

The distinguished linguist sees another limitation to CDA in the relativity of its pretextual purpose for the understanding of the 'real' meaning of a literary text: 'a socio-political pretext for reading is no more or less valid than an aesthetic one. Both have their own justification' (Widdowson 2004: 135). In bringing this argument he appears unpersuaded by the words of Fairclough and Wodak, who claim that CDA is intended to go beyond text critique, mainly for two reasons:

- It can draw upon social theories and theories of language, and methodologies for language analysis, which are not generally available to other linguists.
- It has resources for systematic and in-depth investigations which go beyond ordinary experience (1997: 281). In other words, it is the function and not aesthetics what CDA is really concerned with.

In his position, Widdowson seems to disagree with the social purpose element introduced by CDA and upholds literary criticism as a referent for the fundamentals of his critics. He pointed out that literary texts by their own nature court diversity by denying direct reference to a socially constituted world and representing realities which cannot be accounted for in conventional terms (Widdowson 2004: 137) However, his criticism holds not only for CDA, but a number of linguistic fields which made the shift toward text and discourse, such as discourse analysis, pragmatics and even literary theory, who do not count with an ideal sender, ideal receiver and are concerned with more than the abstract system of language.

As he goes on arguing, a socio-political pretext for reading common literature is just another way (not paramount) of grasping significance. The reference to the political agenda of CDA makes the complementary statement equally true. If indeed what texts veil is direct reference to a 'socially constituted world' - the closest one can get to 'the real world' - this pretext will be equally or more relevant when applied to the analysis of propagandistic literature or in the case of political speeches, given the gap between what is said (text) and what is going on (discourse).

Perhaps the most energetic review of CDA targets its political stand. Its political identity has caused the analysts working with this paradigm to be accused of imposing their pre-determined political bias on the analysis (Widdowson, 1995a: 169; Stubbs, 1996: 103). Similarly, it was argued that the excessive attention to political matters was given in detriment of more insightful linguistic analysis. This criticism was countered by Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 35) who argued that risks of (political) bias can be avoided with foundational emancipation, namely by integrating in the analysis a variety of methods, approaches, data and background knowledge. Far from showing contrition for his political transparency, Fairclough argued the lack of operationalisation of social theories in discourse studies (1989: 5-13). He went on to say (Fairclough 2006: 15) that the lack of emphasis on concepts such as class, power and ideology represent a weakness of the non-critical approaches to text study.

However, Fairclough's argument becomes stronger if it is placed within a broader methodological approach to scientific investigation in general. Linguistic analysis is impoverished if it is allowed to be perceived as either critical (in the exact sense of politically committed) or non-critical, as one approach does not displace the other, nor are they completely unrelated. Critical discourse analysis is indebted to critical linguistics for its critical tools and it is thanks to its political awareness that it can assume critique as well as the need for (historical and social) contextual insights to text analysis. Even if CDA contributed a degree of complexity to the study of language, it still relies on previous framework openings. And vice-versa, even if it put the foundations of language study, descriptive analysis alone cannot provide the new answers to the research questions that have been formulated by linguists over the last decades without introducing new and increasingly multifaceted coordinates, immanent to the complexity of the 21st century.

Internal contention between linguistic fields in terms of strengths and weaknesses has its positive side as the weakness of one may be the strength of the other, if not its own.

Since CDA represents an approach which is posterior to others, with different mechanisms stemming from different objects under study, it has explored paths which the previous ones did not advert as necessary for their own research in their respective fields. Therefore, CDA should better make good use of the criticism born out of excellent linguistic practice in related fields, as well as it can safely throw overboard claims against its existence and its specific set up. Quite the opposite attitude seems fair: the fact that CDA research often implies working with corpora, sometimes large corpora which need to be carried on with a range of tools specific to corpus analysis, favours a more cooperative-integrative vision of the different directions in linguistics. Eventually, CDA does not posit itself as the ultimate contribution to language study: it is rather its own success story. The sensitivity of the knowledge society as a whole to the interconnectedness between language, cognition and power has led to interdisciplinarity with other fields of knowledge, which reach further from the field of critical discourse analysis.

A more theory-centred review was directed specifically to Fairclough, in relation to his concept of social significance. Widdowson (1995) had argued that Fairclough's device of social significance - interpretation 2, was decided on the premises of interpretation 1 (Fairclough 1996: 49), which he described as a single 'shaped and coloured' analysis. In Widdowson's words, Fairclough had failed to take into account 'how different practices of interpretation 1 are socially, culturally and ideologically shaped', in different patterns of interconnectedness (Widdowson 2004: 155). Until today the string of inter-relating subjectivities in the critical interpretation of discourse to which this criticism alludes is object of improvement both in the field of SF grammar and the theory of context within CDA.

In response to Titscher's argument that decisions on relevance are a function of the theoretical questions triggered by the analysis (Titscher et al. 2000: 28), he concludes that this aim is not met in practice, as 'there appears to be little evidence in CDA analysis of 'precisely argued and justified reasons' (Widdowson 2004: 162). Without attempting to provide a direct answer to this evaluation, but perhaps motivated by solid critical practice, Wodak (Kendall 2007: [34]) reiterates the need for critical self-reflection and joint reflective team sessions, in which other specialists can do their own interpretations of the results and possible recommendations for better research practice.

Widdowson remarks that, on the one hand, the grounds dictating which aspects of context are relevant to the interpretation are not specified and on the other hand, that this approach excludes the possibility of other interpretations. To some extent, he makes his own critical discourse analysis of CDA by pointing out that 'After all, if your mission is to reveal the underlying truth of things, it will not be in your interest to provide people with the means for questioning the revelation' (Widdowson 2004: 162).

The irony of this remark saves it from an interpretation in the sense of academic elitism. Perhaps it may be better understood in relation to the previous objection that a literary reading of a text is as good as a critical one. More specifically, the British linguist voices his wider (philosophic) position on the linguist's role in the 'translability' of reality. He makes the following reflection:

As long as linguistics dealt with idealized remote abstractions, there was a role for applied linguists to play in referring them back to the reality of lived experience. But if linguistics now accounts for that reality, what, one wonders, is there left for applied linguists to do? (Widdowson 2000: 3-5).

What is formulated as an aspect of professional ethics in the (mis)application of linguistics by reducing it to only one aspect of reality appears like an allegation of manipulation. It is far from self-evident why ‘referring back’ to lived experience should be in any proportion different from ‘accounting for’, in terms of methodology, authority or personal agenda; it seems obvious, however, that accounting as wholly as possible for the studied matter is the ultimate epistemic query which any field of knowledge will nonetheless pursue fragmentarily.

The equality established by Widdowson between revealing, for example, ideological manipulation, and disclosing the ‘underlying truth of things’ turns out equally ironic whether CDA researchers succeed or not in exposing social inequality. The comparison is far-fetched not only in predicting its (possible, future) outcomes, but also when it seems to imply a private use of research results, which happens to be unethical with any kind of knowledge. However, it seems to acknowledge, albeit ironically, the possibility to locate ideology, in the presence of pre-determined functions of discourse and in the practice thereof.

Widdowson argues that the already complicated, abstract categories from functional linguistics sometimes prove insufficient when applied to critical analysis (Fowler 1996: 8). While this may hold with any grammar or linguistics in general, CDA has always showed interest for integrating contributions from other related fields, grammar, or methodologies, with the final aim of explaining how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organising social institutions or exercising power (as reflected in Martin 2003, van Dijk 2003). At the same time, it has also been aware of the other particular factors which contribute to the difficulty of pinning down the differences in power, which led it to expand the contribution of SFL to the formulation of phenomena such as the meta-strategy of the text, register complexity, or the intertextuality and re-contextualisation of competing discourses. Conversely, the relative youth of Systemic Functional grammar at the beginnings of CDA and the common critical semiotic shared by both, proved it an adequate tool in a consistent amount of CDA research.

Finally, to Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach Widdowson reproaches the ‘not necessary’ reliance on context as well as the pretext-oriented focus in detriment of other discursive aspects. Furthermore, he debates whether CDA or the discourse-historical method is a method of analysis, and rates them personally as mere approaches to interpretation. While the existence of a method of analysis does not comply with the design of CDA, the criticism over the reliance of context has been many times contradicted by that referring to the lack of methodological contextualisation, which in itself overcomes the previous.

The methods proposed may not be uniform and thoroughly acknowledged among CDA practitioners, but it was not felt as an impediment by the pioneers of CDA, in part because they - as previously did Conversation Analysis (with its focus on structurally organised action) and Discourse Analysis (working with naturally occurring data) - were interested in the relation between linguistics and social sciences, to which fieldwork was paramount. Rather, they felt that each theoretical school can contribute their tools and approaches to what they envisioned as a trans-disciplinary field, that of socio-linguistic analysis.

3.1.7. Limitations to CDA

Weiss and Wodak (2003) deal extensively with the concepts of ‘theory’ and ‘interdisciplinarity’ in CDA practice in order to counter this kind of criticism. They argue that because of their goals, the analyst has to acquire from the different theoretical schools the conceptual tools appropriate for the particular research questions they want to address. In the same line, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) estimate that bringing together different theories into dialogue will give CDA dynamics, creativity and innovation.

The various limitations formulated will bring effectiveness to the self-critical tenet formulated by CDA in its very beginnings. As linguists often point up, one should not throw away the baby with the bath water. The lack of a (generally accepted) method does not justify giving up the critical paradigm, whose relevance surely is not arbitrary but ‘firmly rooted in the properties of contemporary life’ (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 270).

Other voices manifested the need to give more attention to other aspects of language such as cognition (Stubbs, 1996 and Chilton, 2005), although the latter acknowledges that Wodak’s discourse-historical approach is a step forward in this direction, to which also contributed the works of O’Halloran (2003), Van Dijk (1998, 2005), Van Dijk & Kintsch (1983).

Stubbs also emphasised that the interpretation of texts could be strengthened if results were compared to other large corpora and if quantitative methods were used to triangulate the initial findings (Stubbs, 1996: 108).

With respect to the revolutionary political objectives contemplated in the beginnings of CDA, the insufficient outcome was criticised. Thus, Kress (1996) emphasises the lack of productive outcomes in CDA works while from the rows of CDA research the need was acknowledged for a Positive Discourse Analysis (Marin and Rose 2003: 264). Moreover, Billing (2003) even points to the fact that CDA could have become an established academic discipline with the same institutional practices as all other academic disciplines, raising questions about the very criticalness of CDA practice in a striking resemblance to the critique formulated by mainstream postcolonial scholars about the present-day state of arts in postcolonial research discussed in the first chapter of this work.

The discursive resources of CDA, together with the socio-cultural distance between its practitioners as well as between the members of the discipline and the broader linguistic community is a reality open to new contributions of critical nature (in terms of themes and approaches). These may indirectly negotiate the knowledge and credibility of the larger linguistic community (Hyland 2000: 167) by challenging it not only to produce theories and methodologies, but also, as has been suggested (Gouveia 2000: 58), to relate to the value of knowledge it aspires to. Meanwhile, CDA practice has contributed to overcoming certain criticism that was formulated against it, such as the theory of context, argumentation, the formulation of ideology, and the impact on the larger society brought, for instance, by the research on gender and institutional communication.

3.2. JUSTIFICATION OF THE APPROACH

The choice of CDA for the present investigation is indebted to the structural advantages offered by this framework, particularly for the conceptualisation of discourse as ‘the process whereby social groupings with different interests engage with one another’ (Fairclough 1989: 35). For the present research, competing interests include winning popular support to G.W. Bush’s administration, regaining Latino support for the Republican Party at elections, passing an immigration law (and persuading the political class and the wider public of its comprehensiveness) and, with respect of the other, deterring unauthorised immigration, protecting the human rights of the displaced and a path to citizenship for the immigrants already living in the U.S.

Secondly, and forged in the cognitive battlefield, the prevailing meanings can be better made sense of in the light of more contextual information related to the wider cultural and social structures shaping the discourse. Finally, CDA is a promise of multidisciplinary and overtness of political agenda (Kress 1990: 84), which means that a virtually unlimited series of issues can be included, from ‘identity colonisation’ in the case of Palestinian to the representation of immigrants in a culture of immigrants as that of the United States of America.

In order to disclose patterns of alterity by which immigrants are assigned a place within the social hierarchy, I have adapted the CDA model to the specificity of the present work. While more extensive illustration of the theoretical frame will be presented in the chapter dealing with methodology (chapter five), the present subchapter undertakes an inductive pursuit for a number of theoretical aspects within CDA presented above and which are found relevant for the study of immigrant alterity. Towards the end of the present sub-section some results of CDA research in discrimination are presented and their relevance to the present study are exemplified from the discourses of G.W. Bush.

The first aspect of relevance to the present study is represented by the tenor and the construction of interpersonal meaning, which Fairclough described as ‘the order of discourse’ (1992, 1993, 2003b). On the one hand, there is the semiosis (cf. Fairclough 2000) of institutional communication:

- as representation (of the practices regulated by the presidential institution and faithful to the roles assigned to it, such as a speech at an electoral rally, presidential remarks upon signing an act into law, public receiving an ambassador at the White House, etc);
- as part of the social activity (the President giving the speech is part of governing the country).

These semiotic categories emerge with the distinction between the ‘real’ (for instance, the power of the presidential institution) from the ‘actual’ (a speech arguing deportation of illegal immigrants) and the ‘empirical’ (immigrants attending are going to be deported). They offer a structural account of the discursive power of the texts analysed, and offer an explanation about the possible mechanisms of interrelatedness of actors and factors and their consequence in immigration policy making.

Acts coming from the sphere of the empirical may, to a certain degree, find echo into the actual if, for example, possible interventions from the audience rows take place, in the

form of commentaries or question prompted. Their (unplanned) interventions may cause a marginal change in the focus of the discourse, as expressing the patriotic feelings of the immigrants or their desire to become citizens. However, it is hardly conceivable for them to carry a negotiating value in the theme or proposition of the discourse, and less so to take an active part in the resolution.

In other words, much of the art of governing carries on regardless of whether other social actors are experiencing them. While the latter have a positive role in reproducing the system, the system always precedes them as it responds to rationale which are inherent to its organisation, processes and relations to enjoy relatively unchallenged autonomy.

Apart from the order of discourse, special consideration deserves the rich canvas of social relations and identities against which the immigrants are assessed, and which 'overdetermines the text', as Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer (2004) put it, in ways that critical semiotic analysis (including critical discourse analysis) can disclose. As previous chapters have argued, the alterity of the immigrant others has been constructed from the perspective of a recogniser within a bipolar matrix of emergent institutionalised civility as opposed to a perceived heterogeneity in marginality of the colonies.

The tool provided by Critical Discourse Analysis in accounting how (unequal) power relations are embedded in groups and society will hopefully explore beyond the individual and group level, where in a more or less fallacious manner, attitudes are tentatively argued by means of reason. More specifically, institutional orders and their unmediated role in social structuring is expected to shift persuasiveness from the power of arguments to the domain of pathos, in which the most innocent ethnic clues may trigger group pride and/ or group hate. Insofar as the order of the discourse is constitutive of genre, it determines a genre in which an extremely limited number of citizens engage on the transmitter side: presidential discourses are associated with the highest level political decision-making and the further North-American context of analysis allows enlarging the level to a global dimension.

At this point I feel necessary to situate the textual material used in the present research within the theoretical frame argued in the sections preceding the actual and give an ephemeral taste of the text characteristics, the presence of intertextuality and concretise on the related context. Thus, the official speeches under analysis in the present work could be defined, in terms of mode of discourse as 'written to be orally delivered'. I used the term text in an extended way to refer to what I could access as electronic language, being aware of the fact that authors as Brown and Yule (1983: 6) and Fairclough (2003: 3) have also included in this notion oral records of language, such as interviews and meetings in government or business organisations.

From the variety of text types, the present work will analyse a type of discourse only occasionally including spontaneous language use or 'naturally occurring language' (Mills 1997:138) but mainly stretches of language elaborated by specialist political writers for (predictably) ideological purposes of legitimation and political exercise of power. Some of the discourses included in the corpus are delivered over the 2004 electoral campaign, during which the density of catch phrases and electoral slogans is expected to be higher than the usual and purposefully oriented towards influencing vote into one's own advantage. The nature as well as the purpose of these speeches make them more sensitive to the seduction of ideological manipulation, of individuals and larger community groups but also to institutions or 'elite' groups.

As the texts analysed have been made available in the form of transcribed speeches, paralinguistic features as intonation, gestures or other kinetic elements that accompany

speech delivery have not been tagged and do not constitute the object of the present investigation. Exceptionally, extradiegetic features calling for the emotional involvement of the audience are indicated which accompany the actual delivery of speech.

A simple count of the times the audience responded to the presidential speeches has allowed to determine, for example, that during the first G.W. Bush administration, Americans have applauded more than they laughed; also, short remarks were occasionally heard from the public, including booing, chanting the acronym of their country and calling the First Lady's name. As far as the presidential performance, his *captatio benevolentiae* varies from a joke, various jokes - about himself and his entourage -, most of them self-ironic and other-ironic, to a greeting or a simple imperative 'listen', but always introduced by a word of thanks and ending with a blessing. Not once, the events give the impression of mega-shows drawing on the American pop-culture style, where common clichés are saved about the self, its culture and glorious history, and where people are supposed to be occasionally entertained, feel good and strengthen the community bond behind common ideals.

Notwithstanding the lack of thorough multimodal features, written text is expected to offer different advantages (Halliday and Martin 1993: 3). Among these, it allows the text (provided the script is followed) to be less fragmented, more syntactically integrated and coherent, making use of more complicated lexical and syntactical devices, such as abundant nominalisation, participles, attributive adjectives and various subordinating devices.

With a genre so complex as political writing, across so many dimensions, audiences and utilities, one can expect voices, fields and styles to interconnect and articulate meaning. However, one particular feature of contemporary political discourse stems from its public condition, which suggests a powerful force of mediation. Thus, data, claims, procedures produced or adopted in one domain are borrowed into another, generating 'intertextual chains' (Fairclough 1992: 130). In the specific case of immigration, intertextual chains interrelate economic and political science, policy and government, which are highly probable to constitute significant constraints on the textual interaction, while on the contrary, pressure group texts are unlikely to be explicitly taken up in texts by the government.

On a subtler analysis of intertextuality, Fairclough emphasised the historicity and heterogeneity of texts and that the interpretation of texts is affected by 'intertextual influences' (Fairclough 1992: 84) that go beyond the text production deep into the 'constitutive intertextuality' (Fairclough 1992: 124) viz. the way in which the text is indebted to conventions such as genre and discourses. Predictably, the presidential character would make use of the context surrounding the text in order to persuade and reap public support for his administration in matters related to immigration.

Another basic concept which has been argued relevant for the analysis of (political) discourse is that of context. Contextual information (historical, social, and political) helps to bring light on linguistic structures in a properly done critical discourse analysis. For an overall contextual presentation, two interconnected aspects appear to be particularly consonant with the issue of immigration, which are presented with a certain degree of complexity in the preliminary chapter, Chapter I. These are:

- the post-colonial denouncement of alterity - for the linguistic categories involved in the description of "the other", which, as argued in Chapter I, configure a

mental model for the representation of other categories of disowned such as that of ‘migrant’, especially people living the experience of immigration.

- the issue of inequality and dominance subjacent with alterity, and the role of political discourse or communicative events in the reproduction of the above.
- race and immigration, two identities whose intersection shape inequality in detriment of both groups (as argued in Chapter I), and the ideological use of those conditions for negative representation of immigrants, although both identities represent a recurrent topic in the historic narrative of American exceptionalism.

CDA’s role in disclosing unequal power relations has been overly reiterated through the whole chapter. At this point, an illustration of how certain theoretical battles were carried on within CDA research seems more than necessary, with illustration and reflection upon some of them. Special focus is felt necessary on the access to language as a struggle for power, the construction of (political) identity, as well as the study of ethnic and racial prejudice, as a link in a larger inter-textual chain which includes immigration.

One side of the CDA claims that meaning is social and cultural relates to institutional discourse in that, from a power management perspective, groups and institutions exist in order to ‘police’ meanings, viz. to stabilise and conventionalise meanings, which implies that some people’s interests will be met in a slighter degree (Gee 2008: 14). CDA approaches this coexistence of favourable and unfavourable outcomes of the process of meaning-making, by linking the process of meaning making to the possibility of ideological manipulation as unethical communication purposefully oriented towards goals otherwise difficult to attain.

Although CDA has disclaimed aspirations to a unified paradigm, that did not prevent its practitioners to study the ways in which language ‘gains power by the use of powerful people who use it’ (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 14). This shared concern has oriented the choice as to the perspective on discourse analysis to be undertaken, namely critical, and focus, which is on the discourse of those involved in power structures. The fine line between ethical and manipulative discourse has been marked with a view on how the ethical use of power should be used in order to attain a balance between managing social welfare and inequality, with which the former coexists. While competing visions on social equality and the ways to reach it is always open to debate, CDA undertook this difficult task with methodical criticism, as discussed in section 4.1.5.

CDA research on inequality has found that the texts involved in the management of power through public institutions and personae are often ‘sites of struggle’ (Weiss and Wodak 2003b: 15) in which traces can be distinguished of differing discourses and ideologies contending for a winning position. The opposite seems equally worthy of consideration, as the way in which inner struggles for dominance are resolved at the level of discourse are not segregated from the locus of dominance, viz. the larger context of social and political institutions in which it takes place. Ultimately, the most pervading perspective on immigration in the United States is expected to be coherent with the higher institutional approach on it, which is essentially legal, and any incumbent president challenging to a greater or lesser extent the dominant perception will have to find discursive resources to do that while (at least) preserving institutional integrity. In his visit to Mission, Texas, G.W. Bush acknowledges the contending perspectives when he affirms:

There's an important debate facing our nation, and the debate is, can we secure this border and, at the same time, honor our history of being a land of immigrants? And the answer is, absolutely, we can do both. And we will do both. (August 3, 2006)

The former President of the U.S.A. balances the role of the legal institution (metonymically represented by the noun phrase ‘this border’) and the century-long immigrant ontology of America (invoked in reiterated possession as ‘our nation’ and ‘our history’). The interrogation over the U.S. ability or capability to design a policy addressing two concurring needs about immigration can be argued as a manifestation of the hybridity of the text, in which identity discourse meets institutional discourse and the legal approach is balanced against historic retrospective. As Janks suggested about hybridity in other texts of alterity, different concurring discourses show evidence of values in transition (Janks 1997: 339), such as a new concept of border and a new position towards the immigrant past in this presidential discourse.

Outside the framework of CDA, the work of other linguists confirms the interdependence circle enclosing power, knowledge and discourse. In an attempt to account for the way in which language is used in order to make and change public and private meanings, the American linguist George R. Lakoff approaches the trial of O.J. Simpson (and its outcome) from the perspectives of both the whites and the blacks (Lakoff’s word choice) involved in reporting and giving a verdict. Lakoff suggests that the struggle of two communities to frame the narrative with a view to future representations of the story (the truth about who committed the double assassinate, the scenario of the crime, jokes about the accused) can be roughly typified as a white vs. black competition to unveil ‘whodunit’ (Lakoff 2000: 197). In establishing an a posteriori, quasi-causal relation, between the power to contribute to narrative construction and definitional rights at the word level (Lakoff 2000: 9) he somehow triangulates the CDA thesis that discursive representation needs to be accounted for in terms of power relations, even if Lakoff does not opt for conceptualizing those as ideological discrimination.

Although not all institutional communication needs to be primarily manipulative, it makes sense to affirm that it has the power to enact manipulation whenever the functional relation between the recogniser and the stimulus situation involves an object ‘at a distribution’ (Kang 1980: 425), that is an object of study accompanied by some type of predication or ‘in transformation’ as influenced by a motive force. Drawing on a definition of manipulation strongly indebted to Gramsci, who links meaning-making to the ‘true interests’ (Gramsci 1971) of those who formulate it, Teun A. van Dijk has explored ideological expression from a cognitive point of view. His research (1998) focuses on the relation between the cognitive processes at the core of ideological construction/ (re)production to the meta-proposition of discourse; more specifically, the former offers the latter a ‘truth’ value, which engages other people in anti-practical thinking and acting.

By establishing a cognitive-discursive connection, van Dijk gives the notion of ‘ideology’ a strong functional focus whereby the putative narrative responds not entirely to the inner rationality of the ideas, propositions or facts assessed, but to macro-structures of the discourse as well. As Gramsci did, the CDA theorist locates the manifestation of ideology in peoples’ embrace of social and political roles and identities which come in contradiction with innermost features of their identities as individuals or their personal backgrounds. However, van Dijk’s exposure of ideology at work in political processes does not refer to having a political identity. More specifically, he acknowledges the importance of shared knowledge in order to form groups or to enable in-group communication, since it is expected that social networking, (politicians and political groups in the field of politics) take place based on ideological similarities and differences (van Dijk 2002: 730). Rather, negative ideology could be articulated as belief systems and social practices, which are organised or controlled by especially empowered groups, to the point of domination of other groups. Totalitarianism, ecofeminism, anti-Semitism or

statism are only a few examples of ideologies, whose evaluation (negative or positive) may vary with the socio-cultural knowledge or experience of it, but whose moral value responds to a fixed priority in every healthy society, which is the grandness of human life and happiness over man generated systems and artefacts.

In so far as ethnic and racial prejudice, CDA research has revealed that ideological prejudices are acquired and shared within the white dominant group through everyday conversation and institutional text and talk which “express, convey, legitimate or indeed conceal or deny such negative ethnic attitudes” towards minorities, immigrants or refugees (van Dijk 1992: 88). This finding is to be taken seriously both in its effective manifestations and in the lack thereof. Always maintaining that ideologies, as well as social groups and social relations are social constructs, Van Dijk warns about the distinction that should be made between, for instance, racist groups and racist practices (1998: 157), since people tend to assume elements of racist beliefs without necessarily signing up to a fully-fledged racist ideology. In this sense his analysis of a debate in the British House of Commons on asylum seekers held on March 5, 1997, van Dijk reveals a series of naming and arguing strategies in the representation of immigrant others (van Dijk 2002: 735-9). A member of the Conservative Party, which cannot be described as a racist political party, makes a series of altering comments about a Romanian asylum claimer: ‘He has never done a stroke of work in his life’, while waving possible accusations of racism ‘I did not say that every eastern European’s application for asylum in this country was bogus. However (...)’. Spinning on the topos of burden, the politician further argued his point with the illustration of a Russian woman whose five-year stay ‘has cost the British taxpayer £40,000’ and ‘was arrested, *of course*, for stealing’ (emphasis added).

Further the point van Dijk wishes to make, both examples can be taken to illustrate how clichés about conflicting foreigners prevent serious political talk from taking place, in favour of populist discourse. Talking about Romanian gypsies and Russian women, as the above party member was, calls forth mental models about the Eastern bloc which draw on older ideological distinctions that have not been overcome by the political changes of the 1990s. Rather, they have shifted from the political regime to the people who lived under it (an interesting example of forms of discrimination against South-Eastern Europeans in 1970s in Austria can be found in Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 77). Excepting perhaps the high level diplomacy and some financial circles, the gap has broadened between the groups and so has their representation in terms of civility/ uncivility. Given the high degree of idealisation with respect to the self, the other and the concept of group itself, argumentative devices with powerful affective load are capable to displace the use of reason (as discussed in 2.2) and elicit more instinctive reaction from the rows of the wider public which is effectively manipulated.

Political, corporate and other ‘elite’ groups related to institutional and economic forms of power, are found to display subtle forms of cultural racism/ ethnicism (van Dijk 1987, 2002), in a number of different ways. First, the strategic move of denying racist bias stems from a strategy of positive in-group presentation: ‘The Government, with cross-party backing, decided to do something about the matter’, ‘I entirely support the policy of the Government to help genuine asylum seekers, but (...)’. Since the norms and values of society censures violent forms of ethnic discrimination, mitigation or even denial of racism is a recourse whereby one seeks to present himself as a civil interlocutor if further consensus is to be construed: ‘Britain has always honored the Geneva convention, and has given sanctuary to people with a well-founded fear of persecution in the country from which they are fleeing and whose first safe country landing is in the United Kingdom’ (Van Dijk 2002: 739).

More creative ethnic prejudice is attained in professional discourse such as political discourse, where particular instances are focused on and argued, but also, more careful word choice is made to avoid the implications of possible open accusations of racism. Strategies of impression management (Tedeschi and Riess 1984: 11) are put to work to avoid image prejudice, a danger related to the discursive aspect of social relations. Self-censorship may not be inconsistent with the existence of racist attitudes or even actions, which however are more difficult to perceive and even harder to underpin legally.

Alternative ways of disclaiming ideological bias includes allusions to power, typically by reference to institutional duties, costs, political vote or public victims: 'This morning, I was reading a letter from a constituent of mine (...)', 'It is wrong that ratepayers in the London area should bear an undue proportion of the burden of expenditure', 'Many of those people [British] live in old-style housing association Peabody flats'. This strategy makes visible the traces of other discourses in the discourse on immigrants, namely the economic discourse of accounting (financial balance and benefits balance must be pursued) and the religious discourse of justice (for every wrong done there should be a compensating measure of justice).

The researches proposed for illustration share a common concern for making political discourse (on identity) more transparent to the study of argumentation, where a global sense of the meanings displayed by a text is finally made. In their research on discourse and discrimination, Wodak and Weise (2001: 71-72) draw on the pragma-dialectal approach to rhetoric and argumentation of Eemeren and Grootendorst (1994: 21) to account for reasonableness in critical discussions, by means of an eight-rule of communication. The relevance of their framework lays the basis of a discourse ethics compatible with a participative democracy and enabling the construction of intersubjective consent on (the most) controversial issues. The ten rules, among which freedom to argue, correct reference to previous discourse by the antagonist or clarity of expressions are often limited or violated in the discourse of G.W. Bush on immigration. They give place to fallacies, which shall be briefly illustrated below:

Argumentum ad baculum – the recourse to force to show that if an undesirable act takes place, vengeance will be raged, eg.,

Those who make this choice will be allowed to apply in the normal way. [They will not be given unfair advantage].

I'm confident that the United States Congress will do its duty and pass an immigration bill that secures our borders, strengthens our laws, and upholds the promise of the United States of America.

Argumentum ad hominem – consists in attacking the person to throw a shade on the the actions in which she/ he is involved, eg.,

I call on the Senate Minority Leader to end his blocking tactics and allow the Senate to do its work and pass a fair, effective immigration reform bill.

Argumentum ad misericordiam – compassion, eg.,

(...) it is a terrible tragedy when anyone comes here, only to be forced into a sweatshop, domestic servitude, pornography or prostitution. It is estimated that between 14,500 and 17,500 victims of trafficking cross our borders every year.

Argumentum ad populum – consists in appealing to prejudiced emotions of the people, mass, or mob for argumentation, eg.,

Jobs will go unfulfilled, hardworking immigrants will remain in the shadows of our society, and our nation will continue to have a broken immigration system. The American people expect people in Washington, D.C. to solve problems

Argumentum ad ignorantiam – consists in pursuing acceptance of the discussion results when the conclusions do not result from the premises, eg.,

(...) raise security standards at the nation's chemical plants, safeguard American cities against weapons of mass destruction, and stop terrorists seeking to enter our country. (...) This legislation will give us better tools to enforce our immigration laws and to secure our southern border.

Argumentum ad verecundiam – authority is referenced instead of the argument, eg.,

Over the years, America's ability to assimilate new immigrants has set us apart from other nations. (...) And now our nation faces a vital challenge: to build an immigration system that upholds these ideals and meets America's needs in the 21st century.

Argumentum ad consequentiam – consists in invoking unfavourable consequence without disputing the thesis, eg.,

In the past, many powerful nations preferred others to remain underdeveloped, and therefore, dependent. (...) Weak and troubled nations export their ill-problems like economic instability and illegal immigration and crime and terrorism. (...) We want to seek wider trade and broader freedom and greater security for the benefit of our partners and for the benefit of all.

Apart from fallacies, discrimination is enacted through a number of presumptions serving as a basis for conclusions. Among these, the discourse on immigration is found (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 74-80) to use extensively a series of topoi which are illustrated with examples from the corpus of presidential discourses. Indeed, the topics of advantage or usefulness (of temporary workers for the American economy) and that of definition or name interpretation (as they are named ‘temporary’, these immigrants should turn back to their countries when the designed work time expires) can be traced in the discourses of G.W. Bush. The latter topos makes use of names describing them in relation to economy (‘labor migration’), action (‘displaced’, ‘refugee’), activity domain (‘agriculture immigrant’), etc.

Particularly recurrent in the discourse of discrimination are the topos of danger or threat (‘a real problem’, ‘brings crime to our communities’), burden (‘pressure on the schools and the hospitals’, ‘drains the state and local budgets’, ‘no one should claim that immigrants are a burden on our economy’), the topos of history, viz. learning from the past (‘our immigrant heritage has enriched America's history’, ‘this problem [crime] has been growing for decades, and past efforts to address it have failed’), the topos of culture (‘immigrants assimilate and advance in our society, they realize their dreams, they renew our spirit, and they add to the unity of America’, ‘they have the obligation to learn the values that make us one nation: liberty and civic responsibility, equality under God, and tolerance for other’), and the topos of abuse (‘They've broken our law, and they ought to pay a fine for breaking the law’). Together, the topics, strategies and argumentation revealed by CDA academic literature and illustrated with examples from the discourses of G.W. Bush inform on the appropriateness of these categories for the present research.

3.3. A SEMOGENIC EXERCISE

The semantic system constituted by the discourses proposed for analysis in the present research could be amply and diversely explored. Halliday (2009: 60) argued that among other semiotic systems, language is also a semogenic system, one that is, which has the potential to create new meanings. The objective of the present section is to account for the way in which meaning potential is instantiated in the representation of the immigrants to the U.S.A. I argue that this is a semogenic exercise to the extent to which the meanings traced down in the texts under analysis, especially those striking a particular note for the reality they describe, or the way they choose to describe it, are the author's choices from a broad system under certain contextual circumstances.

Drawing on Fairclough's questions which guide the linguistic analysis, which dwells upon text description, interpretation of the processing of the text (production, reception) and the explanation of the socio-historic processes involved (Fairclough 1989: 110-111), the search of immigrant alterity in the discourses of G.W. Bush can be pursued with the analysis of a number of meaning devices, associated with the four language metafunctions presented in 4.1.4 and illustrated below (Table 1) as adapted from Halliday and Christianssen (2004: 63) for the current analytic purpose:

Metafunction	Clause as	Meaning-making devices (lexicogrammar)	
(Ideational) Experiential	Representation	Transitivity [thing type, qualification] [event type, aspect] [circumstance type] (minor transitivity)	denotation
Interpersonal	Exchange (interaction)	Mood Assessment Polarity Modality	connotation
(Ideational) Logical		Deixis Taxis	derivation
Textual	Message (text organisation)	Theme/ Focus Cohesion	preposition conjunction

Table 1. Function, meaning and realisation in language.

Hillary Janks (1997: 297) reduces to nine the lexical realisations which can be safely analysed in order to demonstrate ideological forces at work in political discourse. These are: lexicalisation, the patterns of transitivity, the use of active and passive voice, the use of nominalisation, the choices of mood, the choices of modality or polarity, the thematic structure of the text, the information focus, and the cohesion devices. Thus, the resources for experiential meaning (lexicalisation and patterns of transitivity), if assessed against the patterns of certainty/ uncertainty (choices of modality and polarity), reveal information about the hierarchy of power established in the text. Also, the cohesion devices can be assessed against contextual factors to render information about the stability/ instability of

the system, more specifically, whether old discourses of hegemony are maintained or new ones are replacing the old ones.

The choice of nominalisation can be related to the interpersonal meaning of voice and the textual meaning of focus to understand how the text frames action in terms of agency, so that the reader's perception is influenced in the desired sense. But also, both can be related to the interpersonal meaning of mood to see a model of interpretation and evaluation of the linguistic realisation under scrutiny. Those patterns of meaning that can be safely explored and confirmed in the discourses of G.W. Bush will be analysed in the following chapter. A brief examination of the meaning making devices featured in the presidential speech analysed for this fragment of the research will provide a heuristic device orienting deeper corpus exploration for patterns of alterity.

Lexicalisation is available in (textual) clues, either verbal or nominal signs. It may draw one's attention what names are given in the speeches of G.W. Bush to nationals and immigrants, whether proper or collective, and if the naming does not break the general knowledge about, or conventional coding of, immigrants. Since naming represents choices drawing on existing discourses existing in society (which influence production and reception of the text), it makes sense to inquire into the possibility that the particular political context posterior to 9/11 and the financial and bank failure leading to the 2008 economic recession did not contribute to the fabrication of new meanings about immigrants.

Corpus search reveals that immigrant people are named (naturally) with the collective names of 'immigrant(s)' and 'people'. These names are massively modified by the adjective 'illegal', 'new' and at the farther end of the frequency scale, 'honest' and 'many'. The most recurrent clusters refer to immigrants in terms of indefinite quantity or difference: '(further) waves', 'millions of illegal immigrants', 'from some countries', 'who are here already', but also intervention: 'deporting every illegal immigrant who', 'illegal immigrants caught', 'knowingly hire illegal immigrants', and the American past and tradition: 'we are a nation of immigrants', 'a land of immigrants', etc. On the same level of experiential meaning, the negative representation of new immigrants, realised by the focus on group, quantity and vague distribution ('further', 'every', 'already') is construed against the positive representation of the self. Let us assess the hypothesis of immigrant alterity suggested by the most obvious lexicalisation for the immigrants against the cohesive devices indicated by the personal pronouns 'I'/'we' and 'they', and their respective patterns of collocation.

Cohesion is a lexico-grammatical resource for text production which requires semantic and contextual resources for the task of interpretation (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 532). As many as four devices for continuity are described. These are: conjunction (linking whole clauses), reference (linking things and facts with a function within the clause, be them participants, processes or circumstances), substitution and ellipsis (linking reference) and lexical organisation (relating lexical items). The analysis of cohesive devices illuminates the relation between concepts, be it with respect to identity (co-reference), class/ process/ circumstance (co-classification) or field of meaning, whether realised by synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy or meronymy (co-extension).

In relation to the meanings attached to immigrants, the transition between messages comes secondary to meaning and wording and the grammatical zone of reference is strongly informed by the choice in wording, such as repetition and collocation. The first quantitative observation is the abundance of coordinative and adversative conjunctions 'and' and 'but', in a corpus characterised by relatively long and occasionally fuzzy clause

and sentence borders. Also, the presidential discourses feature 'I', 'we', 'it', 'that', 'this' and 'they' among the most frequent repetitions. The first person personal pronoun is an absolute referent to the former president G.W. Bush. The most frequent pattern of co-occurrence of the searched word finds its referent in: 'our nation', 'the American people', 'our military', the U.S. Congress ('we passed the No Child Left Behind Act'), 'moms and dads'. On the other hand, in its wider distribution, the plural form is more or less homogeneously associated with geo-strategic in-group referents: 'America', 'country', 'people', 'world', 'all', etc. While this pattern of reference seems to infirm the hypothesis of binary representation of in- and out-groups, the interpersonal meaning plays a decisive role in disambiguation. The former group is characterised by certain density of modal verbs in expressions such as 'we need to (do)', 'we ought to', 'we will not', 'that we can', showing authority and determination, characteristic of self-representation; notably, some of the most frequent clusters belong to the semantic area of planning and resolving as well as faith and resoluteness to perform (or not some type of) action: 'we want to', 'we acted', 'we stand for', 'we do not', 'we will continue', 'we believe in', which is coherent with the identity and the role self-assumed by the United States in domestic and global politics.

The experiential exploration of textual cues, together with the interpersonal meanings revealed by the more recurrent words in the corpus have confirmed a split group representation for the self and the other, the self being dignified with an identity, presence and attitude, while the other comes across in the form of description, subject of negative experiences or in relation to the mood of the self.

It is often the experience of CDA researchers that the naming patterns are illuminated by the information on the transitivity system, which becomes the angular stone of the meaning devices. Engaging with the 19th concordance line for the word 'illegal', enlarged for exemplification purpose, presents the opportunity to test the notion for immigrant alterity:

... we should have immigration laws that work and make us proud. Yet today we do not. Instead, we see many employers turning to the illegal labor market. We see millions of hard-working men and women condemned to fear and insecurity in a massive, undocumented economy. Illegal entry across our borders makes more difficult the urgent task of securing the homeland. The system is not working. Our nation needs an immigration system that serves the American economy, and reflects the American Dream. Reform must begin by confronting a basic fact of life and economics: some of the jobs being generated in America's growing economy are jobs American citizens are not filling. Yet these jobs represent a tremendous opportunity for workers from abroad who want to work... (January 7, 2004)

The fragment illustrates the need for a systematic analysis of meaning across other levels of linguistic selection, as the complex encoding of information is occasionally burdened by ambiguity in reference. We assume to know that illegal is a descriptor for an activity which is carried on against the rule of law. In the 1990s, the American Corpus of Contemporary English (COCA) lists 'drugs', 'vans', 'immigrants', 'operators', 'entrees', 'jobs', 'gambling', and 'bookmarking' among the most frequent context words. The focus human/ phenomenon does not seem to change over the decade, although the elegance is worth noticing of the reference to immigrants as 'residents' and the dehumanising expression 'aliens'. Contrary to the tendency in use of the word 'illegal' in American English in the period between 2005 and 2009 (which is the highest of the nineties and the noughties taken together) is not reflected in the frequency of reference to the human vs. thing element, as the word keeps modifying more varied nouns denoting phenomena.

In the discourses of G.W. Bush, among the 422 instances of the word 'illegal', one can find collocation patterns involving persons (immigration, alien, workers) and things or

phenomena (drugs, weapons, nuclear programs, activities, entry, entrant, labour, crossings, purchases, gambling, militia). Through what appears to be a varied context of the word, one may need a dose of personal intuition in order to decide whether an immigrant is or not referred to. Also, expressions such as ‘illegal labor market’, ‘undocumented economy’, ‘entry’, and ‘workers from abroad’ are references to the presence of immigrants and illegality in different degrees of explicitness. Finally, a series of expressions such as ‘millions of hard-working men and women’ or ‘illegal workers’ could be a reference to both immigrants, whether legal or illegal, and non-immigrants, at least not those of the last decades, U.S.A. being a multi-ethnic country. Thus, the lexicalisation choices can be described from at least two related perspectives: explicitness/ vagueness: ‘migrant’, ‘alien’ vs. ‘worker’, ‘activities’, and professionalisation: ‘drugs’, ‘weapons’, ‘activities’, ‘workers from abroad’ vs. ‘entrant’, ‘crossings’, ‘undocumented economy’.

The recourse to professional language for the representation of immigrants sets an axiological distance between the in- and out-group, which allows implication to be eluded and dehumanisation to appear as a neutral stance. Used in the context of immigrants as well as in that of organised crime, often times simultaneously, the legal argot confirms the presence of two intertwined discourses about foreigners, with their respective evaluations, positive for the people who came to and built America and negative for those who are not received and threaten America. In this case, alterity is formulated interdiscursively (by framing the discourse on immigration as a sub-type of the larger fields of economic and legal discourse), but also in terms of co-reference (inconclusive reference when words and phrases leave an amount of references to the intuition of the audience), but also by co-classification (different groups are jointly described as involved in the same experiences).

The lexical selections in the verb inform about the human experience taking place, but further still, they inform about the participants and their roles, syntactically organising the lexical choices. In the excerpt above, and in assuming that ‘millions of hard-working men and women’ refer (as Bush does occasionally) to illegal immigrants as well, they are the Phenomenon of a mental process (see equals ‘notice’, ‘learn’, ‘acknowledge’) whose sender is the in-group identifier ‘we’. In the case of the relational process ‘makes’ (causes to be), ‘illegal entry across our borders’ (the nominalisation of the action performed by those immigrants who cross the border without authorisation) is the agent of a negative process with legal relevance; more specifically, those immigrants crossing the border represent the causative force of a desired event (‘the urgent task of securing the homeland’) taking place in intensified conditions of difficulty (‘more difficult’).

In turn, the ‘workers from abroad’ are the beneficiary of a circumstance whose carrier ‘these jobs’, viz. the job openings created by the American workers’ decline, is shown involved in a process of representation whose attribute is superlative (‘a tremendous opportunity’). The three examples lead to a description of the immigrants in position of alterity, as they are the agent of negative developments, the phenomenon experienced by the in-group, and the circumstance, more specifically the beneficiary of a state of matters discarded as unfit by the Americans but qualified as a ‘tremendous opportunity’ for people coming from other countries.

The experiential account of the meanings involved in the representation of immigrants, viz. as agents of negative processes, confirms the suspicion of alterity informed by the result in lexicalisation. Alternatively, the dehumanising device noticed at the level of lexicalisation is confirmed by the use of nominalisation. Nominalisation is the process of turning verbs, but also adjectives and even nouns into nominal phrases, with morphological, syntactic and semantic change taking place. Critical discourse analysts (Billig 2008: 783) have suggested that nominalisation, together with passivisation, has

important ideological functions such as defocalising agency and turning processes into entities to avoid responsibility. Although a small excerpt taken randomly for illustration, it is not devoid of nominal phrases that invoke the presence immigrants: 'Illegal entry across our borders makes more difficult the urgent task of securing the homeland'. Even though for many of the examples above the information focus fell on the self, the nominalisation 'entry' concealing the actions by immigrants ('illegal entry' necessarily means that people enter illegally) assumes the thematic function in order to escalate the proposition of the urgency of action against the immigrants, without naming them.

The choice of mood in the excerpt '(...) we should have [Mood] immigration laws that work and make us proud [Residue]' shows the self-group ('we') involved in a hypothetic imposition with a phenomenon affecting immigrants, which phenomenon is construed as a positive relation of possession ('have'). The modal finite 'should' shows the speaker's intention to get others do certain things or behave in a particular way, in this case, to change the laws regulating immigration. But it also manifests the possibility for the self to formulate the imposition, as opposed to the immigrants, who are targeted by the law, but are not present with a voice. The additional information provided by the Circumstantial Adjunct 'that work and make us proud' informs back on the subject 'we', stressing its position of power and the instrumental role of enforcement against illegal immigrants in the legitimisation of that power. This finding correlates at a certain level with the use of nominalisation, which avoids reference to the person and its (negative) action by means of an embedded clause and at the same time gives it prominence by placing it in a topical position. Maintaining the logical-semantic relation of the expression, the expression avoids explicit negative representation of the immigrants, which I argue to represent self-censorship realised as political correctness, which is a common resource in the contemporary discourse on diversity.

The observations about the way in which interpersonal meaning is construed with respect to immigrants in the analysed fragment is coherent with the use of active and passive voice, typically a device whereby the beneficiary/ receiver of an action is emphasised as promoter and the most salient element of the communication. In the excerpt above, 'some of the jobs being generated in America's growing economy [are jobs American citizens are not filling]' becomes part of the mood, which sends the signal of a flourishing economy without specifying who create those jobs in the first semester of 2008. The ideological manipulation is blatant at a time in which we can affirm retrospectively that the economic predicament was more than acknowledged and that secrecy involved the identity of those corporations rescued by the government. The argument that alien workers are needed to fill positions which American citizens cannot or will not occupy – the rationale behind G.W. Bush's support for immigration – is flawed and altering, because it expresses an unrealistic and unreal state of facts at the same time as it anticipates a category of due date beneficiaries, deconstructively envisioned as a sum of economy-friendly attributes (living, working, circulating).

If indeed grammar transforms experience into meaning, then it makes sense to look for immigrant alterity in particular lexico-grammatical structures and cohesive devices construing the text. As indicated by Janks (1997: 330) all meaning-making devices deserve thorough appreciation in the attempt to work out patterns of use. For illustration purpose, a concordance line for the search term 'illegal' was selected for illustration of the way in which the findings on a level of analysis can be confirmed or infirmed by the findings on other levels. However, the exercise into the meaning-making devices offered by a small text is not presented as representative for the whole corpus. A more thorough exploration

of the discourses of G.W. Bush is expected to reveal the linguistic categories which appear to be more appropriate for the exploration of patterns of immigrant alterity.

In conclusion, the choice of Critical Discourse Analysis for the purposes of the present investigation is fundamented in its being a heterogeneous intellectual system inscribed in the larger paradigm of critical science. It will allow one to dig for the real meaning behind the spoken and written word about the immigrants, as put forwards in the presidential discourses delivered in public between 2001 and 2009. This is a practice not only linguistic, but critical as well, as one hopes that the insight gained from the analysis of the text and its semiotics can be used to bring about more equity, justice, freedom, peace, and hope, all legitimate quests in the history of knowledge.

The first sub-chapter deals with the source of a similar approach to language study, looking briefly at some fundamental differences from previous ways of doing linguistic analysis, an account anchored in the distinction between the notions text, discourse, context, intertextuality and critique. Even though CDA is oriented towards the description of the meaning, it is a broader sense of meaning which CDA pursues, namely that identified by the immediate social, political, and historical conditions of text production and reception, typically related to structures of power. That is why the work of Fairclough, Wodak and van Dijk are presented as central to the concept of CDA adopted further in the description, analysis and interpretation of the text. Towards the end of the same section, a critical assessment is undertaken of the soft spots of CDA, both in theory (systematicity, critique, conceptual tuning), statement of outcomes (the kind of change and extent of it reached after years of practice) and future developments.

The second sub-chapter is conceived as a brief but wide-ranging exploration of the dynamic creation of meaning, with a view to immigrant alterity. Some meaning-making devices have been tested by looking at a fragment randomly chosen from a concordance list, with expected validity within the limits of the pursuit. Immigrant alterity has emerged occasionally, which was signalled in a punctual manner, as well as positive representation of immigrants when it was encountered. This semogenic exercise across different meaning devices is offered as an illustration of the theoretical frame and a methodological anticipation, the latter of which will be elaborated in the chapter six, dealing with the results.

This chapter presents the methodological model of the present research. The different categories are grouped in two broad areas: referential strategies and transitivity. This model draws on the systemic functional approach and follows some critical guidelines advocated by Fairclough and other researches in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, both in theory and practice.

Central to the understanding of ideology in discourse, the functional perspective allows viewing and accounting for the existing structures of meaning in the light of the purpose they serve as well as the trial for systematicity, whence the existence of patterns can be verified. More specifically, Fairclough (1999: 202) has noted that this analytical framework is particularly suited for the research of the discourse that combines the descriptive linguistic task with the social dimension since issues of social identification in texts cannot be fully addressed without a multifunctional view of language such as Halliday's. In the light of this recommendation, the sources I have consulted are Michael A.K. Halliday (1985, 1994), Suzanne Eggins (1996), Michael A.K. Halliday and Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen (2004), Michael A.K. Halliday and Jonathan J. Webster (2009).

4.1. PROCEDURAL STEPS

The following categories represent the sequence of steps undertaken in the present research.

4.1.1. Genesis

The topic choice is indebted to the popularity of the issue of immigration in general and specifically in academic research, but it is also an opportunity to respond to quests that are inseparable from my personal experience, first as a citizen of a totalitarian country and later as an expatriate; more specifically those related to discursive alterity.

Immigration is a recurrent topic in the mass media and a nuclear issue driving the ebbs and flows of much of the American political and social life over the last century. Being a complex social phenomenon, it has enjoyed different analytic perspectives, from political geography and economy to governance and policy, often from a standpoint of alterity which challenged the traditional political distinctions Conservative/ Liberal, Republican/ Democrat or right/ left.

Few issues have raised more social, political, economic and cultural concerns than immigration. In the U.S., only the Holocaust, the Cold War, the war in Vietnam and the Middle East conflict have received comparable international coverage prior to the 9/11. Together with a range of (speculative) anxieties about global security and environment, all those issues have created a discursive continuum, accompanying what the U.S. have long termed as 'New World Order' but which analysts have called 'a hegemonic form(ulation) of American liberal democratic internationalism' (Lazar and Lazar 2008: 228). In the decade following 9/11, a transformative strategy of representation of former political and security allies took place, with the mainstream discourse anchored in the topic of (illiberal) global threat. From the self-assigned floor of global leadership, the American theoretical constructs of freedom and democracy have attained international consensus and infelicitous odds to effective criticism or transformative effects.

The universalisation of the American principles, whether economic, political or strategic, has come a long way. The post world war ideological distinctions colouring the world map until the 1990s has engendered an enduring fascination with the American exceptionalism. On a strategic plan, the faith in North Atlantic Alliance's eschatological power has been an obsessive leitmotif with the people living under the communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe. The political palsy of the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the disenchantment with the new economic model, induced a noteworthy exodus from Central and Easter Europe to the United States of America. A significant share of gifted students, renowned intellectuals and high-technology professionals took the road of expatriation.

If pondering cultural, political and economic systems has always been an organic need in the context of East – West encounters, the experience of living abroad has continuously arisen questions about displacement and identity, such as what defines the relation between one and the other, which are the mechanisms involved in their construction, etc. The experience of expatriation in focus induces a certain awareness of the distinct discursive roles assigned to migrants, in the home society and in the society of adoption, whether at work in administrative and police proceedings, but also in the personal relationships with other members of the community.

The insightful books, linguistic and other, dealing with immigration and otherness, have encouraged me to inquire into immigrant alterity in the discourses of the former U.S. President George W. Bush. The problem-oriented nature of CDA and the possibility it offers for an interpretation to take place following linguistic and social analysis have been decisive in the choice of the topic and the general theoretic framework of the present research.

4.1.2. Process of data collection and selection

At this stage, the semiotics of official/ institutional discourse as well as the research questions suggested for the present investigation has oriented the decision over the linguistic material to include in the corpus. Several fundamental questions have guided the gathering of data: Who delivers the speeches? Which speeches cover more relevance for the analysis? Which linguistic realisations in the texts trigger an account of alterity in the case of immigrants? Which actors and acts are focused on in the texts and what are the

prevailing nominalisations and predications about them? Which is the perspective that manages these aspects in the discursive representation?

An attempt was made for the data selected for research to be as inclusive as possible within the characteristics of political speech and monologue. Even if one desires to find intuitive answers to the above questions at a first reading of the material, the stake is the global validity of the conclusions, which implies careful examination, and not a fragmented interpretation of the data in the sense of the initial questions; to avoid a pre-condition of bias, every presidential discourse available in the online presidential archive during the G.W. Bush administration has been eventually included in the corpus. This point is to be elaborated later, in Chapter 6, which describes the process of corpus selection and its characteristics.

4.1.3. Content analysis

The Bush corpus is a medium-sized corpus of roughly four million words, which comprises the greatest share of the public speeches given by G.W. Bush in his eight years of tenure at the White House. The exploration of this corpus, whose characteristics shall be detailed in the chapter dealing with requires a first account of a quantitative nature, followed by an evaluative and interpretative part. The content analysis owes to the four-step strategy developed by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, namely the exploration of the (1) text internal co-text, (2) intertextual relation between utterances, (3) extralinguistic variables and institutional frames and (4) socio-political and historical context (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 19-30). The analysis is oriented by the five constitutive questions formulated by Wodak et al. 1999: 206-7), already mentioned in section 1.4 and including discourse practices, such as nominalisation, predication, argumentation, perspectivation or discourse representation (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 94).

4.1.4. Selection of linguistic categories

The relevance of linguistic categories was decided following assessment of the immigration issue across the co-text of the discourse, but also taking into account the historic and cultural context of the general phenomenon. Once the corpus compiled, it was searched for a number of linguistic choices explicitly denoting immigrants: immigrant(s), immigration, they, people, worker(s), alien, speak, English, and their most frequent collocates: legal / illegal, unauthorized, reform and criminal.

The automatic selection was further refined manually, maintaining only those concordances which focused on immigration, illegality, crime and English as a foreign language in the context of 'immigrants'. Those instances primarily focusing on the legal process were left out, as they were more numerous than the former, not without signalling their quantitative relevance and explaining its implications. This intervention resulted in a more referent-oriented sub-corpus which facilitates the analysis of immigrant representation without distorting its quantitative implications. From a qualitative perspective, the resulting sub-corpus hinders the odds to bias in the analysis of the

referential system which would result from the circular reasoning. For instance, words like ‘crime’, ‘illegality’ or ‘law’ are commonly found in the context of ‘immigration’, however, not every instance of it is a reference to immigrants, nor a straightforward one; when discussed in more abstract or hypothetical form, they could produce a density of criminalising devices without them necessarily characterising the immigrants. The linguistic material resulting from this selection consists in 1115 concordances to be later explored by means of qualitative analysis.

4.1.5. Textual analysis

At this stage, linguistic categories were applied to the linguistic selection representing immigrants. Following Fairclough (1999: 184), in order to critically analyse a discourse, detailed and careful textual analysis is needed because form and content are intrinsically related. On these premises, the formal analysis of the text is expected to mediate the proper interpretation of the content of the discourses under investigation. Thus, a quantitative analysis of linguistic choices and their clustering patterns was performed, together with other textual features such as modality or polarity. The same meaning making devices were then looked at from a quantitative strand to reveal their relation to the topic of immigration. The results of this first approach to the text have oriented towards those meaning-making devices which can be satisfactorily explored and the discursive strategies they support, in the search for patterns of alterity concerning the immigrants.

4.1.6. Conclusions

Drawing conclusions involves making extensive interpretation of the findings since the analysis should transcend the conditions of simple mechanical course of action which automatically generates objective interpretations (Fowler 1991: 68). Constant reference to the background context of immigration and/ or of discourse is expected to disambiguate the formal findings in the corpus, as the broad social theories underlining the research can also contribute to their understanding. It was at this stage that the links between the linguistic aspects became more transparent against the contextual background.

These steps have been designed following Jäger (2001: 32-62) on how to conduct discourse analyses, and also supported by insights on consistent and workable qualitative research design (Maxwell 2005).

4.2. METHODOLOGICAL MODEL

CDA’s admitted interdisciplinarity opens towards a large possibility of theoretical frameworks for the textual analysis endeavour. Following Van Dijk’s advice against

focusing on a single line of analysis (2001: 95-96), I adopted a pluralist model of interdisciplinarity (Van Leeuwen, 2004) with the prospect that various aspects of the context will help me bring out structures that could reveal traits of the ethnic-apprehensive social mind.

Consequently, I have adopted a methodological method oriented to unmasking the patterns of alterity embedded in the discourse on immigration, partly adapting categories of the Discourse-Historical Approach described in Wodak et al (1999), and Reisigl and Wodak (2001). In addition, Halliday's functional categories and the work of Van Dijk (1998) on the relation cognition–society–discourse have been illuminating for the account of the social and institutional context surrounding the topic of immigration and ideology as well as during the interpretative phase of this dissertation.

As I have previously explained, these methodological steps have been adapted to conform to the particular needs and textual material of the present investigation, which pursues the analysis of the construction and representation of the immigrant other through the analysis of the speeches of G.W. Bush. The following sections will describe each of the categories of analysis in detail.

4.2.1. Discursive strategies

The categorisation of referential and predicational discursive strategies employed in the present investigation was developed as part of the Discourse-Historical Approach, according to which discourse shapes society by constructing versions of the world, at the same time that it is shaped by it (Wodak 1996:15). Investigating complex issues like racist discrimination and national identity, the Discourse-Historical Approach is a declared attempt to 'integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical background of the social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded' (Wodak, 2001a: 65) with appropriate social theories to account for the context. They offer the critical context of the linguistic analysis at the same time as it allows linguistics to bring relevance to other contexts (Wodak et al, 1999: 186) as well.

The referential and representational strategies are strategies of self and other-presentation which are in turn core elements of the discursive construction of the immigrant other. They are particularly significant for the present investigation because the way a social group is categorised influences the way the larger society perceives and relates to it. It shapes society's perception of that group, not only because naming-already implies a choice and a previous assessment by the narrator of that which is named, but also because the sign is conveyed to the audience together with a moral scale for that which is evaluated.

The word selection highlights the roles of the participants and encodes the social meanings and values. Since the emotional impact of the text is first constructed through lexical and rhetoric choices, the first step undertaken in the familiarisation with the text is necessarily descriptive. Complementarily, the analysis of these discursive strategies is oriented towards answering to basic specific questions at the core of this research: how is the immigrant other (not) named and referred to linguistically and what traits, features, qualities are attributed to it and how.

Drawing on the four main functions of discourse as designed by Wodak and Reisigl, that is, the constructive, the perpetuating, the transformative and the destructive (2001: 43), they extracted four basic macro-strategies, named by the respective function they fulfil. By strategy is meant a systematic way of using language with a view on achieving a particular aim (Wodak 2004: 131). Applied to the discursive construction of the immigrant other, the constructive strategies aim at the selection of what the official discourse points out as national asset as opposed to representative categories and types of interactions manifested by non-belongers such as the immigrants.

- **Preservative strategies:** those discursive strategies that aim at the reproduction of the national status and the construction of identity. Particularly in the discourse of alterity, these are engaged in a complementary scheme play, whereby the former is set at a referent for the evaluation of the latter. In the discourses of G.W. Bush such strategies are concretised in the management of the topics of citizenship, authorisation, in the representation of America, the Americans, and the roles assigned to them. These form a mental image of common sense in relation to which the distance with the immigrants can be implied or argued.

You're going to safeguard our ports of entry, you'll investigate workplace immigration violations, and you'll arrest those breaking the law. We are a nation of laws, and we expect people to keep the laws. And if they break the laws, there will be a consequence (May 29, 2007).

In this fragment national identity is hinted by the expressions 'ports of entry', 'workplace' and 'law'. The defining trait is resumed by the group self-identification 'we are a nation of laws' and the identification of others as 'people'. The relation between the two entities is one of power 'we expect people', suggesting standards met by the nationals against whom alien people do not match, hence the infantilisation of the others suggested by the suppositional punishment: 'if they break the laws, there will be consequences'. The groups are referred to with respect to an issue to which they relate differently: the law. The national group is explicitly referred to and relates positively: it is (substantially, since 'we are') of laws and law is philosophically associated to order ('ports of entry'), justice ('immigration violations') and pragmatically with enforcement ('we're going to', 'safeguard', 'arrest'). On the contrary, immigrants are vaguely indicated by 'those', 'people' and 'they', as these nominalisations can refer to American employers hiring illegal immigrants or house owners renting their houses.

Without the nominalisation 'immigration violations', the identity of the other group remains vague. The fuzzy limits between sub-groups of 'us' and 'them', often times exercised by G.W. Bush in his political discourses, can be an example of socially regulated discourse. Since open statements about immigrants' criminality or illiteracy can attract accusations of racism or vote punishment, an available alternative is the subtle recourse to the context of production and reception of crime combat or terrorist fight discourse, which orients the interpretation and attaches negative values to it: border crossers, immigration violators, law breakers, etc.

- **Transformative strategies:** aim at solving the problem called immigration. In the discourses of G.W. Bush the solution comes from dialogue ('a very constructive and important dialogue', 'plans [to enforce our borders]', '[rational, important] immigration policy', 'a guest worker program', 'having an immigration debate', etc.). The transformation is not only oriented towards immigrants, but the ideal balance is envisioned between the conditions under which guest workers are accepted and the economic

bettering of the host country: ‘doing a job an American won't do’, ‘for a period of time’ (and then leave) and ‘doing that job’. Probably the most powerful signals of alterity can be found analysing transformative strategies of representation, as their implications strike the sensibility of the state of art political culture: rejected jobs, limited time and fixed work profile.

- ***Destructive strategies***: aim at dismantling open racist prejudice through a totemic cult of national virtues. The strong link between ideology and alterity is thus revealed by the description of the job conditions of future incoming aliens. It is easily grasped by the mind that the US labour market is a very dynamic one and that career opportunities are a permanent quest in its economy, therefore such a program would deny immigrants the possibility of personal growth (at least structurally hinder them), but would burden the economy as well. Rather, the proposal, in apparent rational terms, of an improper problem (the last guest worker program was formally closed in 1964) seems to overshadow an effective program on the run in the dawn of the G.W. Bush Administration, which reached unprecedented financing between 2001 and 2009, a less sympathetic one enforcing detention and immediate deportation of immigrants who could not prove to legally reside and work in the U.S.

An informed reader of Bush's discourses on immigration would know that the former president commonly denied allegations of racism: ‘You'll hear people say it's racist to test. Folks, it's racist not to test. Because guess who gets shuffled through the system oftentimes? Children whose parents don't speak English as a first language’ (August 21, 2001). And perhaps rightfully so, as he occasionally remembers the Mexican ties in his family, successful Mexican Americans, the Latino heritage in U.S.A. and how much he likes burritos. As van Dijk once mentioned, one need not subscribe entirely to a hate ideology in order to be a racist; often such beliefs or attitudes emerge in topics about people of other races, or categories of them (illiterate, poor, women, etc.) because they offer overly simplified accounts of complex phenomena and because they are made available in society, often by the politicians, as a surrogate for introspective analysis of their own political craft.

Basic criteria for categorisation (Who/ what are ‘they’? What do they do? How do they behave in comparison with ‘us’?), combined with other discourse-analytical tools for exploring the complexities of the narrative perspective (Who do ‘we’ say we are? How do we say it? How do we say what we say they are? Which are our intentions and projections on ‘us’ and ‘them’?) have conducted to four concrete questions (cf. Wodak and Chilton, 2005:73) which can be explored with a corpus of the referred characteristics, two of which are respond to a descriptive task and can be carried on extensively and the other two, of an argumentative nature, will accompany occasionally:

1. How are immigrants named (denoted or connoted) linguistically?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and roles are attributed to them?
3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes a justification is found for exclusion, discrimination and riddance of others?
4. From what perspective are these labels and arguments expressed?

According to these questions, two types of discursive strategies can be safely argued, viz., Referential and Predicational strategies. These are involved in the positive self- and negative other-presentation especially by situating ‘us’ at the axiological core of the discourse and placing ‘them’ closer or farther on the surrounding orbit. Other strategies,

relating to the perspective from which certain representations are captured, will be dealt with as they co-occur.

Referential/Nomination strategies participate in the construction and representation of the in-groups and out-groups. As expected, 'we' is mostly used to refer internally to the American people, families, homeland and its government, quite often in the environment of domestic policy making. One excessive realisation of the first person singular 'I' presents the President in the middle of political debates on the war in Iraq and domestic politics. In turn, 'they' is used to refer to the in-group and the out-group and a variety of sub-groups, as exemplified below:

1. American families, e.g.,

more families are able to get health care accounts they own and manage themselves.

2. American troops, e.g.,

That is why I went to the United States Congress and proposed 87 billion in supplemental funding, to make sure our troops had that which they need to complete their missions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

3. American voters, e.g.,

I'm asking you to get your friends and neighbors and remind them they have a duty to vote in a democracy.

4. Attune Democrat Party members, e.g.,

Please go to your friends and neighbors, people from all parties- don't overlook discerning Democrats - people like Zell Miller. They want a better country, too.

5. Past enemies, e.g.,

But remember, 60 years ago, we were at war with Japan. They were the sworn enemy of the United States of America.

6. Past Immigrants, e.g.,

When immigrants assimilate into this society, they realize their dreams.

7. Present enemies, e.g.,

Tyrants and terrorists will not give us polite notice before they attack our country.

8. Present immigrants, e.g.,

They [illegal immigrants who are already her] should not be given an automatic path to citizenship

9. Terrorists, e.g.,

Terrorists who killed thousands are still dangerous. They are determined to strike us again.

As examples indicate, the referent of 'they' is complex and can be described along at least three axes. Perhaps the most explicit of them is the temporal axis (present and past war contenders, political adversaries and immigrants), to which add those underpinning

relational (antagony/ affinity) and identity (citizenship/ non-citizenship) categories, as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

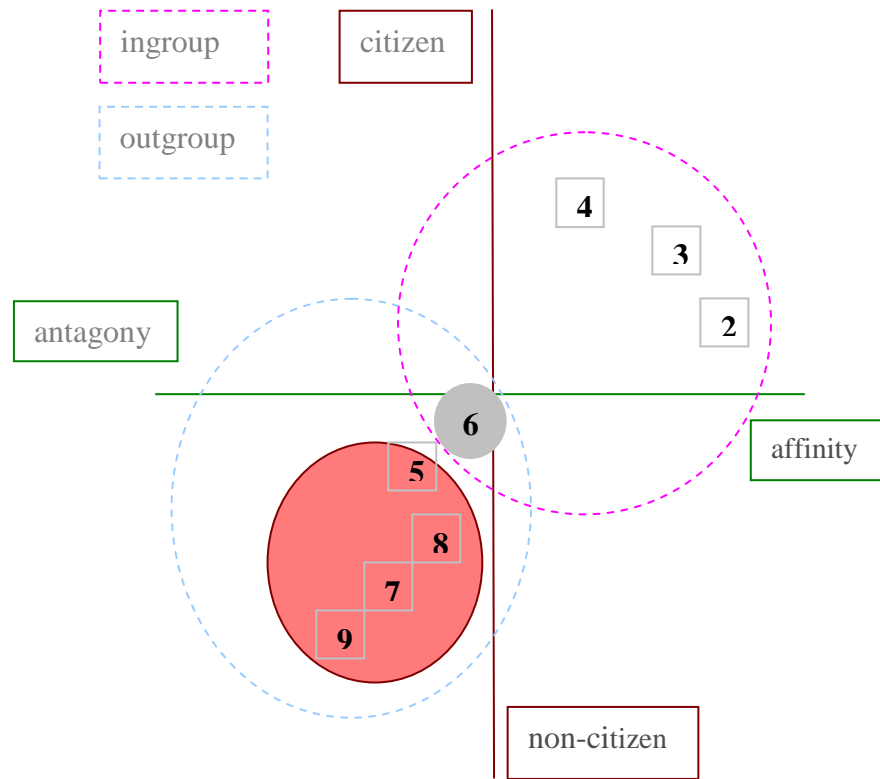


Figure 1. Referents of ‘they’ in terms of status and mood.

A relative distribution can be noticed along the referent scale, with well profiled areas of affinity and antagony. There are categories belonging to the in-group proper, such as the American families, soldiers, retirees, voters, professional categories, etc. Sometimes they are described as immigrants, a truthful though incomplete assertion. At the fuzzy boundary between the ingroup and the outgroup, there is the sub-group of the members of the Democratic Party in the Senate. They situated at the other pole of the ideological spectrum, but sharing a common ground through those members of the opposition which are attune to the President’s plans for national security (‘They want a better country too’). On the opposite end of the national axis is the out-group or fractions of it, from the adversary or immigrants of the old days, to those of the present and finally terrorists and other (potential) contenders of the United States. The referents of the nominal choice are illustrated below:

Predicational strategies are used to assign qualities to the social actors. The in-group is favourably described: Americans ‘value life’, they want to continue being ‘the most competitive country in the world’, and have a ‘tradition of welcoming immigrants’ and ‘helping newcomers assimilate’. Their members’ (self-assigned) qualities are emphasized as requisites for membership: they ‘respect our laws’, share ‘values of fairness and decency and opportunity for all’, they are bound together by ‘our shared ideals, our history, and the ability to speak and write the English language’. And when these and other

conditions are satisfied, the immigrants as well are presented with the opportunity to 'advance in our society, realize their dreams, and add to the unity of America'.

As social actors, their active roles are related to power and authority over the outgroup's material actions and mental processes, both in a prohibitive tone: 'they should not be given automatic path to citizenship', 'they'll be caught and sent home', 'they must admit they violated the law', 'they will have to prove themselves worthy of this great land', as well as through solemn proclamation of a self-evident truth: 'We're a nation of law, and we expect people to uphold the law', 'If it's illegal to hire somebody, then the federal government has got to enforce those laws', or 'We stepped up work site enforcement against companies who knowingly hire illegal workers'.

The immigrants are more negatively portrayed, some of the central labels being 'illegal', 'unauthorised', 'a burden', 'who pose threats', or 'put a pressure' etc. Implicit deprecatory othering descriptions are used with immigrants when reminded of the obligation to respect 'our laws', to learn 'our history', 'our value', 'our language', and to 'fill jobs that no Americans are unwilling to do', in a recourse to civilising stereotypes construing, albeit subtly, an ideology of supremacy.

Other strategies, stemming from the speaker's involvement in the reality described, materialise in a series of 'tuning' strategies of presentation and representation. Thus, the *Argumentation, Perspectivation and Intensifying/Mitigation Strategies* shall be only marginally pointed out and discussed, as their role in persuasion was more than usually assumed, but not sufficiently proved, to correlate positively with the goal of third-party policy makers and lobbyists in the Congress of the United States. Broadly speaking, they are used to justify and legitimize the positive/negative attributions assigned to social actors. When President G.W. Bush speaks about comprehensive immigration reform he takes pride in having increased the number of beds available in detention facilities for non-Mexican immigrants before transporting them deep into the Mexican desert in order to make their potential return more strenuous; thus, the former positive action is strikingly contrasting with the global design of what is presented as a solution. It seems hard to conceive a similar plan as a solution to any group's problems, rather an attempt to demonstrate political capacity of reaction, even if it may come in the guise of retaliation.

Perspectivation strategies are used to express the point of view of the speaker in the representation of social actors, by giving no significant alternative narrative insight. Even when (legal) immigrants are quoted or reported, the content of their verbiage are in fact examples which strengthen the in-group representation, such as America as a land of freedom, the pride to be an American or English language as vehicle to prosperity in the land of opportunities.

Intensifying/Mitigation strategies are employed to give or subtract prominence of the illocutionary force of what is presented and qualified. In the numerous paragraphs which tackle different types of misconduct, crossing the border is enumerated together with drug dealing, human trafficking and terrorism, in a cumulative effect aiming at evoking a mental scheme of extreme threat to life and civilisation.

On the other hand, the reference to the catch-and-release practice, which bespeaks a certain degree of visual violence, is angled through the patriotic loyalty of the Border Patrollers, concealing thus the impact of a high-technology persecution scene against already dispossessed travellers in the night.

In a context of abounding, more often than not implied criminality of the immigrants, to mention their basic needs of working and looking for a better life which pushes them to

attempt illegal immigration is to employ a mitigation strategy so thoroughly that actually two concurring representations are enforced, one of which – the most humanist of them – is to be neutralised by the more powerful argument of the law. The interplay of argumentation strategies and their patterns of recurrence could constitute in itself an interesting topic of investigation, which the present work cannot embrace at this stage.

4.2.2. Corpus-driven approach to meaning

This section presents the results of the analysis following the model described by Halliday and Mathiessen (2004) at a generalised semantic level. It pretends to explore the corpus potential for patterns of alterity across the different meaning-making devices which can be identified and safely argued within the limits of intersubjectivity.

- *Experiential meaning*

By looking at the processes named in the discourses of G.W. Bush, one can identify the types of process in which the immigrant is involved and comment on the kind of participant roles that they are assigned. The analysis of the transitivity system in the corpus is one way of exploring the expression of ideational meaning, i.e., how the immigrants are represented and constructed. Moving into the study of the transitive system, the expression of ‘reality’ as representation of the external world, involves three basic elements (Halliday and Mathiessen (2004: 170):

The process, i.e. the activities or on-going phenomena that unfold through time. There is one process in a clause and it is realised by a verb, e.g.,

We’re capturing more non-Mexican illegal immigrants than we can send home.

In this clause, ‘We’ is the Actor, ‘are capturing’ belongs to the material process of doing, ‘non-Mexican immigrants’ is the Goal.

The participants are entities involved in the process. They can or cannot have human or concrete character, typically realised by nominal group but also by embedded clauses, e.g.,

Forty per cent of the people who are here illegally came because of the generosity of America.

In this complex clause, the embedded subject clause ‘Forty per cent of the people who are here illegally’ is Actor, ‘came’ is material process, and ‘because of the generosity of America’ is material circumstance of Cause.

The circumstances are of various types (location, cause, accompaniment, etc.) with the role of providing additional information. According to Halliday and Mathiessen (2004: 177) they are usually realised by prepositional phrases, nominal or adverbial groups, e.g.,

There was nobody back in 30 days.

Here, ‘There was ... back’ is Process, ‘nobody’ is Existent, ‘in 30 days’ is a temporal Circumstance of location.

The processes represent types of experiences we have with the world: outer, inner and interactions of the two through relational process. The following processes are located on the boundaries of the three major ones: verbal between mental and relational and existential between rational and material (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 170-171). Figure 2 illustrates how the types of processes in English construe our experiences of the world (from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 172). The process types, however, Halliday warns, are reference categories (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 172).

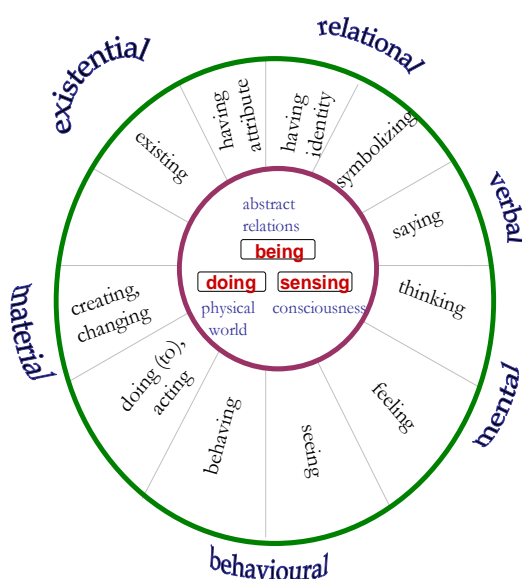


Figure 2. The grammar of experience: types of processes in English.

Material processes

Basic definition: “process of doing”

Criterion 1: About such processes, one can ask ‘What did X do?’. E.g.,

We are selling Mexican food to Mexico.

[What are we doing?]

We (Actor) sell (Process) Mexican food to Mexico (Circumstance).

Criterion 1a: Alternatively one can ask ‘What happened to X?’ about the first participant (in passive constructions) or the second participant (in the case that there is one). E.g.,

Illegal immigrants from Mexico are escorted back across the border.

[~~What did illegal immigrants from Mexico do?~~ is not a “probe”;

cf. What happened to illegal immigrants from Mexico?

Types [both admit passive]:

- a) dispositive (=doing to): This bill will strengthen our economy
- b) creative (bring about): New technology will bring about a new era of energy

Degree of abstraction:

- a) concrete: some spend billions
- b) abstract: some incite hatred

Ergative processes (active \approx passive), e.g.,

Every nation (Actor) must fight (Process) against the murderers (Circumstance) \approx
The murderers (Goal) must be fought against (Process) by every nation (Actor).

Mental processes

Basic definition: “process of sensing”

Criterion 1: Such processes do not have one substitute verb. There is always one human-like participant, about whom one can ask ‘What did X feel, think or perceive?’.
E.g.,

They (Sensor) seek (Process) to divide us (Phenomenon)

Criterion 1a: Complementarily, that element which is sensed may be an act or a fact, which can be marked in the clause as ‘the fact that’, e.g.,

I (Sensor) appreciate (Process) the fact that Arlen Specter is with us today
(Phenomenon)

(‘What fact is being sensed?’ is the question)

Criterion 2: In language they can be represented as two-way processes. Thus, the clause: They (Sensor) fear (Process) our unity (Phenomenon) can be reversed with the help of the pair verb ‘frighten’ [Our unity (Phenomenon) frightens (Process) them (Sensor)].

Types:

- a) cognitive (thinking, knowing). E.g.: When illegal immigrants know they’re going to be caught and sent home, they will be less likely to break the rules.
- b) desiderative (want, resolve). E.g.: They want to disrupt our way of life,
- c) perceptive (seeing, hearing). E.g.: I see a good day for America and
- d) emotive (liking, worrying). E.g.: I enjoy travelling our country

Transitive processes (active): They (Sensor) are hurting (Process) the quality of life in this state (Phenomenon).

Relational processes

Basic definition: “process of being and having”

Criterion 1: In such processes one (definite) entity is used to characterize another. In which case, this clause can have an agnate reverse variant, e.g.,

Those (Token) are (Process) the people who put up the signs (Value). [The very people who put up the signs are those].

Criterion 2: Alternatively, an attribute (non-participant) is ascribed to some entity, construing the abstract relationship of class-membership. E.g.,

These (Carrier) are (Process) criminals (Attribute).

Types:

a) intensive (relation of sameness between the terms), e.g.,

America (Identified) is still (Process) a nation at war (Identifier)

b) circumstantial, e.g.,

Forces from South Korea (Phenomenon) are (Process) in Iraq, (place Circumstance of location) as well (Expansion)

c) possessive (relation of ownership between the two terms), e.g.,

Iraq (Owner) will have (Process) elections (Possession) in January (temporal Circumstance of location).

Ergative processes (active \approx passive), e.g.,

You (Agent) have made (Process) comprehensive immigration reform (Carrier) one of your top legislative priorities (Attribute) \approx ... catch and release (Phenomenon) has virtually been (Process) eliminated (Circumstance).

Behavioural processes

Basic definition: “process of physiological and psychological behaviour”

Criterion 1: Such processes ‘of doing’ usually have one participant, a conscious being, e.g.,

They (Behaver) heard (Process) the call (Circumstance)

Criterion 1a: These processes may also include ‘consciousness’ represented like forms of behaviour, but are probed as for the transitive material processes, e.g.,

[I hope] my fellow Texans (Behavers) behave (Process) here in Reno (Circumstance). [What do they (not) do?]

Ergative processes (active \approx passive), e.g.,

We (Behaver) have followed (Process) this strategy (Circumstance) \approx Φ ?

Verbal processes

Basic definition: “process of saying”

Criterion 1: About such processes one can ask: ‘What did X say?’

Types:

a) directly – quoted, e.g.,

Mike (Sayer) told (Process) me (Circumstance) "People don't want to see a person with just one skill anymore. They want several skills" (Quote)

b) indirectly - reported, e.g.,

I (Sayer) told (Process) him (Circumstance) I needed him as an ally (Report)

Existential processes

Basic definition: “existing, happening”

Criterion 1: These are ‘presentative constructions’, typically realized with the existential ‘there’ and the verb ‘be’ and serving as existence in the introduction, of participants in the setting and of phenomenon into exposition, e.g.,

There is (Process) no limit (Existent) to the greatness of America (Circumstance)

Criterion 1a: some existential constructions are realized by ‘it’ and the verb ‘be’, e.g.,

It is (Process) citizens (Circumstance) who turn cold cities into real communities (Existent).

Criterion 2: Alternatively, a special category is related to the natural phenomena: meteorological processes (and metaphorical extensions), e.g.,

‘It was (Process) about 106’ (Circumstance).

- ***Interpersonal meaning***

The exchange function realised by language can materialise in dialogue, question and answer, affirmation/ negation or proposition (on the initiator or the reactor side). It is visible at the clause level in the semantic functions of Mood and Residue, the former containing at the Finite level information about polarity (positive and negative), but also in the use of modality, typically realised by a modal finite or adverbial phrase.

<i>We</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>millions of hard-working men and women condemned to fear and insecurity</i>	<i>in a massive, undocumented economy.</i>
Subject	Finite	Complement	Adjunct
MOOD		RESIDUE	

‘We’ is a noun phrase with the function of Subject which, together with the present Finite ‘see’ form the Mood. The rest of the affirmation is comprised by the Residue, realised by the Complement ‘millions of hardworking men and women condemned to fear and insecurity’ and the Circumstantial Adjunct ‘in a massive, undocumented economy’. The choice of mood implies that the Complement, which has the potential of becoming Subject, is not offered the potential of modal responsibility, thus averting the crux of the argument.

Polarity is a choice between ‘yes’ and ‘no’. In the assertion ‘I will never relent in defending America (...)’, the mood adjunct ‘never’ is responsible for the negative polarization emphasising the decision to perform a material action in benefit of America. The Residue includes the Predicator ‘relent’ and the Complement is realised by the nominalisation ‘in defending America’. As a part of the same pattern of certainty/ uncertainty, modality ‘construes the region of uncertainty that lies between ‘yes’ and ‘no’

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 147), as expressed by the speaker. Formally, the expression of (in)determinacy can be realised by Finite operators (must/ mustn't, can't, will/ won't, may/ need not), by modal Adjuncts (certainly, probably, possibly) or by both.

In propositions, the meaning of positive/ negative modalisation is that of asserting/ denying ('comprehensive immigration reform must include a temporary worker program') and of presenting intermediary degrees of possibility: probability ('they're acting rapidly on illegal immigration or illegal activities they may see from the drones') and usuality ('Friends and immigrants will always be welcome in this land'). In proposals, the role of positive/ negative modulation is that of prescribing and forbidding ('You can't have one aspect of immigration reform passed and not other aspects'), with the intermediate possibility of offer ('I really am anxious to sign a comprehensive immigration bill as soon as I possibly can') and command ('new immigration laws should serve the economic needs of our country').

- *Textual meaning*

The message of a stretch of language obeys the internal organisation of its constituents. The structure which configures meaning is defined as 'thematic structure' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 64). The textual resources are structural, which is conceived of in terms of lexico-grammar, and cohesive, whose analysis explores the grammatical level of semantics. The former is constituted by a Theme, the initial structure of a clause and as such the point of departure of the message and a Rheme, the remainder of the message. The most common type of Theme is a participant, expressed by a nominal group and typically a subject of a declarative clause, unless there is a special reason for variation. Unmarked themes are realised by Adjuncts and to a lesser degree by Complements, in which case the information they carry would be foregrounded.

If the Theme is realised by a participant, process or circumstance, it is called a Topical Theme, as the following example: 'Some temporary workers [Theme] will make the decision to pursue American citizenship [Rheme]'. Alternatively, the theme may be realised by elements with no role in the experiential meaning of the clause, sometimes in the form of multiple theme: 'After all [conjunctive Theme, textual meaning], in many of those countries [Theme/ Adjunct, experiential meaning], a small nest egg [Topical Theme, experiential meaning] is what is necessary to start their own business [Rheme]'.

The latter source of texture, cohesion is realised by the semantic links within and between sentences which help construe and project information. Structurally, it is conceptualised as a Given/ New relation, the former, which is optional, preceding the latter, which is compulsory. There seems to be a correlation between the thematic structure Theme/ Rheme and the information structure Given/ New, in that both are selected by the speaker and oriented to the listener. In the example 'This month, we have begun using advanced technology to better record and track aliens who enter our country', the Theme/ Adjunct 'this month' corresponds to the Given information and the rest of the clause represents simultaneously the Rheme and the New information.

In the example 'First, America must control its borders', the same relation is manifested: 'America' is the Topical Theme (preceded by the conjunctive Theme/ Adjunct 'first') and represents the Given information, while the segment 'must control its borders' corresponds to the Residue and at the same time the New information, particularly signalled by modulation ('should'). The excerpt is part of a wider organisation of information at discourse level, containing parallel constructions: 'Second, new

immigration laws should serve the economic needs of our country', 'Third, we should not give unfair rewards to illegal immigrants in the citizenship process or disadvantage those who came here lawfully' and 'Fourth, new laws should provide incentives for temporary, foreign workers to return permanently to their home countries after their period of work in the United States has expired'.

The similitude goes beyond the textual, into interpersonal meaning (it could be noticed that a modal finite accompanied the New information) and experiential meaning as well. The Given entities 'America', 'new immigration', 'we' and 'new laws' are involved in material processes ('control borders', 'serve (...) our country', 'not give (...) rewards', and 'provide incentives for foreign workers') whose novelty involves some type of (commended) action against new immigrants and in favour of contract workers for the period of the authorized stay ('to return permanently to their home countries').

Table 2 below is a summary of the strategies found at work in the representation of immigrants, at a general exploration of the public discourses included in the corpus for the present investigation.

No.	Strategy	Level		E.g.,
1.	Referential/ Nominal	word selection	pronoun choice	I'm afraid it would further illegal immigration, as well as rewards <i>those</i> who haven't lived to the law
			nominalisation	amnesty would encourage <i>further illegal immigration</i> amnesty rewards somebody <i>for breaking the law</i>
			verbal choice	This bill is not amnesty, but it recognizes that it is impossible for this country to rout people out of our society and "send them home"
		word wrap-up (inconclusive meaning)		And that's why all of us must be dedicated to- to the strategies that enable us to prevail. (...) Again, I thank you for your work in compassion and decency
		word coinage		I've coined new words, like, "misunderstanding" and "Hispanically." And the facts are that thousands of small businesses- <i>Hispanically</i> - owned or otherwise- pay taxes at the highest marginal rate I think they <i>misunderestimated</i> the will and determination of the Commander- in Chief
		misuse poetic licence dabble deliberate play on words		" I've expanded the definition of words themselves, using "vulcanized" when I met "polarized," "Grecians" when I meant "Greeks," "inebriating" when I meant "exilerating", and instead of "barriers and tariffs", I said "tarriers and bariffs" ... Thank you for inviting me and thank you for your <i>horspitality</i> .
		metaphor	narration+evaluation	'container' for the USA space, 'wave', 'war' for immigration
		syntactic transgression clause wrap-up (circular reasoning)		Rarely is the question asked, is our children learning (...) but when I'm talking about myself and when he's talking about myself, all of us are talking about me

2.	Predicational	assign qualities	In-group [+]	To keep America the world's most competitive and innovative nation, we must continue to lead the world in human talent and creativity.
			Out-group [+]	[immigrants] they add to the unity of America
			Group [-]	[arrested] the ringleader of a criminal gang that had smuggled more than 200 Vietnamese and Chinese nationals to work as slave laborers
			Out-group [-]	As a part of Operation Community Shield, federal agents have arrested nearly 1,400 gang members who were here illegally, including hundreds of members of the violent Latin American gangs like MS- 13.
3.	Representational (logical reasoning)	constructive	of identity	We are a nation of laws,
		perpetuating	of status	and we expect people to keep the laws.
		transformative	contest adversaries	have an immigration debate safeguard our ports of entry, you'll investigate workplace immigration violations
		destructive	of status/ process	and you'll arrest those breaking the law. And if they break the laws, there will be a consequence.
4.	Persuasive	Argumentation	ineffective enforcement in the past, better new enforcement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the problem [with previous procedures] was that people [immigrants] didn't want to come back for your [Border Patrol] hearing - and so we worked with the Congress and we've got a lot of detention facilities - we're stepping up enforcement inside the country - we've increased funding for border security by 66 percent - Federal agents have apprehended and sent home more than 6 million people entering this country illegally - we're hiring thousands more Border Patrol agents

		Perspectivation	opposition holds back immigration reform , therefore many (immigrants) suffer.	I call on the Senate Minority Leader to end his blocking tactics and allow the Senate to work and pass a fair, effective immigration bill. Immigration is an emotional issue and a vitally important one. (...) It says something about a country that people around the world are willing to leave their homes, leave their families, and risk everything to come to America
		Intensifying/ Mitigation	report on criminality	The border should be open to trade and lawful immigration, and shut to illegal immigrants, as well as criminals, drug dealers, and terrorists. (...) our borders should be shut and barred tight to criminals, to drug traders, to drug traffickers and to criminals, and to terrorists.
			appeal to humanity	Behind these numbers are millions of individual workers who start each day with hope because they have a job that will enable them to do their duties to support their families, or to put food on the table. Behind these numbers are small business owners that are being rewarded for taking risk.

Table 2. Strategies of self and immigrant reference and representation

CHAPTER FIVE. CORPUS JUSTIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION

This chapter offers an insight on the motivations that lead to the construction of the corpus, discusses the criteria for sampling and rationalizes the information comprised in the corpus by considering relevant patterns of association of immigrant-related linguistic realisations against the larger co-text. Besides the general description of the corpus, the thematic analysis provided in the present chapter will explore the quantitative data generated by the corpus (section 6.3.2 of the present chapter). Finally, it explores the qualitative potential of the corpus for patterns of immigrant alterity (6.3.3). Those linguistic realisations will integrate the Immigrant Alterity sub-corpus (henceforth IAC), analysed in chapter 7 (Results).

Contextual information about American political life, communication, or possible peculiarities of the G.W. Bush Administration are not only expected to orient the linguistic data provided by the larger corpus for the selection of IAC, but also inform the practice of interpretation of those linguistic features disclosed by those particular instances of text which focus on immigration.

5.1. MOTIVATION

Official discourses about geo-political others have captured my attention for their potential of estranging people and whole nations from one another. On a more thematic level, I felt that the U.S. official position on immigration constituted a challenging theme of dissertation, for a number of reasons. First, it felt that, for a country of exceptional genesis and revolutionary historical and political transformations, immigration seems to have remained one major unsettled issue ever since its foundations. Secondly, and not estranged from its complex background, the American self-perception of exceptionality in relation to others creates, at least theoretically, a paradoxical position about immigrants, which is intellectually appealing to explore for the 2000s.

Not in the least, the availability of a wealth of texts, images and references to immigrants has offered a huge opportunity to feel the vibration of contemporary political discourse in America with respect to immigrants. Moreover, the exploration was undertaken with the precedent in mind of the representations of others at the time of its colonial beginnings, over whose mindset and discourses North America is expected to have prevailed. Critically aware of the themes and rhemes delivered in the representation of the colonial *other* argued in the first chapter, the analysis of the presidential discourses is aiming at the same time at identifying new voices and ways of representations more attune to the cultural and political trends existing in 21st century America. The present-day representation of the immigrant to the United States of America is thus undertaken through

a quasi-forensic involvement in whatever forms of alterity may be lying under the discursive surface.

5.2. SELECTION

The decision over which public interventions of the former U.S. President G.W. Bush should integrate the corpus has followed formal and content criteria. The formal criterion was paramount and responded to the practical requirement of availability, as I have included in the Bush Corpus almost every public address available in electronic support. The decision over which addresses could be left out followed a content criterion, in three interrelated ways.

The first content criterion is rooted in the discourse type. The speeches that have been included in the corpus, only a small number of which feature immigration as their central theme, are produced as official communicative events in highly institutionalised settings. Furthermore, they occur at important moments in the domestic politics of the United States of America. The public deliverance took place either in front of a physical audience or a virtual one, on the radio and television, but also during the 2004 Presidential Rally pursuing a second Administration at the White House.

Although immigration stands at the core of the present investigation, in order to determine the place of immigration in the G.W. Bush Administration, every presidential address was targeted. However, to assure overall validity of exploration tools, theoretical frame and methodology of analysis, a second content criterion was used, namely genre characteristics. In other words, the relation was prioritised between the communicative situation and the formal and organisational traits of the text (Charaudeau & Maingueneau, 2002: 278-280). Thus, the corpus does not include:

- Question and Answer sessions, discussions, interviews, etc., which would be limited should they be purged of the interlocutor's intervention, and whose optimal interpretation is more idiosyncratic with discourse analysis.
- Presidential interventions that were either too brief formal communications or strictly institutional ones, such as briefings, proclamations or messages to the Congress announcing official visits or petitioning the vote in support of president's legislative initiatives.

As previously mentioned, a first-hand account on the distribution of the discursive themes over Bush's years in office is expected to provide empirical information which could be later put into perspective with the help of the larger political and social context, both of them exceptional. Given the revelatory role played by contextual factors in the disclosure of the ideological goals of inequality and dominance, attention will be given to which domestic and global issues are topicalised, and which are not, and what sort of correlation can be established between the mainline lexicalization and the content proper of the discourses.

Central to the selection of texts was therefore the figure of the U.S. President in 9/11/2001, a time in which 'the kaleidoscope has been shaken, the pieces are in flux, soon

they will settle again (Blair, 02/10/2001). Immigration was one of the many floating pebbles. With such a metaphor, capable alone of generating a discursive deluge, immigration could be perceived intuitively at the cross point between the politics of good intentions and the spectre of terrorism.

All presidential communications with public profile have been fully available by courtesy of the Press Office and Public Relations team at the White House, which made them public on the site <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases>. The Governmental web page proved to be an extensive database of documents for the whole time G. W. Bush was in office, including, news, biographies, policies and history of the White House, many of those also available in Spanish. The site policy of rapid posting of speeches, press conferences, press releases, etc., and audio and video of many presidential events allowed rapid, quasi-instant access and retrieval of information.

One of the technical difficulties faced in the compilation of the corpus occurred during the final updating phase aiming at enlarging the corpus to include all Bush's presidential addresses delivered in 2010. After a series of officious inquiries I was able to track them 'frozen in time' at the web site <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov>, in a variant, that is, which has not been updated, so that links to external web sites and some of the internal pages could not be properly accessed.

The Bush Corpus will be used to produce relative wordlists, concordances and collocates, leading to the composition of a more specialized sub-corpus, already introduced at the beginning of the present chapter as IAC. Although the latter is to be further investigated for semantic associations, the aim of this research is to go beyond the mere description of the language G. W. Bush uses to speak about immigration. The main objective is to find linguistic patterns by which aliens are discursively othered, even though not in an unchallenged manner, but under the pressure of politically correct race/ethnic discourse on the one hand and the more critical approach facilitated by the insinuation of terrorism on the other.

Beyond the specific objectives of the present investigation, the corpus presents itself as a useful resource to be explored for other investigations such as rhetorical comparisons with other parties, other presidents, with political opponents, with respect to the issue of immigration or others.

5.3. LINGUISTIC SOFTWARE

The analysis of a great number of speeches would have been too ambitious a task were it not for Mike Scott's software for linguistic analysis. It made possible identify the most frequent words used in the speeches of G.W. Bush, it allowed explore the most numerous context words, look into the clustering patterns related to a word choice and even have the certainty of two words never occurring at a given word distance, for instance, at a seven word distance at the left or the right of the searched term.

The advantage of short processing time alone is to be appreciated. But the main advantage of working with WordSmith is the reliability of results across the relatively large Bush Corpus. First, a word list was generated, and statistical information was made

available about word and sentence length, their frequency and average presence in the corpus. Then group and immigrant-related words were further explored with the help of the concordancer.

The settings of the Concord tool were changed to enable the exploration of the context of a given word choice, so that their patterns of co-occurrence and the exact language string could be explored, both from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. Among other statistical information related to a given word, the clustering pattern provided valuable data, by indicated the degree of closeness between the searched word and those words situated in the first, second or third position at the left of the search/ motor word (1lw, 2lw, 3lw, etc.) or at its right (1rw, 2rw, 3rw, etc). These were considered qualitatively significant for the semantic domains shared amongst themselves and those of the context words with the search terms. Finally, the analysis of concordance lines generated by those words which resulted to refer to or relate to immigrants allowed the visibility of a number of argumentation patterns and their relation to different choices of topicalisation or framing.

5.4. DESCRIPTION

Bush Corpus is entirely made of political discourse given between 2001 and 2009 by the incumbent president of the United States of America. It is also an American English corpus of written-to-be-spoken text containing the greater part of Bush's discursive re-production. These are written texts with some variation attributed to the dynamics of speech delivery and to free arbiter in decisions related to the extent of personal implication. By dynamics of speech I mean interactional factors such as rounds of applause, booing or laughter that require take-up strategies, emphasis and pursue; while by personal implication I describe the choice of informality or the use of comic remarks, irony and self-irony, whose abundance qualify them as a defining trait of Bush's oratory style.

The transcripts of the political discourses are downloaded in electronic format, codified in ANSI and saved in plain text format. All available addresses have been included which contain public institutional content. The only limitation to the ambitious plan of including every presidential communication has to do with the reasons previously mentioned, for evident analysis purposes. It is not George Walker Bush's political opinions which fall under scrutiny here. Rather, it is that of the U.S. Government, by its President elect, on matters of his responsibility, on a range of issues related to domestic politics, but on international concerns, such as trade, migration, and security, which the United States aims to police from a position of leadership.

The corpus consists of **1,456 discourses**, summing up a total of **3,698,043 words**. It contains public speeches given by G. W. Bush as a President between January 2001, when he took office and January 2009 when the transition at the White House took place. A chronological list of the discourses included in the corpus is available in Annex 1. The magnitude of the discursive re-production over the years, represented in Figure 3 below, indicates two peak years, at the closure of each of the G.W. Bush Administration, coinciding with pre-electoral campaigns.

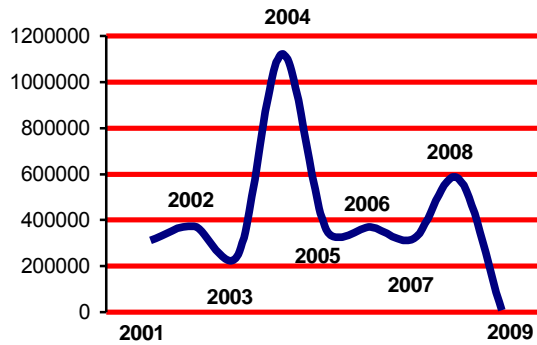


Figure 3. Density of the discourses in the corpus, per year.

The discursive events take place in a great variety of sites, from the Radio Station, Oval Office or the South Lawn of the White House, to a manufacturing plant of a multinational corporation or near a small-business production line, in a Military Base, Congress Hall abroad or at the O.N.U. site in New York. Former president Bush W. is capable of giving lengthy discourses, frequently mocking at himself and his entourage, which are interrupted by repeated rounds of applause, booing and laughing, and often engaging in staged or improvised short dialogue with his audience.

There are cases in which the audience is more professional-oriented, such as: CEOs, business leaders, industry representatives, religious and community leaders, educational communities from Primary Schools to Colleges, (relatives of) victims of war, members of the political class, international political leaders, government representatives, nominees, persons and personalities who are granted some kind of recognition or award, etc.

However, the media coverage of these events prioritizes his discourses domestically and internationally. Although the domestic agenda has occupied an important place, it can be argued quite safely that the discourse on terrorism has caused the domestic arena to engulf the greatest part of the international issues. The construct of exceptional terror coming from outside situated the notion of American exceptionalism at the heart of a world model featuring allied or extremely rebel parties. The political and strategic momentum reached by USA during the Presidency of G.W. Bush contributed directly to his discourses reaching unprecedented global audience.

5.4.1. Thematic content

Part of the discourses selected for the analysis are deliberately ‘inspirational’, evoking past but also more contemporary moments and developments which are easily recognizable as drawing on and enforcing the national epic narrative of the ‘land of the free’, with people who ‘struggle for freedom and dignity’, willing to take risks in order to achieve the American dream, compassionate, right, etc.

Every year, the President’s agenda includes a number of such public and institutional fixed-date appointments. They are the opportunity for the president to refresh the feelings of unity and unique excellence among the Americans, by evoking their historicity and relevance. Among these, the most significant are The Hispanic Heritage Month, Cinco de

Mayo, the African-American History Month/ Black History Month, the Black Music Month, Independence Day, Memorial Day, the Normandy landings, etc.

Other speeches are given at annual meetings attended every year by the President, such as:

- Christian breakfasts, Muslim dinners and Hannukkah parties: the National Prayer Breakfast, the National Catholic Prayer Breakfast, the Veteran’s Day Prayer Breakfast, the Iftaar dinner, the lightening of Menorah at the White House.
- Military meals: Reserved Officers Association Luncheon
- Political gatherings: the Republican National Convention, the National Governors Association
- Politicians’ dinners: the National Republican Congressional Committee Dinner, International Democratic Union Leaders Dinner.

A third category is represented by an audience formed by outstanding professionals or achievers in different fields of activity. They are soldiers and their spouses, high-performance sportswomen and sportsmen, high-tech or agricultural professional leaders, U.S. Nobel laureates, scientists, endowed students, quality teachers, artists, etc.

Thematically speaking, we are dealing with a challenge to the classic bi-dimensional approach to politics across domestic and international axes. Rather, the topics of the presidential discourses highlight an increasingly vigorous strategic tendency line, that of international coalitions and policies in support of the American vision of a globalised world. G.W. Bush’s addresses have a core structure of thematic polarization, shifting from domestic to global (typically counting with American intervention) and shifting back into domestic concerns. These are illustrated in the graphic bellow (Figure 4) and exemplified subsequently:

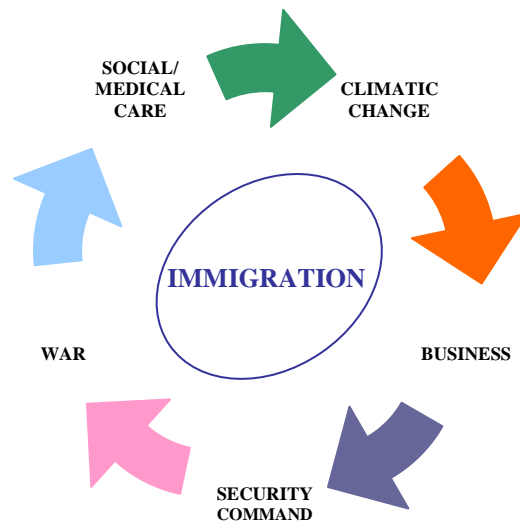


Figure 4. Thematic coverage of the discourses.

These issues are developed across a number of variant aspects, such as business, security, climate change and war. Here is a brief illustration of related issues:

Business

- trade agreements: *Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR)*
- brand policy: *Stop Counterfeiting in Manufactured Goods' Act Quality*

Security, command and interoperability

- human and merchandise transit: *Seaport and Cargo Security*
- chemical/ biologic: *Project Bioshield Act of 2004, Pandemic Influenza Preparations and Response, Smallpox as a weapon of terror*
- technologic threats: *Weapons of Mass Destruction*
- disasters: *Minneapolis I-35 bridge collapse, South Asia Earthquake Relief Efforts*

Conservation and climatic change

- Earth consciousness: *Conservation and Stewardship on Earth Day*
- ecosystem protection: *Migratory Bird Conservation, Healthy Forest Restoration*

Global war

- Cult to the hero: *Veterans of Foreign Wars, Reserved Officers, Peace Officers, American Legion, fallen firefighters, Citizen Corps*
- against freedom and democracy: *Iraqi threat, Democracy in Middle East*
- against terror: *World Coalition for Anti-Terrorism*
- for peace: *Peace in the Middle East, Peace Agreement in Sudan*

Social and medical assistance

- for Americans: *Budget and Deficit Reduction, drug control, Physical Fitness to Senior Citizens, Patient Safety and Quality Improvement, Pension Protection*
- for foreigners: improvement and integration: *food aid, Afghan Women and Children Relief Act, African Growth and Opportunity Act.*

A total of 3,36% of the presidential discourses analysed specifically address immigration. To that one can reasonably add State of the Union addresses and commemorative radio speeches which as a rule address the main issues under debate in the period previous to delivery, but still cannot be expected to outnumber 4% of the presidential discourse in the 2000s.

Immigration has been the main theme of his addresses as much as 49 times, either **directly**, e.g.: 'President Discusses Border Security and Immigration Reform in Arizona' (November 28, 2005), 'President Attends Naturalization Ceremony' (March 27, 2006), but especially **indirectly** e.g.: 'President Bush Calls for Renewing the USA PATRIOT Act' (April 19, 2004), 'President Bush Signs Secure Fence Act' (October 26, 2006), etc. To these add State of Union or Radio Address and other discourses focused on diverse topics (security, defence, legislation) which relate intimately with immigration, such as 'President Discusses Patriot Act at the Ohio State Highway Patrol Academy' (June 9, 2005) and 'President Bush Signs Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act' (October 4, 2006).

A quantitative analysis of the data in diachronic perspective reveals that the interest for immigration in the discourses of the President Bush is manifested particularly in 2006 and 2007. It is during the second Bush Administration, when immigration coverage reaches a climax, although this peak is preceded by an equal number of discursive interventions in the electoral year 2004 and during the neuralgic year 2002, following the 9/11 attacks. Immigration is in much lesser degree a presidential concern during the first year of the second Bush Administration. Leaving aside the discursive production of 2009, which reduces to a month's activity of addresses construing Bush's political legacy and the transfer power taking place at the White House, 2003 draws one's attention for the absence of immigration discourses. Figure 5 below illustrates graphically the distribution, between 2001 and 2009, of the discourses on immigration.

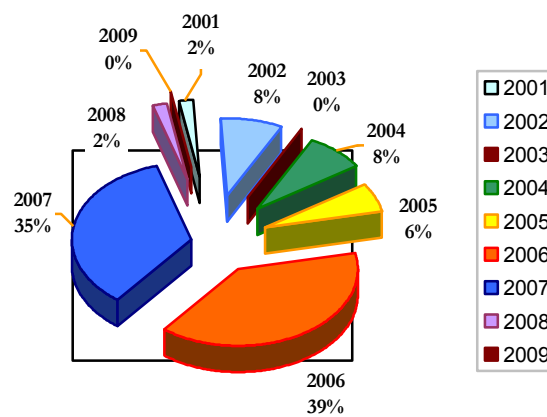


Figure 5. Concern with immigration, per years.

An interesting finding about the emergence of the immigration issue in the discourses of George W. Bush refers to a certain vegetative pattern. In other words, the majority of such discourses take place during the springtime, with a sharp increase during the months May and June, as represented in the Figure 6 below.

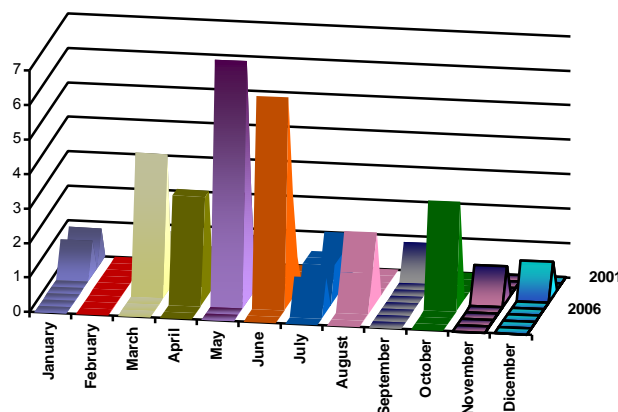


Figure 6. Concern with immigration, per months.

Although relatively few discourses highlight on immigration, references to this topic need not be limited to those. When Bush tackles immigration as the main topic of his addresses, the frequency of references grows exponentially, with a sensible inertia to maintaining them afterwards as the main topic of his discourses. In a period of time during which the American public was becoming painfully aware of the financial and general economic recess, the maintenance of immigration as a main concern at the level of topic contrasts with the unprecedented reduction in the number of effective reference in his actual discourses. Among all, 2006 emerges as the year in which G.W. Bush dedicated special time to talk about immigration, particularly that de-authorised by the U.S. Government and it has done so with different intensity, as reflected in the graphic below (Figure 7)

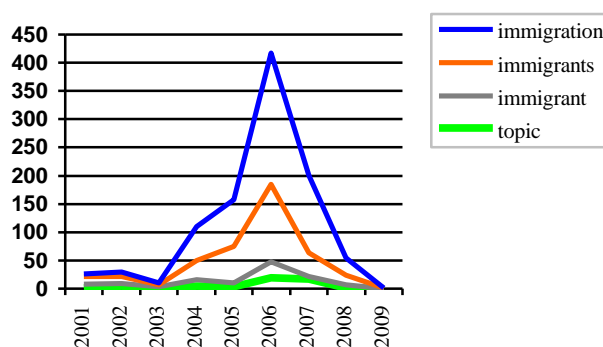


Figure 7. Immigration, topic vs. concern (word count).

The simple word count allows the observation that the G.W. Bush Administration was concerned with immigration far less than other aspects of domestic politics. However, when immigration was a concern, it was tackled from the view point of the phenomenon per se rather than from other concerns relating to the actual immigrants. Also, the interest for immigration seems to have transcended into presidential discourses in a more gradual manner during the first administration of the president in case (with a slight exception towards the end of 2002 and the first half of the following year) only to lose interest more abruptly after the peak year 2006.

5.4.2. Quantitative potential

The speeches are interesting not only thematically, but also in terms of ‘order of discourse’, insofar as they are part of the exercise of governing, a dialectic practice regulated to fill the model roles assigned to the presidential institution. But at the same time they are illustrative of top-down (one-way) communication, for the historical, institutional and political context in which they are embodied and, finally, in view of the public they address to. Dominating the domestic and international agenda are issues like security, the faith of the troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and increasing security in ports and at borders.

With a complex contextual framing, already developed in Chapter 2, G.W. Bush needs to make a positive balance of his first tenure and pursue a second legislature by trying to win as many votes as possible from electors which are either undecided or are traditionally bent upon a more democratic vote, as may be the case of many immigrants. Perhaps more than for other politicians, for the ‘compassionate conservator’ G. W. Bush the combination ‘Latino and immigration’ means a political ‘stumbling point’: on the one hand, he made an effort to humanise the stand of the Republican Party with respect to immigration - against some of the its most prevailing intestine tendencies. On the other hand, he attempted to win over the votes of an increasing segment of the population which represent ‘the red spot’ of all immigration policies in the U. S, the Latinos, in a post 9/11 legal context marked by tensions towards some sectors of the U.S. residing population, especially so towards foreigners.

Some general predictions can be made over a possible sympathetic tone when dealing with the dividing issue of immigration, as expected from the affable, Texan character of Bush “W”, who occasionally mentions the Latino presence among the closest relatives. But also, the background of security concerns previously mentioned and the American leadership in international politics generally, including immigration, will predictably materialise in an incisive disposition towards immigrants. Either way, the data produced in the present section will orient the prevailing perspective on immigrants and the related meanings construed in the American society of the 21st century.

The corpus is formed of the discourses held by the U.S. President G.W. Bush during his nine years of tenure at the White House, with the exceptions already argued in section 6.2, describing corpus selection. The Bush corpus totals almost 3,700,000 words, which, for reasons of manageability were divided into nineteen lots of equal-sized segments of approximately 200,000 words. An overall mean of 15,5 words per sentence gave flesh to each of the 237,369 sentences of the text. As the table below illustrates, - and for a word frequency ranging from 1 to maximum to include all of the running words -, the analytical program identified a total of 25,166 word types in the corpus. That in turn calculates a type/token ratio (TTR) of 0,68, which according to software designer Dr. Michael Scott, is considerably lower than the average 2% for a 4 million words corpus (Wordsmith 5.0 Tutorial). Figure 8 below offers an insight into the general characteristics of the Bush corpus.

A reduced vocabulary, certain uneasiness with specialised language, the reality of homogeneous audiences, the extensive use of repetition: in terms of topicalisation, lexicalisation and argumentation and even the personal style of the deliverer offer so many possible accounts for the small number of type words as compared to the presence of tokens in the corpus. President Bush himself in his discourses alludes self-ironically to his mastery of the English language, possibly in a strategy of bonding with the masses with no intended aspiration to certainty.

	N	Overall
text file		Overall
file size		20,954,124
tokens (running words) in text		3,698,043
tokens used for word list		3,698,043
sum of entries		
types (distinct words)		25,166
type/token ratio (TTR)		0.68
standardised TTR		40.43
standardised TTR std.dev.		59.70
standardised TTR basis		1,000
mean word length (in characters)		4.54
word length std.dev.		2.45
sentences		237,369
mean (in words)		15.58
std.dev.		9.68

frequency | alphabetical | statistics | filenames | notes

77 done 3,698,043

Figure 8. General characteristics of the Bush corpus.

Without denying the previous, one reason for this relative homogeneity could be common with those which inspired the assembling of the corpus, namely the political aura surrounding the figure of George W. Bush, the 43rd President of the United States of America. Among these, the following may be found to have an explanation value:

- Discourse authorship and delivery. It is the public figure of the American President carefully supervising the different drafts of the speeches and delivering them, but one cannot neglect the professional expertise of four chief speechwriters. The final addresses are the result of these two discursive forces, the former tending to the inertia of one's personal and political style (in the process of creation and delivery of the speeches), and the latter bringing structure, diversity of approaches, expertise and freshness of expression.
- One language variety (American English) with personal nuances attributable to the personality and identity of the speaker. G.W. Bush belongs to a political dynasty that has featured a broad range of political activity, from grassroots activism to embassy representation and CIA directorship, and from the public office as State Governor to that of U.S. President and Supreme Commander-in-chief of the US military forces.
- A limited time span (from 2001 to 2009) confining the linguistic production to a relatively fixed number of issues, which were driven by the processes and phenomena surrounding that specific time span.

From a more structural perspective of the former president's reliance on vocabulary, the overall statistics data presented in Figure 9 below allows the observation that three to four-letter words are predominant, typically monosyllabic words:

	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG	AH	AI
3	1lw	2lw	3lw	4lw	5lw	6lw	7lw	8lw
4	141 288	632 599	772 186	655 282	402 760	316 472	300 442	187 972
5	8533	42943	53083	43856	27183	22064	20125	12963
6	330	1613	1944	1609	1113	796	746	463
7	5387	23681	28539	24343	14727	11513	9863	6521

Figure 9. Statistic information on word composition, per letter-long words.

Special attention deserve one-letter words (1lw) in the upper left corner of the table, which category includes the 5th and 7th most frequent words in the corpus, the indefinite article ‘a’ and the self-reference ‘I’ respectively. The abundance of the first person singular is a feature of informal, spontaneous dialogue, to be interpreted as communicative intention rather than a dilated ego; other formal features of the corpus seem to indorse the communicative motivation, such as sentence characteristics, typically about 15 words long and often times embedded, also a feature of oral language.

Crossing these data with those reflected by the frequency list available in Figure 10 below, it can be appreciated that the most popular word choices include determiners such as the demonstratives ‘that’ and ‘this’, the personal pronoun ‘they’, the possessive adjectives ‘our’ and ‘your’ and also the distributive ‘all’, of which the former are a common resource in the manufacture of text cohesiveness and the latter have the potential to build up in-group cohesiveness.

Figure 10 captures the most frequent (≥ 5000 occurrences) three (3lw) and four-letter words (4lw) listed in alphabetical order. Other frequent words of the privileged character length include the reference to the Supreme Being ‘God’, the negation ‘not’, the noun ‘work’, the qualifying adjective ‘good’, the comparative particle ‘more’, and verbs like ‘be’ (*are, was*), ‘will’, ‘can’ and ‘must’.

‘The’, ‘to’, ‘and’, ‘of’, ‘a’ and ‘in’ are the most frequent words in the corpus, which is a common feature of English tests. Among nominative phrases predominate the personal pronoun ‘I’ and ‘we’, whose referent is as unequivocal in the first case as it may be misleading in the second. The former draws a clear-cut perimeter of the ‘structural’ identity, one of social and political significance, around the person who delivers the messages, namely the President of the United States of America and its Commander-in-Chief. Behind the smoke screen of national cohesion suggested by the plural pronoun, one may find an all-inclusive diversity of old and later-day American nationals, such as immigrants, soldiers, patriots and even terrorists.

	A	B	C	A
1	Word	Freq.	%	R
2	ALL	15 047	0.41	
3	ARE	26 002	0.70	
4	CAN	12 096	0.33	
5	WAR	5,152	0.14	
6	WHO	15,271	0.41	
7	YOU	36 819	1.00	
8	FROM	10 505	0.28	
9	GOOD	8 952	0.24	
10	HERE	11 661	0.31	
11	MAKE	10 122	0.27	
12	MUST	5 587	0.15	
13	NEED	6 314	0.17	
14	THAT	50 629	1.36	
15	THEM	7 619	0.2	
16	THEY	16 659	0.45	
17	THIS	24 881	0.67	
18	WANT	12 404	0.33	
19	WHAT	9 443	0.25	
20	WHEN	11 002	0.29	
21	WILL	22 015	0.59	
22	WORK	7 547	0.2	
23	YOUR	12 971	0.35	

Figure 10. Most frequent three and four-letter words.

Figure 11 below shows that the most frequent nouns are: ‘people’, ‘America’, ‘country’ and ‘world’, strongly indicative of the in-group identity but also, possibly, of the geo-political agenda of the President. On the other hand, the frequent use of personal pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’, the demonstrative adjective ‘this’ and the universal indefinite ‘all’ may deliver on the idea of confidence and partnership within the American circle. Possessive adjectives are also present among the most frequent words, especially so the modifier of a first person plural owner, ‘our’, but many singular forms as well, such as ‘your’, ‘my’ and ‘his’.

Certain intent of closing, at least at the discursive level, the gap between the president – and therefore the Government - and the national audience enforces the concept of a hierarchically organised in-group and insinuates the consideration of what can be expected, textually, of its relation with the others. The table below offers the top 150 word selections featured in the corpus (Table 3); for more extensive consultation see Appendix 2, Bush Corpus word list.

Different morphological categories into which the top selections fall are made more visible through the following colour code: Light Cyan for personal pronouns (8 forms), Plum for verbs (25), Light Sky Blue for possessive pronouns/ adjectives (5), Canela for names (31), Light yellow for adjectives/ adverbs (11), and Sea Green for demonstrative

pronouns/ adjectives (5, counting a contracted form involving the verb form ‘is’, of frequent occurrence).

N	Word	Freq.	N	Word	Freq.	N	Word	Freq.
1	THE	199650	51	IT'S	10364	101	SEE	5254
2	TO	141652	52	MAKE	10122	102	THAN	5251
3	AND	133763	53	WHAT	9443	103	WOULD	5188
4	OF	103677	54	ONE	9271	104	OTHER	5182
5	A	78064	55	GOOD	8952	105	CONGRESS	5169
6	IN	70023	56	I'M	8761	106	WAR	5152
7	I	52841	57	WORLD	8392	107	BELIEVE	5099
8	THAT	50629	58	IF	8355	108	CARE	5056
9	WE	46856	59	KNOW	8284	109	BEEN	5045
10	FOR	46314	60	US	8180	110	WHICH	4989
11	IS	45859	61	HELP	8155	111	YOU'RE	4951
12	OUR	39288	62	GOT	8151	112	NATION	4913
13	YOU	36819	63	THAT'S	8094	113	IMPORTANT	4788
14	ARE	26002	64	OR	7925	114	JUST	4523
15	THIS	24881	65	BECAUSE	7785	115	MONEY	4508
16	IT	24261	66	GOING	7723	116	LOT	4474
17	ON	22978	67	THEM	7619	117	ECONOMY	4407
18	HAVE	22628	68	WORK	7547	118	NO	4399
19	WILL	22015	69	NEW	7426	119	ALSO	4362
20	PEOPLE	20655	70	AMERICAN	7324	120	PRESIDENT	4321
21	WITH	20191	71	HIS	7097	121	AGAINST	4266
22	BE	19152	72	THERE	6921	122	WELL	4258
23	THEY	16659	73	UP	6796	123	FREE	4190
24	NOT	15750	74	ME	6753	124	AMERICANS	4182
25	THEIR	15395	75	THESE	6718	125	FIRST	4175
26	AS	15327	76	TIME	6698	126	HOW	4168
27	WHO	15271	77	GREAT	6335	127	HAD	4127
28	AMERICA	15062	78	NEED	6314	128	COMING	4097
29	ALL	15047	79	SECURITY	6264	129	MANY	4031
30	HE	13373	80	GOVERNMENT	6198	130	JOB	4028
31	SO	13324	81	WE'VE	6194	131	TERRORISTS	3987
32	YOUR	12971	82	UNITED	6178	132	WERE	3969
33	BY	12845	83	SAID	6139	133	BETTER	3923
34	WANT	12404	84	OUT	6115	134	THERE'S	3836
35	CAN	12096	85	EVERY	6065	135	SMALL	3831
36	MORE	11858	86	STATES	6038	136	MOST	3799
37	THANK	11761	87	THOSE	5923	137	HE'S	3788
38	HERE	11661	88	SOME	5868	138	OWN	3781
39	ABOUT	11486	89	GET	5839	139	COME	3776
40	WE'RE	11396	90	SURE	5822	140	APPRECIATE	3771
41	BUT	11220	91	HEALTH	5797	141	FAMILIES	3739
42	DO	11121	92	TODAY	5774	142	DAY	3712
43	AT	11118	93	FREEDOM	5750	143	WORKING	3712
44	MY	11025	94	WAY	5712	144	YEAR	3690
45	WHEN	11002	95	MUST	5587	145	STATE	3665
46	AN	10621	96	TAX	5587	146	JOBS	3446
47	WAS	10578	97	IRAQ	5412	147	SENATOR	3440
48	COUNTRY	10519	98	NOW	5403	148	HOME	3431
49	FROM	10505	99	YEARS	5337	149	SAY	3409
50	HAS	10410	100	LIKE	5320	150	THINK	3397

Table 3. Top frequencies in the Bush Corpus.

Among the top 60 linguistic choices of the corpus (Table 4), the impersonal statistics of word frequencies indicate types of protagonists, experiences and attributions or attitudes, viz. the general mood and the most frequent evaluations present in the American presidential communication in the 2000s:

No	Protagonist		Experience		Attribute, attitude	
	word	rank	word	rank	word	rank
1	I	7	is	11	not	24
2	we	9	are	14	so	31
3	you	13	have	18	more	36
4	this	15	be	22	good	55
5	it	16	want	34	up	73
6	they	23	can	35	great	77
7	America	28	thank	37	some	88
8	all	29	do	42	sure	90
9	he	30	was	47	important	113
10	country	48	has	50	lot	116
11	world	57	make	52	no	18
12	them	57	know	59	also	19
13	me	74	help	61	against	121
14	these	75	got	62	well	122
15	time	76	work	68	free	123
16	security	79	need	78	first	125
17	government	80	said	82	many	129
18	those	87	get	89	better	133
19	health	91	must	95	small	135
20	freedom	93	see	101	most	136

Table 4. The most frequent nominations and attributes in the corpus.

Scanning the word list generated by Wordsmith Wordlist tool, other nominal choices enrich and possibly narrow down the perspective on what the central themes of the texts may be, namely: ‘American’, ‘time’, ‘security’, ‘government’, ‘United States’, ‘health’, ‘freedom’, ‘tax’, ‘Iraq’, to name the most frequent, but also which are the most used verbs: ‘being’, ‘having’, ‘wanting’, ‘making’, ‘knowing’, ‘going’, ‘saying’, ‘helping’ and ‘working’, describing a dynamic reality of being, doing, sensing and saying. The general linguistic data obtained offer a thematic potential of the discourses under analysis. In order to take a closer look at immigrant alterity, an additional task seems necessary, that of exploring the co-textual realisations of ‘us’ and ‘them’, which shall be undertaken as a part of the next section, on the qualitative potential of the corpus with respect to immigrant alterity.

The quantitative exploration of the corpus in search of verbal realisations which indicate power or amiability in relation with others was oriented towards modal verbs expressing ability, possibility, hypothetical situations, but also obligation or imperativeness for an action to be performed. Thus, a total amount of 63390 have been encountered in the discourses of G.W. Bush selected for this research, of which 90% are used in their affirmative form and other 10% in the negative. The global significance of this date is that a modal verbal construction occurs at every 58 words (tokens) in the corpus, which means that one in every four sentences (15,5 words/ sentence) contains a modal verb, as illustrated in Figure 11 below:

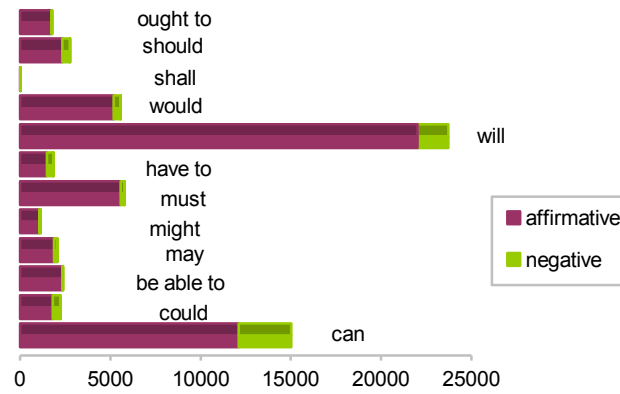


Figure 11. Modal verbs, affirmative and negative forms.

On the whole, different modal verbs are used by the former president of the United States in his speeches, in great proportion in the context of affirmative assertions, but also in negative ones, especially those modal verbs which feature relevant figures in affirmative, especially ‘can’. Grouped by their mood indication, and leaving aside ‘shall’, whose use is statistically irrelevant and stylistically reserved in the speeches of G.W. Bush to prophetic or biblical language, modal verbs indicating ability/ possibility/ permission are outnumbered by those which fall in the category of ‘obligation/ necessity/ imperative’. This simplified analysis is attending a generalised categorization of modal verbs, a more finely-grained disambiguation of epistemic (knowing) and deontic (expecting), modality being possible, although not necessary for the present purpose orienting corpus exploration. Leaving thus aside the negative forms and polarity associated with modal finites, the distribution of these in the text is illustrated in Figure 12.

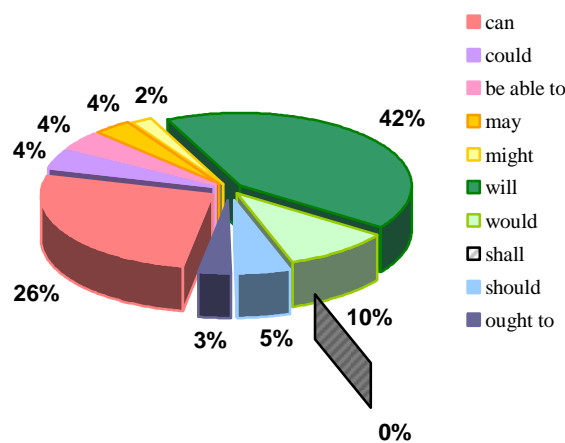


Figure 12. Modal verbs used in the corpus.

Affirmative and negative modals taken together, there is a predominance of those presenting future events or showing determination by commanding or formulating a request (42%), followed closely by expressions of ability, present capacity and permission (34%); at the other end of frequency of explicit expressions of modality, stand ‘shall’, suggesting futurity and offer/ command (0,08%), ‘might’, indicating possibility/

permission/ request (3%), and the periphrastic construction ‘ought to’ (2,8%), indicating unconditional imperative and obligation. The extent to which modal verbs are involved in the representation of immigrants will be elaborated in the chapter presenting and discussing the results.

5.4.3. Qualitative potential

As illustrated in Table 4 of the previous section, the personal pronoun in the third person plural ‘they’ is particularly frequent, and the most frequent of all those names and pronouns whose reference includes different types of others. Whom or what it refers to, needs to be explored:

- in co-text, with potential nominalisations for the group (‘we’ vs. ‘they’)
- statistically, with the inspection of its collocates and clustering patterns, but also empirically, using arbitrarily chosen segments of the concordance lists.
- in the specific context of ‘immigration’, ‘immigrant’ and ‘immigrants’

A synthesis of the most frequent collocates of ‘we’ and ‘they’ with the larger context and indicative of the referred group is available in Table 5.

No.	Predication		Group		E.g., (Source: the concordance between the two search terms)
	word	context	in	out	
1.	We	will		√	We will not have a draft (C2) We will help families in need (C11) We will spread freedom and liberty (C42)
		have		√	(...) we have a duty in our democracy to vote (C14) We have a national problem with health care and these lawsuits. (C34)
		must		√	It is a plan that recognizes, to keep jobs in America, we must be less dependent on foreign sources of energy. (C12) We must aggressively pursue them elsewhere so we do not have to face them (C95)
		can/ cannot		√	We can do a better job (C16) I know we can achieve anything we set our mind to. (C14) In this post- 9/11 world, you cannot hope for the best with these killers. (C95)
		are/ were		√	We are proud to be Americans (C1) We were attacked (C12)
		want		√	We will spread freedom and the peace we all want. (C6) But we want to know [test results] (42) We want our people treated fairly (C91)
		need		√	But we need to be concerned about children and our grandchildren. (C3) To protect jobs and communities in the West, we need to reduce the risk of devastating wildfire. (C58)
		honor		√	Today we honor the parents of the class of 2004. (C8) They lived and died as Americans. May we always honor them. (C34)
		do		√	And that's what we are here to do- we're here to ask for your help. (C13) (...) remind the people of this state the federal government would do everything we can to help the people. (C34)
		owe		√	(...) the world is more just and will be more peaceful. We owe you our thanks, and we owe you something more. (C4) For each life saved, we owe a debt of gratitude to the brave public servants (C19)
believe		√	... we're now measuring. You know why? Because we believe every child can learn in America (C4) We believe everybody wants to be free. (C16) See, we believe in the dignity of every human being. (93)		

would	√	I pledged to the American people we would be resolute and determined and do our duty to protect you (C15) Even though- even though we did not find the stockpiles that we thought we would find, Saddam Hussein had the capability (C54)
know	√	We now know that throughout the 1990s, the terrorists were training and plotting (C12) Because we measure, we know that now more minority children are learning to read at grade level, and that's good for America(C72) We need to know who's coming in our country, what they're bringing in the country, why they're bringing what they're bringing (C1217)
should	√	Why should we pay attention to somebody who- some country that killed a lot of our citizens. (C1) We're equipping our troops, as we should. (C292) Instead of gradually reducing the marriage penalty between now and 2009, we should do it now. (C516)
fight	√	We have persuaded governments in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia to recognize the enemy and join the fight. (C6) The theory is straightforward: If we have good tools to fight street crime and fraud, then law enforcement should have at least the same tools to fight terror (C160) We'll fight them with everything we got. (C514)
acted	√	Because we acted in our self- interest, because we acted to destroy al Qaeda's capacity to train in Afghanistan, millions of people went to vote (C5) We have acted through diplomacy and force to shrink the area where the terrorists can freely operate. (C476) But, fortunately, we recognized the problem and we acted. (C746)
understand	√	Anyone who thinks we're fighting a metaphor does not understand the enemy we face. (C5) You see, we understand that when somebody has got more money in their pocket, they're more likely to demand a good or a service. (C371)
trust	√	We trust the local people to make the right choices for their schools. (C23) As we celebrate our independence in 2003, we still place our trust in Divine Providence. (C227) We had a really good discussion about (...) who do we trust when it comes to the people's money. (C230)
stand	√	We stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. We stand for the appointment of federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation (C3) We will stand together until this threat to our nation and to the civilized world is ended. (C82)
got	√	We have got a great United States military. (C11) In changing times we got to do something about our retirement system. (C752) We have got a recession because we went to war. (C 1224)

	ought	√	We believe the tax code ought to encourage marriage, not penalize marriage. (C12) And so I believe we ought to strengthen Social Security by allowing younger workers to save some (C281) I don't believe we ought to fund religion, but I do think we ought to fund a person (C666)
	share	√	But we share a common calling, and that's public service, serving our nation. (C8) But most of us share a belief that we are loved, and called to love (C213) We understand the flow of capital, and we want to share this knowledge with the nations of Africa. (C241)
	give	√	You see, when we give our word, we keep our word. (C3) We need to give the citizens of the poorest nations the same ability to access (C154) We will give grants, FEMA grants, all the SBA loans (C300)
	cut	√	We cut the taxes on everybody who pays taxes. (C4) We cut non- security discretionary spending (C125) So we cut all rates. (C227)
	seek	√	We seek to spread the benefits of democracy and tolerance and freedom throughout (C6) (...) we seek- we don't seek revenge, we seek justice. (C117) We will seek bilateral free trade agreements with friends and partners (C181)
	remember	√	We must always remember the principles of our founding (C11) We remember the cruelty of enemies who murdered the innocent (C239) One Hispanic entertainer we remember in a special way today is the Queen of Salsa, Celia Cruz. (C419)
	love	√	We love the fact that we can speak our minds freely. (C15) We love our freedom. (C18) (...) all of a sudden found ourselves attacked because we love freedom, because we respect religion, because we honor discourse. (C402)
	can	√	We're helping people realize their dreams so they can find dignity and independence in America (C2) And when they do [spend money], they make the American economy stronger. (C1177)
		√	After the enemy has failed in so many goals, what can these killers do now? They can fill up our TV screens with horrible images of suicide bombings (C31)
2.	They	√	They will have the resources they need to complete their missions. (C11) The United Nations looked at the same intelligence I did. They had the debate. (C197)
	have/ had		(...) they would have to wait in line behind those who played by the rules and follow(C453) They [our enemies] have no conscience. They have no mercy.(C1735) The Taliban ran Afghanistan, and young girls could not go to school, because they had a dark vision of the world. (C14) They had kidnapped two Americans, the Burnhams, from Kansas. (C268)

are/ were	√	They are understandably worried about whether Social Security will be around when they need it. (C21) They are veterans in their 80s, who served under MacArthur and Eisenhower (C39) [the investors] found out that the regulations were so complex that they could be interpreted any different way. (C809)
	√	“These are not freedom fighters. They are terrorists and foreign fighters (...)” (C1033) They were our mortal enemy. My dad fought against the Japanese. (C14) (...) they were whipped in the public square, sometimes executed in a sports stadium. (C396) They [terrorists] became convinced that free nations were decadent and weak. (C810)
need	√	They need to see that in a democratic society, people can walk in the streets in safety (C414) (...) women who are worried about whether they're going to get the quality health care they need to bring their baby into life. (C669)
	√	(...) in Afghanistan; it's cold, really cold. And the children need warm clothing. And they need food. (C1003)
will	√	And they will continue to get their checks. (C593)
	√	(...) if violence and fanaticism are not opposed at their source, they will find us where we live (C3) They will kill indiscriminately- they don't care who- to try to shake our confidence (C842) These killers will be tracked down and found, they will face their day of justice. (C849)
want	√	When you get them headed to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America... (C10)
	√	...migrants have a right to relitigate before an immigration court as many times as they want. (C397) They want nations to turn upon each other, civilized nations to argue and debate (C614)
don't/ didn't	√	They don't say, welcome to the government's home, they say, welcome to my home (C11) Well, they didn't offer much evidence, because, in fact, as our economy has come back (C145) ... are some people that forgot to be responsible citizens and didn't tell the truth. (C19)
	√	They don't understand the nature of our troops. (C267) They don't need an excuse for their hatred. (C24)
	√	But see, they didn't know, they didn't know the character of this great country. They didn't realize that this country is a country which will fight for peace (C216) ... they didn't want his son growing up in a country that wasn't free. (C256)
said/ say	√	People ask me about the economy. They say, are you worried? (C295) They said a prayer, one guy said, "Let's roll." (C406)
	√	I told him earlier that I wrote a bestseller- actually, I didn't write it, they say (C311) I want you to remind our seniors that in the 2000 campaign, they said, if George W. gets elected, the seniors will not get their Social Security checks (C16)
would	√	They [the Afghan girls soccer team] would not have been here without the United States of America having freed (C24)

call	√	By the way, it's a nest egg they call their own, not something the government... (C35) We've got a million kids that may be, as they call them in the education world, at-risk readers (C45)
	√	... to support a budget that has \$661 billion of what they call discretionary spending. (C288)
know	√	They know their football team won the championship (C572)
	√	No, the enemy hit us. They didn't know who they were hitting. (C19) Our enemies understand this. They know that a free Iraq will be free of them- free of assassins, and torturers and secret police (C338)
asked	√	So they asked him how he's going to pay for it. He said, well, he's going to tax (C41) And they asked him about his health care plan. (C173)
	√	...voted to authorize force and then voted against funding the troops- only four- two of whom are my opponent and his running mate. So they asked him, why (C269)
do/ did	√	The vast majority of businessmen and women are honest. They do right by their employees and their shareholders. (C21)
	√	They wonder whether or not we will stand with them as they do the hard work for a free society to emerge. (C14) The first thing I listened for was, do they have confidence in their voices. (C500)
must	√	If they want the help of America and the international community to build a prosperous, independent Palestinian state, they must recognize Israel (C7) They must have thought we were so materialistic, so self- absorbed, so selfish... (C306) They must reject terror, and they must join in their own defense. (C308)
	√	Too many Americans are looking for work and they can't find work. (C189)
can't	√	They can't stand the thought of freedom arising in a part of the world that they want to control. (C7) They cannot run forever. (C40) We know from long experience that if they can't find work, or a home, or help, they are much more likely to commit crime and return to prison. (C53)
	√	It means Americans aren't getting the justice they deserve. (C28) One, any time we put our troops into harm's way, they deserve the best pay (C83)
deserve	√	They deserve true leaders capable of creating and governing a free and peaceful Palestinian state. (C148)
	√	Listen, more and more people are able to open the door where they live and say, welcome to my home, welcome to my piece of property (C202)
get/ got	√	The Iraqi people deserve to live in peace under leaders they have chosen. They deserve a government that respects the rights of every citizen and ethnic group. (C12)
	√	To make sure they [small business] get the help they need, we will allow small firms to join together to purchase insurance at the discounts available to big (C72) ...a personal savings account they get to call their own, asset-base the government can't take away (C100)

could	√	we created incentives for small businesses to invest in new equipment so they could expand (C11)
	√	The terrorists did everything they could to stop this month's elections (C141)
hate	√	Americans are asking, why do they hate us? (C41)
		They hate free societies (C129)
	√	They hate us for what we love (C1) They defile a great religion. They hate everything this nation stands for. (C159)
understand	√	They don't understand our character and they don't understand our fiber. (C9) They do not understand the character and the strength of the United States of America. (C17)
		... when they see Laura speak, see a compassionate, decent, warm, great First Lady. (C37)
see	√	It enables parents, when they see excellence, to do what every parent should do, and that is thank the teacher and the principal for a job well done. (C188)
	√	"They see us watching them" (C1)
should	√	They should keep that tax relief. (C10)
		They are fanatical and extreme, but they should not be dismissed. (C148)
		They should not be given an automatic path to citizenship; that is amnesty. (C128)
make		...to better record and track aliens who enter our country- and to make sure they leave as scheduled. (C10)
	√	... a bunch of smugglers that use the individual as a piece of- as a commodity. And they make money off these poor people. (C60) And they're here because they can make money for their families. (C392)
	√	And I've been telling them why they ought to put me back in office. (C62)
ought	√	You see, our markets are open. They ought to open their markets. (C7)
		They've broken our law, and they ought to pay a fine for breaking the law. (C59)
believe	√	They believe in a federal solution to every problem (C26)
	√	they don't believe in dissent; they don't believe in human rights. (C9) And they believe that with time, they can establish a safe haven in Iraq. (C171)

Table 5. Predication for 'we' and 'they' in the corpus.

'I' and 'we' appear in the corpus as the most important names denoting participants, strongly related to 'America', 'citizens', 'economy', 'welfare' but also 'security' and the 'world'. Together with the interlocutor 'you', occasionally associated to America, the reference to Americans appears more visible than that to others. Figure 13 below shows among the most frequent collocates of 'we', the nouns 'people', 'Americans', 'American', 'economy', 'jobs', 'peace', 'citizens', 'taxes', but also, 'all', 'the allies' and 'the world'. As suggested by the context words, the most frequently occurring formulations about this very well defined group represents by and large:

- America, the American government (sometimes only the Republican members attune to G.W. Bush), with or in regard to the American people/ families, education/ economic/ welfare policies, e.g.,

On the day of that tragedy, I made a decision: America will no longer respond to terrorist murder with half- measures and empty threats. We will no longer look away from gathering dangers and simply hope for the best.

In all we do to reform health care, we will make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by officials in Washington, D.C.

My opponent also misunderstands our battle against insurgents and terrorists.

We are proud to be Americans.

We lowered the taxes so Americans- so American families could thrive.

I think we have to have safe nuclear energy.

We're seeing progress. Math and reading scores are rising. We are closing achievement gaps for minority students all across America.

- in terms of: harmed America, safer America, better America, stronger economy; fighting the terrorists, being determined/ relentless/ steadfast/ grateful on the offensive, but also prevailing on the international ideological ground, on the battlefield, or in the construction of border control infrastructure, e.g.,

On September the 11th, 2001, our nation suffered terrible harm, and the pain was greatest for our families of the lost.

We are not going to let him tax you.

And so we're helping his government [Pakistan] establish stronger control over these border areas. We are helping him to equip the nation's paramilitary Frontier Corps that is policing the border regions. The United States is funding the construction

We're staying on the offensive. We are relentless. We are determined. We will strike the terrorists abroad.

(...) prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice of their lives. They are dedicated, they are honorable; they represent the best of our country. And we are grateful. To all the men and women in our military - every sailor, every soldier, every airman, every coastguardsman, every Marine.

- performing actions such as: fulfilling electoral promises, determined in protecting the American people/ homeland/ soil and the world, defending America

and the world, fighting against other nations, creating a doctrine or blessing America, e.g.,

When I ran for President four years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drugs. (...) We are strengthening Medicare.

We are pursuing a comprehensive strategy to fight the terrorist enemy and defend America.

We will confront the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

we're confronting outlaw regimes that pursue weapons of mass destruction, have ties to terror, and defy the world.

We are waging a global campaign from the mountains of Central Asia to the deserts of the Middle East, from the Horn of Africa to the Philippines.

I set a doctrine that these regimes are equally as guilty as the terrorists. (...) The regime is no more, and America and the world are safer.

Apart from the confirmation of the obvious assumption that ‘we’ would refer to in-group (‘America’, ‘government’, ‘Congress’, ‘the troops’, ‘the allies’), corpus exploration delivered a number of context words which also refer to persons which in terms of spatial distance may count as others, but who, on a value scale, are accommodated to the nucleus of the in-group (‘people’, ‘citizens’, ‘world’). A fragment (202 to 206 in Figure 14 below) of the concordance list generated for ‘we’ shows (i) the in-group involved in a localised international agenda (C206, C207, C211), that is, an international issue such as other countries’ government type, political organisation or immigration is approached as a U.S interest requiring U.S. expertise, as well as (ii) an internationalised domestic agenda (C203, C209, C220), in which instances an American interest is presented as an issue demanding global involvement. Therefore, one can safely argue based on heuristic exploration of the corpus, that ‘we’ describes the in-group, with the specification that its use is conflated to cover U.S. interests and as such their representation on a number of international issues about which one commonly assumes to fall under the regulation of independent and autonomic nations.

In contrast with in the in-group indicator, the collocation pattern of the plural form of the third person pronoun ‘they’ shows it fully involved in the construction of texture, and in a richer variety of contexts. The first argument is endorsed by the abundant presence of linking words at the immediate left and right of the nexus: ‘and’, ‘so’, ‘when’, ‘what’, ‘as’, ‘if’, ‘because’, are visible in Figure 15. They show the presence of coordinate and numerous subordinate clauses, rendering long, often convoluted sentences, and indicating the speaker’s involvement with a strong pattern of argumentation. This finding is not contradictory to the statistic data referring to the particular sentence length found in the discourse of G.W. Bush and earlier illustrated in Figure 8.

In turn, the contextual wealth displayed by the collocation patterns of ‘they’ stems from the pattern of reference it features. In contrast with the more unitary in-group characterisation described by ‘we’, a random selection of concordances (182 to 197 in Figure 14), reflects the general use of ‘they’ to refer both to the in-group and the out-group. Skimming the concordances generated by the search work ‘they’, a broad range of different, even opposed referents can be noticed, including:

- the in-group - involved ordinary situations: get home, retire, talk
- part of the in-group - performing other than expected: believe (‘wrong things about us’), want (‘wrong things about our taxation system’), define (‘differently’)
- the out-group - expressing mandatory condition (‘in order for a situation to be normalised’)
- the outgroup, whether in transition (‘to democracy’), or making strategies: ignoring (‘the weight of the American intervention’), knowing (‘they cannot defeat us’, ‘democracy will defeat them’), and not in the least potentially offensive: are able (‘to control governments’, ‘exert pressure’).

One may expect the diversity of referents to entail diversity in terms of predications. While this may be the case sometimes, among the most frequent concordances (Figure 16) one finds the nuclear in-group, involved in actions characterised by volitive and optative dispositions with respect to domestic affairs and welfare. It may appear contradictory that ‘they’ be considerably marked by mood, be it about present abilities and potential capabilities (‘can’), desirable choice (‘if’), psychological and/or somatic behaviour (‘need’, ‘want’, ‘will’), and possession (‘their’). This pattern will be further explored semantically to see to what extent ‘they’ is an outgroup indicator in the discourses of G.W. Bush.

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
	L4	L3	L2	L1	entr	R1	R2	R3	R4
2	THE	THE	AMERICAN	PEOPLE	WILL	TO	THE	THE	THE
3	AMERICAN	AMERICAN	PEOPLE	AND	HAVE	THE	TO	AMERICAN	AMERICANS
4	OF	AND	AND	THAT	MUST	HELP	AMERICAN	AMERICANS	AMERICANS
5	TO	AMERICANS	AMERICANS	AMERICANS	CAN	A	MORE	TO	TO
6	AMERICANS	TO	IN	AS	ARE	THAT	A	AND	AND
7	PEOPLE	OF	THE	FAMILIES	WANT	OUR	AMERICANS	WE	WE
8	AND	IN	MIDDLE-INCOME	WHEN	NEED	NOT	FOR	OF	OF
9	FOR	PEOPLE	OF	BECAUSE	HONOR	IN	THAT	IN	IN
10	PROTECT	FAMILIES	INCOME	SO	WERE	BE	MAKE	THAT	THAT
11	ON	FOR	THIS	ALL	DO	YOU	WITH	SURE	SURE
12	ALL	OUR	I	EVERYTHING	OWE	FOR	PEOPLE	OUR	OUR
13	LOW	WE	TO	WHAT	BELIEVE	IT	OUR	BE	BE
14	IN	MIDDLE	OUR	TODAY	WOULD	ALSO	AND	ALL	ALL
15	A	ARE	DO	IF	WE	ALSO	DO	PROTECT	HEALTH
16	OUR	YOU	IS	NOW	KNOW	MAKE	REFORM	PEOPLE	PEOPLE
17	IS	A	THAT	DREAM	SHOULD	SAY	FROM	THEM	THEM
18	AS	ON	THAT'S	THINK	FIGHT	EVERY	THIS	HAVE	HAVE
19	THAT	AS	AS	AMERICAN	ALL	TAXES	HEALTH	EVERY	EVERY
20	JOBS	IS	ALL	DAY	HAD	SEEN	WE	WITH	WITH
21	NOT	FROM	DOING	WHERE	ACTED	PROTECT	THEM	FOR	FOR
22	TOLD	ALL	SO	ECONOMY	UNDERSTAND	HAVE	IN	IS	IS
23	WE	ECONOMY	ON	COVERAGE	TRUST	AN	PROBLEM	WHO	WHO
24	BY	COUNTRY	FELLOW	JOBS	STAND	NOW	WERE	A	A
25	WHO	WERE	SEE	SEE	GOT	THIS	ON	EVERYBODY	EVERYBODY
26	AN	IT'S	BE	IS	OUGHT	IS	FREEDOM	GREAT	GREAT
27	MORE	HERE	EVERY	WEEK	SHARE	CONTINUE	EXPAND	COMPREHENSIVE	COMPREHENSIVE
28	CHARACTER	US	ABOUT	PEACE	GIVE	MORE	TAXES	DREAM	DREAM
29	HAVE	HEALTH	HISTORY	KNOW	CUT	PROUD	WORD	I	I
30	BE	LIKE	ARE	SAY	SEEK	EXPAND	DIFFERENT	RUDY	RUDY
31	EVERY	MUST	HOW	CITIZENS	REMEMBER	SHOW	NOT	IT	IT
32	ARE	THIS	OTHER	TAXES	AMERICANS	HONOR	DO	POINT	POINT
33	THIS	NEXT	MORE	WORLD	LOVE	WAGE	I	ECONOMY	ECONOMY
34	FIND	EVERY	HEALTH	WAY	FACE	REMEMBER	CHILD	TAX	TAX

Figure 13. Patterns of collocation for ‘we’.

N Concordance

202 keep the all- volunteer army an all- volunteer army. We are staying on the offensive. We are relentless.

203 that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we have fought the terrorists across the Earth- not

204 We're transforming our all- volunteer army- we will not have a draft, we will keep the all-

205 volunteer army. We are staying on the offensive. We are relentless. We are determined to protect the

206 a metaphor does not understand the enemy we face, and you cannot win a war if you're not

207 Zarqawi and his friends and allies overseas so we do not have to face them in America. The choice

208 We are staying on the offensive. We are relentless. We are determined to protect the American people.

209 been brought to justice, and the rest of them know we are on their trail. My opponent has a different

210 in a time of war and ongoing threats unlike any we have faced before. The terrorists who killed

211 war on terror with every asset of our national power. We are waging a global campaign from the

212 killed, captured, or detained. The rest of them know we will hunt them down. America faces a grave

213 in- Chief, I will confront dangers abroad so we do not have to face them here at home. My

214 operation." That is very dangerous thinking. We must fight the war on terror with every asset of

215 nation. And by staying focused and determined, we will prevail. Thank you for listening. Thank you

216 we will win a great victory on November the 2nd. We have just ten days to go in this campaign, and

217 you even know where my opponent stands. We both have records. I'm running on my record.

218 much for coming today. Brother Jeb said, why don't we go to Jacksonville, maybe a couple of folks will

219 phone calls, turning out the vote. With your help, we will win a great victory on November the 2nd. We

220 hit. That would be too late. In our debates, he said we can defend America only if we pass a global test.

221 the achievement gap by helping minority students. We will build on these reforms and extend them to

222 same discounts that big companies are able to do. We will help our families in need by expanding

223 good news is, we're not going to let him tax you. We are going to carry Florida and win on November

224 reforming our public schools. I have kept my word. We passed good, sound education reforms to bring

225 families. He can run from his plan - - In all we do to improve health care, we will make sure the

226 the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and we will strengthen Social Security for generations to

Figure 14. Random selection of concordances for 'we'.

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
2	THE	THE	THE	AND		CAN	TO	THE	THE
3	TO	AND	AND	SO		HAVE	THE	TO	AND
4	AND	TO	OF	WHEN		ARE	A	AND	TO
5	OF	OF	IN	THAT		NEED	THEIR	THEY	THEY
6	THEY	IN	TO	WHAT		WILL	AND	A	OF
7	A	THEY	THEIR	IF		WANT	BE	THEIR	IN
8	IN	A	THEM	BECAUSE		WERE	THAT	IN	THEIR
9	THEIR	THEIR	A	BEFORE		DONT	HAVE	THAT	A
10	FOR	WITH	THAT	AS		SAID	IN	BE	THAT
11	ARE	FOR	THEY	WHERE		WOULD	HIM	FOR	AMERICA
12	WILL	BE	OUR	BUT		CALL	NOT	OWN	AT
13	PEOPLE	OUR	FOR	ACCOUNT		KNOW	IT	WE	FOR
14	OUR	ARE	THAT'S	CARE		ASKED	THEY	OF	WE
15	THAT	HAVE	HEALTH	WHICH		DO	US	OUR	YOU
16	HAVE	FROM	IS	WAY		DIDNT	OUR	INSURANCE	OUR
17	HOME	ON	PEOPLE	HONOR	THEY	HAD	WE	IT	I
18	GET	I	I	SURE		MUST	FOR	I	ARE
19	ON	HEALTH	ARE	KNOW		SAY	DO	US	IT
20	I	AS	KNOW	AMERICA		CANT	BUY	ON	IS
21	WE	THAT	CARE	THEM		DESERVE	AT	ABOUT	ON
22	BE	IT	TERRORISTS	US		LIVE	EARNED	SAFER	AS
23	THEM	PEOPLE	BE	PEOPLE		GET	I	HOW	OWN
24	WITH	THEM	OR	THINK		COULD	WHAT	YOU	US
25	NOT	THIS	MAKE	RESOURCES		HATE	GET	DO	WILL
26	WHAT	WE	SO	THEN		UNDERSTAND	UNDERSTAND	HAVE	FROM
27	IS	GET	IT	WHEREVER		SEE	ON	AMERICA	WITH
28	BY	MORE	HAVE	COUNTRY		SHOULD	YOU	COMPLETE	THIS
29	WHO	ALL	AN	IT		GOT	MATERIALIZE	AS	HAVE
30	POLLS	REMIN	FROM	FREEDOM		MAKE	UP	BECAUSE	OR
31	AT	TELL	THIS	HELP		DID	FIND	IS	AN
32	TAKE	WILL	YOU	ALL		FULLY	ABOUT	GET	SO
33	THIS	IS	THERE	THAN		OUGH	NO	AT	BE
34	OR	BY	TOGETHER	MONEY		BELIEVE	STAND	THIS	SAME

Figure 15. Patterns of collocation for 'they'.

N Concordance

182 will qualify for and maintain a Z visa. If they want to become citizens, they have
 183 going to establish a new safe haven. They have made it clear they want safe
 184 can turn on a light switch and they can realize the comforts of modern
 185 and flaccid. It's just a matter of time, they believe, if they continue to exert
 186 buyer getting a little nervous when they pull up the contract and the print's
 187 safe havens. Imagine a world in which they were able to control governments, a
 188 America, we must have a limit on what they call non- economic damages. And I
 189 then send him a signed picture when they got home. One day, Secretary of
 190 a sophisticated propaganda strategy. They know they cannot defeat us in the
 191 have been under a dictatorship and now they are moving toward democracy, and I
 192 Hussein's regime is a defeat for them. They know that a democratic Iraq in the
 193 somebody might file a lawsuit or two. They didn't know. They didn't know who
 194 if they had to give a speech, would say they just- they're just doing what they
 195 system go bankrupt a few years before they retire. And I don't care if you're a
 196 Denny and I are. There's a for a while, they were talking about either stopping
 197 for legal status on a temporary basis. If they decide to apply for citizenship, they

Figure 16. Random selection of concordance for 'they'.

Initially, the most repeated collocates of 'they' do not strike a particular note in terms of explicit references to others, apart maybe from the distant company of the possessive adjectives 'their' and 'our' and the word 'terrorists'. One needs to dig into the context of the word to disambiguate between grammatical reference and discursive alterity in the text. Only then the exploration of the association patterns featured by 'they' allows a clearer appreciation of group reference. Figure 16 above shows collocation patterns in representation of both in-and out-group, with scarce nomination in relation to the out-group, a finding that needs to be checked against the pattern of co-occurrence and the predications available for the searched term. Indeed, when the out-group is denoted, unequivocal reference to others is realised in terms of decided negative predication, as shown next in Figure 17.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
109	110	THEY DONT UNDERSTAND	74	STAND (5), UNDERSTAND AMERICA	THEY DONT UNDERSTAND THE (5), DONT UNDERSTAND AMERICA	THEY DONT U
110	111	THEY WILL FAIL	74	EAST THEY WILL FAIL THEY WILL (6), MIDDLE EAST THEY WILL FAIL (6), WILL FAIL THEY WILL FAIL BECAUSE THE (5), THI		
111	118	AND THEN THEY	71	THEN THEY STRIKE AND THEY (6), AND THEN THEY STRIKE AND (6), AND THEN THEY STRIKE AND THEY KILL (6), ANC		
112	135	THEY CANT STAND	65	SEE THEY CANT STAND AMERICA THEY CANT (6), SEE THEY CANT STAND AMERICA THEY (6), THEY CANT STAND THE		
113	141	TELL THE TRUTH	64	EY DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH THEY DIDNT (5), TRUTH THEY DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH TO (5), DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH T		
114	160	WHERE THEY LIVE AND	58	RISTS WHERE THEY LIVE AND (8), THE TERRORISTS WHERE THEY LIVE AND (6), DEFEATING THE TERRORISTS WHER		
115	164	THEY MUST BE	57	ST BE ENFORCED (6), THEY MUST BE FOUND THEY (6), THEY MUST BE FOUGHT (6), APPEASED THEY MUST BE (6), THE		
116	174	DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH	56	EY DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH THEY DIDNT (5), TRUTH THEY DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH TO (5), DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH T		
117	175	DIDNT TELL THE	56	EY DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH THEY DIDNT (5), TRUTH THEY DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH TO (5), DIDNT TELL THE TRUTH T		
118	181	THEY TRY TO	55	HEY TRY TO (7), THEY TRY TO HIDE AND (7), THEY TRY TO SCARE (6), HOW THEY TRY TO SCARE (6), WHEREVER THEY 1		

Figure 17. Selection of concordance for 'they'.

As an out-group indicator, seventh is the highest position of 'they' in the clustering pattern list: 'they are dangerous and they are determined to strike again', but it is a reference to 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers, and not specifically to immigrants, in which

some suspects were American and others Saudi-Arabian, mainly of Arabic background. As can be seen in Figure 17 above, more abundant alterity comes starting with concordance number 110 (74th in frequency), 111, 118, 141, etc., whose predications show deviance from the cognitive and axiological centre of U.S.A., but also danger: ‘they don’t understand America’, ‘they will fail’, ‘they strike and they kill’, ‘and then they say’, ‘they didn’t tell the truth’. Figure 18 below freezes on a sequence of concordance for ‘they’ involved in negative out-group representation.

Cluster	Freq.	Related
564	1	ED TO DO THEIR JOBS (17),THEY NEED TO FIGHT AND (16),THE SKILLS THEY NEED TO (1
534	3	URISDICTIONAL BOUNDARIES SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (24),SO THEY CAN DEFEND
326	4	TO SEE (7),THAT'S WHAT THEY WANT TO DO SO (6),THEIR OWN SECURITY THEY WANT
270	5	HEY ASKED HIM (22),MATE THEY ASKED HIM (21),RUNNING MATE THEY ASKED HIM (21),HIS
213	6	),THEY CALL THEIR OWN AND (16),ACCOUNT THAT THEY CAN CALL THEIR OWN (16),CALL
158	7	: DETERMINED TO STRIKE AGAIN (6),CENTURY THEY ARE DANGEROUS AND THEY ARE (6)
157	8	REMIND THEM IF THEY WANT A (12),IF THEY WANT A SAFER COUNTRY (11),IF THEY WANT
152	9	STRONGER (9),THEM IF THEY WANT A STRONGER AMERICA (9),THEM IF THEY WANT A ST
141	10	OWN A (16),THEY CALL THEIR OWN AND (16),ACCOUNT THEY CALL THEIR OWN THE FOUR
135	11	THEY CALL THEIR OWN A PERSONAL (10),RETURN AN ACCOUNT THEY CALL THEIR OWN
134	12	HELD TO ACCOUNT (5),THEY WILL BE LESS LIKELY TO (5),THEY WILL BE LESS LIKELY (5)
132	13	MILL (6),AND THEY WILL GET (5),AND THEY WILL CONTINUE TO (5),AND THEY WILL NOT (5)
130	14	ASKED HIM THEY ASKED (12),MASSACHUSETTS SO THEY ASKED HIM HOW HE'S (12),MAS
130	15	EM IF THEY WANT A STRONGER AMERICA (9),THEM IF THEY WANT A STRONGER (9),AND N
129	16	SPEND (6),AND WHEN THEY HAVE MORE MONEY (6),AND WHEN THEY HAVE MORE MONE
126	17	CHOOSE (6),IN MASSACHUSETTS THAT'S WHAT THEY (6),IN MASSACHUSETTS THAT'S WH
126	18	CAN PURCHASE INSURANCE AT THE (6),SO THEY CAN PURCHASE INSURANCE AT THE (6)
125	19	),AND SO THEY ASKED HIM HOW (9),SO THEY ASKED HIM WHY HE (9),MATE SO THEY ASK
124	20	ALTH CARE THEY NEED IN (6),THE HEALTH CARE THEY NEED WE MUST (6),THE HEALTH C
120	21	EOPLE THAT IF THEY WANT A SAFER (6),NEIGHBORS IF THEY WANT A SAFER AMERICA (6)
120	22	EOPLE THAT IF THEY WANT A SAFER (6),NEIGHBORS IF THEY WANT A SAFER AMERICA (6)
120	23	EOPLE THAT IF THEY WANT A SAFER (6),NEIGHBORS IF THEY WANT A SAFER AMERICA (6)
119	24	),TO SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY (6),SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (6)
119	25	),TO SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY (6),SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (6)
117	26	),SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (12),SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (6)
117	27	),SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (12),SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (6)
117	28	),SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (12),SHARE RISK SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE (6)
116	29	),THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE AT THE (116),SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE AT (116)
116	30	),THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE AT (28),BOUNDARIES SO THEY CAN BUY INSURANCE AT (24)

Figure 18. Concordance for ‘they’. Most frequent clusters.

Let us look at the use of ‘we’ and ‘they’ can be appreciated from the point of view of the dominion of reference encompassed. On the one hand, ‘we’ massively refers to a number of sub-groups related to decisive aspects of the American society (‘family’, ‘citizen’, ‘soldier’, ‘veterans’, etc.), while ‘they’ refers to a large, almost all-inclusive list of sub-groups situated at variable distances from the idealised American self (‘employers’, ‘elders’, ‘fellow politicians’, ‘opposition members’, ‘immigrants’, ‘terrorists’, etc.), as shown in Figures 6.11 to 14 above. Exceptionally, ‘we’ is the subject in a number of expressions tackling immigration, but not immigrants (Figure 19 below). On the other hand, ‘they’ takes as a referent both members of the in-group, such as families, entrepreneurs, veterans, retired people, members of the U.S. troops, as seen in Figure 5.13, and members of the out-groups, such as underachieving children, immigrants, criminals, traffickers, gang members, (non) Mexican. In direct or indirect reference, it is also used to refer to all kinds of human profiles, including categories in the sphere of anti-social and anti-institutional, mainly about terrorists, but also about immigrants Figures 6.18 and 6.19 offer the possibility of a comparative look at ‘they’ and its relation with terrorist(s) and immigrant(s), respectively.

N Concordance

1 before them. In the process of immigration reform, we must also set high expectations for what new citizens should know. An understanding of what it means to be an American is not a formality in the naturalization process, care costs. To serve the economic needs of our country, we must also reform our immigration laws. Reform must begin by confronting a basic fact of life and economics: Some of the jobs being generated in America's growing hard to stop the flow of illegal immigration. I believe if we make the system open and honest, it will help stop the flow of illegal immigration. It will cut down on those coyotes that are putting people in the back of these trailers that values immigration, and depends on immigration, we should have immigration laws that work and make us proud. Yet today we do not. Instead, we see many employers turning to the illegal labor market. We see millions of country and fill jobs that Americans have are not filling. We must make our immigration laws more rational, and more humane. And I believe we can do so without jeopardizing the livelihoods of American citizens. Our reforms and criminals and immigration violators. This month, we have begun using advanced technology to better record and track aliens who enter our country- and to make sure they leave as scheduled. We have deployed new to fix the problem that has been decades in the making. We must help new immigrants assimilate. That's what has always made our nation strong. People in America must have confidence in this country to help people comprehensive immigration reform. By working together, we can pass this good bill- and build an immigration system worthy of our great Nation. Thank you for listening. Welcome to the White House. It's a neat occasion to be to America with the hope of building a better life. And we remember that immigrants in every generation have followed in their footsteps. Their dreams have helped transform 13 small colonies into a large and growing nation of

10 But there is a good chance, I'm optimistic that we can get comprehensive immigration reform, one, that enforces our borders; two, holds employers to account; three, recognizes we've got workers here who are doing to get a comprehensive immigration bill done this year. We have a good chance to get it done. It's important for our fellow citizens to understand comprehensive immigration reform is in the nation's interest. And I'll continue have been working hard on this issue. I am optimistic we can pass a comprehensive immigration bill and get this problem solved for the American people this year. Thank you for listening. Thank you all, Justice to bless our country. I appreciate the discussion we just had on immigration. With us are people who are employers, people who provide work for citizens who are in our country legally. They know full well it's against the to get this problem solved. And by working together, we can enact comprehensive immigration reform this year. Our Nation deserves an immigration system that secures our borders and honors our proud history as a history as a nation of immigrants. By working together, we will enforce our laws and ensure that America forever remains a land of opportunity and a great hope on the horizon. Thank you for listening. Good evening. Twelve weeks deep on the matter of immigration. Yet I am confident we can have a serious, civil, and conclusive debate. My Administration is working closely with Members of Congress from both sides of the aisle. We are addressing our no child is left behind in the United States of America. We need an immigration policy that holds the values of the United States of America. We'll enforce our borders, but we need more than that. We need a temporary worker of America. Finally, to realize the promise of America, we must have comprehensive immigration reform that enforces our laws and upholds the dignity of every single person in the United States. And now is the time for the

Figure 19. 'We' in the context of 'immigra*'.

The 134 concordance lines found for the search word 'we' in the context of 'immigra*' show the in-group indicator mainly in relation to the phenomenon (63 times) rather than the protagonists (48 times), even though the most frequently repeated expressions focus on immigrants: 'illegal immigrants' (=10), 'nation of immigrants' (=10), 'a nation of' (=10), 'we are a' (=9), 'immigrants and we' (=7), 'the illegal immigrants' (=6), 'immigrants we catch' (=5). In them, the in-group is involved in positive self representation with respect to past attitude towards immigrants, argued with positive other-representation of past immigrants; more generally, the topic is the need, possibility and probability to negotiate immigration reform and enforcement.

N	Concordance	et	ag	ord #	t. #	os. #	os ^
299	facility northeast of Fallujah. They captured 61 terrorists at the	37,065	07	4%	0	0%	
300	to the terrorist training camps, so they could make sure they were no	13,197	39	0%	0	0%	
301	Afghanistan, more people now say they oppose the terrorists and their	56,273	91	5%	0	3%	
302	we take the fight to the terrorists, they realize they cannot defeat us	86,628	63	7%	0	9%	
303	terrorists with the same tools they use against other criminals.	81,269	55	0%	0	6%	
304	gaps the terrorists exploited when they attacked us on September the	81,174	49	7%	0	6%	
305	fight to the terrorists, they realize they cannot defeat us directly in	86,630	63	2%	0	9%	
306	capable of fighting the terrorists, they are earning the trust and	09,428	79	6%	0	5%	
307	the intimidation of terrorists and they mourn the cowardly	01,472	44	8%	0	1%	
308	the terrorists could kill the innocent, they could not defeat the spirit of our	05,607	91	4%	0	3%	
309	gaps the terrorists exploited when they attacked us on September the	60,014	40	7%	0	0%	
310	same tools against terrorists that they already use against other	60,895	85	3%	0	0%	
311	a free future for their nation, and they are uniting against the	00,933	14	7%	0	1%	
312	allow the terrorists to break our will, they are right. If by "stay the course,"	80,326	27	0%	0	0%	
313	terrorists have no philosophy; they got no ideology that says the	82,945	82	1%	0	2%	
314	terrorists with the same tools they use against other criminals.	78,621	38	8%	0	9%	
315	the terrorists are still active and they are still plotting to take innocent	79,290	79	5%	0	0%	
316	are using every advantage they can to inflict harm. Terrorists	61,282	04	4%	0	1%	
317	and military and political power they seek, the terrorists would be	22,436	90	4%	0	1%	
318	attacks of terrorist networks before they occur. We're reorganizing the	23,839	55	3%	0	2%	
319	to prevent a terrorist attack before they happen. The United States will	06,511	34	4%	0	3%	
320	people and their language, and they know who the terrorists are. By	09,179	69	1%	0	5%	
321	attacks of terrorist networks before they occur. We're determined to	20,627	90	2%	0	0%	
322	to track and stop terrorists before they strike. And one of the most	78,394	20	6%	0	9%	
323	gap that terrorists exploited when they attacked us on September the	78,426	25	7%	0	9%	
324	of collaboration with terrorists, and they deserve no patience from the	12,494	29	9%	0	6%	
325	world sees the terrorists for what they really are: murderers at war	17,853	26	4%	0	9%	

Figure 20. Concordance of 'they' in the context of 'terror*'. *

N	Concordance
1	illegal immigrants are apprehended, they are initially detained. The problem is
2	times as many immigration appeals as they had just a few years ago. A panel of
3	on illegal immigration or illegal activities they may see from the drones. In the
4	for taking time to be here today. They must have changed the immigration
5	schools were built by poor immigrants, they were staffed by legions of dedicated
6	you to reform our immigration laws so they reflect our values and benefit our
7	culture. When immigrants assimilate, they will advance in our society, realize
8	home. When illegal immigrants know they will be caught and sent home, they
9	language. When immigrants assimilate, they advance in our society, realize their
10	immigrants assimilate into this society, they realize their dreams. A lot of people
11	you to reform our immigration laws so they reflect our values and benefit our
12	illegal immigrants are apprehended, they are initially detained. The problem is
13	who represents this district. And they must have changed the immigration
14	changed the immigration laws, because they let two congressmen from Iowa in
15	and reinforce one another, and together they will give America an immigration
16	immigrants assimilate into this society, they realize their dreams. A lot of people
17	and somebody gets apprehended and they send them to an immigration
18	to an immigration holding deal, and they say, look, check back after 45 days
19	enforcing our immigration laws and that they could be broken without
20	schools were built by poor immigrants, they were staffed by legions of dedicated
21	immigration reform primarily because they don't think the government can fix
22	you to reform our immigration laws so they reflect our values and benefit our
23	those two men because, to me, they represent what the immigration
24	culture. When immigrants assimilate, they will advance in our society, realize
25	to an immigration holding deal, and they say, look, check back after 45 days
26	and somebody gets apprehended and they send them to an immigration
27	language. When immigrants assimilate, they advance in our society, realize their
28	and reinforce one another, and together they will give America an immigration
29	home. When illegal immigrants know they will be caught and sent home, they

Figure 21. 'They' in the context of 'immigra*'. *

The small indicative of correlation confirms the above estimate that lexical choices other than ‘they’ may be relevant reference to the immigrants. Furthermore, if immigration is at all a concern of G.W. Bush’s, the weak correlation that exists in the Bush Corpus between ‘they’ and the world of immigration could favour that the issue of immigration may have a meagre presence in the presidential discourses or it is embroidered in a subtler way into the linguistic canvas, by means of more tangential or indirect reference. Perhaps it is not surprising to find out from the corpus that ‘they’ appears far less in the context of immigrant(s)/ immigration (29 instances) than in relation to ‘terrorist(s)’, found in its company no less than 325 times (Figure 20). The third person plural ‘they’ shows a diversity of reference to the in-group and an interesting accumulation of references to terrorism, which outnumber greatly those relating to immigration (Figures 6.18 and 6.19), but shares with the latter the recurrent context of border criminality and the consequent negative evaluation.

In a move back and forth within the corpus, from quantitative to qualitative exploration and back again to quantitative safety probe, one can find that ‘they’ is a weak indicator of immigrants, but at the same time, it displays the correlation, although quantitatively irrelevant for a four million words corpus, between terrorism and immigration, due to the number of co-occurrences, predications and to often common argumentation. In contrast, ‘we’, often an indicator for the in-group co-occurs more frequently with immigration/ immigrant(s) than ‘they’ does.

As Table 6 illustrates, the word designating the phenomenon, viz., ‘immigration’, appears far more in the whole corpus than the former (325 hits) and the latter (74 hits). ‘We’ is found in the context of ‘immigrant*’ a total number of 68 times, while ‘immigration’ has generated 134 concordances, representing almost the double number of relations. Even if the plural pronoun ‘we’ co-occurs with more frequency than the out-group indicator ‘they’, the semantic exploration of these references brings light onto their role.

Word co-occurrence [hits] / %	They [16559]		We [46856]	
immigrant(s) [399]	13	0.07	62	0.1
immigration [557]	18	0.1	80	0.17

Table 6. Co-occurrence of ‘they’/ ‘we’ and ‘immigra*’.

In terms of explicit reference, the in-group and the out-group are defined *in extremis* as ‘American’ and ‘terrorists’, leaving immigrants at the borderline to be alternatively included by the former (in lesser degree), or by the latter, as illustrated with examples from the corpus in Figure 1 in the Methodology chapter. Insofar as implicit reference, it required the labour of careful sorting, and sometimes even the concession of assumption - about the contextual background (readers/ listeners assume that the notion of ‘alien’ does not denote outer space visitors, but earthly humans, recent and unauthorised) and about the co-text (readers/ listeners (are driven to) conceptualise illegal immigration as a form of violent attack, i.e., terrorism).

As the concordance sample in Figures 6.11 and 6.12 illustrate, the in-group referent is involved in talks and debates about the immigration system, reform and the positive example of past assimilation. Narrowing down the search to the relation with ‘immigrants’, ‘we’ is the doer, the abler, or the commander of processes initiated or supported by the immigrants: ‘illegal immigrants we catch’, ‘we are a nation/ land of immigrants’, ‘we must reform our immigration laws’, ‘we will enforce’, ‘we remember’, ‘we need an immigration policy’, ‘the discussion we just had’, etc.

So far, corpus exploration has allowed to test the relation of commonsensical in-group and out-group indicators ‘we’ and ‘they’ with those of immigration; based on the results, it can be resolved that both indicate to a great extent the ingroup and both are involved in immigrant talk. More specifically, not only has it come out that the former outnumbers the latter in the context of ‘immigra*’ [immigrant, immigrants, immigration], but that both relate more with the phenomenon of immigration, and are less involved in immigrant characterisation proper. This quantitative observation can be further zoomed in to the issue of evaluations. It can be argued based on careful analysis of the concordance lines generated by the ‘we’ that, by tackling immigration rather than immigrants, the positive in-group evaluations is argued with the help of positive other-group presentation. On the other hand, ‘they’ often refers to the in-group (usually indicated as ‘American’ or ‘families’), as beneficiaries of rights or target of safety policies; but it is also a referent for American law offender, as well as terrorists, criminals, immigrants, etc. Figure 22 below illustrates the co-occurrence of ‘immigrants’/ ‘immigration’ with ‘terrorists’.

Although not numerically significant in relation to corpus size, the cohabitation of the issues of terrorism vs. immigration strike a particular note as both are conceptualised as problems in the field of homeland security. The co-text of both terms show similar numbers for ‘agents’ (16 vs. 14), but immigration relates more significantly to ‘enforcement’ (36 vs. 62) and ‘laws’ (52 vs. 115), while terrorism covers more importance in the perspectives of ‘funding’ (112 vs. 8) and ‘crime’ (109 vs. 26).

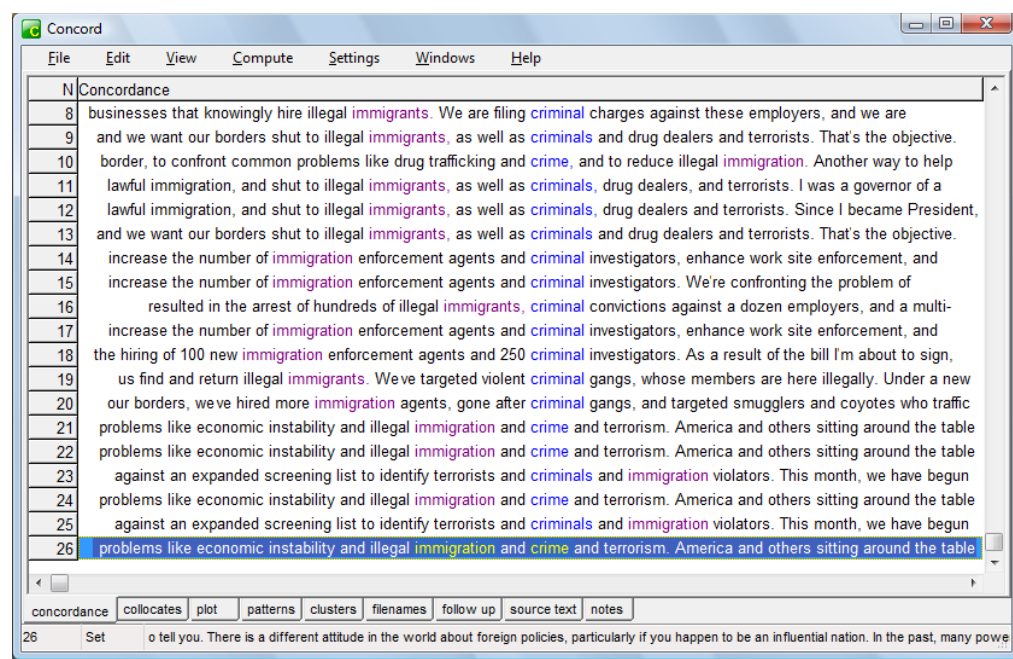


Figure 22. Concordance for ‘crim*’ in the context of ‘immigra*’.

It seems reasonable to take into account the possibility that the strong pattern of co-occurrence between terrorism and the referring pronoun 'they', on the one hand, and the co-occurrence of 'immigra*' with 'terroris*' [terrorist, terrorists, terrorism] on the others, sets the phenomenon of terrorism at the nucleus of prototype otherness, of which immigration is another, more de-emphasised, manifestation. In terms of discourse, such semantic re-ordination represents the confirmation of a shift in conceptualisation of migration, from the spatial-oriented underpinning (and implications of related concepts: physical (linear) displacement, place of origin, material labour/ retribution/ financing, physical domiciliation) to a mind-potential approach (axiological networking, symbolic or virtual labour/ retribution/ financing, global (spatial) domiciliation). Other expressions used to talk about immigrants, such as 'illegal aliens', 'Mexican', 'undocumented economy/ workers/ aliens/ men and women', 'troops', or 'entrants' used in the context of 'we' and 'they' suggest the existence of a broader social and political context which makes these choices possible, even necessary. Conceptually, these expressions operate on the idea of a selfless human being, which is an arresting reduction, but which allows people of today (especially those invested with more negative emotional charge, such as detainees, immigrants, etc.) to be uncritically conceptualised as monolith groups, subject to authorisation for actual or prospective, factual or suspected involvement or participation in the society. In the following chapter, Chapter 7, the context will be explored of more motor-words used to refer to immigrants.

This chapter presents the quantitative analysis of the corpus, making explicit the move from the general linguistic content delivered by the Bush Corpus (BC) to the more specific categories used to describe immigrants as others. This methodology is oriented by the reality of computerised text discussed in section two of chapter six; also, it seeks to satisfy the requisite of retroductibility as argued by Wodak (Kendall 2007: [38]) and discussed in chapter four, section 1.5 of the present work.

6.1. THE LEXICALISATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Section 6.3.3 of the previous chapter has revealed ‘they’ to be a weak indicator of the immigrants, at the same time as it turned out to strongly correlate to Americans, on the one hand and terrorists, on the other; in turn, ‘we’, although an actual indicator of the in-group, was revealed to be also involved in the talk about immigration reform, and to a lesser extent about immigrants. The reference domains of both pronouns confirm the existence of different groups, situated at variable distances from the spatial, temporal and axiological centre of the self, as theorised by Chilton (2004) and discussed in the third chapter, in section 2.3, dealing with discursive alterity.

The inquiry into the significance of mathematical data provided by the corpus search has evidenced the importance of exploring the clustering patterns of the most evident linguistic choice ‘immigrant(s)’ and to cross-examine the reference lines for the meanings and uses assigned to different linguistic choices in its context. The knowledge regarding the words that provide more company for the search term (the patterns of collocation displayed by ‘immigrant(s)’ in Figure 23 below), is a decisive start into the semantic associations. Figure 24 gives a first indication as to how the text makes sense of the immigrants and how other issues relate to it. In the central column the search words are indicated. The search tool allows the term ‘immigrant*’ to produce in one search concordance lines for both ‘immigrant’ and ‘immigrants’, whose context words are summarised below in accordance with their closeness and spatial orientation. Thus, the columns at the right and the left of the search term, include in order of their frequency of occurrence the words, especially the determiners, of ‘immigrant*’, and the selection at the right list a number of words, especially so verb forms, with which the search words co-occur. The screenshot additionally highlights the prominence of ethnic clues in the talk about immigrants.

	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
2	AND	A	OF	ILLEGAL	FROM	THE	THE	IN	
3	THE	OF	NATION	OF	WHO	ARE	OUR	TO	
4	OF	THE	MEXICAN	AN	AND	WE	TO	THE	
5	TO	TO	FOR	NEW	TO	MEXICO	AND	AND	
6	ARE	NON	THE	LEGAL	ARE	A	HERE	OF	
7	IS	AND	EVERY	THAT	WE	IN	COUNTRIES	HAS	
8	OR	MILLIONS	AN	MANY	HAVE	OTHER	WHO	BORDER	
9	IN	FOR	LAND	WHEN	ASSIMILATE	WE'VE	ALREADY	FOR	
10	SERGEANT	THAT	TO	THE	IN	HAVE	COUNTRY	MORE	
11	WE	EVERY	AND	FOR	HAS	WERE	IN	ARE	
12	WERE	RELEASE	GENERATIONS	EVERY	CAUGHT	AMERICA	HOME	THIS	
13	ONE	STATUS	GENERATION	BY	FAMILIES	REAFFIRMED	AS	ALREADY	
14	PERCENT	LIKE	MILLION	MEXICAN	HERITAGE	CATCH	GOT	OUR	
15	ALSO	GUADALUPE	000	THESE	THAT	THEIR	A	A	
16	FOR	BOTH	THAT	OUR	IMMIGRANTS	AS	TO	PERSECUTION	ECONOMY
17	THAT	HAVE	THESE	HONEST	IMMIGRANT	WERE	OUR	WE	COUNTRY
18	I	THIS	CONTRIBUTIONS	LIFE	INCLUDING	AND	THIS	IT	
19	NEARLY	BENEFITS	HELP	AND	WITH	HAS	GOING	SHADOWS	
20	CITIZENSHIP	HAS	ENTERPRISE	THOSE	ESCAPING	WAS	OF	THAT	
21	NEW	SHUT	WHEN	BECAUSE	HELPED	COMING	PROGRAM	SOCIETY	
22	THAN	SHOULD	OUR	TREAT	HE	INTO	ROOTS	HAD	
23	ON	DENOGEAN	FOUNDED	UNLESS	HOME	OF	INTO	IS	
24	FURTHER	SEND	SPIRIT	ITALIAN	THE	IRELAND	ARE	IMMIGRANTS	
25	US	ARE	DENOGEAN	ELDERLY	PUT	MORE	CONTINUE	THROUGH	
26	IMMIGRANTS	STORIES	FROM	TODAY	WERE	WELL	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEXICO	
27	MORE	TALK	DETAIN	PROUD	THROUGH	AT	STORIES	CRIMINALS	
28	HARD	BY	STOP	WELCOMES	KNOW	RELIGIOUS	CITIZENSHIP	RESPECT	
29	IT	GIRL	PATRIOTISM	WELCOME	IS	FAIRNESS	GREAT	PROCESS	
30	HISTORY	RETURN	PROCESS	SLOVAK	NOW	WHO	BUSINESSES	FROM	
31	FAMILIES	IMPORTANT	CHILDREN	TO	LIVE	THIS	FROM	LIFE	
32	SON	ILLEGALLY	MORE	POOR	ALSO	EVERY	AMERICANS	LEARN	
33	AGED	ENTREPRENEURIAL	WAS	ONLY		A	HERE	MUST	COUNTRIES
34	AMERICA	WORK	INDUSTRIES	POLISH	CONTRIBUTE	START	ADVANCE	THEY	

Figure 23. Patterns of collocation for ‘immigrant*’.

The figure above shows that the immigrants are primarily outlined in terms of ‘illegal’, but also as ‘legal’ presence, collectively (‘nation’, ‘generation’, ‘millions’, ‘many’, ‘families’), ethnically (‘Mexican’, ‘Italian’, ‘Slovak’, ‘Polish’, but also ‘Americans’), metonymically by association with their country of origin (‘Mexico’, ‘Ireland’) and, to a lesser degree, in an open evaluative manner (‘honest’, ‘poor’, ‘criminal’). At first glance, this usage is attuned to the general tendency in the use of the word in contemporary American English, which feature, in order, ‘groups’, ‘illegal’ ‘children’, ‘new’, ‘families’, ‘workers’, ‘community’, ‘population’ ‘students’ and ‘parents’.

A deeper look into the most frequent word combinations relating to the unauthorized displaced people (Figure 24 below) brings to light conceptual blends between identity (‘Mexican illegal immigrants’) and conditions of subalternity ‘illegal immigrants caught’, ‘apprehension and detention’). The latter is exclusively approached from the perspective of border security and shows the relevance of status in the description of illegal immigrants (‘the status of million illegal immigrants’, ‘non Mexican illegal immigrants’).

	B	C	D
	Cluster	Fre	Related
1			
2	COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM	84	ON REFORM (4), I SUPPORT COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM THAT (4)
3	MEXICAN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS	58	IMMIGRANTS HOME MORE QUICKLY (6), MEXICAN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS THROU
4	NON MEXICAN ILLEGAL	57	MEXICAN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS HOME MORE (6), NON MEXICAN ILLEGAL IMMIGRA
5	ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS FROM	56	ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS FROM OTHER (4), RELEASE FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS FROM
6	NON MEXICAN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS	55	), NUMBER OF NON MEXICAN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS (6), MORE NON MEXICAN ILI
7	OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS	54	85 PERCENT OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS CAUGHT (4), VAST MAJORITY OF ILLEGA
8	OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS	50	H OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS WILL (3), YOU TO REFORM OUR IMMIGRATION LAW
9	ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WHO	48	ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WHO (6), THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WHO (6), THE ILLEGAL IMI
10	A COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION	37	IVE IMMIGRATION BILL (3), HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION (3), OF A C
11	OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	36	HEM OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION AND (4), FUTURE WAVES OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRA
12	ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE	36	TS WHO ARE HERE (4), OF MILLION ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE (4), ILLEGA
13	IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE	36	MIGRANTS WHO ARE (4), ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE ALREADY HERE (4), I
14	ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION AND	35	Y (4), BORDERS SECURE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION AND BORDER (4), OUR BORDE
15	OUR COUNTRY ILLEGALLY	30	3), ARE IN OUR COUNTRY ILLEGALLY I (3), IN OUR COUNTRY ILLEGALLY I BELIEV
16	THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS	26	3 WE CATCH BACK (4), THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WE APPREHEND ARE (4), FIN
17	EVERY ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT	25	IMMIGRANT (3), AND DEPORTING EVERY ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT (3), IMMIGRANT ANI
18	AN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM	25	N SYSTEM THAT (3), NEEDS AN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM THAT SERVES (3), NATIC
19	OUR IMMIGRATION SYSTEM	24	MIGRATION SYSTEM (3), FIX OUR IMMIGRATION SYSTEM AND DELIVER (3), AND
20	FURTHER ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	24	IMMIGRATION AS (6), IT WOULD ENCOURAGE FURTHER ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION (6
21	THE STATUS OF	24	RANTS (4), THE STATUS OF MILLION ILLEGAL (4), TO RESOLVE THE STATUS OF
22	AN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM THAT	22	N SYSTEM THAT (3), NEEDS AN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM THAT SERVES (3), NATIC
23	ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WE	22	MEXICAN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WE (3), NON MEXICAN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS WE C
24	FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS	22	IL MEXICO WE (4), EXCEPTIONS FOR ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS FROM MEXICO (4), HA

Figure 24. Most frequent clusters of ‘immigra*’ in the context of ‘illegal*’.

From a more qualitative perspective, the immigrants are primarily typified as:

- *(temporary) status in the United States:* illegal/ legal;
- *relation of time:* new/ elderly;
- *distribution:* every, generation(s), but also families;
- *ethnicity:* Mexican, Italian, Slovak, Polish or non-ethnicity: non-Mexican;
- *individual personal identity:* Guadalupe, Sergeant Denogean, Mel Martinez;
- *quantity:* many, millions;
- *quality:* honest, proud, poor, entrepreneurial, but also criminals;
- *context:* persecutions, patriotism, industries, but also country, border, economy.

The verbal web surrounding immigrant(s) is realised by ‘caught’/ ‘catch’, ‘escaping’, ‘helped’, ‘know’, ‘live’, ‘contribute’ and ‘learn’, expressing material, transformative performances, cognitive and existential processes, but also potential actions in the future (‘when immigrants assimilate’). In so far as attitude towards them, the main reference is made to welcoming them. On a larger horizon, they are also actors and speakers (‘talking’, ‘returning’), but also goals and passive beneficiaries of processes initiated by an authority in power: being ‘detained’, ‘sent’, ‘stopped’, and ‘processed’.

The patterns of collocation displayed by ‘immigration’ (Figure 25 below) show a close parallelism with the previous one. Indeed, it reiterates a strong preference for a ‘legal’/ ‘illegal’ polarisation of the issue; it presents a significant (and predictable) tenor

perspective ('our', 'America's', 'border', etc.) and offers an evaluation and possibly a statement of intention surrounding it: 'comprehensive', 'rational', and 'effective'.

	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
1									
2	TO	TO	A	COMPREHENSIVE		REFORM	THAT	A	THE
3	THE	THE	OF	OUR		LAWS	AND	AND	OUR
4	OUR	AND	AND	ILLEGAL		SYSTEM	IS	TO	TO
5	WE	WE	THAT	AN		AND	THE	WILL	AND
6	A	OF	REFORM	THE		BILL	I	THE	A
7	IS	OUR	ON	ON		IS	A	MUST	OF
8	AND	HAVE	TO	OF		ENFORCEMENT	TO	IS	IS
9	OF	THAT	FURTHER	AND		DEBATE	WE	IN	I
10	I	ENCOURAGE	BORDER	ABOUT		POLICY	IN	THAT	WE
11	WE'VE	IMPORTANT	ENFORCE	FOR		IN	SHOULD	ON	IMMIGRATION
12	PART	IN	FOR	THIS		ISSUE	CUSTOMS	OUR	ON
13	IMMIGRATION	WAVES	DEBATE	NEW		SERVICES	BY	I	PERCENT
14	ECONOMIC	S	OUR	CURRENT		PLAN	MUST	ENFORCEMENT	ISSUE
15	FOR	INCREASED	ABOUT	ENFORCE		PUTS	WILL	WANT	COMPREHENSIVE
16	U	NATION	ISSUE	LAWFUL		IT	THIS	BE	BE
17	MUST	I	HAVE	GOOD		I	ALSO	THIS	CRIMINAL
18	AN	FLOW	FUNDING	LEGAL		WE	BILL	OF	TERRORISM
19	YOU	BORDER	NUMBER	YOUR	IMMIGRATION	HAS	AGENTS	IMPORTANT	NEED
20	WOULD	THIS	CITIZENSHIP	AMERICA'S		LAW	AT	THEY	SO
21	DUTY	MUST	THE	VALUES		ITS	SO	INCLUDES	COUNTRY
22	CONGRESS	INSTABILITY	SUPPORT	CORE		ARE	AN	SERIOUS	US
23	WITH	ABOUT	TALK	COMPASSIONATE		AMNESTY	CRIME	HAVE	PEOPLE
24	WILL	FOR	VIOLATE	TO		AMERICA	IT	IMMIGRATION	HAVE
25	ONE	IMMIGRATION	IN	HAVE		AS	AS	REQUIRES	REMEMBER
26	TALK	TRADE	PASSING	RATIONAL		BETWEEN	GOT	AN	PROBLEM
27	TERRORISTS	PASS	PASS	EFFECTIVE		VIOLATORS	ARE	ITS	THESE
28	DO	WHO	FIX	IS		SECURITY	INSIDE	FIRST	THEY
29	SURE	GET	WITH	THAT		OUR	MEANS	IM	GOOD
30	LAWS	CONGRESS	NEEDS	IMMIGRANTS		AGENTS	HAS	GOING	FOR
31	IT	IT	MAKE	BROKEN		POLICIES	REQUIRES	SECURE	TEMPORARY
32	MORE	BY	LEGISLATION	IMPORTANT		OURS	PRESSURE	WORKS	AMNESTY
33	PROGRAM	CAN	GET	SERVICE		OFFICIALS	YOU	IF	ALSO
34	INCREASE	PROBLEM	FINALLY	1986		SOME	THERE	42	VITAL

Figure 25. Patterns of collocation for 'immigration'.

The figure above also indicate the context in which a response is given or denied ('reform', 'laws', 'system', 'debate', 'policy', 'security', 'amnesty', 'agents', etc.) but also a series of values attached to the enforcement ('good', 'compassionate', 'important', 'rational', 'effective', etc.) On a wider horizon of co-text, 'immigration' is found to collocate frequently with 'citizenship', 'nation', 'terrorists', 'instability', 'problem', but also with pressure, urge ('should', 'requires', 'must', 'will') and necessity ('want', 'need').

As Figures 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 illustrate explicit reference to immigrants and immigration shares a common legal approach, particularly formulated as a concern for illegal immigration and the regulation thereof. Further exploration of the concordances generated by 'immigra*' in the context of 'illegal*' [illegal, illegals] (Figure 26 below) seems the most obvious direction in which decisive patterns of immigrant-alterity are expected to emerge.

N	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
1	THE	NON	OF	ILLEGAL	IMMIGRANTS	FROM	ARE	THE	IN
2	TO	AND	MEXICAN		IMMIGRATION	AND	THE	COUNTRIES	THE
3	AND	TO	THE		IMMIGRANT	WHO	A	TO	AND
4	OF	OF	FURTHER			IN	IN	AND	TO
5	ECONOMIC	MILLIONS	EVERY			WE	WE	ALREADY	OF
6	FURTHER	ENCOURAGE	AND			AS	OTHER	AS	ARE
7	PERCENT	THAT	THAT			TO	WELL	HERE	BORDER
8	WOULD	WAVES	FOR			ARE	CATCH	SERIOUS	TERRORISM
9	THAT	STATUS	TO			CAUGHT	HAVE	HOME	ON
10	CITIZENSHIP	INSTABILITY	MILLION			IS	CRIME	ON	FOR
11	IT	FLOW	000			PUTS	WILL	OUR	ALREADY
12	NEARLY	RELEASE	THESE			IT	THEIR		IT
13			AN						OUR
14			WHEN						
15			BORDER						

Figure 26. Patterns of collocation of ‘immigra*’ in the context of ‘illegal*’.

It is worth noting that the words surrounding the search terms construe illegal immigrants around a spatial concept, that of physical border. Thus, a number of features are used to describe immigrants: quantity (‘millions’), addition or intensity (‘further’, ‘serious’), liquid (‘waves’), ethnic belonging and status (‘Mexican’, ‘citizenship’), threat to the system’s entropy (‘instability’), but also actions: producing violence against humanity (‘crime’, ‘terrorism’), undergo enforcement (‘puts’, ‘catch’, ‘release’).

One observation deserves to be made in relation to the names used to denote immigrants. Although reference in terms of ethnicity, country of birth and even citizenship are a common device, an unexpected lexical choice is manifested in terms of negative description: that of ‘non Mexican’. The five most frequent clusters illustrated above introduce a new contrastive pair in the semantics of immigration, sharing the model of composition (optional intra word dash) of ‘non-citizen’, ‘non-white’, ‘non eligible’, ‘non authorised’, ‘non-human’, etc. The pair is formed by ‘Mexican’ (111 hits) and ‘non Mexican’ (21 hits). The use of this new compound word is not frequent if the term ‘immigrant*’ (see Figure 23) is taken as a reference, neither is it sporadic. Its significance is major, nonetheless. Searching the Corpus of Contemporary American English for this compound, one comes across a remarkable finding. One single use is recovered in the newspaper article written by journalist Mark Memmoth for USA Today, which focuses on the debate generated on NAFTA benefits to the United States. The article was issued in 1992, at the end of which the agreement was signed on the US part by the incumbent president George W.H. Bush. The fragment argues the economic benefits of business implantation as already taking place following fiscal benefits negotiated from the Reagan era.

Most of the jobs U.S. companies would like to move to Mexico already are there. At the maquiladora plants on the Mexican side of the border, non-Mexican businesses employ about 500,000 workers. Most of those are in U.S.-owned plants... (COCA generated concordance)

Despite the mélange of imperial overtones (of the economic occupation: ‘border’, ‘U.S. owned’) and possible Marxist reductionism (the people or Mexican people are

‘workers’) observable in the wider context of the word illustrated above, back in 1992 the term applied to an economic category, i.e., business, and does not denote human beings, as it does with G.W. Bush. Equally surprising is the fact that COCA does not register any other context or register for ‘non Mexican’ after 1992.

In the Bush Corpus, the pervading contextual background for ‘immigrant*’ and ‘immigration’ is centred in economy and criminality. More specifically, the 253 concordances generated allow the observation that it is immigration as a criminal offence and immigrants as perpetrators the main angle of report, detailed as follows:

- Legislation; e.g.: ‘our immigration laws’, ‘comprehensive immigration reform’, ‘our immigration system’.
- Border and crime; e.g.: ‘crossing the border illegally’, ‘(Mexican) illegal immigrants are apprehended’, ‘immigration and crime and terrorism’.
- Enforcement: ‘I oppose amnesty because, amnesty will encourage future illegal (immigration)’, ‘(capture and) return the illegal immigrants’, ‘deporting every illegal immigrant’.
- Economy; e.g.: ‘problems like economic instability and illegal immigration’, ‘illegal immigrants who are working’, ‘employers turning to the illegal labor market’.

Specifically concentrated at the other pole of frequent clusters, a milder picture is offered, from a self-indulging perspective, whether it be a sense of accomplishment about past immigration policy or epiphanies about future outcomes of Bush’s proposal of immigration reform:

- with reference to what is proposed as past ideals of immigration: immigration between 1891 and 1920.
- past realisations or present conjunctures: (generations of) immigrants who became Americans through patience, a spirit of enterprise, ‘immigrants escaping religious persecution’.
- positive/ (future) outcomes as a result of good legislation: ‘must make our immigration laws more rational’, ‘(treat) immigrants with fairness and respect’, ‘a nation of immigrants’.

In relation to immigrants, actions like detaining, processing and deporting stand out to support a superlative negative characterisation, whose entailment is an attitude towards them and a reaction. Since acts as those emphasised about anti-social subjects are attributed to people from outside, for example, (illegal) immigrants, the attitude is easily that of avoiding/ outing them. The reaction is no other than an act of governance. One cannot ignore the pragmatic orientation of political discourse, and notice that the numerical prevalence of ‘illegal’ over ‘legal’ in relation to immigrants relates positively with Bush’s proposal of an immigration reform. It is the choice of the discourse writer to choose the topic of law enforcement and it is equally his choice the proportion it is given in relation to other topics, equally valid for the representation of immigrants.

On a number of occasions, the former president makes a positive characterisation of immigrants by appealing to common past, values and contributions to the country. Despite the power to grasp immigrant diversity, G.W. Bush falls short of offering an explicit alternative to group characterisation in terms of criminal legal immigrants or unsentenced

illegal immigrants, although there is room for interpretation in this sense, for example, when he tackles illegal immigrants living and working in the U.S. for a considerable number of years or legal immigrants, perhaps American citizens, involved in border crossing, document fraud and work placement. One can argue that the way in which the topic is developed results in a reductionist account of the groups in terms of private vice. I retain the strategy of TOPIC DEVELOPMENT to constitute an aspect of discursive alterity.

The collocates of ‘immigra*’ in the context of ‘illegal’ display a complicated semantic profile for the same nexus word, with opposed representations, to the point of blurring the referent: (1) ‘the illegal immigrants who are already here’, (2) ‘people who’ve been living here for many years with jobs, families, and deep roots in our country’, and (3) ‘newcomers’ helped to assimilate in the past (C 56). The entanglement about who is allowed in and who should be cast out grows with the policy proposal and the terms in which it is expressed. Thus, the first category is the beneficiary of the catch and release practice, the second is to be allowed to become legal after complying with a series of disciplinary measures. The third term, ‘newcomers’, is so general that it may be used interchangeably with ‘migrants’, in time and space, lacking a fixed value to relate it to, that it can’t be disambiguated against the topic of immigration reform. In general, the prototype of immigrant is built as A REFLECTION OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF INTERVENTION onto or against, which I retain to be another locus of discursive alterity.

The repeated patterns found on the vertical axis of concordance described above allow me to formulate that the overall symphony of extremes surrounding immigration and immigrants(s) points toward a fuzzy construct of immigrant-other. More specifically, it is found to transgress character-time-space narrative conventions in that, specifically, the claims and attributes attached to immigrants shift to emulate those of the in-group when underpinned in retrospect and coincide with those of the terrorists when addressed in relative actuality.

The strategic use of time frames (past immigration as perceived at present, but not as perceived contemporarily) in relation to value (honest, hard-working, contributions vs. criminal, smugglers, burden) to mitigate status centrality to the representation of immigrants by means of aborting logical argumentation. As generations of illegal immigrants in the past are the American citizens of today, it follows that the immigrant is not illegal because she/ he is bad (for the society, economy, etc); quite the other way around, she or he is (made) bad person because she or he is (made) illegal. The INTERPLAY OF DIFFERENT FRAMES, done at the expenses of sequential logic, into a convenient construction of the immigrant is recognised here another source of immigrant-alterity.

That status is the central representation associated with immigrants is confirmed by the tendency of collocation of ‘illegal’. Figure 27 shows that this term produces a great number of immigrant-related collocates: ‘Mexican’, ‘border’, ‘release’, ‘citizenship’, ‘amnesty’, ‘status’, ‘problems’. Of all the possible referents, the most frequent are: ‘immigrant(s)’, ‘immigration’, ‘drug(s)’, ‘weapons’, ‘militia’, ‘workers’, ‘crossings’, ‘aliens’ and ‘entrant’, all of which representing categories that are allowed / legal unless they are specifically de-authorised/ made illegal. The fifth right collocate of ‘illegal’ was ‘terrorism’, which, however does not come as surprise. Exploring the qualitative potential of the corpus, towards the end of the previous chapter the co-occurrence was pointed of the issues of terrorism and immigration, more specifically in the context of law enforcement.

N	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	OF	ILLEGAL	IMMIGRANTS	AND	THE	THE	TO
2	THE		IMMIGRATION	FROM	ARE	TO	THE
3	AND		DRUGS	WHO	A	AND	AND
4	MEXICAN		WEAPONS	IN	IN	COUNTRIES	IN
5	EVERY		IMMIGRANT	WE	WE	A	OF
6	FOR		MILITIA	TO	CATCH	HERE	OUR
7	THAT		WORKERS	ARE	OTHER	IN	BORDER
8	FURTHER		MILITIAS	IS	BY	IS	A
9	AN		CROSSINGS	AS	OUR	ALREADY	FOR
10	IN		DRUG	CAUGHT	TO	AS	ARE
11	000		ALIENS	PUTS	WELL	OUR	LAW
12	TO		ENTRANT	ACROSS	CRIME	ON	IT
13	MILLION		ACTIVITIES	IT	WILL	ARE	ALREADY
14	PREVENT		PURCHASES	USE	AS	THIS	TERRORISM

Figure 27. Patterns of collocation for 'illegal'.

The inclusion of immigrants in the conceptual model of hateful others, whose extreme embodiment are terrorists, represents a vault of the political discourse into fictionalised reality comparable with accounts of the other discussed earlier in chapter two, section 2.2.2. As then, I argue that the ascendance of any covenant (economic, cultural or political) over the personhood of human beings is impoverishing and unacceptable. Power-affiliated institutional discourse is not a stranger to the ways in which the community and society position themselves in relation to similar manifestations of alterity, but individual and communitarian participation is worth considering as well, as earlier formulated in section 3.1.3 of Chapter Two. Alterity understood as a process whereby human beings are emptied of their self experience (i.e., experiences that allow one to feel coherent and valued) ends up in collective (but also one's own) identification of the devoid persons with the roles assigned to them. I retain that such subtle device of DISSOCIATION OF EXPERIENCE FROM THE SELF resulting in collective criminalisation, blaming, scapegoating of immigrants is an effective pattern of alterity.

Immigration, like drugs and weapons are thus the kind of entities that are 'illegal' in the United States. Terrorists are only far away and isolated on the list of collocations. Figure 28 below illustrates a further step in the exploration of the concept of evil; in an attempt to reach the boundaries of the relation between immigrants and terrorists, one comes across this announcement made two months after 9/11: "We've passed a new anti-terrorism law, which gives our law enforcement officers the necessary tools to track terrorists before they harm Americans. A new terrorism task force is tightening immigration controls to make sure no one enters or stays in our country who would harm us." (08/11/2001). With little changes, the common ground for a common approach to immigration and terrorism is scarcely argued in the eight years of tenure at the White House, although firmly enforced with the October 2001 Patriot Act mentioned above. As discussed in section 1.3 of Chapter Three, this piece of legislation extended previous provisions in the field of work immigration schemes and domestic terrorism to the larger population, with the novelty of unprecedented information feed-back from civilian population to state and federal enforcement agents and intra-governmental agencies, as well as violation of basic rights by means of population surveillance and volunteering for interrogation, especially of Arab citizens and their social and business visitors. The selection of terrorism and immigration (notably, Bush refers to Arabs more frequently than to Latinos, although the sum of references to different Latino-Americans outnumbers the former) as two types of evil, one from within and the other from outside, to be commonly

enforced. In all, the association is repeated as little as fourteen times, the one in mid 2001 quoted above, eight times in 2004, one at the beginning of 2007 and four in 2008. However, its significance is proved by the enactment of the USA Patriot Act, a presidential and Congress prerogative, in front of which the considerations on the appropriateness of rallies and debates, is futile, as it turned out with the war in Iraq as well.

On the other hand, when immigration is debated, positive reference is not only possible, but it actually takes place. Sometimes it is a potential positive face in the eventuality that different kinds of legal penalties would prevent more people to attempt border crossing. In other occasions, the humanity of illegal immigrants is emphasised in terms of American values, in which case their positive representation overlaps with positive self-representation.

The faith of the illegal immigrants being addressed by the law, the issue of immigration debate which is often invoked by G.W. Bush relates positively with the funding efforts concentrated at the U.S. border with Mexico: from 2002 until 2008, the budget for Immigration and Customs Enforcement as well as Customs and Border Protection doubled to reach five and nine billion dollars respectively. At the same time, deportation of South and Central Americans more than doubled, while deportation of Mexican people curbed slightly, with a peak in 2008².

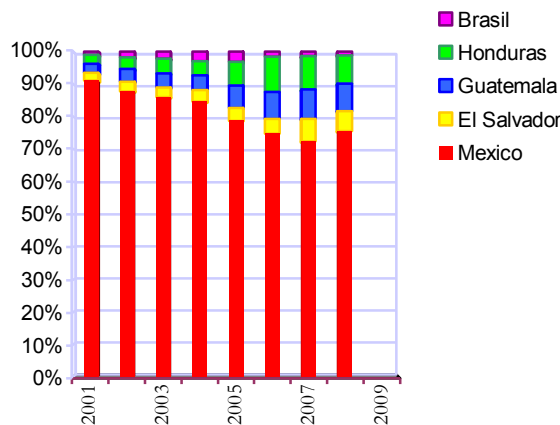


Figure 28. Deportation of illegal immigrants (2001-2009).

The high correlation between immigrants and illegality on the one hand, and the presence of criminalising devices in the context of border crimes and enforcement on the other needs to be explored in order to make sense of the concept of crime and its contingency with immigrants. Figure 29 below presents the most frequent clusters of ‘criminal*’. They reveal that immigration, terrorism and enforcement by and large are the only context words, making up a profuse blend of malignant acts, actors and actions.

² Data offered by the Office of Immigration Statistics/ 2010 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, pp. 96-104.

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
1										
2	TO	TO	TO	AND	AND		AND	DRUG	THE	AND
3	OF	AND	THE	TERRORISTS	THE		JUSTICE	THE	DEALERS	TO
4	ARE	THE	AND	THE	TO		INVESTIGATORS	ARE	TERRORISTS	A
5	AND	ARE	DOWN	FOR	A		TO	TERRORISTS	AND	THE
6	MORE	THAN	TERRORISTS	A	INTERNATIONAL		GANGS	THAT	ARE	IMPORTA
7	LAW	IMMIGRATION	ENOUGH	TO	VIOLENT		RECORDS	OF	TO	EXPORT
8	ILLEGAL	DRUG	ALL	OF	WITH		WHO	AND	THEM	OF
9	ENFORCEMENT	REQUIRING	ENFORCEMENT	000	CORPORATE		BACKGROUND	ENACT	A	TERRORI
10	RESOLUTION	IMMIGRANTS	ARE	WHITE	HUNTING		PROLIFERATION	EVEN	ITS	THAT
11	ABUSE	GOOD	AS	STATES	WAR		THEY	TO	MORE	WEVE
12	THAT	WITH	OF	AGENTS	OF		THEYRE	CHECK	STRICT	SILENT
13	TERRORISTS	WE	STILL	PASS	OTHER		THAN	THEY	IN	SITE
14	USED	IS	USE	FOCUS	COLLAR		WE	DEALERS	TRAFFICKERS	SMUGGL
15	DRUG	OFFICERS	DRUG	EMBEZZLERS	ON		DRUG	IT	FOR	WHEN
16	AT	THEIR	OUT	CHASE	FROM	CRIMINALS	COURT	SYSTEM	BEEN	WERE
17	SHUT	THEY	RINGLEADER	AGAINST	FEDERAL	CRIMINAL	IN	HAD	WILL	WILL
18	TEST	OUR	MORE	ARE	WHITE-COLLAR	CRIMINALIZE	OR	ACCOUNT	WORK	THIS
19	THREATS	NOT	OUR	WELL	OUR		IT	BE	WORDS	FROM
20	VICTIM	AN	TODAY	AFTER	DOWN		RECORD	OUR	THEY	ILLEGAL
21	THIS	ALREADY	THAT	TIGHT	BY		GANG	WHO	VIOLATORS	KHAN
22	THE	BEFORE	TRAFFICKERS	THUGS	AS		WILL	FOR	WAS	BOTH
23	THEY	SUSPECTED	TREATED	THOSE	COMMON		ENTERPRISE	IN	WE	CASE
24	PUT	BE	SUPPORTS	THAN	ACT		CODE	DANGEROUS	TRADERS	FOREIGN
25	IMMIGRATION	AT	CATCH	NATION	OR		CAN	ANSWER	UNACCOUNTAB	OUR
26	IN	UNTIL	DEALERS	MERCY	HIS		INVESTIGATION	WERE	HAD	RESPON
27	IS	THEYLL	END	EXISTED			SHOULD	WHERE	MATERIALS	SECOND
28	CONVICING	CRACK	BARRED	ON			NETWORKS	A	EVEN	MAKE
29	DEAL	KEEP	350	STOLEN			LIKE	WEAPONS	DAMAGE	MORE
30	HAD	ESTABLISHES	400	PROSECUTED				MAKE	ESSENTIAL	ON
31	LIVES	HE	A	PATRIOT				MATTER	MEMBERS	
32	METHODS	HAVE	ENDED					IMMIGRATION	SUPPLY	
33	PRIORITY	REQUIRES	IDENTITIES					IS	SUSPECTED	
34	LAWS	CHASE	IN					NEED	Q	
35	LEFT	CLOSED	KNEW					QUICKLY	OF	

Figure 29. Patterns of co-selection for 'criminal*'.

The patterns of co-selection for 'criminal*' reveal an important presence of collocates for immigration ('immigrants', 'enforcement', 'agent', 'laws', 'drug', 'dealers', 'gangs', etc.), and more numerous explicit reference to terrorism ('terrorists', 'ringleader', 'suspected', etc.) and border action ('enforcement', 'crack', 'methods', 'agents', , 'prosecuted', 'investigators', 'work', etc). Additionally, immigration and terrorism is evoked with a range of linguistic selections characterised by a certain ambiguity regarding reference ('America will not tolerate slave traders who bring women and children into our country for abuse', 'our borders should be shut and barred tight to criminals, to drug traders, to drug traffickers and to criminals, and to terrorists'). Figure 30 below illustrates the existence of a series of linguistic patterns which confirm the consistency of the choice in favour of the contextualisation of immigration with terrorism: 'identify terrorists and criminals and immigration', '350.000 with criminal records', 'immigration enforcement agents and criminal investigators', and 'the Patriot Act'.

The exploration of the concordance lines redirects the reader to an ample domain in which linguistic choices such as 'convicting', 'priority', 'laws', 'identities', 'international', 'violence', 'investigation', 'networks', 'dangerous', 'weapons', 'unaccountable' or 'victim' are used as a referent to both types of others.

N	Cluster	Freq.	Related
1	DRUG DEALERS AND	18	NALS AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERRORISTS (10),TO CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS
2	CRIMINALS AND DRUG	15	CRIMINALS AND DRUG TRAFFICKERS TO STOP (3),CRIMINALS AND DRUG TRAFFICKER
3	AND CRIMINALS AND	14	(3),IDENTIFY TERRORISTS AND CRIMINALS AND IMMIGRATION (3),KEEP OUT TERRORI
4	DRUG DEALERS AND TERRORISTS	12	D (18),DEALERS AND TERRORISTS (12),CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERROR
5	DEALERS AND TERRORISTS	12	DRUG DEALERS AND TERRORISTS (12),CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERROR
6	AND DRUG DEALERS	11	RISTS (10),TO CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS (3),TO CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS
7	AND DRUG DEALERS AND	11	NALS AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERRORISTS (10),TO CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS
8	CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS AND	10	NALS AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERRORISTS (10),TO CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS
9	CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS	10	RISTS (10),TO CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS (3),TO CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS
10	CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERRORISTS	10	RS AND (10),CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS (10),AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERROR
11	AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERRORISTS	10	RS (11),AND DRUG DEALERS AND (11),CRIMINALS AND DRUG DEALERS AND TERROR
12	TERRORISTS AND CRIMINALS	10	TO IDENTIFY TERRORISTS AND CRIMINALS (3),KEEP OUT TERRORISTS AND CRIMINALS
13	TERRORISTS AND CRIMINALS AND	10	RISTS AND CRIMINALS AND IMMIGRATION (3),KEEP OUT TERRORISTS AND CRIMINALS
14	FOR HUNTING CRIMINALS	9	,ARE GOOD FOR HUNTING CRIMINALS THEY (3),GOOD FOR HUNTING CRIMINALS THEY
15	CRIMINALS AND TERRORISTS	9	MINALS AND TERRORISTS AND WHEN (3),FROM CRIMINALS AND TERRORISTS AND \
16	EVEN MORE IMPORTANT	9	(6),THEY ARE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT (3),CRIMINALS THEY ARE EVEN MORE IMPOF
17	000 WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS	8	CORDS (3),THAN 350 000 WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS (3),000 WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS
18	WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS	8	MINAL RECORDS (3),WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS OUR (3),000 WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS
19	000 WITH CRIMINAL	8	TH CRIMINAL (3),MORE THAN 400 000 WITH CRIMINAL (3),000 WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS
20	BEFORE THE PATRIOT	7	ORE THE PATRIOT ACT CRIMINAL INVESTIGATORS (3),BEFORE THE PATRIOT ACT CRIM
21	AND CRIMINAL INVESTIGATORS	7	INVESTIGATORS (5),IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT AGENTS AND CRIMINAL INVESTIGA
22	TO FOCUS ON	7	EALERS (4),TO FOCUS ON CRIMINALS DRUG (4),OFFICERS TO FOCUS ON CRIMINALS
23	TO CRIMINALS AND	7	,DRUG TRAFFICKERS AND TO CRIMINALS AND (3),AND TO CRIMINALS AND TO TERRO
24	ENACT STRICT EXPORT	6	ENACT STRICT EXPORT (6),CRIMINALIZE PROLIFERATION ENACT STRICT EXPORT CONT
25	EVEN MORE IMPORTANT FOR	6	PORTANT (9),MORE IMPORTANT FOR (6),CRIMINALS THEYRE EVEN MORE IMPORTAN
26	CRIMINALS THEY ARE	6	HUNTING CRIMINALS THEY ARE EVEN MORE (3),GOOD FOR HUNTING CRIMINALS THEY
27	ENACT STRICT EXPORT CONTROLS	6	T EXPORT CONTROLS (6),CRIMINALIZE PROLIFERATION ENACT STRICT EXPORT CONT
28	ENFORCEMENT AGENTS AND	6	NT AGENTS AND (5),IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT AGENTS AND CRIMINAL INVESTIGA

Figure 30. Most frequent clusters for 'criminal*'.

The record of criminal offences falls reiteratively into hyponymy/ hypernymy coordination: 'terrorists and criminals', 'criminals and drug traffickers', 'terrorists and criminals and immigration violators'. Thus, G.W. Bush mixes colloquialisms ('drug smugglers and terrorists and gun runners', 'drug dealers and terrorists and coyotes and smugglers, people who prey on innocent life') with professional argot ('immigration enforcement agents and criminal investigators'). On the other hand, his tendency to import prosecution-related terms ('homeland security', 'intelligence spending', 'criminalize proliferation', etc) contrasts sharply with their arbitrary permutations and semantic overlapping. Moreover, in the criminal context another colloquial name occurring is 'coyote', here a synonym of 'smuggler' and 'human smuggler'. It is a possible name for 'somebody', not necessarily an immigrant, who earns money in return for bringing unauthorised people and goods across the United States border from Mexico. The word is used a de-humanising device with different connotations in a number of contexts such as over-drinking and nightlife entertaining, but it is used by Bush in the context of immigration. Finally, other criminalising devices to possibly refer to immigrants, are 'somebody', 'folks', 'drug dealers', 'gang members', 'human traffickers', 'criminal gangs', 'terrorists', and 'immigration violators'. I maintain that the contrast between the abundance in over-professionalised terms of legal nature on the one hand, and the ambiguity of denotation on the other (e.g., immigrants or not, illegal immigrants or not, conflictive illegal immigrants or not) represents another feature of alterity. Essentially, it channels the EMOTIONAL INTERPRETATION of the indiscriminate data against a previously interiorised association model for group evaluation (positive for the in-group, negative for out-group).

As a result of opacity, certain parts of the text fail to establish a qualitative distinction between types of others and their actions are capitalised, as the multiple and

diverse types of law infringement are often collectively and indistinctively referred to as serious threats. In a general contexts of positive self-representation and only formal (and euphemistical) reference to criminal actions perpetrated by the local population ('hunting criminals', 'corporate criminals'), even if not necessarily American, the distance is created between a hygienic self and an all too general prototype of the lawless in the United States. In an original twist to justice, G.W. complained in 2004 about U.S. prosecuting easier local financial engineers, but not malevolent others: 'law enforcement could more easily obtain business and financial records of white-collar criminals than of suspected terrorists'. I retain that the ARBITRATION of principled justice, - which is one fundamental feature of the American self-assigned identity -, in terms of excessive strain on the in-group, in order to rise control over the out-group is manipulative as it conquers institutional advantages (the extension of American jurisdiction to foreign finance and property under suspicion of terrorism) for the in-group in the absence of accountability.

The collocation preference of criminality with immigration, without it being restricted to the most bonding, is surpassed only by terrorism (one to five left and right to the search term). 'Immigration' and 'immigrants' are dispersed from the second right to the farther boundaries of the collocation field, to the fifth right and left, together with other related associations, such as 'common', 'international', 'foreign', 'members', 'violators'. Special (even oxymoronic) associations make some of the words found at the immediate right of the search words, 'criminal justice', 'criminal court', 'criminal investigators', 'criminal proliferation', 'criminalize drugs', 'criminal networks', in which the modifying adjective stands for the target, and is no description of the modified noun.

I advance that the placement of these notions in recurrent proximity is indicative of the speaker's perception regarding a specific area of cultural emphasis (Ottenheimer 2006:8), which can be taken to represent a clue for the reception of the presidential discourses. G.W. Bush mentions crime when he tackles immigration, he mentions immigrants and internationalisation when he discusses crime, acknowledging immigrant crimes, but never detaining upon internal criminality. The effect of his topicalisation is altering in that it contribute to the creation of a septic group, the self or America, and an infected, immoral, criminal, vicious, aggressive group, of which immigrants receive a due share of representativity.

The subtle quantitative differences being difficult to grasp, semantic domains represent a track for the audience to construe meaning about what immigrants are and what they do or is done about them, without access to experience with them. I understand that, by locating immigrants and terrorists in the same semantic domain, G.W. Bush establishes a formal niche for the conceptualisation of immigrants as global threat and LEGITIMATES some polemic provisions (argued as unconstitutional, as discussed in section 3.1.3 of the present work) of the USA Patriot Act, more specifically, in its targeting of Arab and Hispanic civil population. I further argue that, by unifying the internal and the external 'evil' in one medal, G.W. Bush sets America apart both from itself and the rest of the world, unaccounted, and on the solitary path of feebly balanced internal monologue.

Other nominations in the context of which immigrants are named and discussed, some emerged in the context of 'immigra*', 'they', 'illegal' and 'crim*', some others being obvious names, are: 'border', 'workers', 'Mexican', 'English', 'Spanish', 'newcomer(s)', 'todos', 'alien', 'people' and the related descriptions and nominalisations ('border crossings', 'foreign workers', 'non Mexican', 'parents ... English', 'secure ... border'). Table 7 lists the most relevant words found to refer to immigrants and immigration.

No	Lexicalisation	Hits	Collocates	e.g.,
1.	immigrant(s)	399	illegal legal many every million caught families	As a Texan, I have known many immigrant families, mainly from Mexico, and I have seen what they add to our country. (C7) Third, we should not give unfair rewards to illegal immigrants in the citizenship process. (C13) ... I want to talk about illegal immigrants who are working in your cities. (C15) There's a middle ground between granting an automatic path to citizenship for every illegal immigrant and... (C146) We need to restore nutrition benefits for legal immigrants. (C361) America is a nation of immigrants, and we're also a nation of laws. (C379)
2.	immigration	557	reform comprehensive laws illegal system bill enforcement debate criminal crime	In the process of immigration reform, we must also set high expectations for what new citizens should know. (C17) I thank you for sharing with me your desire to see that Congress get a comprehensive immigration bill done soon. (C33) Our nation depends on our federal agents to enforce our immigration laws at the border and across the country. (C47) So not only has the current immigration system caused a whole smuggling industry to come up, but there's also a document forgery industry. (C121) Illegal immigration is a serious problem- you know it (C137) This bill will fund the hiring of 100 new immigration enforcement agents and 250 criminal investigators. (C186)
3.	alien	14	illegal undocumented	... terrorists and criminals and immigration violators. This month, we have begun using advanced technology to better record and track aliens (C9)
4.	Mexican	111	immigrants illegal Americans non citizens	He was the son of Mexican immigrants. (C1) ...Mexican Americans are firmly committed to leaving no child behind in America. (C56) ... about four of every five non- Mexican illegal immigrants we catch are released in society (C66)
5.	non Mexican	20	illegal more	...we've cut the number of non- Mexican illegal immigrants released in society (C5) ...we're capturing many more non- Mexican illegal immigrants than we can send

			caught hold	home. (C11) Putting more of these non- Mexican illegal immigrants through expedited removal is crucial to ending the problem of catch and release (C18)
6.	todos	25	para Americano America casa	You're demonstrating El Sueño Americano es para todos. And I thank you for making comprehensive immigration reform your top priority. (C4) We must work as a society to extend the American dream to todos, to everybody. (C23)
7.	border(s)	1191	Patrol our agents secure across more enforce	... you're working hard, to make sure our border is closed to terrorists and criminals and weapons and illegal drugs. (C6) ... secure the border so that we're better able to protect our citizens and welcome our friends (C10) Either others snuck across the border with you, or they know you here. (C16) Tomorrow, people on both sides of that border will celebrate freedom and the courage of all who defend it. I wish you a happy Cinco de Mayo. (C64)
8.	foreign/ worker(s)	69	willing match legal employers	...I proposed a new temporary worker program that would match willing foreign workers with willing American employers (C7) The program will establish a lawful and orderly process for foreign workers to come to America on a temporary basis. (C19) Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. (C69)
9.	Spanish	33	people speak English some mean only school	These critics say we shouldn't fault a whole school just because some African American or Spanish students are not progressing. (C1) The United States of America sends our prayers and sympathies to the Spanish people... (C5) She found out they needed someone with Spanish language skills. (C6) If a fellow shows up at school and can't speak Spanish- I mean English- and only speaks Spanish, they need some time to learn the language (C25)
10.	newcomer(s)	26	assimilate society helping dignity people	...we need comprehensive immigration reform that honors the American tradition of the melting pot by helping newcomers assimilate. (C2) The legislation will also help newcomers to our country assimilate into our society. (C19) English allows newcomers to go from picking crops to opening a grocery, from

cleaning offices to running offices, from a life of low- paying jobs to a diploma (C24)

11.	illegal(ly)	816	immigrants immigration here country our drugs people border immigrant Mexican crossing catch entrants	<p>85% of the illegal immigrants caught crossing the border are Mexican citizens, so they get sent back quickly. (C4)</p> <p>It's against the law to knowingly hire an illegal alien. (C16)</p> <p>In rural areas, we're funding the construction of (...) new vehicle barriers to keep illegal immigrants from driving across the border. (C7)</p> <p>... this bill requires illegal workers to pay a fine (C17)</p> <p>... troubled nations export their ills- problems like economic instability and illegal immigration and crime and terrorism. (C109)</p> <p>... we agree that the government needs to crack down on businesses that hire illegal workers. (C189)</p> <p>... it's important to resolve the status of 12 million people already here illegally, and help immigrants assimilate into our society. (C441)</p>
12.	secure, securing/ border	106	our we this you laws immigration	<p>...we cannot fully secure the border unless we take pressure off the border. (C12)</p> <p>Securing the border is a critical part of a strategy for comprehensive immigration reform (C18)</p> <p>I strongly believe that to have- secure the border, we need to have a temporary worker program. (C29)</p> <p>... to secure our border, we must create a temporary worker program. (C45)</p>
13.	immigrant(s)/ they	13	illegal nation of	<p>When non- Mexican illegal immigrants are apprehended, they are initially detained. (C5)</p> <p>When illegal immigrants know they will be caught and sent home, they will be less likely to break the rules (C8)</p>
14.	immigrant(s)/ people	9	illegal	<p>... catching people from- non- Mexican illegal immigrants, and just sending them back into society. (C3)</p> <p>We have got to remember that the vast majority of illegal immigrants are decent people. (C8)</p> <p>... apprehend and detain illegal immigrants. As we catch more people crossing the border illegally... (C9)</p>

15.	English/ parents	99	<p>speak first children may not</p>	<p>I believe strongly that every child can learn regardless of the color of their skin, or whether their parents speak English as a first language. (C9)</p> <p>You can't condemn somebody to failure because their parents don't speak English as a first language. (C14)</p> <p>... that the public schools educate every single child, those whose parents may speak English, those whose parents may not yet speak English. (C48)</p>
16.	immigrant(s)/ criminal	26	<p>agents terrorism instability economic enforcement gangs guns</p>	<p>And the vicious human stragglers- smugglers and gangs that bring illegal immigrants across the border also bring crime to our neighborhoods (C5)</p> <p>... we want our borders shut to illegal immigrants, as well as criminals and drug dealers and terrorists. (C9)</p> <p>We're matching all visa applicants against an expanded screening list to identify terrorists and criminals and immigration violators. (C23)</p> <p>This operation resulted in the arrest of hundreds of illegal immigrants, criminal convictions against a dozen employers... (C16)</p>

Table 7. Reference to immigrants and immigration, in context.

The examples provided in the table above represent the most frequent, although not the entirety of immigrant-related contexts. These, together with those expressions detected at naked eye, were used to produce the concordance lines based on which the analysis of referential and other strategies (forthcoming section 7.2) was carried on.

Before undertaking the mentioned analysis, a brief analysis of some of those linguistic choices seems necessary. Thus, Bush uses the words ‘aliens’ and ‘people’ a number of times in his addresses to refer to immigrants. ‘Aliens’, in the sense of illegal immigrants is more used (13 times) than ‘people’, however, 65 instances of the word were specifically found to refer to immigrants, in the context of ‘border’). The former correlates mainly with ‘illegal’, creating a word combination sometimes perceived as derogatory. With the term ‘alien’ a number of profiles are drawn, such as ‘undocumented foreigners’, ‘refugees’, ‘dangerous criminals’, persons who ‘sneak into our country’, and who are/ must be ‘recorded’, ‘tracked’, ‘identified’, and ‘not be hired’ (Figure 31).

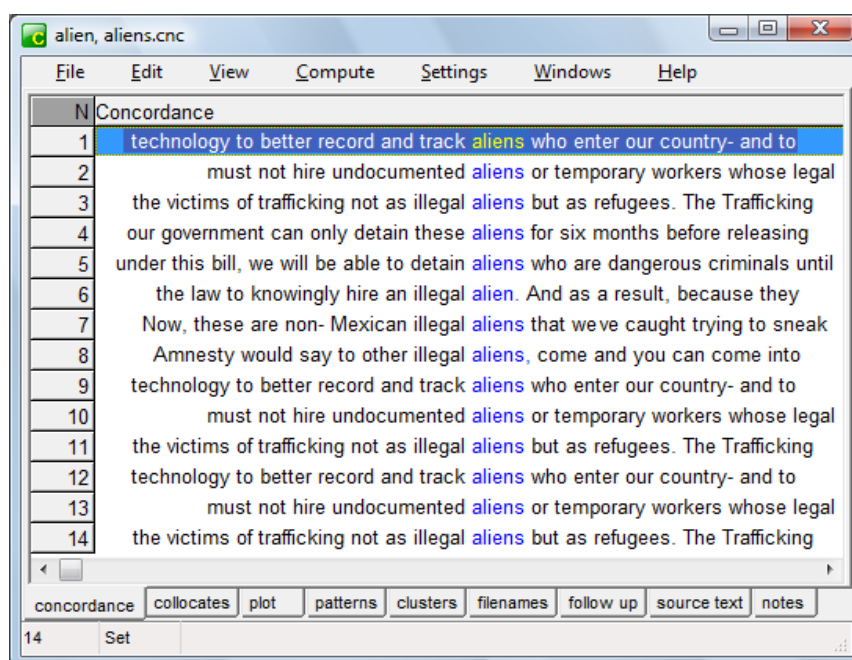


Figure 31. Concordance for ‘aliens’.

The word ‘alien’ has a long tradition of use in the English speaking countries of three continents, namely England and UK, South Africa and U.S.A. In the U.S.A. it was used to undesirable groups and an act was signed by President John Adams, e.g., the Alien Enemies Act of 1798, thanks to which the sense of the word is revealed. Aliens, the immigrants of today, were ‘all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government (...) not actually naturalized’ (section 1). Ever since, the criminal jurisdiction is maintained over unauthorised immigrants, despite the fact that immigration is only a civil offence, and considerable republican pressure is put on legislative organs to rule it a crime.

Its use in the American English of the last decade is especially frequent in fiction and quite representative in academic writing, where it is used in a rich variety of contexts other than immigration (Figure 32).

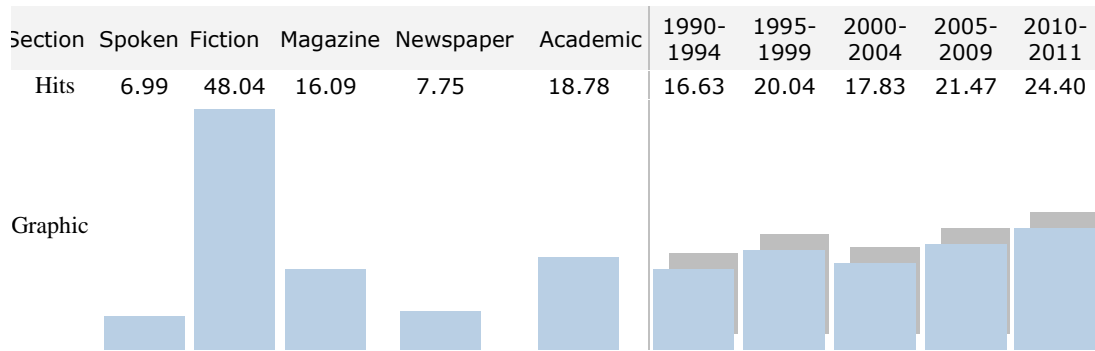


Figure 32. 'Alien' in contemporary American English, per million words.

At the time G.W. Bush was running the presidential race, there is a general tendency in America to use less the word 'alien', a tendency which Bush maintained after winning the election. Coinciding with his second term at the White House, Bush makes a sudden debut in its usage in 2004, only to mention it once in 2005, and moderately but steadfast in 2007 and 2008. The decrease in the use of 'alien' by G.W. Bush is simultaneous with the increment of its presence in spoken and written American English. This pattern of use is comparable, even if slightly above, with that registered during Bill Clinton's terms of office, and a step towards the unprecedented frequency registered with Barack Obama.

In turn, the collective noun 'people' is found to refer to illegal immigrants in the context of border crossing and border enforcement; 'they (try to) cross the border', 'try to sneak in', 'try to come', 'come here illegally'; they are spotted, chased, caught, arrested, turned back, helped to get forged documents in order to work and brought to U.S. illegally, etc. 'People' also refers to illegal immigrants, in interventions with a flavour of debate about future legal provisions, in which case positive other-representation is involved: 'we will treat people with respect', 'people who have been living here', 'immigrants are decent people', as it can be appreciated in Figure 33.



Figure 33. 'Immigrants' in the context of 'people'.

Although a number of unexpected names and categories have emerged in reference to immigrants, no co-occurrence was found with the word ‘person’. This is a possible choice in the system of the English language, in academic writing on theological, social, health and legal issues and less so in spoken language, but it is seldom a choice with immigrants, as COCA informs.

These findings shed light on the way in which immigrants are named and described in the discourses of G.W. Bush. In order to explain their particular or more general uses in American English, at least some of the linguistic information needs to be situated in the larger context provided by a representative corpus. Thanks to the Corpus of Contemporary American English, the task could be completed and results are summed up in Table 8, showing comparative frequencies in BC and COCA.

Word	BUSH	COCA	Spoken	Fiction	Magazine	Newspaper	Academic
Immigrant	20	93.54	10.16	3.71	10.72	22.38	46.57
Immigrants	87.9	191.15	27.32	4.09	22.47	58.71	78.56
Immigration	150	179.44	42.06	3.72	18.34	46.83	68.49

Table 8. Frequencies in the Bush Corpus and COCA, per million words.

In the light of the 400 million words reference corpus, standardized frequencies calculated per million allow a number of very interesting findings. First, the use of ‘immigration’ situates G.W. Bush within the mainstream talk on the matter, with a slight tendency to underscore it - by almost 30 instances, calculated per million words. This data runs against the initial conjecture of scarce reference to immigration, suggested by the scarce use of the term in the discourse headlines.

Further, if he has to address the issue, Bush’s clear preference for immigration - the phenomenon -, followed by immigrants as a group is reversed by what seems to be the case in the English language spoken and written in the United States. The institution he represents and the extensive coverage of the phenomenon over the decades preceding his presidency may have a lot to do with this choice, while arguments *ad hominem* in the talk about contemporary immigration are delicate to approach and potentially daunting for the image of a politician and policy maker.

What calls the attention is the gap between the instances of ‘immigrants’ in the Bush Corpus as compared to the reference corpus, of less than 50%. However, in comparison with the frequency with which immigrants are thus nominalised across each different genre taken individually, G.W. Bush has a win, getting closer to the academic style and further away from fiction. Figure 34 below illustrates graphically the use of explicit nominalisations regarding immigrants and immigration in the Bush Corpus as compared with the Corpus of Contemporary American English:

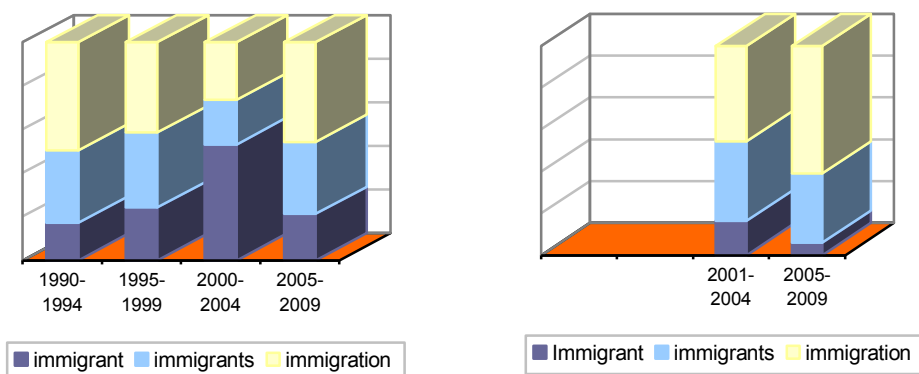


Figure 34. Comparative frequencies in COCA and BC, respectively.

As the comparison between COCA and BC illustrates, the reverse pattern of choice of the latter also holds true with respect to immigrants for the same period of the 2000s. Thus, the general tendency is towards increased usage manifest in the wider American is a direct consequence of G.W. Bush's immigration agenda and institutional reorganisation which he undertook in matters of homeland security.

From a chronological perspective, a tendency is adverted in contemporary American English, at least starting with the 1990s, to the increased use of the word 'immigrant', either as modifier (as the search of the first left context for 'immigrant' in Annex 3 indicates) or head to a noun phrase. In the United States it reaches a climax during the early 2000s, presumably deflated later by the political actuality of the 9/11 events. Again, the disproportion in use by comparison to G.W. Bush deserves attention, but the relatively few compounds it is part of, mainly clustering a noun and a Past Participle, is a feature consistent with his preference for simple vocabulary and the entertainment style of his public addresses.

In so far as collocation patterns are concerned, whether or not the linguistic realisations revealed by the Bush Corpus are common linguistic associations in the U.S. has been tested, again, with the help of COCA. Figure 35 shows the most frequent collocates of immigrants in COCA and BC respectively:

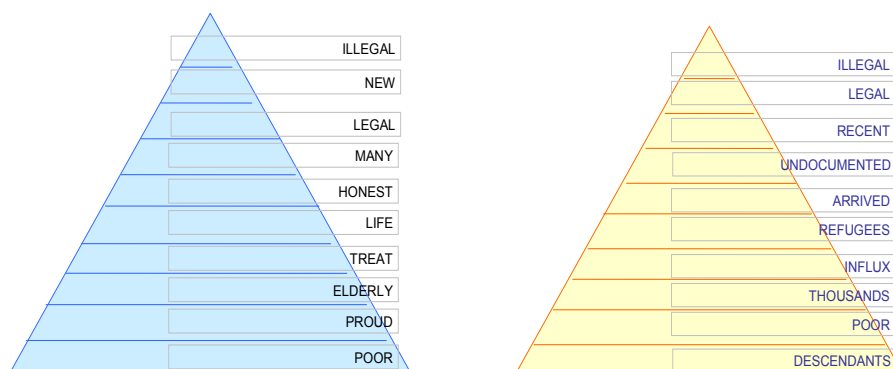


Figure 35. Most frequent contexts for 'immigrant*' in COCA and BC.

The comparative top ten list of collocates features a number of common conceptualisations. One striking reference is to nationality or ethnicity in a selection of past and present immigration, softening the general negative tone used to refer to present-day immigration. Thus, ‘Mexican’, ‘non-Mexican’, ‘Italian’, ‘Slovak’, and ‘Polish’ immigrants are among the most referred to in BC (as Figure 25 shows), while in the larger COCA, the most frequently named are a mix of nationality and geographic areas, ‘Chinese’, ‘Mexican’, ‘European’, ‘Asian’, ‘Italian’ and ‘Irish immigrants’ with a certain redundancy given by the possibility of overlapping of the two: ‘Chinese’ and ‘Asian’, ‘Italian’ or ‘Irish’ and ‘Europe’. As Figure 35 also shows, the two corpora coincide in the legal/ illegal dichotomy construing the issue of immigration, and both situate the ‘illegal’ reference to immigration at the top of the pyramid scale. In addition, they share the ingredients of an account whose relevant quantities (‘many’ vs. ‘influx’, ‘thousands’), closeness in time (‘new’ vs. ‘recent’), generational strata (‘elderly’ vs. ‘descendants’) and economic situation (‘poor’) are major features of the immigrants’ description.

6.2. REFERENTIAL AND PREDICATIONAL STRATEGIES

This section presents the analytical results of those linguistic selections which were found, starting from the lexicalisation patterns argued quantitatively in 7.1, to represent immigrants and immigration. The concordance lines generated for those linguistic selections which more frequently co-occurred with the issue of immigration are considered together with those striking a note in terms of misrepresentation (‘coyote’), underrepresentation (‘worker’) or ambiguous reference (‘millions of hardworking men and women’), all of which have been discussed in the previous section. All concordance lines generated by the signaled words, and those suggested by their most frequent collocates (‘English’, ‘amnesty’, ‘border’) represent the corpus selection to be specifically analysed for predicational strategies, through the transitivity model and the patterns of certainty/ uncertainty.

If the previous sub-section explored with the help of an electronic search tool the quantitative potential of immigrant alterity, this analysis is expected to reveal, by means of the original language stretches in the corpus, how the speaker is involved in the issue of immigration, either when referring to it (through analysis of the Referential/Nominal strategies) or when categorized (Predicational strategies). Drawing on the suggestion made by Reisigl and Wodak to CDA investigators (2001:45), both sets of strategies are to be discussed in mutual company.

6.2.1. Referential strategies

In this section, the main nomination devices will be further analysed and discussed. Thus, the immigrants are marginally mentioned through the use of the personal pronoun ‘they’, in which case it refers to a great variety of persons and groups, except the president

G.W. Bush himself, who makes the reference, and also to inanimate things and concepts related to such as immigration laws or schools:

1. *(When) illegal immigrants are apprehended, they are initially detained.*
2. *When immigrants assimilate, they advance in our society, realize their dreams.*
3. *(...) schools were built by poor immigrants, they were staffed by legions of dedicated nuns, brothers and priests.*
4. *I also ask you to reform our immigration laws so they reflect our values and benefit our economy.*

As the examples provided show, by means of 'they' are named illegal and legal immigrants (1 and 2), institutions built by immigrants (3), but also immigration laws (4). The situations vary from the explanation of the philosophy and benefits in time of the new legislative measure (4 and 2), to the steps taken in its implementation (1) and unauthorised immigrants are taken into custody and detained; not in the least, early immigration enterprising spirit is recorded by means of the personal pronoun 'they' (3), explicitly (poor immigrants) and probably implicitly as well (nuns, monks and priests).

The most obvious direct nominalisations, 'immigrant' and 'immigrants' are involved in positive representations such as past and present affiliation and contribution to America's designs at home and abroad:

5. *He was the son of Mexican immigrants.*
6. *The contributions of immigrants to America continue.*
7. *And those immigrants have brought real strengths.*
8. *The children of immigrants put on their uniforms and help to liberate the lands.*

In a general strategy of positive immigrant representation, they are conceptualised in retrospective (6 and 7) and present contributions to America (8), but also in affiliation (5 and 8). Expressions such as 'the son of Mexican immigrants' and 'the children of immigrants' highlight the concept of equal opportunity in which America prides itself; at the same time, a more critical reading focuses on the offspring of past generations of immigrants being still called 'children of immigrants'. The obvious question arises regarding the number of generations one person needs to represent before she/ he can be named American, in a country where the huge majority are the (grand)sons and daughters of one generation. I argue that the strategy of infantilisation of immigrants suggested by the naming choice, sharply contrasting with the immigrant's role of combatant in the U.S. wars, is part of the strategy of alienation which characterises alterity.

In reference to positive representation or auspices to fill into the good-representation scheme, the larger American collective is also (self-)described in eulogy:

9. *We welcomed the talent and the character and the patriotism of immigrant families.*
10. *As I Texan, I have known many immigrant families, mainly from Mexico.*
11. *And as we go forward, the legislation creates a new system for admitting new immigrants.*

12. It provides new opportunities for immigrants to learn English and embrace the shared ideals that bind us as a nation.

G.W. Bush talks positively about the immigration laws in America with the argument of its historical openness towards new talent and value immigrants, job and talent migration being presently the preferred migration scheme of the U.S. Government. The in-group has ‘welcomed’ virtuous useful immigrants (9) in the past, and it continues to create openings so more profiles may be filled in (11 and 12) according to U.S. demands. Not in the least, in a manifestation of expertise, perhaps even empathy, with the potential to vanish possible allegations of ethnic prejudice, the former president reminds the audience of his familiarity with Mexican immigrants (10).

Another referential resource in the corpus is that realised through toponymy: immigrants are more specifically identified by a number of circumstances in their lives taken to define their identity - place of birth, of stay, or the last residence. Another feature is added to birth origin, a diachronically variable one, that of legality, dividing the U.S. (immigrant) population into legal (those who entered legally and those who entered illegally but managed to obtain a visa) and illegal (those who are not, for different reasons, in the process of being authorised). Both naming choices represent a naming pattern, already noticed in the quantitative analysis of the Bush corpus and illustrated previously in Figure 35.

Through systematic classification, immigrants are described by means of different attributions, which reinforce the greatness of America. Categorised by ethnic/ cultural background (Slovak, Cuban, Jewish, Dutch, Greek, Hispanic, Latin), the immigrants are principally attached roles of contributors to a common national creation, to the extent to which they display qualities retained to describe an idealised American self.

13. Slovak immigrants helped build America and shaped its character.

14. Our nation has been inspired by Greek ideals, and enriched by Greek immigrants.

15. Latino entrepreneurs are starting their own businesses all across America.

16. We will increase the number of Cuban immigrants we welcome every year.

Ethnic provenance is a recurrent feature by which many Americans chose to define themselves and G.W. Bush uses plenty of references to this identity trait to describe immigrants in his discourses. Thus, the ethnicity of legal immigrants is often mentioned, whether with respect to past (13 and 14) or present achievements (15 and 16). Past immigrants are associated with lofty political ideals, i.e., the origins of American democracy (14), valuable assets and pragmatic undertakings, such as wealth and entrepreneurship (14 and 15). While different people are well-appreciated for their skills and suitability, their qualities are construed to reflect on American qualities, such as good character, influence, and pragmatic dynamism, respectively, as these people ‘helped build America’ (13), ‘inspired and enriched [our nation]’ (14) and planted businesses all across America (15). The openness to receive more Cuban immigrants (15) deserves attention, as no Cuban contribution is mentioned, but rather America’s good disposition (‘we are free to do so, and we will, for the good of those who seek freedom’). Situated in geographical proximity, for the last half century Cuba has been for the U.S.A. the last citadel of the Cold War, and the Cuban people have received tokens of consideration in the form of political rights and public appreciation, unlike those coming from other countries in Central

America, which have been the object of tough enforcement, as earlier discussed in section 1.2.

As the degree of detail in the description of immigrants increases, their description can be centred around a category of certain relevance, whether background, status or (non) belonging:

16. *The fellow was a Mexican American – or is a Mexican American. The father came from – the grandfather came from Mexico.*
17. *Mexican Americans have enriched the American experience with contributions to music and dancing and the arts.*
18. *(...) we fly or bus Mexican illegal immigrants all the way back to their homes.*
19. *For illegal immigrants from Mexico, we are working to expand an innovative program called interior repatriation.*
20. *(...) for decades, government detention facilities did not have enough beds for the non-Mexican illegal immigrants caught at the border.*
21. *we're capturing more non-Mexican illegal immigrants than we can send home.*
22. *we can expand the holding capacity for our detention facilities by 10%; this will allow us to hold more non-Mexican illegal immigrants while we process them.*

This tendency is observable in the focus shift from Mexican Americans (16 and 17), to immigrants from Mexico (19) - only once mentioned in the whole corpus -, to Mexican illegal immigrants - also a scarce reference in the text – (18 and 19), to finally a cumulus of references to 'non-Mexican illegal immigrants' (21 and 22), a miscategorising device in terms of personhood and citizenship, also discussed in section 2.2.1. The first category, Americans of Mexican background, are described as contributors in the field of entertainment and more generally arts; for this in-group category, a number of less important features are proven marginal to the actual message about them, namely the success story, which backgrounds other contextual aspects, such as identity vis-à-vis the time of reference (was/ is) or permanence (the father/ the grandfather came), which are hesitantly stated.

The second category, that of Mexican illegal immigrants (18 and 19), are mentioned in the context of immigration regulation namely, detention (generally mixed in with local population convicted for crimes) and deportation system. According to Detention Watch Network, immigrants in detention include families, both undocumented and documented immigrants, people who have been in the U.S. for years, survivors of torture, asylum seekers, pregnant women, children, and seriously ill persons. While it is an opportunity for immigrants who volunteer for repatriation, the system advertised by G.W. Bush denies other detainees the structural possibility to argue their case in a court of law, and constitutes institutional costs in addition to those of detention.

Finally, the third category is presented as a monolithic group (20, 21, 22), where the theme is a number of diversities 'not being something', in this case, not being Mexican (citizens), which are to a certain degree assimilated as tangential to (geographical, federal, economic, demographic) America.

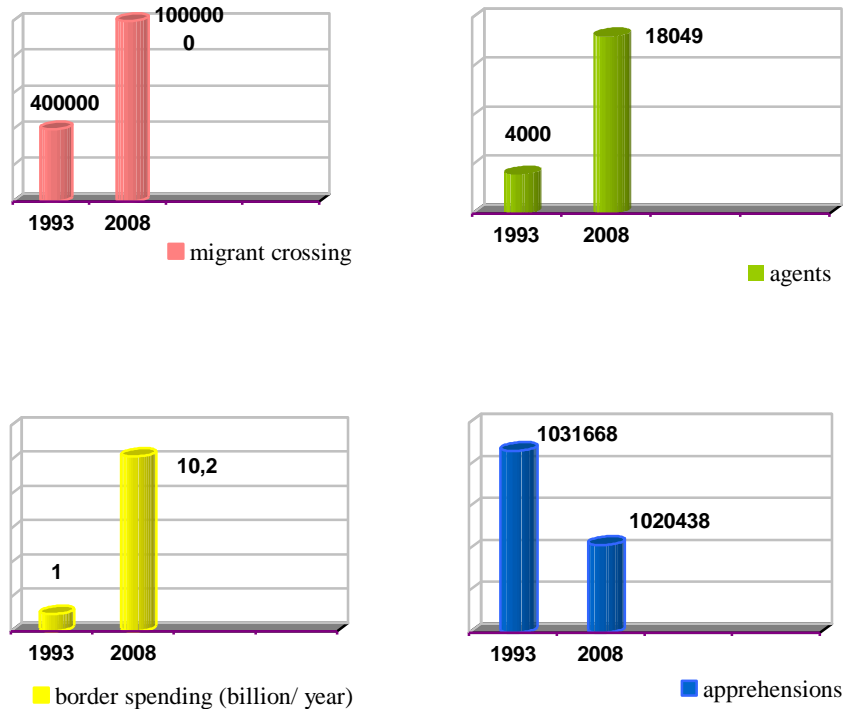


Figure 36. Immigration and spending trends (source: Detention Watch Network).

Figure 36 above shows an increment in immigrant crossing for the related period, followed by a lot more increase in border spending (technology and military staff), in comparison to the number of apprehensions. The gap between the costs of border *militarisation* and the effectiveness in either future prevention or legal prosecution of the offenders illustrates inconsistencies in the legal approach (the violation of immigration laws is not a crime). Under the signalled circumstances, the representation of immigrants as criminals can be safely argued a legitimating strategy that depends on the power to define and control the narrative schemes about immigrant others.

The grading in immigrant representation toward negative values is sensitive to contextual factors: the first naturalisation ceremony in which G.W. Bush assists as a President in 2001, he was referring to immigrants in terms of ‘souls’ and ‘persons’ (22/01/2001), while in his addresses on border enforcement in 2005 (28/ 11/ 2005), descriptions such as ‘criminals’ crossing the border, ‘drug traffickers’ and ‘crooks’ are among the most explicit references to those who do not have a tamper-proof identity card.

Among the many words used to connect immigrants to the idea of (forbidden) territory is that of ‘alien’.

23. (...) in most cases our government can only detain these aliens for six months before releasing them into society.
24. It's against the law to knowingly hire an illegal alien.
25. This month, we have begun using advanced technology to better record and track aliens who enter our country.

Although ‘alien’ is not used extensively, the mental model it evokes is that of a potentially harmful invading population (from out of space), in front of which the official

self – ‘our government’ (23) or ‘we’ (24) – have the authority and responsibility to intervene. About authority in relation to duties and responsibilities, a number of interdictions extend to local population as well, either interdicting them to employ (24) or distribute social aid or recommending other institutions to decline housing, public schooling, health care, etc, for unauthorised immigrants. On the pragmatic side of implementation, carrying on systematic efforts in this direction has resulted unfruitful due to the risks to public image, however, the various attempts to create an irreversible path have succeeded in construing a model of perception and attitude towards unauthorised immigrants only seldom significantly opposed and protested, as was the case with the Chicago protests on March 10, 2006 or those in Arizona, discussed in Chapter One.

The one-sided approach in favour of economic benefits with disregard to the immigrants’ economic and cultural contribution to the American society and wealth represents an ideological scheme whereby human beings, nationals and foreigners, are commodified, viz., granted or denied access to a symbolic wholesale market, with guaranteed costs and benefits. I retain that this is a structural aspect of alterity, construed from a moralistic perception of superiority, first of Americans over foreigners, and ultimately, of power-related institutions over common human beings.

Other de-humanising device used with a certain aspiration to neutrality (worker, talent, etc) are often accompanied by estranging evaluations, such as ‘foreign’, ‘temporary’, ‘undocumented’ or ‘illegal’.

26. Employers must not hire undocumented aliens or temporary workers whose legal status has expired.

27. ...we'll create a tamper-resistant identity card for foreign workers, and a mandatory electronic system for verifying employment eligibility.

28. We've got to reduce the incentives for foreign workers to sneak across the border.

29. ...comprehensive bill is one that addresses the economic needs of our country, and that is a temporary worker program that will match foreign workers with jobs Americans aren't doing.

The previous excerpts reveal a number of resources for negative representation of immigrants. Thus, G.W. Bush may either appeal to redundancy, as termination of visa makes one an ‘undocumented’ or ‘illegal’ alien (26), or adopt the technical expert’s argot to advertise a measure highly sensitive with the American public, were they to be the beneficiary, such as an identification document (27) – a measure which was never taken but which is recurrently the topic in the United States, under different presidents. Also, the link between immigration and economic growth is made explicit, even paramount, in the topic of immigration regulation. I argue that topics such as the spectre of an identity card implemented in the U.S. to prevent unauthorised immigrants to work under false identities (27, 29), or the hierarchy of values with American economy at the top, and foreign workers at the bottom, courtesy of the American workers unwilling to do the respective jobs (29), stand for a particularly self-centred world view framed in utilitarian terms, therefore a lot of discursive energy is spent in finding the most effective strategy of representation, by means of a more general legal argument.

‘People’ is occasionally a choice to refer to immigrants (see Annex 3), even if in one occasion the use is fortuitous (30), due to what appears to be an unproductive pattern which would have required more precise expertise, for which it is immediately remediated.

30. (...) *a problem we're going to solve this year, by the way, of catching people from – non-Mexican illegal immigrants, and just sending them back into society.*
31. (...) *we must remember that the vast majority of illegal immigrants are decent people who work hard, support their families, practice their faith.*
32. *Listen, we got people coming into this country to do the jobs Americans won't do.*

Some of the uses of 'people' in the context of immigration highlight personhood, in which case the immigrants are placed in either a neutral place or in affective zone drawn by the in-group, as the patterns of collocation for 'people' show that it heavily stands for America and its allies. In this case, immigrants are 'decent', 'work hard', 'support their families', 'practice their faith' (31), or do 'jobs Americans won't do' (32).

Not one of the 1452 instances of the word 'persons' make reference to immigrants, although the term is used in other contexts of alterity, such as (potential) terrorism, as is the ad-like illustration of a West Texan patroller doing his raid aided by state-of-art technology equipment and timely access to federal databases (33):

33. (...) *a guy in Crawford pulls somebody over, he's able to call up whether or not the person is on a terrorist list, whether or not the person is a suspect.*
- On several occasions the word used to refer to immigrant-related others are the name of an animal, the coyote:*
34. *A lot of people around the country don't understand what a coyote is, but they're somebody who, for money, will smuggle people into the United States so they can work. [We want to know who is coming in the country, and who is not coming in the country]*
35. *...you ever hear the word coyote? These are these folks that are willing to use human life as a commodity, to make money off of somebody.*

Word of Spanish origins, 'coyote' is used in the context of immigration to describe a person (34) from the perspective of an activity (34) or the philosophy underscoring that activity (35), although it is not clear whether or not the argot term also is or not an immigrant. The obvious negative connotation of carnivore prey animals extended to people comes in contradiction to the description of immigrants in terms of people who come to U.S. in order to work, so it may appear that the malevolence of their acts is measured by making money out of it without being authorised and further tracked, and not in their being criminals³. In a zealous declaration of intentions engaging in what appears a paradox, rather than a plan of global population control, G.W. Bush assures that the government ('we') wants to know both 'who is coming' and 'who is not coming' in U.S.A. (34), which is not a legal concern anymore than it may be an indiscriminate attitude of force.

Other depersonalising devices are concerned with quantity and increase: 'more (than)' (36, 37), 'more' (38), 'further' (39), 'millions (of)' (40, 41), 'the number of' (42, 43), as well as shares and distribution: '85 percent' (44), 'every' (45):

36. *...4.5 million immigrants, including more than 350,000 with criminal records.*
37. *Through the Arizona Border Control Initiative we apprehended more than 600,000 illegal immigrants in Arizona last year.*

³ *The Handbook of Crime Correlates* reveals that a majority of studies in the US have found lower crime rates among immigrants than among local population (Ellis, Beaver and Wright 2009: 8).

38. *Putting more non-Mexican illegal immigrants through 'expedited removal' is crucial to sending back people who have come here illegally.*
39. *Amnesty would be unfair to those who are here lawfully, and it would invite further illegal immigration.*
40. *...a comprehensive reform bill has to address the reality that millions of illegal immigrants are here already.*
41. *...we all agree that it is unacceptable to have millions of illegal immigrants living in our country beyond the reach of law.*
42. *...as a result of this clear message the number of illegal immigrants from Brazil has dropped significantly across the whole region.*
43. *The number of illegal immigrants in our country has continued to grow.*
44. *More than 85 percent of the illegal immigrants we apprehend are from Mexico and most are sent back home within 24 hours.*
45. *...find a practical answer that lies between granting automatic citizenship to every illegal immigrant and deporting every illegal immigrant.*

The use of numbers in the context of immigrants is made possible in the context of immigration reform and law enforcement. This context includes discussion of particular cases such as past or present law offenders (36, 37), people at the margins of society and the reach of law (41), residents or long-time residents (40, 41, 43, 45). The type of intervention required also varies from arrest and immediate deportation (44), to arrest (36, 37, 44), immediate deportation (38, 44, 45), the wrongfulness of amnesty with respect to legal immigrants (39) and the impossibility of one general measure for the unauthorised immigrants already residing in U.S. (39, 40, 45).

A more general reference to immigrants is made when they are approached as a group, beginning with families (46), groups, generations (47), whose presentation varies from positive, e.g.: talent, patriotism, faith (46) to negative, e.g.: disadvantaged, illegal, smuggled (47), and from explicit devaluation, e.g.: criminals, traffickers (48) to implicit criminalization by reiterative nominalisation in the context of gangs, human and drug smuggling, arms trafficking, criminal networks (49), but also illiteracy, cultural impermeability (47).

46. *One of the primary reasons America became a great power in the 20th century is because we welcomed the talent and the character and the patriotism of immigrant families.*
47. *Our public schools have put generations of disadvantaged and generations of immigrants on the path to a better life.*
48. *...the FBI, and Secret Service are working with local and state officials to crack down on criminal networks that are responsible for much of the identity theft.*
49. *...increase the number of immigration enforcement agents and criminal investigators (...) and continue to go after smugglers, gang members, and human traffickers.*

The negative representation of the out-group is found to be in sharp contrast with the positive in-group representation, also in the context of immigration. Thus, while the in-group's identity is construed as an entity with unity/ continuity, e.g.: 'we', 'America',

‘American tradition’, ‘our public schools’ (46, 47, 49) for a positive contribution, the immigrants are represented as parts of a puzzle with attributions or (lack of) qualities, e.g.: talent, character (46), generations (47), networks (48), smugglers, gang members (49). By means of topicalisation, the good deeds or attributes of the immigrants are presented as an example of the in-group positive values or actions. Following the argumentation thread in the example 46, the reader is encouraged to decode the message along evaluations code submitted: America is ‘a great power’, ‘welcoming’, and having high ideals and values such as talent, character and love of country. Even if free talent and voluntary drafting for the army are shortcuts to legal status, the line of reasoning proposed speaks positively only indirectly in favour of the people who possess those qualities, but by the corporate self which absorbed those. One special attention deserves the possible contradiction in the expression ‘the patriotism of immigrants families’, commonly pointing to the devotion to one’s country, because either that country worthy of devotion is not America (in which case the topic is not America’s greatness) or those families are Americans (and therefore why they are perceived primarily as immigrants is a matter of perspective, a choice). Finally, polar in/ out-group representations are exemplified by the pairs ‘our schools’/ ‘generations of disadvantaged and generations of immigrants’ (47), ‘FBI and Secret Service’/ ‘criminal networks’ (48), ‘immigration enforcement agents and criminal investigators’/ ‘smugglers, gang members, and human traffickers’ (49).

Both implicit and explicit references to immigrants are realised by a sum of different linguistic realisations, mainly collective names and their attributions. A more indirect reference to the immigrants is obtained by means of *pars pro toto* synecdoche focusing on the more general phenomenon of illegal immigration.

50. The bill I sign addresses one of the central issues facing all states, but particularly a state like Arizona, and that’s illegal immigration.

51. I understand full well that illegal immigration puts pressure on public schools and hospitals. It strains state and local budgets. In some communities, they increase crime.

Example 50 is a reference to the Secure Fence Act of 2006 signed by G.W. Bush in October 26 which authorised the construction of 1,100 kilometres of border fencing additional to that build between 1994 and 2002 along the U.S.-Mexico border. Several separation barriers had been construed since 1972 at popular crossing points from Mexico to U.S. Border States of California, Texas and Arizona. The implementation of a virtual fence consisting in a system of sensors, cameras and mobile vehicles monitored by Border Patrol Agents determined illegal migrants to re-channel through the 80 km of the desert, Rocky Mountains and Indian reservations of Arizona.

The topic of ‘problem’ eluded by the word choice ‘issues’ (50) is plainly stated on other occasions with a rosary of actions such as ‘pressure’, ‘strain’, ‘increase’, affecting a number of services conceptualised as targets: ‘schools’, ‘hospitals’, ‘budget’ or phenomena, such as ‘crime’ (51). In similar situations, the verbalisation choice focuses on the phenomena and de-emphasises human authors or participants, avoiding thus explicit reprehension. This strategy of representation can be interpreted as a reserve to establish guilt or to reveal it, but it may also attend to the formality the signature of a federal piece of legislation demands and its being enacted in the best interest of the U.S. citizens.

6.2.2. Predicational strategies

This section looks at what attributions are used in the representation of immigrants, starting with the more frequent correlates of the search terms, whether adjectives or entire subordinate clauses which more directly or indirectly evaluate them, to whole narratives, as those provided by metaphors.

The exploration of referential strategies in the representation of immigrants have already informed on similar, different, and even opposed evaluations. They were found to share much linguistic context with terrorists and American people; illegal immigrants were differently conceived of from legal immigrants, immigrants of past generations or more generally immigrants that put their talent and lives in the service of America, and finally, the names used to denote unauthorised immigrants were either construing an argument of legal prosecution and crime, or that of comprehensive immigration reform. On the whole, immigrants are referred to in terms of status, groups, situation in time, utility, cause and consequence.

Initially, the predicational strategies used in the representation of immigrants are informed by the presence of descriptive and possessive adjectives and non-finite verb forms, which also inform first-hand about possible group affiliation.

52. *Decent, hard-working people will now be protected by labor laws (...) and enjoy the same working conditions that the law requires for American worker.*
53. *Our skilled immigration security officers are also going against some of the most dangerous people in our society – smugglers, terrorists, gang members and human traffickers.*
54. *As a nation that values immigration, and depends on immigration, we should have immigration laws that work.*
55. *A temporary worker program would reduce the appeal of human smugglers.*
56. *And that will leave border agents free to chase down drug dealers, human traffickers, and terrorists.*

For instance, (authorised) immigrants are represented as ‘decent’ (52), ‘poor’ (3), ‘hard-working’ (52), etc. In contrast, there is no explicit reference for some predications in the field of violent crime: ‘dangerous’, ‘(human) traffickers’, ‘(human) smugglers’, ‘terrorists’ (53, 54). Contiguous to references to immigration, there are words such as ‘values’ (54), protection ‘by labour laws’, ‘from human smugglers’ (52, 55), enjoyment of the ‘working conditions’ of an American worker (52, 54). Together, they seem to draw a conceptual map for the in-group, based on values, ethics and roles. The idea of a meritocracy in the case of immigrants, suggested by the construction that hard-working people are protected by labour law (52), and arguable in the contrary case, of human smugglers (55), is reductive in that there is the possibility for legal workers to not be decent or hard-working, while illegal workers may be so, and insofar as the decision over how many are authorised to work is rooted not only in personal worth but in market calculations.

In turn, a number of others are described as the opposite of the ideal portrait of the in-group, without further clarifications, therefore the description of the others can be argued inconclusive. One can infer that the persons so described may be immigrants, precisely because such predications occur by opposition with those of the Us group;

moreover, they express blunt negative qualifications, as opposed to the referent group, which present a certain elegance of expression: ‘skilled immigration security officers’ vs. ‘smugglers’, ‘terrorists’ (53), ‘a temporary worker program’ vs. ‘the appeal of human smugglers’ (55), and free ‘border agents’ vs. ‘chase down drug dealers, human traffickers’ (56). What is misleading about the opposition between law enforcement agents and immigration law offenders is the fact that they delay in establishing whether those immigration law offenders are possible (illegal) immigrants, or not. At last, the general neutrality of the causal legal review (‘if authorisation, then protection’, ‘if temporary work program, then no smuggling’) creates a specificity gap between the precise reference to contractual immigration, and the avoidance to denote that which is predicated, in examples of opaque corporate language such as: ‘hard-working people’ (52), ‘some of the most dangerous people in our society’ (53), ‘our skilled immigration security officers’ (53), etc.

The attributes attached to the larger phenomenon of immigration differ in relation to the perspective taken on it:

57. *As a nation that values immigration, and depends on immigration, we should have immigration laws that work and feel us proud.*
58. *Second, new immigration laws should serve the economic needs of our country.*
59. *I ask the Congress to join me in passing new immigration laws that reflect these principles.*
60. *We must make our immigration laws more rational, and more humane.*
61. *And we will employ motion sensors, infrared cameras and unmanned aerial vehicles to prevent illegal crossings.*
62. *And illegal immigration is now supported by criminal enterprises.*
63. *And so I believe there's a rational middle ground between automatic citizenship and a program of mass deportation.*

On the one hand, there are the obvious strategies of positive presentation of an ideal self, reflected in values (57), reason (60, 63), ‘principles’ (59), attitude: ‘compassionate’, humane’ (60), ‘middle ground’ (63), but also in democratic exercise: ‘debate’, ‘we should’ (57, 58) and governance: immigration laws that ‘work and feel us proud’ (57), ‘serve the economic needs of our country’ (58), ‘reflect these principles’ (59), etc. On the other hand, there is the semantics of the outsider: ‘undocumented’ (26), ‘illegal’ (1, 18, 31, etc), and the more metaphorical ‘violators’ (of the law) when the out-group is focalised, creating the profile of an abstract but insidious adversary to which America needs to respond.

G.W. Bush’s conceptual system about immigrants comes to light by means of a number of metaphors, about which Lakoff and Johnson warned us to serve as a guide to past experiences and serve as a future guide for future ones (129, Language, thought and culture). Indeed, immigration is represented by means of very evocative imagery, turned commonplace metaphors due to their overuse in general and in political language especially. They are expected to create social realities which will self-fulfil its own prophecies (ibid, p. 132, Humans as symbolic creatures) in the same way in which illegalisation makes goods, actions and people illegal. These metaphors were found to evoke concepts such as: contest (‘the game’), container (‘homeland’, ‘the door’, ‘country’, ‘the world’), matter in liquid state (‘flow’, ‘waves’), physical force (‘pressure’), , journey (‘the path’), contribution (‘value’), responsibility (‘problem’, intervention) or threat (‘criminality’).

- **Game**

This metaphor is twin to the war metaphor. Both describe confrontation, based on either spiritual/ mental or physical force, following which a hierarchy is decided, with a number of privilege gains and loses. Although there is a margin for factors external to the confrontation to decide the winner – mainly portrayed as destiny or faith -, the game metaphor endorses the concept of contender between parts. It is one of the most pervading metaphors in the western culture, with broad use in education, career, sports, politics, etc, to the point of aborting the impulse to decode the encrypted message.

64. Amnesty would be unfair to those who are here lawfully, to those who have played by the rules.

The game metaphor (64) is suggested by the expression ‘play by the rules’, and it is used to render the idea that legal immigrants must maintain their structural advantages (obtain an official authorization to live and work in the U.S.) over illegal immigrants, who are not allowed to initiate procedures of application once they are in the country, as they compete for the same yearly approved shares and categories. The rule in this case is attend to a discipline imposed by the government of the target country in the form of a law, and the people who conform to the law, can be said to play by the rules. In fact, the appeal to the rule of law with disqualification of illegal migrants obeys G.W. Bush’s strategic move to persuade the opponents of his law reform proposal that he would not maintain the legal provisions and the legal treatment of ‘illegal’ and ‘legal’ immigrants. By contrast, illegal immigrants are people who do not play by the rules, as they violated the U.S. immigration laws for entry or stay in the country, and therefore should be kept outside the law, which paradoxically is a means of subjection to the same immigration laws.

- **Path**

Together with the door metaphor, journey metaphors can be decoded as a spiritual metaphor, as they allude to life as continuous process, and more subtly, as initiation. Both relate to a passage from an innocent state, by which a terminus point (represented by the door) is overpassed, a choice, and a development with the acquisition of a series of values, data (wisdom), possessions, aims which bring in a change in status (experience, privileges, self-improvement, power).

65. I oppose amnesty, placing undocumented workers on the automatic path to citizenship.

66. Over the years, this school has helped open the door for opportunity for hundreds of thousands of immigrants.

In the Judeo-Christian traditions proudly displayed by the American society since the foundation of the American confederation, the path is seen as a personal choice between comfort (the wide path) and superior good (the narrow path) with the embedded morale of having to cope with the consequences of the choice made (Isaiah 35:8, Matthew 7:13). Comfort, in absolute terms, is represented in the above illustration (65) by the ‘automatic path’ – a state of art adaptation of the wide path – which is rejected, to aim for a loftier ideal, that of justice for the civil and the whole society construed around the concept of justice represented here by the law.

In a similar tone, the door metaphor speaks of a new favourable beginning, opportunity, even redemption. The ‘door’ opened in order for the immigrants to reach an opportunity (66) represents a threshold to the values, knowledge, skills, qualification necessary to acquire life-changing status and respect. The school stands for structural advantages offered by the institutions of education in the U.S., which the metaphor brings into focus, at the same time as it ascribes the role of grateful beneficiaries to the students, in this case, to immigrants.

- **Problem**

It has become a classic framework to refer to different categories of others, which entails that a response may follow. It represents an initial condition, argued as adverse, with some kind of intervention usually assumed to be the necessary follow up. Furthermore, problem also implies rupture from ordinariness, and the possibility that proportional response, if enacted, to be self-explanatory and therefore legitimate. The semantic and pragmatic pack assumed by the problem metaphor can be misdirected by a wrong identification of the problem, entailing a possible inadequate intervention, whether unsuitable or unsymmetrical.

67. *You can come on a temporary basis to do a job Americans won't do. So you don't have to sneak across- so you don't have to pay money to a coyote that stuffs you in the back of a truck, so you don't have to burden our borders. [Look, we want our Border Patrol hunting gun smugglers and dope runners].*

68. *[illegal immigration] involves smugglers and gangs that bring crime to our neighbourhoods (...) We're going to protect our borders.*

69. *We're working together to nail the drug traffickers and terrorists and criminal gangs who feed on lawlessness and instability. (...)*

70. *These people are the worst of the worst.*

71. *Illegal immigration is a serious problem- you know it better than anybody. It puts pressure.*

It is only from the meta-narrative of problem, that the new immigrants can be regarded as ‘burden’ (67), ‘pressure’ (71), threat, e.g., ‘coyote’ (67), ‘smugglers’, ‘gangs’, ‘crime’ (68), ‘drug traffickers’, ‘terrorists’, ‘criminal gangs’ (69), ‘the worst of the worst’ (70), in the same way in which the meta-narrative of container is used to describe immigrants either as aliens (legal or illegal) or in development from others, e.g., illegal immigrant from Mexico, to near-self, e.g., Mexican American, as previously illustrated (16 to 22). And only by framing the displaced caravans from conflict areas of Central and South America as a problem can an unauthorised guide be named ‘coyote’, and be considered criminals with no due investigation of facts. The possibility, and indeed, the actual existence of abuses on the passage to U.S.A. does not, however, explain the generalising devices used in the representation of displaced immigrants, in the same way in which the reported cases of racial profiling and violation of immigrants human and civil rights violations in detention centres (International Herald Tribune, 13/12/2008) does not end in criminalisation of Customs and Border Patrol Agents.

As it is delivered, the problem metaphor includes a number of selves and others difficult to identify, unless the problem and the solution are closely examined through their predications. If ‘illegal immigration’ is ‘a serious problem’ (71), it consists, for example, in

the fact that immigrants ('people') 'sneak across', 'pay money to a coyote', possible Americans of immigrants ('coyote') 'stuffs you', and immigrants ('you') 'have to burden our borders'; then, the intervention is the possibility for them to 'come on a temporary basis to do a job Americans won't do' (67). So the problem is presented sympathetically, as a lack of alternative ('have to') whose solution is represented by Bush's proposal of a temporary (non-immigrant, guest-) work program, met with criticism on sum of aspects.

The topic of problem is not reserved to the relation between immigrants and people (country, neighbourhoods) and institutions in, it is also acknowledged about America in the absence of immigrants:

72. ... *we've got a problem here in America, and we aim to solve it together.*
73. *The problem we have in America is that the research and development tax credit expires on an annual basis.*
74. *That's what happens in America. People see a problem and they move.*
75. ...*every threat must be viewed as a potential problem to America. See, September the 11th changed the equation.*

In relation to the in-group '(here in) America', this metaphor unwinds the tale of a community united in the commitment to positive intervention (72), high-order interests, e.g., 'research and development tax credit' (73), 'every threat', 'potential problem' (75) and de-emphasised cause or agency. Thus, the problem exists, e.g., 'we've got' (72), 'we have' (73), is adverted, e.g., 'people see' (74) and approached in a certain manner, e.g., 'must be viewed' (75) by the in-group, but the author or source of the problem is downplayed to a phenomenon, an abstraction, an occurrence.

In contrast, the group represented by means of more concrete predications, and zooming in to the actual individuals, is more generally described by the problem metaphor through a strategy of dividing and prevailing, e.g., naturalised immigrants vs. illegally residing immigrants, previous generations of immigrants vs. more recent immigrants, so that the more appropriate intervention may come from the area of policy and military police.

76. *Granting amnesty would be unfair to those who follow the rules and obey the laws.*
77. *We see millions of hard-working men and women condemned to fear and insecurity in a massive, undocumented economy.*
78. ...*compassionate immigration reform, to bring good, hardworking people out of the shadows of American life.*
79. *Once here, illegal immigrants live in the shadows of our society.*

G.W. Bush was highly criticised for his intent to approach immigration reform from the perspectives of border enforcement and temporary work simultaneously, therefore the topic of amnesty only appears in those situations in which the former president construed why this was not a proper qualification and why he was against it. Examples 76 and 77 illustrate the strategy of positive self-presentation employed in his rejection of 'amnesty', by denying affinity with the negative consequences of a similar legal opening, not for a major legal concern (it would disavow the sanction of 'illegal'), but because it would be wrong for other immigrants in process of authorisation (76) or non-immigrants (77). That

the argumentation seems partial and down-toned, may be in consonance with the fact that this part of the proposed 'intervention', viz., the guest-work plan, has been, once more in the history of immigration regulation, formally rejected. Another side of the problem metaphor is presented when abuse, exploitation and discrimination of illegal immigrants is tackled to send a no-migration warning to potential candidates (79) or to reap support for the immigration reform (78).

In response to the criminal spectrum of the illegal immigration 'problem', the legal enforcement is presented as a responsibility and a necessary solution. The responsibility to legislate is a presidential prerogative and the president is accountable to the American people, so the outcome is not expected to satisfy the immigrants:

80. Catching and deporting illegal immigrants along the border is only part of the responsibility.

81. ...illegal immigrants have a right to relitigate before an immigration court as many times as they want.

82. Congress needs to put an end to this cycle of needless litigation.

The topic of responsibility involves a discursive strategy by which the in-group, in order to maintain the others outside the reach of its structural (and legal) advantages which regulate civil and political aspects of everyday life of the American citizens, undertake creative ways of representing others as structurally (and legally) incompatible or antagonistic. As introduced in the section 3.1.3 of the present work, one of the measures intended by G.W. Bush (and reflected in his discourses) is the plan to end catch-and-release of immigrants caught crossing the border without authorisation. The argued reason for such measure is the cost of processing and detention, as well as the scarce efficiency of this program in relation to the aim of curving migration. Instead, G.W. Bush speaks in favour of a new plan of expedited removal, viz., rapid deportation and interior repatriation for the Mexican citizens.

In above example, underlying the surface problem of illegal immigration lays the problem of previous poor regulation of migration, which are meant to be corrected by new provisions (80). The problem metaphor in the case of illegal immigrants is never approached from the perspective of a human rights problem, such as guest-workers labour servitude, or abuse that of the persistent claims coming from the rows of the fastest-growing incarcerated population in the U.S., viz., reports of violence and abuse while interned in immigration detention centers and state prisons.

Without due public disclosure or, in some cases, a satisfactory resolution of such cases, but decided to put an end to this type of enforcement, the reform proposals of G.W. Bush tries to mend a broken immigration system with careful topicalisation in terms of immigrants' 'right to litigate' (81) while proposing, through the enforcement narrative-frame, that the repeated use of this right would better be put to an end (82).

On the other end of the proposed responsibility line, the solution is presented as forged in the debate between the Democratic and Republican bands of the in-group, to be applied to the out-group. The respective confronting positions are deportation (80), as opposed to amnesty (76), and the likely solution is militarisation of the border, on the one hand and the right, to file for a temporary visa for those immigrants who have spent time living in the U.S., as well as the opportunity provided by an updated temporary worker program, on the other.

- *Container*

Closely related to ‘problem’, we find the ‘container’ metaphor. Immigrants are legal or illegal based on the consciousness of a physical barrier separating two spaces and offering some type of sheltering or protection, whence the concept of membership and community. Linguistic choices such as ‘homeland’, ‘country’, ‘troops’, ‘people’, ‘children’, ‘families’, ‘friends’, etc., delineate a symbolic space made up of relations between people united by common affinities and a common destiny, roughly what is usually designated by the abstract concept of ‘nation’. The post World War II geo-strategic mapping of the world has manifested an increasing tendency to federation and internationalisation in the conceptualisation of ‘container’, at the same time as nation has acquired an official (legal) status. In between what appear as two opposed but overlapping concepts, the issue of legal immigration responds to the political-administrative frame, whereby authorisation situates it within, while illegal immigration matches neither, therefore efforts are directed towards keeping those immigrants outside the physical and/or structural/ institutional container. The discourse on and policy regarding illegal immigration is to be understood the last sense, as intervention toward preservation. As highlighted in the discussion of the ‘problem’ metaphor, three formulae of intervention emerge recurrently in the speeches of G.W. Bush, namely amnesty, deportation and a mediation of the two, described as a ‘rational middle ground’ (63, 85, 88, 89).

83. *Granting amnesty encourages the violation of our laws, and perpetuates illegal immigration.*

84. *I've heard all the rhetoric- you've heard it, too- about how this is amnesty. Amnesty means that you've got to pay a price for having been here illegally, and this bill does that⁴.*

85. *... it is unrealistic to expect the United States of America can deport 11 million people.*

86. *We sent a clear message: When we catch you there will be immediate deportation.*

87. *But this idea of deporting people is just not- it doesn't make any sense to me, and it doesn't make any sense to a lot of people who understand this issue.*

88. *'My plan' is an argument for correctional enforcement followed by the possibility to filing for an immigration visa.*

89. *And so my plan is that if you pay your fine, pay your dues, learn English, you can get at the end of the citizenship line, not ahead of those who are here legally.*

90. *The program I've outlined is not an amnesty program. (...) It is a program that recognizes the contributions that many undocumented workers are now making to our economy.*

Present and future moral damage caused by illegal immigration is overly stated as a responsibility of the government towards American and foreign authorised workers (83)

⁴ The entanglement produced on the issue of amnesty was the object of an explanatory note on the governmental web-site, which indicated that the president is not in favour of amnesty, and therefore his intention was to defend his legislative proposal from accusations of amnesty. He argued his denial with the proposal of a series of penalties and pre-conditions based on which determinate categories of illegal immigrants can apply for legal status.

and the country in general. In order to maintain order and legality, authorities act in the sense of sending ‘a clear message’ (86), proposing measures of ‘correctional enforcement’ (88), such as, ‘pay a price’ (84), ‘pay your dues’ (89) or ‘learn English’ (89). Apart from concrete action in the sense of purging the territory, e.g., ‘immediate deportation’ (86), G.W. Bush offers illegal immigrants ‘my plan’ (88, 89), viz. the prospect of ‘an argument’ (88), ‘a program’ (90), of an alternative to deportation, e.g., ‘the possibility to filing for an immigration visa’ (88), ‘you can get at the end of the citizenship line’ (89).

Amnesty of immigrants is recurrently denied by the president as an intentional solution in his intent to protect the land, mainly due to his concern for the future consequences of the illegal immigrants’ ‘violation of our laws’ on those protected by those laws, viz., the broader American society and ‘those who are here legally’ (89). In empathy with to the persons castigated by the law, for once represented in a positive light (90), the president deals on the pedagogical implication of the more sensitive type of enforcement, viz., deportation of ‘(11 million) people’ (87, 88), thus re-enforcing the idea of legitimation and expertise, with the exception in which he turns out a troubled interpreter of his view on amnesty (84).

Also in connection to the ‘problem’, but also to the ‘container’ metaphor, emerge ‘legal’ metaphors. The law metaphor may be less obvious to the untrained eye, but if G.W. Bush says that he has outlines a program (90), he uses a visual metaphor to say that specialists have elaborated the draft of a legal proposition; ‘the shadows of our society’ is another modal metaphor evoking visual experience used to elicit a positive reaction to the otherwise negative referent of a category of people outside the protection of the law but at the same time prosecutable by it. I suggest that there is a predominance of visual metaphors in the speeches of G.W. Bush, e.g., ‘cycle of needless litigation’ (82), people ‘see a problem’ (74), ‘threat must be viewed’ (75), laws that ‘reflect these principles’ (59), but also aural metaphors, such as ‘the law requires’ (52), ‘the bill addresses’ (50), ‘we welcome the talent’ (46), ‘find a practical answer’ (45), etc. However, this reliance on visual and more generally on modal metaphors does not represent a particularity of the discourse of Bush, as these metaphors have long been said to have a central role in American thought and legal reasoning.

Law enforcement being the solution counterpart of the problem metaphor, and the phenomenon being the most extensive topic, in the discursive representation of immigrants, it is also, despite the concealing potential of the above discussed metaphors, the carrier of the most part of criminalisation devices, especially so those relating to the ‘intervention’ aspect of border enforcement.

91. (...) *we've got to enforce the border, basic duty of a sovereign nation.*
92. *it will require that strong border security and enforcement benchmarks are met before other elements of the legislation are implemented.*
93. *...comprehensive immigration reform also requires us to improve enforcement of our laws in the interior of the country.*
94. *We are no longer emphasizing only the investigation of past crimes, but also the prevention of future attacks. Because we passed the Patriot Act, FBI agents can better conduct electronic surveillance and wiretaps on suspected terrorists.*
95. *we've hired more immigration agents, gone after criminal gangs, and targeted smugglers and coyotes who traffic in human beings.*

Border enforcement is used as a sub-topic in the law enforcement theme, whose model of argumentation is cloned after the 9/11 event to re-design a broader enforcement topic, that of 'global war'. The rationale of the global war topic, in which G.W. Bush includes immigration, tax evading trade and (suspected) terrorism, is construed on the 'apocalypse' metaphor, with New York and more generally USA as scenario and symbol of political and spiritual redemption. This metaphor feeds on a double and interconnected derivation, the Aristotelian and that of the New Testament.

In analogy to the New Testament account of apocalypse, the inner conflict of identity between traditional messianic Jews and converted Jews, the rejection of the gentile's (especially Greco-Roman) cultural surroundings, the economic and social implications of estrangement from the right doctrine, and finally, the topic of Roman power threat associated with the throne of Satan (chapters 12 and 13 of the Book of Apocalypse) are redimensioned to fit into the American doctrine of exceptionalism, more specifically in topics such as the inside and the outside enemy, the refutation of other cultures (or the most challenging parts of them), or the topic of control, conceptualised in terms of ethics and financial visibility (for the U.S. Government), together with their semantic counterparts.

According to Greek tragedy, Bush's account of the war on terror brings in the emotions of fear and resentment. Drawing in its turn on the medical metaphor of catharsis, understood as the painful removal of alien matter from the body, the apocalypse metaphor implies a crisis of universal dimensions should be provoked, followed by the restoration of the system to its normal state. I propose that in the world-view suggested by the discourses of G.W. Bush, immigrants act as intensifiers of a multi-level crisis, overlapping other categories of mischievous alien bodies threatening a system intended as stable and perpetuating, with constituents such as national identity, sovereignty, the rule of law, and redemption.

The use of metaphors to represent immigrants, but above all, to address immigration, use in subtle ways the world view of an elect ideology which alternates representations of power with the suggestion of a scenery of disintegration and the mimicry of an apocalyptic consciousness. The use of metaphor enhances the perception, once the phenomenon is assumed, that what really matters about others is not the vision of some neutral observer of facts (or their evaluation), but rather the perception of a critical environment, moment in time, or experience, acute enough to produce an apocalyptic response. In absence of metaphors to allow the absorption of pre-designed interpretations, similar informational content would be open to scrutiny and revelation, with huge consequence of accountability, especially in high-level political life.

On the whole, in the referential patterns immigrants are not a particularly frequent word in the corpus, and its correlation with what could have appeared as an in- and out-group indicators 'we' and 'they', respectively, have produced results which contradict simple intuition. The immigrants of the past are involved in positive representation, bridging the out-group and the larger in-group of American citizens, the positive immigrant-representation being often used as a pretext for self-eulogy. Their description is centred in a number of personal features such as birthplace, country of origin, legal status, activity profile, enculturation, and on a very personal note, non-ethnicity.

The switch to negative prosody occurs both when generalising terms are used ('aliens', 'entries', 'workers'), but also when the larger category of immigrants is explored with a greater degree of ethnic detail ('from Mexico', 'non Mexican'). Describing immigrants in a less explicit manner contributes to a negative representation. Thus, they

are frequently associated with superlative criminal activity at the border and in the home territory, without making the relation explicit or giving information to disambiguate criminals from immigrants (‘coyote’, ‘heartless human smugglers’).

The collocation pattern featured by different nominal choices have revealed a similar predicational mapping. Immigrants are represented in a positive light, while aliens trigger altering descriptions (some of the most dangerous people in our society, supported by criminal enterprises).

The resort to metaphors not only involves making the desired predications about immigrants, but they attach whole scenarios, whereby models of interpretation and even evaluations are made available; while personal ways of making sense of the message are not proscribed, metaphors subtly deliver preferred interpretations which gratify the meanings enforced by political practice . Some of the more evident metaphors used in the representation of the immigrants include the wave, the game, the path, the problem/solution prediction sub-summing the topics of debate, responsibility, law enforcement (amnesty and deportation) and global policy (commerce, immigration, terrorism), but also, on the in-group side, those of sovereignty, law, border patrol and funding.

6.3. ON MODALITY

In the section dedicated to the qualitative potential of the Bush corpus for the issue under research here, a brief presentation was made of the patterns of certainty and uncertainty, more specifically the use of modal verbs. In the present section a correlation is made with the presence of ‘immigrant’. A closer look at the instances of each modal category will bring evidence for a qualitative study of related immigrant alterity.

The methodology employed consists in presenting for each modal verb searched for a detailed account of their occurrences, in terms of reference, transitivity, clustering features and the relation to immigration, which were duly exemplified.

Modal verb	Affirmative	Negative	Total	Indication
Can	12096	2916	15012	Ability/capacity Permission Possibility
Could	1801	456	2257	
(Be) able to	2358	18	2376	
	16255	3390	19645	

Table 9. Presence of ‘can’, ‘could’ ,‘be able to’ in the corpus.

1. Reference: among the subjects of the main verb are ‘we’, ‘you’, ‘they’, ‘people’, ‘he’, ‘child’ and ‘America’.
2. Transitivity: these modal verbs are involved in predominantly existential (‘be’), followed closely by material (‘run’) and mental (‘think’) processes.

3. Clustering features at the top of the list ‘so they can’ (530 occurrences), ‘that we can’ (368), ‘so we can’ (347) and ‘every child can’ (315).

4. Immigration: in this context ability refers to controlling the border (the lack thereof), religious identity and criminal activities, e.g.,

Our immigration system cannot function if we cannot control the border. (March 1, 2006)

The problem is that these illegal immigrants are able to connect with another smuggler or coyote and come right back in. (October 22, 2005)

In general, the discourses of G.W. Bush represent immigrants or immigration as concern, problem, and also theme or target of some debate and object of regulation. Only six of the 45 correlations with ‘immigra*’ feature immigrants as subjects for the actions or states described by the main verb, in relational and verbal processes in which the modal verbs describe possibility and future probability given or caused by an authority, e.g., ‘you can have your hearing’, ‘many immigrants can testify’, ‘every immigrant can be fully and equally American’, etc. Twice, capability with future projection is featured by immigrants in the context of the unauthorized border crossing problem.

Modal verb	Affirmative	Negative	Total	Indication
May Might	1897	182	2079	Possibility
	1058	67	1125	Permission
	2955	249	3204	Commands Request

Table 10. Presence of ‘may’ and ‘might’ in the corpus.

1. Reference: among the subjects of the main verb are ‘God’, ‘you’, ‘it’, ‘they’, ‘we’, ‘America’, ‘country’ and ‘people’.
2. Transitivity: these modal verbs are involved in predominantly existential (‘be’, ‘exist’), followed closely by material (‘come’) and mental processes (‘remember’).
3. Clustering features at the top 16 of the list the invocation of God’s blessings: ‘may God bless’ (795 occurrences), ‘God bless you’ (521), etc.
4. Immigration: there are very few coincidences of ‘may’ or ‘might’ in this context, expressing possible ability, in relation to border surveillance and school testing, respectively, e.g.,

In Tucson, agents on the ground are directing unmanned aerial technology in the sky, and they're acting rapidly on illegal immigration or illegal activities they may see from the drones. (May 28, 2005)

I think it's racist not to test, because oftentimes in our school districts, those who are most easy to shuffle through are those who live in the inner cities or whose parents may not speak English as a first language. (February 21, 2001)

Modal verb	Affirmative	Negative	Total	Indication
Must Have to	5587	215	5802	Obligation Necessity Command Deductions
	1489	350	1839	
	7076	565	7641	

Table 11. Presence of ‘must’ and ‘have to’ in the corpus.

1. Reference: among the subjects of the main verb are ‘you’, ‘it’, ‘we’ (in the context of ‘have to’), and besides these, ‘I’ ‘they’, ‘citizens’ (‘not have to’), ‘America’, ‘president’, ‘they’, ‘[federal government] government’ (‘must’ and ‘must not’).
2. Transitivity: these modal verbs are involved in predominantly existential (‘be’), material (‘take’, ‘work’, ‘allow’), behavioural (‘fear’, ‘worry’) and mental processes (‘understand’, ‘forget’, ‘choose’).
3. Clustering patterns include ‘we must’, ‘a president must’, ‘we must never forget’, ‘follow the path’, ‘a political speech’, ‘my opponent made’, ‘we do not have to’, ‘face them here [at home]’, ‘terrorists overseas’ etc.
4. Immigration: the presence of ‘must’ in this specific context is more frequent in comparison to other modal verbs, however, pattern of those assertions still feature the in-group expressing obligation and plan to enforce immigration laws or addresses specific aspects of those, e.g.,

... comprehensive immigration reform must strengthen the enforcement of our laws (April 8, 2006)

In this new century we must continue to welcome legal immigrants (November 28, 2005)

Those (...) have complied with our immigration laws, will not have to pay any fee (January 7, 2004)

There must be strong workplace enforcement with tough penalties (idem)

Modal verb	Affirmative	Negative	Total	Indication
Will	22015	1698	23713	Future events Offer/ command Suggestion/ request

Table 12. Presence of ‘will’ in the corpus.

1. Reference: the most frequent subjects of the main verb are ‘we’, ‘I’, ‘it’, ‘they’, ‘America’, ‘Iraq’ and ‘world’ (the affirmative forms) adding ‘this’, ‘seniors’,

‘Americans’, ‘nation’, ‘country’ and ‘terrorists’ in the case of the negative form ‘will not/ won’t’.

2. Transitivity: this verb is involved in predominantly material processes, both in the affirmative form: ‘help’, ‘make’, ‘work’, ‘keep’, ‘defend’ and the negative: ‘happen’, ‘change’, ‘get’, ‘tolerate’; the latter form also takes part in a number of mental processes such as ‘forget’, ‘teach’ or ‘see’.

3. Clustering patterns include ‘we will continue to’, ‘[the world will] drift toward tragedy’, ‘the Middle East’, ‘the American people’, ‘our troops will’ ‘the war on terror’, for the affirmative form and ‘this will not happen [on my watch]’, ‘seniors will not get’, ‘[we] will not tolerate dishonesty’, ‘we will not relent’, ‘will not be intimidated’, etc.

4. Immigration: this modal verb is heavily present in relation to the enforcement of the immigration law, and somewhat less in the case of the immigrants proper, as captured below:

The poor and immigrants of this city will always remember their staunch friend who defended their interests. (July 10, 2001)

When illegal immigrants know they will be caught and sent home, they will be less likely to break the rules and our immigration system will be more orderly and secure. (March 25, 2006)

We'll give them [material witnesses] a chance to participate in the war against terror by telling us what they know. We will apply the immigration laws. (November 30, 2001)

Modal verb	Affirmative	Negative	Total	Indication
Would	5188	406	5594	Future Habit Preference Offer/ command Suggestion/ request

Table 13. Presence of ‘would’ in the corpus.

1. Reference: among the subjects of the main verb are ‘I’, ‘it’, ‘we’, ‘they’, ‘plan’, ‘people’, ‘you’ and ‘America’ in the case of the affirmative forms. An alteration can be noted in the case of the negative form, which takes primarily ‘they’ as a subject, followed by ‘I’, ‘he’, ‘it’ and ‘we’.

2. Transitivity: this verb is involved in predominantly mental and material processes, more in the affirmative form: ‘behold’, ‘like’, ‘see’, ‘do’, ‘call’, ‘pay’, while the negative form features primarily material processes: ‘pay’, ‘get’, ‘let’, ‘strike’, ‘act’, ‘create’ etc.

3. Clustering patterns include ‘that would be’, ‘[I would] uphold the honor’, ‘I would call’, ‘on a government’, ‘would be irresponsible [to vote against]’, ‘to be loved’, ‘a

tax gap’, etc. Among the most common associations of words for the negative form of the verb are: ‘heart surgery but [wouldn’t pay]’, ‘weapons of mass destruction’, ‘young girls go’, ‘toe the line’, ‘Kennedy would not support’, etc.

4. Immigration: there are relatively few instances of ‘would’ in the context of the search option ‘immigra*’, and presumably other search words may also occur, in less explicit lexicalisations, in the context of immigrants. The negative form generates few concordances, mostly expressing possible developments in the future, mostly involving the phenomenon, and exceptionally three instances relating to the people and on the side of receivers of the enforcement actions, e.g.,

I oppose amnesty, because it would encourage further illegal immigration. (January 31, 2006)

A temporary worker program (...) would give an honest immigrant a chance to contribute to our economy. (June 1, 2006)

... this decision obviously would encourage illegal immigrants who have been deported to sneak back into the country. November 28, 2005

Modal verb	Affirmative	Negative	Total	Indication
Shall	52	4	56	Future Suggestion/ offer Command

Table 14. Presence of ‘shall’ in the corpus.

1. Reference: the protagonists of the process in which this modal verb is involved are ‘we’, ‘senator’, ‘chairman’, and ‘they’, ‘the darkness’, and ‘whoever believes in Him’ in the case of the negative form.

2. Transitivity: this verb is involved primarily in existential processes (‘be no more’, ‘perish’), but also in material (‘keep’, ‘be charged’, ‘return’), verbal (‘say’, ‘call’), and mental ones (‘be known’, ‘be forgotten’). The presence of passive construction is to be noted, which can be related to the prophetic tone or poetic language used in these constructions.

3. Clusters of ‘shall’ are few, among these can be found expressions such as ‘shall we say’, ‘the Senator shall’, ‘Chairman you shall’, ‘credit shall be’, ‘[full] faith and credit’, ‘a straight face’, and ‘shall not perish’.

4. Immigration: this modal verb does not occur in the context of this modal verb.

Modal verb	Affirmative	Negative	Total	Indication
Should	2360	409	2769	Suggestion Necessity Obligation Deduction

Table 15. Presence of 'should' in the corpus.

1. Reference: the most frequent subjects of the main verb are 'we', 'government', 'it', 'America', 'you', 'Congress', 'people', 'nation', 'states' and 'taxes' and in the case of the negative form 'shall not', 'they', 'rulers', 'lawyers' and 'owners' complete the gallery of doers and sensors.

2. Transitivity: material processes dominate the transitivity system, both in the affirmative occurrences of this modal verb: 'help', 'stay', 'fight', 'pass' and negative: 'discriminate', 'change', 'tax', 'use' etc., although verbal processes are occasionally present: 'say', 'respond', 'dictate', as well as behavioural processes: 'fear'.

3. Clustering patterns include, 'if you believe', 'America should lead/ fight', 'strength and purpose, 'United States/ the Government should', 'war on terror', 'nation should honor' for the affirmative forms and 'we/ Government/ people shouldn't fear', 'discriminate against', 'the American people', 'faith-based programs', 'be taxed twice', etc.

4. Immigration: very few occurrences of this modal verb in the context of the 'immigra*' search. Among the nineteen instances found, most of them focusing on policy, debate, the bill and the phenomenon at large, in terms of obligation and deduction. As few as three refer to the human collective of migrants, in which case, it is involved in their positive representation, e.g., 'help sustain our economy', 'have shaped America's identity', reflecting back into positive in-group representation, e.g., 'a nation that values immigration and depends on immigration'

They should not be given an automatic path to citizenship. (May 15, 2006)

Second, new immigration laws should serve the economic needs of our country. (January 8, 2004)

A good immigration bill should enhance our ability to stop document fraud and help employers comply with our laws. (Apr 8, 2006)

Modal verb	Affirmative	Negative	Total	Indication
Ought to	1728	40	1768	Imperative Obligation

Table 16. Presence of 'ought to' in the corpus.

1. Reference: who find themselves under explicit and irremovable obligation are especially ‘we’ and ‘you’, but also ‘workers’, ‘country’, ‘they’, ‘the Government’, ‘people’, ‘businesses’, ‘the Congress’, ‘taxes’, ‘everybody’.
2. Transitivity: ‘ought to’ accompanies material processes: ‘get’, ‘put’, ‘make’, ‘help’; both the positive and the negative form are involved in mental processes: ‘trust’, ‘focus’ and ‘fear’, ‘be afraid’, ‘be fearful’ respectively.
3. Clustering patterns include, ‘younger workers ought to [be allowed]’, ‘tax code ought to encourage’, ‘encourage marriage [not penalize]’, ‘think/ believe we ought to’, ‘the Federal Government’ and ‘we ought not to be afraid/ fear [faith-based programs]’, respectively for the affirmative and negative forms.
4. Immigration: one single instance of ‘ought to’ is found in the context of ‘immigration’, in a rallying phrase about the phenomenon: ‘If you dislike the status quo on immigration, then you ought to be supporting a comprehensive approach to making sure the system works’ (June 26, 2007). The conditional construction consists in a face-preservation condition about a consensual issue, i.e., the need for efficient regulation, presented as a matter of free will, and a statement of intent regarding the effectiveness of G.W. Bush’s proposition, delivered to the audience in terms of imperative material (possibly symbolic mental) participation.

The modal verbs found in the discourses of G.W. Bush has revealed the predominance of the dynamic modality (‘will’ and ‘can’, the latter especially in the affirmative), with a high profile of volition in the affirmative forms and of ability in the negative, expressing prohibition or de-authorisation. Grouped by their mood indication, and leaving aside ‘shall’, whose use is statistically irrelevant and stylistically reserved to prophetic or biblical language, modal verbs indicating ability, possibility and less so permission are outnumbered by those which fall in the category of obligation, necessity, and imperative.

The link between immigration and mood has been tested using ‘immigrant/ immigration’ as a context word, omitting other linguistic realisations denoting immigrants. It is thus that its findings are informing and valid within the parameters of the search and therefore these results serve for generalizing affirmations about immigrant alterity. Nevertheless, it can be argued that there is a positive correlation between modality and immigrant alterity, especially in the area of futurity, offer/ command or suggestion/ request and capacity/ ability/ permission, viz. with those modal verbs that feature overall higher frequency in the whole corpus.

At the opposite end of the frequency list stand those modal verbs expressing epistemic modality in contexts of tentative propositions, in other words, the speaker shows little uncertainty about what he expresses, or subtlety in the judgment of certainty and probability. Figure 37 below illustrates the correlations, whether positive or negative, shown by the comparison with modal verbs in the larger corpus and in relation with the search words.

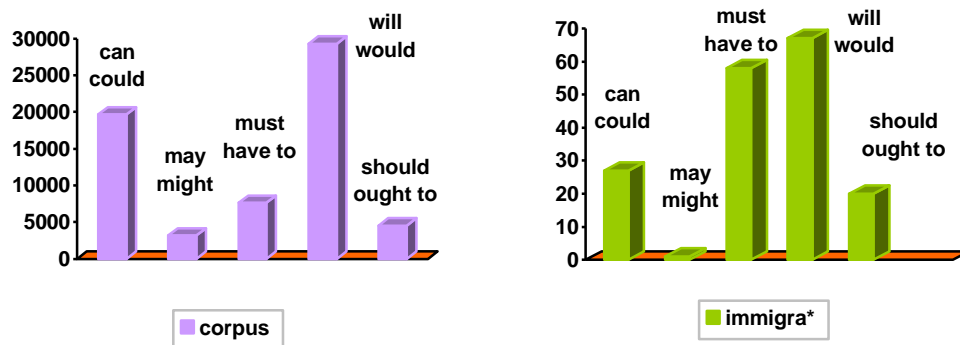


Figure 37. Modal verbs in the corpus and in relation to 'immigra*'.

The graphs show positive correlation between the modals expressing command, request, obligation and deductions and the search term 'immigra*'. Furthermore, a comparison with the use of these verbs in the whole corpus, allow the conclusion to be formulated that external obligation, imperativeness and futurity cover more relevance in the context of immigration, while formulations of possibility, permission and the expression of doubt and polite requests are even less appealed to in comparison to other referents or contexts.

The context in which modal auxiliaries are associated with the immigrants, presents them:

- in the middle of a struggle for the right to file for citizenship, e.g., ... I do think makes sense is that a person ought to be allowed to get in line,
- with a will to behave in an undesired manner, e.g., The fact that people are willing to take those risks puts enormous pressure on our border...,
- object of political debate and financing aiming at disposing of them, e.g., ...it's done [the Congress] a good job of providing additional money for bed space and money to make sure that we can send people back home,
- short of complying with a requisite, e.g., You've got to learn the English language,
- balancing beneficial effects on the immigrants with the authority of the federal law, e.g., Amnesty would reward those who have broken the laws of the United States.

The modal use in relation to the immigration can be safely interpreted in an experiential, not just interpersonal sense, more specifically, to the lack of power it can be summed up the discrimination resulting from the urge to work and contribute to the American society ('should', 'must', 'ought to') as opposed to the (moral, legal) refutation ('should not be given', 'will be caught and sent').

6.3. THE TRANSITIVITY SYSTEM

In the light of the general corpus exploration in chapter six a selection was realised of a number of patterns more or less specifically related to the immigrants, whose choice and procedure was earlier presented in sections 1 and 2 of this chapter. It is the aim of the present section to introduce the results of the analysis of the transitivity model, following Halliday and Mathiessen (2004), more specifically by describing and commenting on the process types and the functional roles involved in the talk about the immigrants.

One of the difficulties encountered in the interpretation of process types was the colloquial style used by G.W. Bush in his discourses. At the risk of contaminating the original linguistic sequence, occasionally, a ‘reparatory’ process based on idiomatic recognition was necessary in order to decide on which formulation to route the process analysis. Here is an example:

In other words, when people know | there's a consequence to trying to sneak across, | there's less likely to be people sneaking across.

In this case, the last part of the sentence, apparently an existential process, expresses probability about a material process, as in ‘people are less likely to be sneaking across’, which does not alter the general meaning or the process configuration of the expression, but de-focalises the action in favour of agency. The mental process of ‘knowing’ sensed by a general nomination ‘people’, referring here specifically to those immigrants who try to enter the U.S. territory without authorisation, refers to a prospective truth (the assertion takes place as part of the larger debate on immigration reform). However, what common political and cultural knowledge recognizes as one country’s obvious right to construe its boundaries (‘there’s a consequence’, ‘nation of laws’), is subtly delivered as the condition part of a larger conditional structure marked by the probability (‘likely to’) of perpetration (‘sneak across’). G.W. Bush might be trying to seem undistorted by emotions or the events taking place at the border, but at the same time the indirectness of his assertion avoids sounding soldierly. Thus, what could get across as warning (the embedded message insinuates that there will be punishment in response to some acts), is construed as hope in self-censorship (such as, when they know the truth, they will – probably – stop doing that). The construction allows immigrants to be protagonists of a circumstance of enforcement, while they are actually the frustrated beneficiaries of a type of enforcement which is newly presented as future solution to the inefficiency of previous policies.

The decision whether a given nominal choice introducing a process was or not a reference to the immigrants was sometimes taken with a view to the context. It is often the case with ‘they’, ‘people’, and the related possessive adjectives which are used to denote both immigration officers and immigrants:

We're asking people to go down there and do their (i) job, and they (ii) find somebody from Central America sneaking in and they (iii) say, check back in with us in 45 days, come and see your (iv) immigration guy down there. And they (v) weren't checking back in after 45 days. They (vi) were coming to work, see. They (vii) wanted to put food on the table for their (viii) families, and they (ix) weren't interested in checking back in.

In the above sample, one can easily identify in-group representation in the cases of the words noted (i), (ii) and (iii). Starting from (iv), there’s a shift in reference to out-group, construed as a possession of the immigrants’ (‘your immigration guy’), followed by all the rest. In contrast with the overall negative representation of more present-day

immigrants argued in the sections 1 and 2 of the present chapter, sometimes a more compassionate, in-group-like picture is drawn of the immigrants, without explicitly naming them, but rather intertwining references with those to the in-group. As the fragment above illustrates, from (iv) to (ix), the words ‘they and ‘their’ predicate of a fugitive’s life (v), strong family values (vii) and (viii), as well as of personal achievement though work (vi).

Other times, the meaning of the verb depends on the grammatical values one understands to give it, so the referent (and the designator of the positive evaluation) is not clear based on semantic processing, e.g., ‘People have learnt to assimilate’. Since the verb ‘assimilate’ may be either transitive (as in assimilate immigrants) or intransitive (immigrant assimilate), in active or passive voice (be assimilated), certain familiarity with the arguments used about immigration and with the language style of G.W. Bush being satisfied, one still needs to make a decision based on the linguistic context in order to assume that the referent of ‘people’ actually is the protagonists of past immigration. The process count in the immigrant sub-corpus has produced the results illustrated in Table 17.

Process type	Occurrences	%	Participants
MATERIAL	858	54.3	1271
RELATIONAL	270	17	333
MENTAL	204	12.9	217
VERBAL	171	10.8	79
EXISTENTIAL	76	4.8	44
BEHAVIOURAL	3	0.2	3
TOTAL	1580	100	1961

Table 17. Process types involved in immigrant representation.

A total number of 1580 processes have been found to be involved in the depiction of the immigrants to U.S. The most relevant are material, relational and mental processes, which set the tone for their representation in terms of doing, establishing relations and identities and thinking. Verbal processes are also numerically representative and to a lesser degree so the existential processes. The proportion of processes describing psychological and physiological re (actions) to external stimuli appears irrelevant in the representation of immigrants. Another finding related to these processes is the high degree of inter-relation between them, which confirms the initial hypothesis of an elaborated and often times transgressive syntax, with abundant coordination, subordination and sub-subordination. Thus, finite and non-finite forms, including elements of modality, combine to construe the meaning of the numerous structures they form.

The processes chosen by G.W. Bush to realise statements about the immigrants involves a particular configuration of roles assigned to them. A total number of 1961 participants were found in the corpus, of which those relating to material processes were again the most numerous. As it can be appreciated in the chart above, the participant configuration parallels that of the process types, with a slight tendency to augment the number of participants of the numerically relevant processes and, on the contrary, to lower

the number of participants for the least relevant processes in the representation of the immigrants.

Given the high number of verbal processes to be analysed, the transitivity system has been scrutinised mainly from the perspectives of the process types and participant roles, circumstances being also discussed to give a more thorough account of the experiences or interactions involving immigrants. Given the extensive pattern of embeddedness and subordination revealed by the grammatical analysis, these shall be discussed and exemplified in the description of each process type. I reason the choice of including non-finite forms in the present account of patterns of meaning based on two interrelated findings:

- the abundance of cohesive devices in the text, more specifically the relevance for the present study of paratactic devices, whereby dissimilar characters such as terrorists and immigrants are juxtaposed without a logical connection., but inviting the reader/ listener to draw on the most obvious implications; and
- the requisite of systematicity underlying the functional paradigm, which implies looking for meanings (also) beyond the syntactic level of description, without other priorities than those presented by the linguistic material.

Below is presented the analysis of the process types, followed by the respective roles attributed to immigrants. The transcript acknowledges the difference between process-proper and mere realisations, by representing the finite forms in full capital letters (e.g., 'MAT' for Material Process, 'MNT' for Mental Process, 'REL' for Relational Process, 'VB' for Verbal Process, 'EXT' for Existential Process) and the non-finite in small letter (e.g., 'mat' for Material realisation, 'mnt' for Mental realisation, 'rel' for Relational realisation, 'vb' for Verbal realisation, and 'ext' for Existential realisation). Also, the transcript illustrates the elaborate coordination or embedding of processes featured by the text, by means of square and round brackets (e.g., EXT (mat) means existence of a material process, e.g., 'There are people waiting'.)

A. The material processes are the most numerous. Of the total number of processes involved in the representation of the immigrants, almost every other two is a material process. Material processes depict the immigrants as cognizant authors of other processes through a dense web of finite material processes [MAT] and non-finite material realisations (mat). At the clause and sentence level, these affirmations are involved in coordinative relations, often with an elaborating function. Rather than isolated process, a webbing tendency is noted, more specifically, material processes tend to construe meaning through association with other material processes (49), but also with processes of the verbal (2), mental (2) and relational types (1).

(a) [MAT][MAT] MAT, e.g.,

Businesses [Actor] *that knowingly employ* [Material process, finite] *illegal workers* [Extension] *undermine* [Material Process] *this law* [Goal]...

The people [Goal] *these people catch* [Material process, Extension] *are coming* [Material process] *into this country* [Circumstance location/ place] *to do* (Material process, non-finite) *jobs* [Circumstance cause/ purpose]

(b) MAT (mat), e.g.,

Today [Circumstance of Location/ time], *illegal immigration* [Goal] is supported [Material process, finite, ergative] by *criminal enterprises* [Actor] dedicated (Material process, non-finite) to *document forgery, human trafficking, and labor exploitation* [Extension]

(c) MAT [REL, MNT (mat)], MAT, MNT, MAT

Illegal immigrants [Owner] who have [Relational process, finite] roots in our country and want [Mental process, finite] to stay (Material process, non-finite) [Extension] should have to pay [Material process] a *meaningful penalty, pay their taxes* [Material process, finite], *learn English* [Mental process, finite], and *work* [Material process, finite] in a job for a number of years.

(d) MAT [VB]/ MAT

(So the guy says, show me your tamper-proof card before I hire you. And if they do, fine.) But if they [Actor] don't [do] [Material process], say [Verbal process], I'm not hiring [Material process, finite] you [Verbiage].

The immigrants involved in concrete, tangible actions are those who do the action, but almost equally so they are the other entity, who experiment the outcome of some action done by an in-group (animate or inanimate) actor or, in a slightly less extent, are the beneficiaries of it. A notable characterisation comes up with the 43 occasions in which the immigrants and their offspring are assigned the role of non English speaking Actors. The chart below illustrates numerically the roles assigned to immigrants by the material processes analysed, as well as the closeness between the roles of Actor and Goal attributed to immigrants, as opposed to the irrelevant profiling as Beneficiary of material processes:

Role	No
Actor	678
Goal	604
Beneficiary	11
Range	8
Total	1301

Table 18. Immigrants in Material processes.

With material processes, immigrants are primarily actors of a broad range of processes, e.g., ‘See, people are sneaking in’. In this example, immigrants are represented as pro-active law-offenders by means of a colloquial expression inspired in the life of pray animals. They are also shown as the subject matter of political debate and confrontation and as targets of processes of selection, some designed to narrow the distance from the nuclear (and ideal) identity of the in-group, e.g., ‘in the process of immigration reform, we must also set high expectations for what new citizens should know’, and some others to express a power relation with the immigrants in the role of possession, e.g., ‘But we didn’t have enough detention space to hold people...’.

Material processes depict immigrants as the target of law enforcement, almost to the same extent as they were represented as doers of penalised offences, e.g.,

I'm afraid it would further illegal immigration, as well as rewards those who haven't lived by the law.

(...) and those who enter the country illegally break the law.

It has been previously signalled that the speeches of G.W. Bush are more focused on immigration than the immigrants, which allows the former president to reach a certain level of concreteness in representation. Thus, one encounters that both sides to the story about others is attempted to be told, either with respect to immigration (legal/ illegal, old/ new, etc), or immigrants (contribution/ burden, family values/ criminal, etc.). With respect to the out-group, the availability of both descriptions may be a credible indicator of detached recount of perpetrations ('sneaking', 'reward', ' '), were it not for the stability of the in-group representation.

Constructions such as, e.g., '[if we make the system open and honest] (...) it will cut down on those coyotes that are putting people in the back of these trailers' show the mentioned 'stability' of the concept of in-group ('we'), whose positive note only gains in intensity as the out-group is faded to a negative frame ('open and honest' vs. 'coyotes' and 'people'). The impression of solidity is projected as background, unaccounted given information, despite the hypothetical nature of the situation described, e.g., 'if X, then Y'. In this example, positive pre-evaluation takes the role of condition (where X is 'we make the system open and honest'), while a prospective outcome is formulated as consequence (where Y is 'it will cut down on those coyotes')

Finally, material processes show immigrants (represented in packs, viz., as a number of people) as beneficiaries of a past politics favouring immigration, e.g., 'between 1891 and 1920 – our nation *received* some 18 million men, women and children from other countries'. In this case, the affective distance marked by the reference to a past time and large quantity is bridged by the use of a full-description idiom, 'men, women and children from other countries'.

B. Relational processes. The total number of relational processes involved in immigrant representation raises to 270, making it the second most numerous process type. The more general relation is further construed by means of sub-summing processes, such as material (22), relational (7), verbal (2) and mental (2), contributing to a representation whereby the immigrants' doing and sensing, albeit present, are furthered from the focal attention in favour of their being or relating:

(a) REL [mat (rel)]

We [Owner] *got* [Relational process] *a lot of people* [Possession] *waiting* (Material process, non-finite) *to be* (Relational process, non-finite) *citizens here* [Circumstance].

(b) REL [MAT (mat)]

Now, these [Token] *are* [Relational process] *non-Mexican illegal aliens* [Value] *that we've caught* [Material process, finite] *trying to sneak* (Material processes, non-finite) *into our country* [Extension]

(c) REL [REL]

... they [Token] *are* [Relational process] *just what they have always been* [Relational process, finite], [Value].

(d) REL [REL (REL)]

It [Token] is [Process] an issue [Value] that relates [Relational process, finite] to people that are [Relational process, finite] in our country [Circumstance]

(e) REL [REL (REL, MAT)]

Miami [Token] is [Process] home [Value] to people whose families have been [Relational process, finite] in our country for generations- and to people who have only just arrived (Material process, finite) [Extention]

(f) REL [MNT (mat), MNT (REL)]

You [Owner] 've got [Process] document forgers [Possession] - people wanting (Mental process, non-finite) to work (Material process, non-finite) and they know (Mental process, finite) they've got to have (Relational process, finite) some papers [Extention]

(g) REL [VB (MAT)]

I [Carrier] 'm [Relational process] sure [Value] you will tell [Verbal process, finite] some of the younger folks that things have changed [Material process, finite] significantly over the past years [Circumstance].

The predominant role assigned to immigrants from the perspective of relational processes allows them to be conceptualised in terms of ‘class membership’. Thus, they are fundamentally Carriers (147 times) of an ascription, description or attribute and in the least the Attribute (16 times) itself. In other words, apart from undertaking concrete, tangible and often negative actions, the immigrants are object of study and classification, which are, after all, attempts to define - in itself and in society. In between the classificatory extremes of Carrier and Attribute are distributed all the other roles configured by relational processes.

The participation of the immigrants in relational processes also indicate a strong determination on identification, and in the process of making sense, they are predominantly approached as the ‘entity’ (Token) serving to define the ‘identity’ (Value). Finally, the immigrants are less represented as Owners - of the American Dream, of capacities, of the right to initiate the process of naturalisation and Possession, - as part of the American tradition of welcoming immigrants, for example. Table 19 below illustrates these and other roles and their proportion in the global count of participant roles configured by the relational processes:

Role	No
Carrier	147
Attribute	16
Token	61
Value	55
Owner	30
Possession	24
Total roles	333

Table 19. Immigrants in Relational processes.

The exploration of the Material processes involving immigrants show that the second most frequent roles attributed to immigrants is that of receivers, closely following that of Agent. The clear binary discursive background against which America (with friends) and the enemy are represented (see previous sections) can only be maintained if a relation is maintained between the two. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the second most numerous processes involved in the representation of immigrants are Relational. The reciprocal involvement occurs in relation to a centre of reference, argued in chapter three of this dissertation as the Self, by whose token worth and status are regulated. For example, attributes such as ‘hardworking people’, ‘people who love their families’, ‘people of faith’, ‘who lead responsible lives’ occur in the context of more or less explicit self-identification with such values, e.g., ‘They’re part of American life and they are vital to our economy’.

However, a homogeneous representation of immigrants is not to be expected, as a great number of attributes are expressed in relation to a legally pre-evaluated situation, namely that of illegal immigration, e.g., ‘It wasn’t easy to send home illegal immigrants from other countries’, or and its respective enforcement, e.g., ‘Massive deportation of the people here is unrealistic’. With Relational processes, as well as with Material, immigrants are to a considerable extent topicalised, in connection with their origin and the aim of deportation, e.g.,

(...) most of the people we apprehend down here are from Mexico.

(...) about four of every five non- Mexican illegal immigrants we catch are released in society’.

It's the illegal immigrants from other countries that are not that easy to send home.

Catch and release for every non-Mexican has been effectively ended.

Finally, by means of Relational processes, G.W. Bush argues the need for a ‘reasonable’ immigration reform which prosecutes the recent illegal immigrants, sanctions the older illegal immigrants before allowing them access to authorised residence, and set exceptionally high standards for future immigrants, e.g.,

(...) the skills, education and English proficiency that will help America compete in a global economy.

Americans are bound together by (...) ability to speak and write the English language.

The assets presented as valuable resources in the necessary process of assimilation of immigrants is sometimes dismissed with a tone of (self) irony with regard to the in-group, e.g., ‘They [doctors] write about as well as I speak English.’, or ‘He [the executive director] says, the programs don't- the programs- the program, "does not emphasize"- he has a little trouble with the English. And so do I’. The serious, didactic tone employed with immigrants contrasts at times with the playful downplay on the same issue with respect to the self or with instances of positive immigrant representation, e.g., ‘We hear claims that immigrants are somehow bad for the economy- even though this economy could not function without them’.

C. Mental processes are the third most representative processes in the representation of the immigrants. Although 204 such processes have been encountered, they represent only a quarter part of the material processes and almost the eight part of the total. As was

the case with the material, mental processes show a strong tendency to network with other processes, be they finite or non-finite, in order to form complex units of meanings, in which cognitive or emotional processes are about doing (50), being (8), existing (6), speaking (4) and even thinking/feeling (3).

(a) MNT (MAT, MAT)

We [Senser] need [Mental process] a system [Phenomenon] that treats [Material process, finite] people with dignity and helps [Material process, finite] newcomers... [Extension].

I [Senser] believe [Mental process] if they want [Mental process, finite] to stay (Material process, non-finite) here [Circumstance], they ought to pay [Material process, finite] a fine, first and foremost [Phenomenon].

(b) MNT (REL (MAT, MAT, MAT))

Yet we [Senser] must remember [Mental process] that the vast majority of illegal immigrants are (Relational process, finite) decent people who work hard (Material process, finite), support their families (Material process, finite), practice their faith (Material process, finite), and lead responsible lives (Material process, finite) [Phenomenon].

(c) MNT (EXT (REL (mat)))

You [Senser] got to understand [Mental process], there are [Existential process, finite] people in our neighborhood who are desperate [Relational process, finite] to put food on the table (Material process, non-finite) for their families [Phenomenon].

(d) MNT (VB)

...I [Senser] believe [Mental process] they ought to speak (Verbal process, finite) English [Phenomenon].

(e) MNT [MNT (vb), (MNT (REL (REL)))]

I [Senser] saw [Process] a place [Phenomenon] where people are learning [Mental process, finite] to speak English (Mental process, non-finite), and learning [Mental process, finite] the civic lessons of what it means [Relational process, finite] to be (Relational process, non-finite) an American citizen [Extension].

After revising some patterns involving Mental processes, it seems useful to point out that the mental processes used in the representation of the immigrants has assigned them the roles of Senser (148 times), or included them - even if in a lesser degree - in the larger Phenomenon (69 times). Only the process of ‘learning English’ accounts for 22% of all the instances in which immigrants are Senser, as illustrated in Table 20 below.

Role	No
Senser	148
Phenomenon	69
Total	217

Table 20. Immigrants in Mental processes.

The role of Senses is related to cognitive processes such as learning English, learning 'the values and ideals of America', thinking of a bill; affective processes such as 'loving one's family', 'loving one's neighbour', and physical and mental perceptions such as seeing the Patrol and 'believing that the United States (...) can lead the world to a more peaceful tomorrow'. As part of the phenomenon, the immigrants are involved in the mental phenomena they initiate but they are also the projection of the believing (29), thinking (21), loving (10), etc. performed by the speaker.

The context in which mental processes occur refers to immigrants in at least three ways. First, they are the bread owners of the family a reference which situates them close to the axiological centre of the American self, which prides itself in values such as faith, love for community (starting with family and ending with one's country), and the fascination with the diverse ethnic origins of its citizens, e.g.,

(...) they want to put food on the table;
I recognize that we've got people from different backgrounds;
They're people who love their families;
(...) got to remember is we are a nation of immigrants.

Closeness is not the only perspective undertaken in the description of immigrants. In what appears to be a strategy of approximation in a context reportedly demanding deportation (possibly coming from the rows of the Republican Party), G.W. Bush manifests a discursive trend rooted in the topic of economic burden and underground economy, with exculpatory elements in the topic of America as land of opportunities, e.g.,

(...) we've got to recognize there are people here doing jobs American aren't (...) \$7 in America versus 50 cents where they live, and they want to support their families.
(...) the best way to do this is to have a plan so people don't feel like they got to sneak in.

On a lower level of empathy, but higher on that of responsibility, a whole series of mental predications refer to immigrants in hypothetical stimulus-response dynamics dominated by the topics of law enforcement and observance of the social ritual of Social Security number assignation, e.g.,

(...) we expect people to abide by the laws.
(...) so I believe, if they want to stay here, that they ought to pay a fine.
If they decide to apply for citizenship, they would have to get in line.
(...) and we want our borders shut to illegal immigrants, as well as criminals and drug dealers and terrorists.

Especially by means of mental processes, and in association to possessive adjectives, power relations are made evident. More specifically, the in-group is more often than not expressing will, construing the terms, stating the conditions under which immigrants may or may not reside, work and live in the United States; the range of action of the in-group including that of the self and the immigrants, the relation of the latter with respect to the former is that of subordination. On some occasions, immigrants are conceived as Senses

in positive, ingroup-like predications such as making more money than they could in their home countries (but less than an average American) to support their family, or people of a similar profile as the in-group.

D. Verbal processes. A total number of 171 such processes were found to address immigration, however, their verbiage – formalised mainly in the form of reporting – is mainly related to border enforcement and immigration legislation. The projection of the verbal processes is construed by means of material, and even further verbal processes, expressed by either finite or non-finite verbal forms:

(a) VB [mat]

...*this bill* [Sayer] *requires* [Verbal process] *illegal workers to pay* (Material process, non-finite) *a fine* [Verbiage]

(b) VB [VB (MAT)]

He [Sayer] *said* [Verbal process] *he didn't speak English* [verbal process, finite] *when he came* [material process, finite] *to the United States* [Verbiage].

I [Sayer] *proposed* [Verbal process] *a worker program here that says* [Verbal process, finite] *we can match* [Material process, finite] *a willing foreign worker...* [Verbiage].

(c) VB/ VB [MAT (mat), MAT]

I [Sayer] *told* [Verbal process] *them* [Receiver] - *I* [Sayer] *said* [Verbal process], *look* [gap filler], *it's going to be up to you* [Material process] *to make it work* (Material process), *but you can count on* [Material process] *the United States of America* [Verbiage].

Role	No
Sayer	15
Receiver	6
Verbiage	36
Total	57

Table 21. Immigrants in Verbal processes.

From the total amount of 57 verbal processes identified in the corpus, only 36 involve immigrants, the rest alluding to them by the reference to the phenomenon of immigration. Thus, they are the Sayer of 17 of these processes, even if they reportedly say what it is said. One of the immigrants whose story is told in the third person by the president is called by the first name, Salvador, an entrepreneur described as ‘a dreamer’, a building owner’. His success story is used up to seven times to illustrate how an uncultured Latino immigrant (‘some of us, we take it for granted that it's easy to understand what forms to fill out, or what worker compensation means’) succeeded in owning an auto-repair business, e.g.,

*And Salvador went to the Juan Diego Center, and said, can anybody here help me?
Francisco said, when you learn English, doors open up for you...*

In these processes, it is mainly the President he who produces the message, quoting or reporting other Sayers, such as ‘a lot of people’, ‘a lot of Americans’, ‘most’/ ‘many’ people, ‘the Border Patrol’ and ‘the immigrants’, e.g.,

...I appreciate what Colburn said (...) "They see us watching them, and they have decided they just can't get across."

...there's a lot of Americans who say that the government is not enforcing our border.

A lot of people then say, well, if you hadn't been in control, do you have the capacity to secure the border.

Most say- many say the most important issue is to secure the border.

On few occasions, the content is not even expressed by a conscious participant, such as their [citizenship] papers, it [the bill] or the rules put forward the message, e.g.,

It says, if you want to be here, here's what you have to do.

...the rules say you check in with the officer here, in the court.

This bill says, temporary, it means temporary. You'll be here for a number of years, and you'll go back home...

Occasionally, those processes feature a receiver, which is ‘you’, ‘the American people’ and ‘somebody’, in hypothetical reference to an immigrant person, e.g.,

... we need to add new technologies to the new manpower we're training so we can tell the American people we're doing our best we possibly can to secure our border.

It makes sense to me to say to somebody, if you're going to do a job Americans aren't doing, you can come for a period of time...

I'll tell you something that's interesting. Since 2001, 6 million people have been caught illegally trying to get in this country, and turned back- 6 million people.

The immigrants appear in a total number of 36 circumstances, of whom 27 consist in a quote and nine in reported speech, e.g.,

...a judge would say, show back up, we'll see you back here in 30 days;

...they would say, we caught you...;

I want- I want to tell you a statistic that may surprise you;

I say the system isn't working because there's a lot of Americans who say that the government is not enforcing our border.

Following the strong pattern of process embeddedness, a number of verbal circumstances are found to project a further verbal process, which leads to situations in which the quote contains a report, a quote consists of yet another quote, or a report consists in yet another report, a phenomenon observed not only for the representation of the immigrants, but which seems a personal characteristic of G.W. Bush' colloquial style, to be also illustrated below, e.g.,

...they [Border patrol agents] say, the rules say you check in with the officer here, in the court;

It is said that when President Johnson called reluctant senators at home and a child answered, he would say, "Now you tell your daddy that the President called."

I say the system isn't working because there's a lot of Americans who say that the government is not enforcing our border;

a judge would say, show back up, we'll see you back here in 30 days.

On very few occasions those processes feature a receiver (six times), that being you, the American people and somebody [the immigrants], e.g.,

... we need to add new technologies to the new manpower we're training so we can tell the American people we're doing our best we possibly can to secure our border;

It makes sense to me to say to somebody, if you're going to do a job Americans aren't doing, you can come for a period of time...

I'll tell you something that's interesting. Since 2001, 6 million people have been caught illegally trying to get in this country and turned back - 6 million people.

The participants involved in verbal processes are therefore identified as Sayer, typically persons and things belonging to the in-group. Only exceptionally the immigrants are the receiver, which role pictures them as submissive participants in communication, more specifically, they are those to whom the message is directed and about whom it is.

E. Existential processes related to immigration amount to a total number of 76. Their circumstances are realised by material, mental and relational processes, which sometimes feature another material (13), relational (3) or verbal (3) processes:

(a) EXT [MAT (mat (MAT))]

There are [Existential process] people [Existent] who have come across [Material process, finite] this border to do (Material process, non-finite) work Americans are not doing [Material process, finite] [Circumstance].

(b) EXT [MNT (MAT)]

...there are [Process] some people [Existent] who I guess [gap filler] believe [Mental process] that we could just kick them out [Material process, finite] of the country [Circumstance].

(c) EXT [MNT (rel)]

...there are [Process] lines [Existent] for people who want [Mental process, finite] to become (Relational process, non-finite) a citizen [Circumstance].

(d) EXT [REL (verbal)]

... there are [Process] people [Existent] who have been here [Relational process, finite] for, say [gap filler], a decade [Circumstance].

Role	No
Existent	48
Circumstance	9
Total	57

Table 22. Immigrants in Existential processes.

The immigrants are the obvious existent entity for a total of 57 existential processes, mainly by the reference of ‘people’, in complex nominal phrases and even clauses whose predication varied from ‘decent and hardworking’ and ‘people who work’, to people who ‘are exploiting’, ‘are crossing’ or ‘are waiting to become legal’. A third part of these offers a more or less direct, but foreseeable reference, in negative evaluative terms, either because of their performances or by contrast with the positive behaviour of other immigrants, e.g.,

...there are 11 million to 12 million people living in the shadows of a free society.

... there is a line of people waiting to become legal through the green card process.

An additional number of implicit references to the immigrants could be identified as existent if a deductive process is made based on their frequent co-occurrence with immigrants, besides ‘people’. Depersonalising devices do not miss, as the more vaguely immigrant-related ‘document forger’, ‘document forgery’ or ‘coyote’, e.g.,

... there are people who are preying on these folks that are coming to do work that Americans aren't doing.

...there are document forgers that are making a living off these people. You've got a whole system of coyotes- those are smugglers- human smugglers (...)

You've got document forgers- people wanting to work and they know they've got to have some papers, and there are people, a whole industry of people providing them with false documents.

Apart from the processes in which the immigrants appear as existent, there is a number of nine processes whose in-group existent is completed by an ‘immigrant’ circumstance, e.g.,

I know there are some people who I guess believe that we could just kick them out of the country.

*I know there are some people out there hollering and saying, kick them out. (...)
There are some people saying, give them automatic citizenship.*

The nine existential processes whose self-group existent are concepts such as ‘opinions’, ‘words’, ‘a desire’, ‘a rational middle-ground’, ‘a consequence’, are enforced by circumstances also undertaking immigration indirectly, through the issues of debate and enforcement signalled by lexical choices such as ‘issue’, ‘problem’, ‘concept’, ‘a bill’, ‘for braking the law’. Only one existential process is realised by a meteorological

circumstance, e.g., ‘...one reason I'm red-faced is I was down on the border yesterday in Laredo. It was about 106.’

At the end of the transitivity analysis, the circumstantial network involving immigrants deserves a brief review. In parallelism with the most used processes in the corpus, the predominance can be affirmed of the circumstances of location, cause and manner, and only marginally extent, matter and role. The predominance of location, accompanying the immigrants especially in their involvement in material processes, can be semantically accounted for as a physical place: ‘in detention facilities’, ‘along our Southern border’, ‘in Rio Grande’; or as a place of destiny: ‘to the United States’, ‘to this country’, ‘to their countries’; as a conceptual space: ‘in our visa system’, ‘in the shadows of our society’, ‘in line’, and, finally, as an origin: ‘from some countries’, ‘from all across the world’. Only secondary to place, the circumstance of location refers to time: ‘every year’, ‘in a set period of time’, ‘at night’. Functionally, circumstances of location complete material processes: ‘(...) help people assimilate into our society’, ‘(...) stuff them in the back of 18-wheelers’, but also relational processes: ‘(...) they're back in society on our side of the border’, ‘we didn't have enough space in detention facilities’.

Circumstances of cause situate the immigrants but also the larger dominant group as target or beneficiary of the processes in which they are involved, which are often material processes: ‘for all of us’, ‘for their families’, ‘on our behalf’, ‘for you’, and only secondarily as purpose or rationale behind some action: ‘for their court date’. This type of circumstances relate significantly to the main roles attributed to immigrants, namely Actor, Goal and Token, which also imply conscious participation in (reprehensible negative) actions and affected by other actors’ actions, but also with the dense presence of modal verbs of prohibition and the meta-topic of ‘problem’ from within which the immigrants are decisively underpinned.

The third more relevant circumstances in which the immigrants are involved are those of manner. They relate mainly to immigration enforcement as a subject of debate in the Congress and resume some basic principles to be taken into account in this process. They recommend that immigrants be treated ‘with dignity and in a humane way’, that the debate be carried on ‘without amnesty and without animosity’, or else ‘in a civil and dignified way’, that civilians collaborate in Border Patrol tasks on a voluntary basis. With regard to the effects of the debate, the immigrants will be allowed to apply for a work and residence permit through the Green Card system and on a temporal basis and, finally, the problem of illegal immigration is expected to be solved ‘for good’, id est, definitively, rather than well.

To a lower extent, immigrants are present in circumstances of extent, matter and role, which enforce once more, the topic of the discourse, the roles in which they are implicated: ‘as a teenager’, ‘as a second language’, the length of the phenomenon: ‘for a number of years’ or the proportion of the intervention ‘[fly or bus them] all the way back to their hometowns’, ‘[increase funding] by more than a third’.

The results obtained in the previous chapters, i.e., the general characteristics of the corpus (Chapter Six) and the linguistic choices which were found to inform on meanings and representations assigned to immigrants (Chapter Seven), are here discussed in the light of the theoretical issues and methodological model explored in Chapters Two to Five. The discussion focuses on immigrant representation from those perspectives considered relevant for the topic. These perspectives are ample and could be reduced to the propositions formulated or activated about immigrants in the discourses of G.W. Bush, in relation to (1) the circumstances in which representations take place, and (2) the more general framing of the discourse, by appeal to background knowledge about immigration to USA and its regulation. The interpretative task was guided by the methodological suggestion of Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 19-30), which specifically emphasised the complementarity of linguistic exploration and awareness of the institutional, socio-political and historical context of the speeches under analysis, which awareness was also oriented by Sperber and Wilson (1995: 15-21).

The discussion is oriented by the questions formulated in the preliminary chapter. The research questions are confronted in inverse order of their presentation in section 1.4. More specifically, I start from immigrant roles and actions, approaches and future scenarios about them in the discourses of G.W. Bush, which I put into the perspective of the existing models about past immigrants to the United States of America. More importantly, I discuss the relevance of the concept of alterity discussed in chapter two for the representation of immigrants, as well as reflect on the chances for alternative narrative frames to become politically relevant at some time in the future.

7.1. GROUP AWARENESS

The almost 1500 discourses explored oriented a bi-polar understanding of the human universe displayed in them; therefore the first part of this chapter consists in a parallel estimation of the group representations taking place. The approach is pertinent, as one cannot ignore what is already given information in CDA literature (Kramsch 1998, Van Dijk 2006), namely that group polarisation constitutes a possible scheme for ideological thinking. Specifically, the configuration of the groups in the discourses of G.W. Bush, as explored in Chapters 6 and 7, suggest THE EXISTENCE OF A STRONG INGROUP AND A DISTRESSFUL OUTGROUP, whose inter-relation creates a diffuse discursive niche for the representation of immigrants. To make the process of deduction transparent, the present discussion includes the corpus data on which I rely for my interpretation.

The two related dimensions, the self group and the others needed to be appreciated from the perspective of the most frequent group triggers and their co-text, and from that of

discourse-related topicalisation and the roles of different groups in the communicative process. The first feature taken into account in order to determine group composition is the frequency of group triggers, and the co-text of the most frequent lexical choices. The frequency of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'we', displayed among the top ten most repeated words in the corpus, is a common finding in corpus exploration, indicating the speaker's perspective, which in this case coincides with the investigator's choice. Even though they can be interpreted a priori as ingroup referents, as opposed to 'they', which is slightly less frequent than the former two, further exploration of the co-text revealed that the latter is as strong indicator of the ingroup as it is of the outgroup. Judging on the qualitative exploration of quantitative data of Figure 13 of the previous chapter, the ratio of ingroup/ outgroup reference is approximately 3:1. The representational gap is enabled by the analysis of attributes and actions, and construes a powerful ingroup in terms of values and principles, but also in terms of challenges, as the interests of the self are often confronted against those of other groups.

The analysis of the people and characters present in the presidential discourses permits the clear distinction of a self ('I', 'we', 'you', 'they', 'America', 'seniors', 'the Congress') among the most frequent words in the corpus and an opposed group of others ('they', 'criminals', 'traffickers', 'gangs', 'coyotes', 'terrorists'), considerably less frequent than the former (as illustrated by the corpus frequency list). In terms of public image, the former can be evaluated as positive, while the latter, as (extremely) negative. As of the elegance of expression and impression on the receiver, the former seem more elegant and dignifying and the latter more colloquial and derogatory.

The highly idealised positive image of the ingroup discussed in 2.2.5 implies a high level of generalization and abstraction. The most frequent words in the corpus represent, with a high degree of specificity, the ideal group of insiders. The ingroup is construed around an assumed concept of citizenship and a number of values corresponding to an ideal self, e.g., 'families', 'peace', 'honour', 'believe', 'protect', etc. (see Figure 16, Patterns of collocation for 'we'). It accounts on the bounties of human race, and profiles itself in superlative terms, as discussed at the end of section 2.2.4 of the present work. In this mindset it is readily made available that the concepts of federal nation and of progress lead a narrative populated with 'us' and 'them', although the former is to a great degree identified with the higher purpose and the latter with the hindering force. In contrast with the ingroup cohesiveness, the outgroup includes many different, a priori unrelated categories of others, such as immigrants to U.S.A., Afghan female soccer players and HIV infected African children, which are united by common predications or common framing. Sometimes it is 'compassionate America' or 'liberating America', some others times, with threatening others, it is 'a nation of laws' or 'one nation under God'.

The interplay of both groups, with their different sub-categories, constitutes a representation scheme which exemplifies the way in which ideologies are reproduced in the wider society, namely, through the social networking of social actors performing various roles, according to their dynamic and even conflicting identities (Ainsworth and Hardy 2004: 237). I am not suggesting that different categories of people cannot share a common social networking, on the contrary, I point out that G.W. Bush lingers on a structural platform for antagonistic groups, which he personalises according to his intuition of group evaluation and his personal grasp.

The results presented in the Results Chapter on the issue of group evaluation reveal that G.W. Bush construes groups as multi-component conglomerates, of which one is homogenous (e.g., American citizens in different aspects of their social life) and evaluated positively. For obvious reasons, it is the group in which the former president includes

himself (the ingroup) and towards which he has a complacent attitude, reflected in the elegance of the attached references and predications. The other group is more heterogeneous (e.g., immigrants, traffickers, people, terrorists), it is largely evaluated as negative (the outgroup) and the evocative power of the expressions used to describe them or their acts point out the president's contempt towards them ('terrorists and criminals and immigration violators', 'criminal gangs', 'illegal immigration'). Some evaluations though were found to break away from the models of group assignation. These contrasts contribute to the discursive exclusion of resembling others in response to which hard-line law enforcement would seem the right choice.

At least two particular cases emerge of group representation, overlapping and conflating groups. Important group overlapping takes place, when ingroup members are presented as outgroup members and vice-versa. Overlapping is especially realised by those nominalisations and predications relating to belonging and criminality, which are left open to different evaluations and turn out to be used for ideological manipulation. For instance, ingroup members who break the law are alluded to by a number of policy goals, or criminal offences, in contexts in which other material actors such as immigrants or gang members are being mentioned. Since a lot of processing effort needs to be done with little feed-back resources for certainty over American authorship of wrong behaviour or crime, pre-designed models of other-criminals are accessed to decide group belonging.

It seems utterly improper to imagine, after reading the discourses of G.W. Bush on others, an ingroup member qualified by criminalising devices. Further still, the mental model about immigrants is construed not only with references and predications, but with their absence as well, and the same is valid for the ingroup. I retain the *absence* of explicit or disdainful reference to criminal acts perpetrated by the members of the ingroup to be, apart from a statistically impossible matter of fact, a symptom of ideological manipulation towards the others. Even stronger so if compared with the presence of strong incriminatory references about the outgroup, and by immigrants in particular, whose result is channelling the process of interpretation of those references which resist themselves to group assignation, towards immigrant agency.

The second particular case of group adjustment refers to groups that expand their semantic domain to the point of engulfing members of a group already constituted in itself. Expansion is related to power, and it is seen in the discourses of G.W. Bush to allow the ingroup to challenge previous models about the inter-relating groups. For instance, giving precedence to American democratic interests in the world over peaceful advance and cultural preservation in the invaded countries implies a re-dimension of the construction of the self and the other on a level at which other variables, such as the territorial (spatial) distinctions domestic-international, become irrelevant, as discussed in 6.3.1.

The referential load of the personal pronouns 'we' and 'they' (9th and 23th most frequent words), deserve, in my understanding, two appreciations. The first is that of group polarisation, which Kramsch (1998: 8) affirmed to represent a schema for the representation of otherwise unrelated groups of 'them' or 'outsiders' as well-constituted social groups. The second interpretation has to do with the overlapping representations indicated previously. Especially in relation to immigrants, it was noted to present ingroup members as outgroup members and vice-versa in rapport to the aimed emotions, rather than factual information about the focalised group. Sometimes, the effect was an impression of ingroup cohesion, other times it was the idea of objectivity, both representing strategies of legitimation. In so far as raw group representation follows the rationale of emotional positive/ negative ingroup/ outgroup evaluation (van Dijk 2006: 114-6), all other perspectives for the conceptualisation of the self and the other, e.g., social,

ethnic, racial, vocational or territorial distinctions are adjusted to perform a legitimating function.

To the general group representation grasped in a quantitative exploration of the corpus one should add the more qualitative data of the predications accompanying each. It was noted in 6.3.3 that the ingroup included a broad range of member variants, from the most abstract, viz., America and its policy concerns, to ordinary American citizens, in a diversity of roles; the different member profiles converge towards an unitary representation, in terms of harmed America, safer America, stronger America and prevailing America, both at home and overseas. With regard to ingroup representation, G.W. Bush is no exception to van Dijk's model of ideological square (van Dijk 2006: 115) discussed in 2.3. But he undertakes it in a more subtle way, as the former president uses an outgroup lexicalisation that makes negative other representation less obvious, even indefinite.

Group predication functions as a detection module and is decided across spatial, temporal and modality dimensions, as suggested by Chilton (2004: 57-58). At times, the denoted entity is not very obvious, in which case popular metaphors, such as journey and containment, are an useful template to test who belongs to the ingroup and who to the outgroup. Another relevant category is predication and the recognition of narrative structures about the self and the other across the speeches; one keeps in mind that evaluation is to a certain extent indicative of experience of that which is evaluated and one gets inevitably to intra- and inter-group comparison to find out that there is a power component which catalyses (or not) evaluation into action across groups.

One evocative example of the role of power in putting across the message is performative language, a function which G.W. Bush pursues with the legislative measures of his presidency. Another example in this sense is that of representativeness: the immigrants do not have a voice, and the president speaks both for them and about them. Thus, the ingroup has power to allow, reject, limit and enlarge the 'movement zone' of the ingroup, a power which remits to an institutional construction, on the authority of the law, which is handed over to the elected Congressmen and Congresswomen and the President.

Special mention deserve group representations construed on relations of sharp opposition. Thus, the outgroup is epitomised in nearly every discourse of Bush involving an enemy, a not too isolated case to the point that it seems reasonable to think of ethnic others as of deviant and reprehensible. The only exception is made by politicians who oppose his policies. It is not exaggerated to affirm that, at its most, the contender is the evil itself, and the density of biblical references speaks in favour of a too metaphorical language of evil for the dramatic action masked by the presidential discourses of the 2000s. Perhaps that is why Bush prefers to people the outgroup with surprising combinations of others who do not sustain as such at a referential assessment with the ingroup. But the combination of illegal immigrants, criminal gangs and terrorists, emphasises evaluation over other identity features, to the point that individuals lose relevance and deserve the interest of the ingroup as an ample category of nasty characters.

Also in terms of frequency of occurrence in the corpus, the second indicator of group awareness is suggested by the discourse topic, strongly relating the most important issues addressed in the discourses of G.W. Bush with the identity of his addressees. The analysis of the thematic content of the presidential corpus makes available the reality of group representation and its related polarisation, as discussed in Chapter 1, section 1. One can easily detect a certain recurrence on the president's agenda of public acts and addresses celebrating a number of 'national' events such as Cinco de Mayo (4/5/2005), Black Music

Month (26/6/2006), Kwanzaa (26/12/2001), etc., whose targeted audience are suggestive of the multicultural identity of the United States. Placed in this social context, immigrants are presented as contributors to the greatness of America, with exceptional actions in the domain of social justice, art or religious belief.

Other government ceremonies taken to construe the 'American' identity, and to create cohesive bonds among accepted members, have a cyclic/ seasonal character, and may be institutional or religious events. Among the latter, special attention deserve Christian Breakfasts (1/2/2001), Hanukkah Receptions (10/12/2007) or Iftaar Dinners (17/10/2005). The former are political and military events and they actually dominate the agenda of ritual events, with Republican National Conventions (2/9/2008), Republican Jewish Coalitions (21/9/2005), International Democratic Union Leaders Dinners (10/6/2002) or Reserved Officers Association Luncheons (23/7/2002), among others. Often, the target audience of an important number of speeches is formed of (outstanding) professionals or (high) achievers in fields as different as military, sports, science, arts, talent, who are publicly honoured in awarding ceremonies.

I propose that there is an obvious connection between the topic of the presidential speeches and their audience in that the latter constitute the personification of a national self, or else, the ingroup. The speeches of the former U.S. President G.W. Bush are addressed to his fellow American citizens, therefore the people with whom he is primarily concerned, and at the same time the designed receptors of his message are to be understood as the members of the ingroup, viz. the American citizen. The topic choice informs on the presidential institution's stand on the social and political realities identified by the governing institutions, with the reminder that in the discourses of G.W. Bush the theme and its elaboration attend both the president's personal grasp on things and the cognitive ground and sensitivity of the receiving audience.

A closer look at the targeted audience reveals a broad range of receivers, which can however be summarised in an idealised average American ('good, honest guy', 'fellow citizen', 'good folks'), and along a number of identity features among which the believer, the entrepreneur, the soldier and the genius have a special place. Thus, topic and audience coincide in emphasizing the deontic undertones of the U.S. conception on human politics, in this case with respect to the ingroup. More specifically, the average American is a person with a strong sense of engagement with the community, usually rooted in a professed faith. One of the first lines of politics initiated by G.W. Bush at the White House, even before tax relief, consisted specifically in encouraging faith-based communities to deliver social service to local communities (January, 21 2001). As communities get to integrate a denser network through which federal and state funding is accessed, in a bountiful country as are the United States of America, the ultimate expression of love for community takes the form of fidelity to the governing institutions, a fact which often translates into clichés ('the greatest nation on the face of the Earth') or symbols (the presence flags in personal domains of life, Flag Day, the flag code, etc.).

One is prepared, based on unsophisticated knowledge about political discourse or self-representation, to deal with great amounts of positive appreciation and confidence. However, in a discourse world marked by group polarisation and reflective of practical concerns, management of positive self-presentation is intimately connected to negative other-presentation (van Dijk 2006: 121-4), and these differences are taken to the social ground in the form of belief, attitudes and knowledge about the self and the other. As discussed in section 3.1.3 of the second chapter, the link between community and the more formal society may act as a platform for ideological approaches to human population policies. A critical approach, it was suggested there, could constitute MacIntyre's query

whether a phenomenon which he noticed in modern societies, viz., the over-professionalisation and the complementary over-institutionalisation, gives their cognisant members enough space to allow them to manage their personal feelings, legitimate aspirations and free action outside the institutional mindset (MacIntyre 2006: 190-202).

In the light of the philosophical question formulated, I propose that the American sense of brotherhood, which gives teeming life to its communities, is rooted in a series of deep human values. However, on the more institutional side, I consider that G.W. Bush's redundancy over the greatness of America, also present in the broader American society, retains the symbolism of ideologically motivated groups' motivational discourse about the self also reflected in the practice of swearing allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and the republic in schools, critically addressed in the U.S. only lately. Although legitimate, when such gestures are routinely performed as scheduled in schools, the most reasonable way to understand them is as an ideological attempt to instruct persons into institutional roles and embellish those by means of devotional objects and secular rites.

7.2. TOPICALISATION OF IMMIGRANTS

The topics of the presidential speeches refer to a sum of aspects with domestic and international coverage, from business, social and medical care to security and interoperability, conservation and climate change, the global war on terror, and only marginally immigration. The focus on entry and permanence in a territory, on identification and monitoring, and on ideological orientation of political actors, draws a tendency line for the domain of interests of the ingroup. More specifically, the American president, speaking for the American people, is concerned with international (U.S.-respectful) coalitions and policies capitalising on a number of state authorities and policing the management of goods, population and ideas worldwide.

However, one must not forget that all these discourses are related to the ingroup, and the profile of the ingroup described above frequently imply submission to the (moral) authority. It is therefore against the core sub-topics of governability of security, command, operability, trade, war, conservation and climatic change that the self and the other are profiled discursively. Even though immigration is the subject matter of one serious reform attempted by G.W. Bush, less than 4% of his discourses address this concern frontally, while every single presidential discourse features some epitomised image of the ingroup or its interests.

Even though immigration is rather sporadically approached as compared to other topics, it still retains a certain cyclical character corresponding to rallying campaigns and springtime, as shown in Tables 3 and 4, presented in Chapter Six. The greatest part of these speeches tackle the phenomenon of immigration, and especially so immigration reform. Although it is correct to note that this is not the only angle of representation, it is quantitatively the most obvious. Once acknowledged, the predominance of the legal approach to the presence of immigrants in the United States is fundamental to the understanding of immigrant representation. More specifically, the legal frame acts as a template for the placement of immigrants into the discursive field of criminality and threat and even offers the possibility to narrow the gap between immigration and terrorism, and

immigrants and terrorists, respectively. I shall turn back to the discussion of this semantic association, already presented in the Results chapter.

Corpus results have revealed similar interests in the topic of immigration closely after the 9/11 events and in the election year 2004, with an intriguing absence the year in-between. With a difference, the year of intense topicalisation is 2006 and the months of May and June seem to sum up the most intense presence of this topic in the presidential speech agenda. I take the passage of seasons to constitute an explanation for the cyclicity of G.W. Bush's immigration speeches with no apparent astrological motive. Since it is in spring and early in the summer when most illegal crossings are more likely to take place, it is then that the president does most of his visits to the crossing points, and when most of his anti-immigration discourses take place.

Here is an illustration of the significance of a topic choice and its implications. With the permission of Lakoff (2001: 37) who identified in the possession of definitional rights a feature of narrative control, I will argue the same strategy for G.W. Bush's topic choice. To that I should extend that while not speaking (lengthily) about an issue does not necessarily indicate low relevance of that topic, it always indicates the power of making the choice. Alternatively, the way in which that the concept is defined or the topic is developed can be an indicator of topic relevance. Earlier I have brought into discussion the observation that in his discourses on homeland security, G.W. Bush realises a semantic association which cannot be taken uncritically, that between immigrants and terrorists. Fifteen days before presidential election, G.W. said:

I understand the struggle America faces and I have a strategy to win. Our first duty in the war on terror is to protect the homeland. This morning at the White House, I signed a strong law that will make our nation more secure. With the 2005 Homeland Security Appropriations Act, we are providing essential funding for Coast Guard patrols and port security...'(October 18, 2004).

Although the attack on the World Trade Centre came by air and no suspect was illegal or of Latin-American background, and adding that no evidence connects the Southern U.S. Border with the 9/11 events, the proximity between immigration and terrorism is realised by the power, discursive and operational, to include people from outside or immigrants within as the upgraded 'dangers of a new era' (October 25, 2005). The discourse generated, whether public opinion, high expertise or presidential speech, the policies implemented and the enforcement undertaken, were either construed on the truth of the assumption that immigrants are, or can be, similar to terrorists, which is not contradictory to the possibility that the reorganisation of the Homeland Security department obeyed the pragmatic goal of reforming the defence apparatus at a federal level of power, into a more infallible system according to its objectives.

A brief observation seems due on the relation between the argumentation scheme and effective policy, in the sense put forward in 3.1.1. There the immigration scholar Tichenor (2002: 16-18) was quoted illustrating how the contradictory stands taken throughout the history of immigration regulation in the U.S., have contributed positively to the creation of a federal legal framework, in parallel with institutional building and growth. G.W. Bush's warm description of Latin, especially Mexican immigrants' values and efforts in the U.S. can be understood in this sense, rather than as a pro-immigration stand. The aim is order and control, e.g., 'We want to know who is coming in the country and who is not coming in the country. And so I think it makes sense to say, if someone is willing to do a job Americans aren't doing, here's a temporary way to come and work' (18/5/2006).

Another frame that makes it easier to explain the co-hyponymy of immigration and terrorism to 'threat' is the 'protective container schema' device (Chilton 2004:114). Identified by Chilton in the political discourse of the British extreme right, it can be said to surpass, in the discourses of G.W. Bush, the limits of the traditional concept of domestic arena. In the light of the generalised perception shared by the former president under discussion, viz. the exceptional destiny of America in the world, a series of 9/11 analogies discussed in the previous chapter prompt me to expand the semantic field of the 'container' metaphor beyond the limits of domestic policy.

According to the area of intervention targeted by Bush afterwards, 'home' is outranked by the 'American interests', as G.W. repeatedly says in relation to the priority of his immigration reform, and 'defence' gives in to 'intervention', including world-wide multi-level targets, from New York to Iraq, from suspected illegal to monitored calls or bank accounts, all presented as legitimate objectives for the U.S. enlarged 'container'. However, it needs to be reminded that the doctrine of intervention is hardly the contribution of G.W. Bush to political thinking. Rather, he follows in the footsteps of a longer line of illustrious predecessors who got the American nation involved in distant wars in the 20th century and has been followed as of 2012 by his successor at the White House with Iraq and Afghanistan.

Although references to terrorism are the most numerous of the outgroup, the frequent co-occurrence with immigration and the lack of discrimination in the repeated enumerations of different types of offences, some of which criminal, some others not necessarily perpetrated by foreigners, indicates that, without necessarily abandoning the economic frame, group assignment may be made in view of the institutional need for reorganisation after the model of intervention suggested by 9/11, viz. of population police. Depending on the specific identities of different classes of others, an interactive self is moulded, and what could seem as a nationalist ideology emerging in the treatment of immigrant-others turns into an internationalist ideology with respect to extreme others, viz., the terrorists. Within these limits of the other group, it is however reasonable to say that, while in the representation of immigrants positive evaluation takes place, albeit in relation to past immigrants, no positive evaluation was found in relation to terrorists, which situates the former on the nearer pole to the self group.

Finally, the audience of the speeches of G.W. Bush is thus strongly associated to the discursive construction of an ideal self and an opposed other. These represent a long trend in the American narrative about the self and the other, practically since its foundation. The ideal self encounters its most striking expression in the claim of American exceptionality, whose mental construction is not estranged from the cultural myths of its colonial beginnings, as argued in 2.4.2. Exploited by political discourse in relation to national identity, one can perceive in this particular construct what other saw in Bush's presidency, namely a faith-based (New York Times, October 17, 2004), rather than a fact-based matter, fashioned by and captive to a type of discourse about the self. An unveiled pretence to infallibility of the unaccounted self-definition accompanies that which Fairclough named 'the manufacture of consent' (Fairclough 1999: 3). At this level, consent about the self intersects with consent about the other, both of which shall be discussed here from the contextual perspective of group profiling of immigrants.

With the highly regarded idealised self as a static variable, group delineation and other-group evaluation are more dynamic, formal variables of a larger ideological template functioning, as van Dijk affirms, on a self-serving scheme (van Dijk 2006: 115), according to the practical purpose of that design. For instance, illegal immigrants are criminalised in the moment they cross the U.S. border, and that widens the share of immigrants in

detention facilities. In turn, American employers who hire those immigrants are discharged with the argument of not knowing or of being tricked with forged documentation; in other words so not only is the immigrant worker unprotected, but he is also blamed for it.

Ingroup self-representation constitutes a powerful contrast with outgroup representation and both are sources of immigrant alterity. The self is assured a fixed, positive evaluation, even at times when it may relate poorly to the axiological frames operating at the referred time in the past or ever since. One example in this sense is provided by the discursive othering of immigrants in relation to the expected permanence in the U.S., as discussed in 3.2. More specifically, early immigrants were perceived as non-contributors to the nation due to the perception that they undertook migration for a limited time span, presumably occasioning the creation of ghettos and curbing social progress. On the contrary, immigration reform of the last decades has increasingly emphasised U.S. interest in temporary immigration, followed by return, while efforts to stay and work in the U.S. has come to be perceived in terms of civil insubordination.

The distance between the number of occasions in which G.W. Bush dedicated a presidential speech to immigration and the actual treatment of this aspect of U.S. policy in his discourses is one aspect that deserves consideration in the light of the quantitative findings presented in the previous chapter, Chapter 6, viz. the two-tiered immigrant representation. In contrast with the fixed representation of the in-group, the out-group appears more complex, evenly levelled. Frequency rates are one indicator of it. As illustrated in section 6.5, reference to the topic takes place on four levels. The first level, expressing concern with immigration, is materialised in the headline of the presidential addresses, which hardly amounts to 4% of the total number. The second level indicates concern with immigrant as an individual and attribution, e.g., immigrant work, etc., this one scarcely more substantial than the previous. The third level of description is about immigrants as a group, more than three times the reference to the immigrant as an individual. Finally, fourth and highest on the reference scale is the phenomenon of immigration. Accordingly, immigrant representation is the effect of different sub-group representations construed with the metaphor of the 'owned container'.

The phenomenon of immigration is the primary source of immigrant representation, whereby immigrants are portrayed as a mass of people relating to a space of veneration, viz., 'a nation of laws'. We are lead into accepting that, in reflexion of this ingroup conceptualisation, institutional roles are paramount in the treatment of immigrants. To that, G.W. Bush occasionally adds a personal, even sensitive, contribution, in an attempt to disguise the dramatic potential of his legal approach to immigration. The discourses are explicit about how his aims will be realised, but they create the impression of trying to avoid criticism on both sides of the political spectrum. A strong presidential character as G.W. Bush seeks to reach a rhetoric balance in the general play of lobbying groups, fellow politicians, a general public increasingly aware of an ongoing economic crisis, and the need to reap funding for a second presidential campaign. His institutional role explains why he is not interested in immigrants as persons and why, instead, is concerned about having control not over the U.S. border, but also on the immigrants living and working without authorisation in the territory of the United States of America. The desire to win a second term with the Latino vote will most likely discourage him from appearing either a ruthless career politician or a too undecided one.

G.W. Bush accompanies his proposal of immigration reform with a discourse that acknowledges the positive contribution of past immigrants, many of them illegal immigrants at first. I argue that on a number of occasions he evaluates positively present illegal immigrants in order to induce noble feelings of compassion in the ingroup, which

ends up capitalising on the merits of those immigrants' having fulfilled their dreams of freedom and abundance. However, this is not the only possible interpretation to it; at the same time, he challenges the relation of exclusivity between ingroup and positive representation, in an attempt to rally support for his proposal to revitalise temporary work and talent immigration schemes.

The existence of utilitarian expressions like 'temporary worker scheme' or 'guest worker' to refer to immigrants in contemporary discourse is a reminder of the provisional status of the concerned immigrants in the conditions of reasonability suggested by the 'container' metaphor. It means that these immigrants (need to acknowledge that they) are guests, do not belong to the place, are expected to leave at some point, and to act as requested by the procedure. The sum of operative instructions assumed about immigrants sets them apart from the people of the 'container'. To take the implications of the 'guest' metaphor even further, at the end of their 'visit' to the U.S., immigrants ideally maintain a state of gratitude and a token of appreciation is expected towards their hosts, perhaps economic benefits as those following the 1994 NAFTA Agreement discussed in section 3.1.3 of Chapter 2. These many nuances give life to otherwise resourceful naming devices which, filtered from the domain of policy into that of public debate, put under critical lens the idea of immigrants fancying a stable life in the U.S., at the same time as they feed anti-immigration feelings in the larger society for it.

That the contradictory idea of a duty guest be intimately related to that of out-group is not surprising. To carry the contradiction of 'non-belonging' even further, G.W. Bush gives a past reference to a present category in order to break the pattern of positive in/negative outgroup evaluation. While acclaiming the immigrants of the past, he refers to their offspring, now American citizens, in terms of 'the children and grandchildren of immigrants', 'the son of an Italian immigrant', 'the son of Mexican immigrants' or 'the son of a Polish immigrant', etc. As he acknowledges their professional trajectories, G.W. Bush acts on the subjacent harsh representation of those categories of immigrants in the past, in order to debunk it.

His is an instantiation of a broader strategy of representation at the national level, which consists in the proud affirmation of identity features such as race, religion, origin or personal belief, which have been the stumbling point of coexistence in the past. The ideological bias of that strategy consists in the information it suppresses, specifically the parallel history of discrimination that accompanied the different moments when such cultural diversity was being forged.

The choice of naming American citizens from the consideration of their predecessors' immigrant condition is misleading. In a smooth move along the time scale, what G.W. Bush hides behind the 'land of opportunity' watchword (retrospectively applied) is the fact that success was reaped *against* the general feeling of hostility in the past. This perspectivation strategy consists in amending past attitudes towards incoming groups with facts about immigrant success stories, with no reparatory concession to the generally negative model of representation assigned to immigrants and discussed in 7.2.1. What such strategic use of group and attributes prevents from being seen is that past immigrants are the American citizens of every generation, so their affirmative values add to the positive description of the ingroup.

7.3. IMMIGRANT REPRESENTATION

The multicultural genealogy of the American people to which G.W. Bush refers in his presidential addresses is a long-embraced feature of national identity and a source of positive self-presentation. However, a finer adjustment to the social, political and discursive context of every new generation of immigrants reveal to the inquiring eye an atmosphere of tension, of fight for structural advantages and of discrimination, both by the (already) American citizens (McCaffrey 1984: 100-2) and by preceding generations of immigrants (Rockaway 1990: 206). As was suggested in 1.2, and argued in Chapters 2 and 3, generations of racial and cultural others have undergone conditions that by no standard could be described as welcoming in the twenty-first century, viz., indentured servitude, slavery, ghettoisation, restricted access to public and institutional settlements. In other words, contemporary negative representation of present-day immigrants reproduces an ideological pattern used in the past, when the immigrants of those times were also negatively portrayed (Dinnerstein, Nichols and Reimers 1979: 123; Waters 1990: 2) only to be acclaimed as role models, they and their offspring, decades later, after they have overcome the adversities of the beginning. Therefore, I retain the presence of an ideological move in the celebration of American multiculturalism, even alleviated by the contemporary acknowledgment of their contribution to the U.S.A. (or the American nation), in the absence of a change of paradigm regarding contemporary others.

The contribution of many generations of researchers has permitted to re-establish the historical truth regarding the presence of people from different cultures on the self-appropriated soil of the North American continent. As argued in 3.1.1, expressions such as 'melting pot' or 'the wretched', now having a certain ethnologic value, bear linguistic proof of the dominating negative perception U.S. had had of its own cultural diversity at the actual time it was taking place. Furthermore, if the former expression reflects a perception on the process and the result of ethnic diversity, it is the latter which covers a special significance in terms of immigrant group representation, as it represents a preferred immigration scheme. The criteria for immigrant authorisation aim at the construction of the American (national) identity, and are conceptualised as values and ethics, e.g., 'the values of faith in God, love of family, hard-work and self-reliance', 'the talent and the character and the patriotism of immigrant families', '14 percent of our nation's civilian workforce is foreign-born', as well as strategic advantages 'the children of immigrants put on the uniform and helped to liberate the lands of their ancestors' (January 8, 2012).

In terms of lexicalisation, immigrant representation is delivered by means of different degrees of intentional explicitness, lack thereof, and allusion, all of which can be viewed in association with their co-text, inter-text, situational context and cultural knowledge. With the aim of offering a well-balanced discussion of the alterity features found in the discourses of G.W. Bush, I felt compelled by the text to hold on to group representation for the interpretation of corpus results

Having emphasised positive ingroup and negative outgroup evaluation, G.W. Bush attempts to conceal the complementary moves of de-emphasising negative-ingroup and positive outgroup evaluations. He does that by forging an arguable category (the offspring of long-time Latino immigrants) with shifting temporal and identity values, within the horizon of fixed positive evaluation. It is more to defining present American citizens as members of the outgroup than mere solecism. By the creative licence of naming present-

day Americans ‘children of the immigrants’, Bush creates a mental space according to which (past) immigrants can be conceived of as (present) insiders, braking the evaluation scheme valid for the past moment in which many of them were actually viewed as outsiders; the updated look on past immigrants situates them closer to the deictic centre of the ingroup, even though they have always been there, but whose positive evaluation (at present) helps Bush dodge the scheme of negative-other presentation and thus escape the stigma of racist or xenophobic speech.

In the discourses of G.W. Bush, positive ingroup representation shapes the representation of others, while others are entailed by it, whether reflecting the desirable qualities or going against those. The president appeals to the virtues of the national self to acknowledge similar value in others, in which case the self recreates the other, or to emphasize other’s unrequited beliefs and actions. The ingroup gives the standard of evaluation, therefore the self is in a position of power which makes the fact of assigning possible to start with. Group assignation and evaluations (e.g., who gets to be called an immigrant in a nation of immigrants, and when, or who gets to be called a terrorist in a government episodically at war with weaker nations) are relative to the profile of the speaker (e.g., the head of the state and government of the U.S.), following in general the principles of positive self/ negative other presentation.

I here argue that, in his institutional discourse, G.W. Bush makes a specific use of van Dijk’s ‘ideological square’ template, also brought into discussion earlier. I locate this use at the tenor level of language use. For the institutions he governs, rather than for him personally, the highly abstracted notion of national being, with the values taken to construe it, demands, at the discursive level, a fixed template field which can only be evaluated positively. This field is pre-defined and universally positive, as familiarity with institutional discourse tells us. Institutions do not elaborate policies based on individual cases, but on observing tendencies and their intervention is top-down, in agreement with a set aim, non-negotiable and highly consequential. Bush seems motivated to give an alternative to the impersonal intervention of institutions with the ingroup, since he intends to embellish the side effects of top-down initiatives with the involvement of faith-based organisations in the field of social work. At the same time, his reparatory strategy of formal (although not structural) de-institutionalisation is done without challenging the fixed model of positive ingroup representation; on the contrary, he constantly reinforces it, whether the other group may be evaluated positively or negatively.

Immigration is no exception to the trend. In simplification, immigrants are a priori, although not theoretically, isolated from the ingroup, by means of context words relating to individual or organised crime, and its corresponding legal enforcement or social and economical drawback and its institutional intervention. When they are endowed with features which describe them in a more positive (or at least sympathetic) light, an interesting argumentation takes place. They are either acclaimed for their values and contribution to the U.S. in the past or the idea of an ideal immigrant is foregrounded as required by the immigration law.

The former situation allows at least two possibilities of interpretation. The first takes into account the temporal axis of narrative enfolding, along which there is a time lapse between past immigrants being immigrants of their time, with their negative, criminalising references, and the same people being positively appreciated many decades later. The political attractive of the missing time syndrome resides in its resources to revitalise positive ingroup representation by giving astonishing accounts about others while struggling to engage with present state of affairs.

The second, more practical interpretation, favours that past immigrants have been on trial for positive representation, and, having reached the second or third generation of immigrants, they, their values, roles and actions are formally acknowledged. Discursively, they are born again for the community, and included in the prototype of the American self. The time lapse may be seen as a rite of passage, with social rituals such as filing for a security number, archive personal information with their fingerprints, sometimes do medical exams, be accepted, swear allegiance, pay dues, participate in the life of the community, in order to acculturate and show worthy of becoming acceptable citizens. On many occasions, G.W. Bush gives a detailed account of the debts and duties illegal immigrants already living in the U.S. should comply with before or during the process of authorisation, such as turn themselves in, pay a fine, learn English, get at the end of the line for residence rights, assimilate, know the history s of the USA, etc.

With the aim of stable positive in-group representation, past others, although defined as relatives of immigrants, become acceptable selves in the present, even if this occurs in a twist of narrative frames, viz., by defying past perceptions about past immigrants and present perceptions about present-day immigrants. With ingroup members presented as hybrid others, the former president explores a relatively out-of-the-box and uncommon pattern of positive outgroup representation, at least by creating a mental model of alternative conceptualisations of immigrants which contemporary world views may choose to embrace about recent immigrants.

In a move towards positive national representation, Bush's proposal of immigration reform gives public and official recognition to the immigrants' positive contribution to the country, e.g., 'America is a stronger and better nation because of the hard work and the faith and entrepreneurial spirit of immigrants', '14 percent of our nation's civilian workforce is foreign-born' (July 7, 2004). As the former president was trying to persuade his audience of the rationality of a middle ground between extreme models of enforcement, his illustrations of do's and don'ts in immigration policy recur frequently to two opposed models of others, the enemy (the terrorist, the unauthorised, the violent, the criminal) a precedent to maintain it in the future, e.g., 'Every generation of immigrants has reaffirmed the wisdom of remaining open to the talents and dreams of the world' (idem).

The impact of idealised positive image of the ingroup on immigration policy is dual. On the one hand, it gives legitimation to enforce the exiting law, although G.W. Bush prefers to endorse his own immigration reform in tune with the current affairs of the moment. He assures that his proposition will make America, suggested by the implicitly possessive construction 'the [our] wisdom' into its ideal self, viz., 'a more compassionate, more humane and stronger country', the above speech he gave on the July, 1st, 2004 represents immigrants as skills or assets who participate into a mastermind economical design of the U.S. federation. They are objectified, grouped and abstracted as 'hard-work', 'spirit', 'faith', 'percent', 'force', 'generation', 'talents', 'dreams', etc. On the other hand, the values of the ingroup are construed to oblige in the sense of a 'compassionate' but 'comprehensive' immigration reform. The former quality argues for the acknowledgement of usefulness of immigrants and the advantages they brought in the past; the latter pleads for border and workplace enforcement, including detention and deportation of longtime immigrants.

One specific source of positive immigrant representation is connected to the fastest path to citizenship, that of enlisting for the U.S. armed forces. The bravery of foreign-born soldiers is used both as a reminder of the immigrants' contribution in past wars and a recognition of contemporary immigrants' support of US policy in their countries of origin. It includes native speakers of Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Kurdish, Nepalese and Russian, but

it does not target native speakers of Spanish. However, G.W. Bush's topicalisation of the foreign-born U.S. force is not a new strategy for the representation of immigrants. It can be traced back to WWI war propaganda presented in 2.2.1, when American population and immigrants alike were expected to join 'government work' or pay back a service of freedom by helping the U.S. government in distant wars. Re-dimensioning America from a spatial to an axiological container, the values invoked in self-representation of the U.S. constitute an ideological battlefield with unlimited territorial boundaries.

The interplay of these two perspectives designs an ideological platform against which international issues are construed as American concerns and domestic values are projected internationally as compulsory developments with vital repercussion on the U.S. civilisation and progress. In an unprecedented globalised panorama, Bush's representation of the enemy represents a shift from the altering pattern centred in ethnic or national considerations which characterised war talk at the beginning of the 20th century, e.g., 'European', 'Serbian', 'Armenian', 'Syrian' on the side of the allies and 'Hun', 'German', 'the Kaiser', on that of the enemy. However, he maintains the idea of the enemy's under-representation of America or of its capabilities is strikingly similar to that observed half a century ago. For example, the slogans of WWI propaganda reading 'We don't put down our tools till quitting time', 'Together we win', 'And they thought we couldn't fight' (italics in the original) are quite similar to the thoughts which Bush suggests to his troops in order to nurture their morale and fighting appetite, e.g., 'they thought we wouldn't fight for what we believed' (January 30, 2002), 'Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place', 'America will call evil by its name', 'There is no neutral ground- no neutral ground - in the fight between civilization and terror' (June 1, 2002).

The institutional approach offers a fruitful explanation for the discursive altering of others taking place in the addresses of G.W. Bush. A great majority of predications about the ingroup in relation to immigrants or the broader group of others take place from the governmental perspective of strategic security. This perspective is at the same time the locus of a great degree of generalisations about who or what can constitute a threat and the level at which different possible hazards are indiscriminately put together with no other report than the sum of intimidating effects represented by each. In this sense, the analysis of the most frequent group indicators 'we' and 'they' has helped identify the content of each group and even establish the most extreme manifestations inhabiting them. Thus, the outgroup was found to include elements so different as the descendants of past immigrants, actually an ingroup member strategically situated in the overlapping area of both groups for the evaluation reasons discussed above, as well as opposition members (as ideological others) and terrorists, the prototype of extreme evil.

The collocation of immigrants in a long line of problematical others, in line with underachieving children, criminals, traffickers, gang members and 'non Mexican' people is mainly descriptive, and it only gets argumentative within the frame of antisocial behaviour, viz., as an antagonistic group. The indistinct queue of criminal characterisations whose common feature is border and security argues in favour of a predication model waiting to be replenished rather than genuine concern with individuals whose behaviour may be daunting. From this perspective, G.W. Bush's attempt to justify negative attitudes towards foreign-born people is creating a category of dreadful enemies of the society already proved with single mothers, immigrants, communists, etc, whose public denigration is satisfactory motive for enforcement. It may be that feels exempted of displaying arguments for this semantic representation of immigrants beyond the USA Patriot Act. Even recognising the contribution of generations of foreign-born people, he puts under strict enforcement every potential suspect of crimes against U.S. objectives, and recommends

civil population mobilisation to submit potential threat signals. In his approach to targeted others, legitimisation and coercion become free elements with liberty to merge or to become instrumental to one another.

It has been brought into attention above that there is a representational bias in the American narratives of the self and the others, as a result of which social cohesion was undermined. Past alterity has given place to a social and political model for the relation with the other in the sense indicated by the dispossession of the first populations living on the American continent upon the arrival of the first colonisers. To reformulate in Chilton's terms, their discursive alterity, followed by that of immigrants, carries a deictic signature (Chilton 2004: 138) for time, according to which, contemporary values are attached to past events, thus situating them closer to the centre where the self lies.

In other words, the strategic interplay of time and value is responsible for the false impression of positive outgroup representation, whereby past actors which were evaluated negatively when they were recent immigrants are evaluated positively in the present and thus brought closer to the deictic centre of the ingroup of Americans. I argue this to be an example of ideological use of time and value frames in that it fails the internal coherence test, and is all too generalising to apply to the representation of either past or present immigrants.

I sense that in the ideal construction of a young American nation ready to welcome foreign and dispossessed people, as echoed by the discourses of G.W. Bush, ideology is located at the crossing points of the axiological and temporal axes of representation; more specifically, it is enacted through the complementary processes of subjective self-evaluation and anachronism, as values highly regarded from a psychological perspective on the human being are used to epitomise past, and suggest present, attitudes and events.

Throughout this section a general corpus exploration was seen to produce a number of frequent group-trigger words, which were drawn on in order to reconstruct the architecture of the ingroup and the outgroup as set up in the presidential speeches of G.W. Bush. They confirm partially van Dijk's construct of 'ideological square' and it is due to a strategic move of concealment that the construction is not completed in an obvious way. The concealment discussed above consists presenting one segment of the ingroup in terms usually reserved to the out-group, faking thus positive-other evaluation. I retain this use to be ideological, in so far as it is construed, as Chilton suggested, at shifting distances from the spatial, temporal and axiological centre of an invariably positive self.

7.3.1. In relation to Referential and Predicational strategies

The corpus-driven approach to the representation of immigrants starts with lexicalisation and the mental model triggered by word choice. A number of words denoting immigrants were obvious choices, such as immigrant(s) and immigration, conventionally represented with the search convention 'immigra*', retaining the primary lexical unit of the family and the suggestion of the possible affixes. The context of presidential elections in which Latino support was the target of both candidates, as well as the economic context of which G.W. Bush was painfully aware represent the springboard of two contradictory representation of immigrants, both against the tide of negative immigrant profiling.

The first consists in dignifying immigrants even to the point of transforming them as a group into a magniloquent alter ego, made in the image of the ideal self. These representations are projected with certain frequency but do not overcome in number those who predicate immigrants as subaltern or illegitimate. The second makes institutional approach appear as the most reasonable approach to the presence of immigrants in the U.S., for two related ideas openly presented in the presidential speeches. Even if particular cases of positive representation are displayed, the institutional frame operates on the assumption that exceptional circumstances justify arbitration of principles (for the better or the worse of the immigrants), and therefore an environment of scarce/ limited resources makes social selection of access sound ethical. The danger of this mental scheme lies in its potential for power-related institutions to apply risk management policies that are or may become abusive towards the targeted population.

This argumentation scheme was noted in results chapter to apply both to immigrants and terrorists, an issue that shall be taken up again later. One of the practical effects of this belief in the context discussed here is discursive legitimization of exclusion of immigrants, and more generally of others. This mind frame is altering towards illegal immigrants, who, due to their frequent criminalisation, are usually used as an example of the proof which demonstrates the rule. The information that is avoided in this context, but is public, is the amount of alterity inflicted by this model of thinking to the legal immigrants brought to U.S. on guest-work programmes as those G.W. Bush wants to reinvigorate, and which labour movements have publicly criticised because of the climate of defencelessness and legal insecurity of the temporary workers (see sections 2.3 and 3.1.2 for a discussion of the effects of different NAFTA agreements).

The extent to which Bush refers to immigrants is inferior to the broader American context of the 2000s, when terrorism and Americanness are given more discursive attention. This may explain why his predecessor Clinton talked about immigrants much more than did G.W. Bush, although a sensitive insight must take into account the Oklahoma terrorist attack perpetrated during the presidency of B. Clinton, which generated a wave of foreign-born targeting, despite the identity of the perpetrator (for a discussion see section 3.1.2). Somehow paradoxically, the identity of the Twin Tower bombers, foreign-born and Muslim, has caused Bush to speak relatively as much as Clinton about immigrants or immigration taken together, but increasingly more about both than the wider American public.

As discourse topicalisation of immigrants is indicative of the place immigrants are given in the discourses of G.W. Bush, immigration reference and predication are indicative of how they are thought of. With conceptualisations present in the discourses of the U.S. President, a model can be argued as an example to the wider public, ready to be shared and further reproduced. The most frequent context words of the three ‘immigra*’ words [immigrant, immigrants, immigration] indicate different kinds of actors. Above everything, they are illegal, i.e., unauthorised by the Government to live and work in the U.S. and sometimes legal, that is, on their way to or already having permanent status. The former outnumbers the latter, which is also very frequent a nomination, which accounts for the positive outgroup evaluation discussed earlier.

They are especially perceived as a collective, a quantitative (ethnic, family or generational) group (many, millions), as representing a place of origin (Italian, Slovak, etc) and sometimes an attribute completes an otherwise depersonalised picture, such as honest and poor (for the immigrants of the past) and criminal (for present day illegal immigrants), or time, e.g., newcomer, elderly, etc. Often more than one naming source is employed, such as nationality and criminality (Mexican illegal) or criminality and enforcement

applied to them (illegal immigrant caught). Occasionally, individual names are used for people in the president's itinerant entourage in different locations in the country or notable members of the audience, e.g., Mel, Martinez, Guadalupe, etc.

In general, a correlation can be established between the names chosen in representation of immigrants and the evaluations attached to them in the sense that older immigrants, represented in a positive light, are not only evaluated positively, but they are occasionally given the dignity to be called on their personal names. By all means, speaking about others and naming others manifest the position of power and authority of the person who does the naming, and the naming choices will reflect the degree of proximity with that which is named. Consequently, closer to the affective centre of the American self are past immigrants (closeness reflected in the names and qualities used to describe them), while on the farther end of the value scale are situated terrorists. Not in the least, one feels compelled to underscore to which extent the affective distance from contemporary others leaves an impression on the linguistic realisations chosen to relate to them. Thus, references to the ingroup are realised by multiple denominations, sometimes complex and convoluted stretches of language, whose reference domain can be easily identified due to their positive, implied positive, or defocalised negative predications; in contrast, others, are especially named through predications, either seriously negative or condescendingly empathic, which often suppress the naming device, fulfilling the role of both reference and predication, e.g., illegal immigrant or terrorist are names name functioning at the same time as definition, evaluation and offence type (legal classification).

Other lexical choices used to refer to immigrants are the collective nouns 'alien' and 'people'. The former has a long tradition in the discourse about (and especially against) immigration in the U.S., and it can be spotted in the title of some of the most restrictive immigration laws, as presented in 3.1.1. The word has persisted in fiction, in the legal argot, in magazines and in academic language, and it seems to refer to both categories of immigrants, legal and illegal, as a synonym with 'foreigner'. G.W. Bush uses it on few occasions, in the context of law enforcement, that is, in relation to illegal immigrants, which places him in between Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, in terms of frequency of use. The latter word is used only marginally, in which case can be inferred to be a hyperonym of 'immigrants', both legal and illegal, to which aspects their use is connected. Finally, a closer analysis of the co-text and the inter-textual relations between utterances has revealed that immigrants are co-textualised as criminals, drug and human traffickers, gang members and terrorists.

One referential strategy identified in the discourses of G.W. Bush and realised on the level of lexical selection consists in superposing the phenomenon, viz., immigration, to the actual protagonist, the immigrant, and the group to the individual. I do not retain this preference to be ideologically motivated, taking into account that the speeches selected for analysis followed a strong tenor criterion. The deliverer of the speeches was at the referred time President elect of the United States and his duty towards his fellow citizens implied a functional Government. I propose the interpretation that the more or less conscious use of depersonalising devices prompted by the institutional approach on the life and faith of millions of immigrants in the U.S. represents a political choice and is traceable to ideological frames. In fact, G.W. Bush seems aware of this predicament when he recurs to last-moment rephrasing or skilfully managing expressions or argumentation schemes which are commonly exposed as inappropriate towards ethnic others.

The lexicalisation of immigrants in the speeches of G.W. Bush informs about the concern of the U.S. Government (security and economy) with immigration on the background of an ample and systemic reorganisation of the Department of Homeland

Security which followed 9/11. It is from the perspective of security that consistent co-occurrence of immigrants with different types of criminal offenders can be understood, which add to a number of depersonalising devices emerge in the representation of present-day immigrants, e.g., ‘alien’, ‘coyote’, ‘crook’, ‘illegal’. On the contrary, past immigrants are positively evaluated, according to the general pattern of ingroup representation identified previously in this chapter.

A number of naming choices could be identified due to the great number of presidential discourses included in the corpus; the absence of a broader co-text would have rendered invisible a number of naming devices, or reduced them to accidental immigrant reference. Thus, topics such as the English language and entertainment are indicative of two different contexts for the representation of immigrants; the former is related to the presence of foreign-born students in the U.S. system of education and their levels of achievement, and the latter emphasised the contribution of past Hispanic immigrants, especially those proceeding from Cuba, to the artistic life in the U.S. over the years.

Other frequent key words, such as ‘amnesty’, ‘deportation’, ‘catch and release’, ‘border’, ‘enforcement’, ‘citizenship’, ‘law’, ‘temporary (work)’, ‘illegal’, ‘non’, ‘Mexican’ entail immigrant representation in terms of subalternity. In other words, illegal immigrants are confined to a legal frame whence it is impossible for them to undertake upward (social) mobility, from displaced to land owner in his home country, from illegal to legal resident in the receiving country, from the black market to social syndication, from free to detained, from non-citizen to citizen, etc.

In terms of predications attached to immigrants, the most obvious attributes (for their number, meaning and practical implications) are: ‘illegal’ and ‘new’, followed by ‘many’ and ‘Mexican’. As ingroup profile has revealed, their identity is contoured from the perspective of their quantity (‘millions’), collective (‘generation’), ethnic background (‘Polish’), country of origin (‘Ireland’), family (‘children of’) and the ingroup’s perception about them (‘poor’). Unauthorised displaced people are often named from more than one such perspectives. For instance, the most frequent clusters of ‘illegal’ and ‘immigrant’ word combination brings to light conceptual blends of official status and ethnicity or non-ethnicity (‘Mexican illegal immigrants’, ‘non Mexican illegal immigrants’) or legal status and correction (‘illegal immigrants caught’). The context in which those attributions take place are equally revealing as the attributions themselves; thus immigrants are evaluated as honest, entrepreneurial, with family values in the context of past persecutions, patriotism, industry, but they are also criminals, traffickers and entries in the context of country, border and economy. A series of non-explicit referents (‘people’, ‘they’, ‘coyote’, ‘employer’, ‘document forgers’), signalled by Chilton (2004: 111) as the locus of epistemic and deontic legitimation, avoid precise reference but are repeatedly mentioned in the company of different types of others.

The domain of reference for the attribute ‘illegal’ in the discourses of G.W. Bush are human and non-human entities. The notion of illegal human beings is altering in that de-humanising and de-personalising and brings the institutional approach in contrariety with the unalienable rights to life, freedom, happiness and security, as suggested by the American Declaration of Independence and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, respectively. Among illegal human beings Bush mentions ‘immigrants’, ‘workers’, ‘militias’, ‘aliens’ and ‘entrants’, while the non-human category includes ‘immigration’, ‘weapons’, ‘drugs’, and ‘crossings’. With the exception of the word ‘militia(s)’, the predominance of immigrants in the category of de-authorised human beings suggests, without explicitly stating it, that they associate with the corresponding non-human categories, viz., weapons and drugs. As the last category is undeniably bad against all

standards, the idea is insinuated that, since unauthorised things are bad, then unauthorised people are also bad. The same association of evaluations is once more strengthened by the existence of 'terrorism' in the more distant context of the search word.

As was already noted in regard to group profiling of immigrants, the presidential discourses deal with a concept of immigrant which draws on a number of common features with terrorists, as opposed to Americans. Among these there are spatial borders, whether crossed in a legal or an illegal manner (terrorists vs. immigrants), threat ('they will strike again' vs. 'put a strain on local economy'), intensity ('hateful' vs. 'dangerous criminal gangs'), ethnic belonging, threat to the general entropy of the system ('destroy our way of life' vs. 'instability and illegal immigration'), violence and the imperative of response ('will be caught and sent home' vs. 'stronger immigration enforcement and border protection'). The general contexts in which these concepts function are, again, shared to a great extent. These are: ingroup development (including culture, values, economy, security) and outgroup criminality, which is the locus of frequent associations between immigration and terrorism, whether the topic is the former or the latter. Terrorism being as of 2012 the most consequential accusation that can be formulated with regard to a person, and it implies diversity from the ingroup, it is the most extreme criminalising term which can be used with immigrants.

I argue that the correlation established in the discourses of G.W. Bush between the two is artificial in that it is not fact-based. Alternatively, the argumentation scheme he uses to involve immigrants in such an excessive representation is fallacious, since neither all terrorists are immigrants, nor all immigrants are terrorists. The side effect of this negative immigrant conceptualisation is positive for the ingroup, due to the affective distance between others and selves.

Although not extensively argued by G.W. Bush, the explicit association between evil and immigrants finds its utmost expression in the pragmatic field of legal enforcement, more specifically, in the late 2001 Patriot Act. The purpose of homeland security and a highly hypothesised enemy figure construed in terms of foreign origin and hate ideology, a number of others become target of pre-emptive population politics. In a general relinquishment of civil rights argued in 3.1.3, suspected (illegal) immigrants and American citizens alike (Whitehead and Aden 2002: 1081) were included in the potential enemy list. Bush's approach to population security, initiated by his predecessor after the Oklahoma bombing and carried on by his successor, upgrades the enemy figure from immigrants to building bombers (the author was an American) and further still to peopled plane hijacking (whose suspects were American citizens of Saudi origin). In Bush's hierarchy of otherness, immigrants are situated closer to the ingroup and terrorists farther from it, while considerable overlapping takes place by means of negatively evaluated non-explicit reference as those previously discussed.

The inclusion of immigrants in the conceptual model of hateful others, whose extreme embodiment are terrorists, represents a vault of the political discourse into fictionalised reality comparable with accounts of the other discussed earlier in chapter two, section 2.2.2. As then, I argue that the ascendance of any covenant (economic, cultural or political) over the personhood of human beings is impoverishing and unacceptable. Power-affiliated institutional discourse is not a stranger to the ways in which the community and society position themselves in relation to similar manifestations of alterity, but individual and communitarian participation is worth considering as well, as earlier formulated in section 3.1.3 of Chapter Two.

Alterity, understood as a process whereby human beings are voided of their experience as 'selves' (i.e., experiences that allow one to feel coherent and valued), ends up in collective (but also one's own) identification of the devoid persons with the roles assigned to them. I retain that such subtle device of DISSOCIATION OF EXPERIENCE FROM THE SELF resulting in collective criminalisation, blaming, scapegoating of immigrants is a pattern of alterity directed against the immigrants' personhood. Its expressive force would be unconceivable were it not conceived as an opposite to the national self and at a distance from absolute evil, terrorism.

Other sources of negative immigrant-representation are (1) criminalising devices, (2) de-personalising devices and (3) metaphors. The most fruitful is immigration enforcement, an aspect itself of the ampler population and risk management approach. Actions like 'detaining', 'processing' and 'deporting' presented in the text as a solution to the illegal immigration of the 21st century can only be interpreted as extreme treatment given to extremely vicious persons. At the same time, they empower a negative perception about all immigrants, until their legality is resolved, in the sense of the 2001 Patriot Act. Accordingly, acts as those emphasised about illegal immigrants with a criminal record are generalised to any foreign-born resident, a representation scheme already detected in the discourses of G.W. Bush.

The alterity of such an argumentation scheme consists in the expansion of the range of misconduct from the concept of actual transgression to that of potential transgression, thus narrowing the gap between the act of committing a crime and the impression of the intention/ disposition to actually commit one. Part of Orwell's charm about the newspeak phenomenon resumed in the lexical choice 'crimethink' (Orwell 1947) consisted in the fiction of imagining thought to be a threat to the institutional power. The totalitarian temptation underlying such approach to security emphasises fear of threat over threat itself. In real life politics, this model of risk management can only be used as an argument to legitimise violent intervention on the wide population, starting from those segments whose public image is more damaged and gradually redistributing the model of alterity to contingent social circles.

In this sense, a reverse analogy can be argued between the model of development presented in section 4.3.1 and the management of identity discussed throughout the present chapter, in that both generate expansion along the contingent concentric circles of the initially implicated social strata. It was assumed in the indicated chapter that the former is realised through empowerment at top generating residual wealth redistribution at lower levels of economic power. By the same token, it is proposed now that the gradual politicisation of identity, consisting in a general trend of public vilification of the social segments with less or none access to the mechanism of identity construction, such as immigrants, has the potential to affect contiguous social strata, which may be gradually redirected from self-representation to role-performance.

In legal practice, pondering a crime has a long history of being considered incriminatory only after a crime was committed or attempted. However, the discourses of G.W. Bush suggest (even) potential enemies of the people are bad, which is why a number of Patriot Act provisions actually target honest and guilty people alike, as honest in fact does not exclude guilty in mind or in the future. The weapon of insecurity and fear is lethal in its symbolism, as members of the ingroup may feel encouraged to avoid contact with unknown people, given the theoretical possibility of coming across anti-social subjects, and even to summon authorities to police those based on their interpretation of the strangers' aspect or intentions.

Besides terrorism, law enforcement brings together in the same representation scheme immigrants, drug traders, gang members, slave traders, etc. Immigrants are thus the more or less explicitly denoted others construed in antagonism with ‘agents’, ‘investigators’, ‘Border Patrol’, etc. As proposed above, non-explicit meanings allow for considerable cross-reference with respect to identities and groups. Their presence in the law enforcement narrative allows members of the ingroup to be erroneously assigned to the outgroup, based on their predications, i.e., due to reiterated association of negative terms and circumstance for outsiders, and in contrast with the evaluation models available for the insiders. Implicitness is thus once more used to legitimise the pattern of positive ingroup and negative outgroup representation.

As a result of the opacity in outgroup or inter-group reference, certain parts of the text fail to establish a qualitative distinction between types of agents or types of others. Consequently, their different actions are capitalised, creating the impression of an organised brotherhood of foreign wrongdoers, while the multiple and diverse types of law infringement are collectively and indistinctively referred to in absolute terms, viz., as serious direct threats. In a general contexts of positive self-representation and only formal (and euphemistical) reference to criminal actions perpetrated by the local population (‘hunting criminals’, ‘corporate criminals’), even if not necessarily American, the distance is created between a hygienic self and an all too general prototype of the lawless in the United States. In an original twist to justice, G.W. complained in 2004 about U.S. prosecuting easier local financial engineers, but not malevolent others: ‘law enforcement could more easily obtain business and financial records of white-collar criminals than of suspected terrorists’. I retain that the ARBITRATION of a fundamental feature of the American identity, viz., that of principled justice, represents an altering scheme both towards the ingroup and the outgroup, but while the former is a theoretical construction, the latter is pragmatically oriented by the former. More specifically, construing justice in terms of excessive strain on the in-group, is done at the expenses of identity loss for the group, even if it reaps institutional advantages from which it may eventually benefit. At the same time, the high standards of justice argued for the ingroup are invoked in order to legitimise the criminalisation of immigrants and extend American jurisdiction over foreign finance or property under suspicion of terrorism. In terms of argumentation, G.W. Bush avoids accountability for selective profiling of foreign-born people and assets by preemptively construing a legal frame to legitimate otherwise objectionable measures of population management.

By placing crime, immigration and terrorism in mutual company, G.W. Bush establishes a common semantic domain, viz., a specific area of cultural emphasis (Otteneimer 2006:8), and consequently a clue for the reception of the presidential discourses as far as immigrants are concerned. In other words, the subtle quantitative differences being difficult to grasp, semantic domains represent a track for the audience to construe meaning about what immigrants are and what they do or is done about them, away from unmediated experience with them. In other words, by locating immigrants and terrorists in the same semantic domain, G.W. Bush establishes a formal niche for the conceptualisation of immigrants as global threat and LEGITIMATES a number of provisions argued as unconstitutional, of the USA Patriot Act, in its targeting of Arab and Hispanic civil population (as discussed in section 3.1.3 of the present work). With respect to the ingroup, the strategic move of unifying internal and external ‘evil’ in one medal, G.W. Bush sets America apart both from its own reality and from the rest of the world, unaccounted, and on the solitary path of internal monologue.

De-personalising devices occur when a utilitarian, sometimes institutional perspective enlightens the representation of immigrants, which is inseparable from the containment representation of the ingroup. The implication of such representation is that the same perspective may prevail over both the ingroup and the outgroup; however, while the ingroup generates and capitalises on the perspective, e.g., 'U.S. owned', the outgroup is generated by and subaltern to both the ingroup and its perspective, e.g., 'people are trying to sneak in this country to do jobs Americans aren't doing'. One de-authorising de-ethicising device deserves special recognition for the original association of concepts gathered together for the purpose of naming, that of 'non Mexican illegal immigrants'. A term with only a reduced use related to the trade of stocks, when used to refer to people it makes G.W. Bush a contributor to the linguistic resources that express the commoditisation of human beings. The utilitarian abstraction, although one way in which de-personalisation of the immigrants is inflicted ('burden', 'strain', 'problems like economic instability and illegal immigration', 'illegal labour market', etc), is, at the same time, the only perspective from which immigrants are positively represented. I shall recover the discussion about positive immigrant representation at a later point.

A number of opaque de-humanising devices situated in the colloquial register of language draw one's attention for their use in official presidential discourse. Although they are used in the context of border enforcement and denote negative actions, reference to immigrants is not explicit. Moreover, terms such as 'smugglers', 'folks' or 'coyote' referring to people guiding immigrants across the desert into the U.S., contrast with others borrowed from professional argot, e.g., 'intelligence spending', 'criminal investigator', denoting U.S. immigration officers, for whom there is the equivalent word 'migra' in colloquial speech, make register another locus of immigration-related alterity. Leaving aside blatant positive ingroup/ negative outgroup evaluations, the contrast between the precision and formality of ingroup reference and the implicit reference realised at an informal level of language use represents an interpretation chart for the model of outgroup proposed vis-à-vis the ingroup.

The system of group representation revealed by the discourses of G.W. Bush argue in favour of group polarisation, with fixed positive ingroup evaluation on the one hand and predominantly negative immigrant representation, on the other. The self and the others are packed up to integrate a bipolar system of truth. The system is not proportional in the degree of interdependence, since the ingroup does not need the outgroup in order to define and represent itself, but the outgroup is dependent to the ingroup for its (positive or negative) representation. However, the system tends to be stable, and in order to maintain its stability, incoming new information is integrated to either confirm or update the representation template. Both types of information processing can be involved in ideological discourse. For instance, the perception that illegal immigrants are dangerous criminals is confirmed in the discourses of G.W. Bush through his reference choice, e.g., 'aliens', 'millions', 'illegal', 'son of a Mexican immigrant'; through topicalisation, e.g., by prioritising the phenomenon over the protagonists, the law enforcement over the social approach, the loss over the gains; through the argumentation scheme, by co- and contextualising immigration and terrorism and finally through the legal approach, by targeting terrorism and immigration in one piece of law. In turn, G.W. Bush updates the existent knowledge about immigrants when he speaks of the (family) values shared by Americans and Latinos, or about the U.S. history of welcoming immigration.

As the last two cases are related to positive immigrant representation, which will be discussed later in this chapter, a reflection seems appropriate at this point in relation to the mechanism of truth maintenance through confirmation. Van Dijk and Chilton have been

repeatedly quoted throughout this work for their contribution to the cognitive setup of political discourse, and G.W. Bush has already provided plenty of illustration of how new information is managed. On the one hand, he follows the existing model of ingroup positive self-representation and re-evaluates past facts such as the racial bias in immigration regulation; on the other hand, he confirms negative immigrant representation as well as it updates negative immigrant representation in the past to a positive representation of past immigrants. With his personal style, G.W. Bush acts in the sense of confirming existing mental models about each group, which encourages me to speak, with a metaphor borrowed from the field of archaeology, about a meta-strategy of fossilisation into an ingroup/ outgroup legitimisation/ criminalisation ideological representation.

Discursive fossilisation would then manage factual information according to the discursive template required by the pragmatic rationale that generated the discursive orb in the first place. In other words, what is de-emphasised or omitted about the ingroup, e.g., no reference is ever made to the accusations of violent conduct towards imprisoned, apprehended or returned immigrants, would not fit in the canons of representation of a neuralgic part of the ingroup, its law enforcers. As the criminalisation of the immigrants takes place precisely from the perspective of law enforcement, negative ingroup representation would challenge the very truth of the premise.

The same process of confirmation is responsible for the choices in lexicalisation, topicalisation or focalisation of facts and evaluations about the outgroup. The pervasiveness of the law enforcement perspective vis-à-vis the reality of ethnic others, the presence of crime and illegality in the most frequent attributions, the de-humanising devices applied comprehensively to immigrants, which can be traced back to the beginnings of immigration to the New Continent, discourages the representation of illegal immigrants according the more strenuous path of reason and in fact favours a bath of emotional response.

When the interplay of (temporal, spatial, axiological) frames and knowledge representation prompts an EMOTIONAL interpretation of the selected data against an association model for group evaluation, one may safely talk about ideological discourse. To the extent to which those models, which have been interiorised previously, remain unchallenged in their major design, legitimisation takes place. Finally, fossilisation of the discourse can be said to occur when new incoming information is prevented from challenging beliefs or inferences about the self or the other in a way that they could invalidate the truth of the basic facts about them.

Although illegality and criminality of the immigrants are the most prevailing predications, they are not the only perspective in immigrant representation. Besides negative representation about immigrants, and more or less exact group indications, a number of positive evaluations can be found in the discourses of G.W. Bush about immigrants, especially relating to the third and fourth level of outgroup representation. The results presented in the previous chapter indicate that positive immigrant representation is related to a number of contexts, one of which is the context of immigration debate.

After the above mentioned 2001 Act, whose implementation was largely criticised for its racial profiling, the rest of G.W. Bush's persuasive power fell into two directions: border/ inland militarisation and authorised immigration schemes, including a variant of the widely disapproved temporary work programs. In a five-point plan for post 9/11 national security, the former responded to criticism of past laissez-faire immigration politics and the latter to the employers' need for workforce in underpaid discontinuous sectors of the U.S. economy.

Both were used by G.W. Bush to argue his way to a second term at the White House. As previously discussed, a significant number of immigration discourses take place in the electoral year 2004. During the presidential campaign, in which Republicans and Democrats were fighting over an attractive share of voters represented by the Latino population, G.W. Bush launches an immigrant-friendly discourse about the 'rational middle ground' between amnesty and deportation for those immigrants who had been staying and working in the United States over the previous decade. It is in this context that positive immigrant-representation takes place, always in reflection of positive representation of the self.

Two models of positive representations of immigrants can be detected in the presidential discourses analysed, all converging on the positive evaluation of the ingroup. The first refers to past immigrants, who have come to realise their American dream, or have otherwise contributed to the greatness of America; the second situation relates to the more controversial contemporary (illegal) immigrants, whose successful matching with images and representations of America causes them to be admitted with full rights in its model of representation. By means of shifting time frames and evaluations, past immigrants are represented in actuality as protagonists of successful stories, and approached with the frame of kind, generous, great, welcoming, civilised America, which made that possible.

The positive representation of contemporary immigrants, a great part of them illegal, draws on the experience of positive representation of past immigrants, namely their personal and professional worth. G.W. Bush's praise of the immigrant values, of their determination to prevail even in adverse circumstances, of their contribution to America, applied to present, even illegal immigration represents a huge schism from the conservative political tradition of U.S. and the related public opinion on immigrants. It does not invalidate that, as we have seen that he shares their representation to a great extent, when he describes immigrants as a profuse blend of malignant acts, actors and actions. It represents a strategic actualisation of the representation of contemporary immigrants which may be attributable to a great extent to the political context of its delivery and especially so to his target audience; but it is also revealing of Bush's persona, since his life, his early career and his political interests are inseparable from the Latino communities, especially those in the border territories.

Immigrant representation, whether positive or negative, considered against a fixed model of ingroup representation, which excludes the possibility of, for example, a story about successful immigrants against all odds or about an occasionally unwelcoming America, is in itself a signal of biased representation. To that adds the strategy of positive ingroup representation being configured as if it were a proven fact, instead of an evaluation. In terms of system validation discussed above, the present appreciation of past completed actions of immigrants takes place with the confirmation of the initial mental model of the ingroup.

As already pointed out, an adaptation takes place with respect to the ingroup's assessment of the outgroup, in the sense that immigrants are mobilised out of the opposed boundary of the affective axis, and closer to the ingroup. By attaching a model predominantly used for ingroup evaluation to the outgroup, not only are broken the conventions of negative representation of the occurring immigration, bringing thus more diversity into the mental model about immigrants, but it will legitimate the evaluation scale and its centrality in the representation of the self.

I argue here that the political risks of Bush's empathy with the (illegal) immigrants of his presidency are minimal. Even when he speaks for immigrants, i.e., with the words and arguments of the immigrants, he does not alter the base facts of his truth system and he does not put ingroup cohesion to trial with his evaluations. He opts out the possible contradictions by the strategic interplay of temporal and axiological frames earlier argued to play an important role in group assignation. At no time the discourses of the former president seem to test the fixed model of ingroup presentation. Rather, his discourse is construed in the sense of fossilisation of the existent schemata. Whenever positive immigrant representation is produced, it was shown to feed back into the drill of positive self-evaluation. In terms of power relations, this means more legitimation of the ingroup even when it is simultaneous with a subtler de-legitimation of the negative evaluation of immigrants in the past.

Finally, based on the observation of group evaluations, it seems interesting to conclude the discussion on group representation and the relation between them with a tentative formula resuming the results discussed above. Thus, a meaningful relation can be established between the self and the other, in terms of balance or system stability, as it was noted that, on the one hand, self-evaluation is incrementally positive (legitimation), irrespective of the sign of the other-evaluation, while, on the contrary, an initial move towards positive self-evaluation generates responsive negative-other evaluation, with the following results:

Positive or negative outgroup evaluation is inferior or equal to the absolute value of the self. The following formula $+ \vee - I \leq \|S\|$ reads that either positive or negative evaluations of the immigrants (I) is at its most identical in value (not in frequency or intensity) to the ideal self (S). For instance, when G.W. Bush speaks of the sovereign responsibility of border enforcement, both positive and negative descriptions of immigrants are sub-summed to the positive projects of the ingroup, e.g., 'We want the border to be open to trade and lawful immigration, and we want our borders shut to illegal immigrants, as well as criminals and drug dealers and terrorists'. Also, immigrants committed with respectful causes are construed as a fair match to the U.S. lofty ideals and militancy, e.g., 'This afternoon, I met with a group of Jewish immigrants to mark International Human Rights Day. Many of these men and women fled from religious oppression (...). They came to America because our nation is a beacon of freedom'.

The corollary can be abstracted as follows: $+ I \leftrightarrow + (S)$, where positive immigrant representation (I) is conducive to or a reflection of positive self-evaluation at individual or group level. In the 2000s, the assertion that 'This is a nation that inspires immigrants to risk everything for the dream of freedom', risking everything means illegally crossing the border and it is punished according to the U.S. legislation, irrespective of the risks taken by immigrants. The effect of this attempt at positive immigrant representation is altering towards them in that it is derisory, as neither crime nor personal holocaust can be viewed, under conditions of normality, as an ornament to embellish the image of any nation.

7.3.2. In relation to Perspectivation and Argumentation

The discourse of G.W. Bush on immigration makes use of a number of topoi betraying subalternity of immigrants in relation to the ingroup. They are discussed here

using the terminology of Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 74-80) as a guide. The presence of ADVANTAGE/ USEFULNESS topic is general and systemic in the immigration discourse of G.W. Bush. The pragmatic, even utilitarian, perspective underlying it is inseparable from and occasioned by the container metaphor and is consequently conceptualised in relation to the ingroup. Both positive and negative immigrant representations are related to this topic, the former to emphasise their contributions, narrowing thus the gap between ingroup and immigrant representation, and the latter to construe an apartness space for the immigrants. Whether Bush speaks about a lifelong trajectory of past immigrants or argues his proposal of new temporary work agreements, America, the nation, the economy, the values are emphasised by means of this topos. The lawful presence of immigrants in the U.S. is managed from the perspective of their usefulness ('a temporary worker program that will match foreign workers with jobs Americans aren't doing') and the advantage of the receiving country ('I also ask you to reform our immigration laws so they reflect our values and benefit our economy', 'the work of these immigrants helped make our economy the largest in the world', 'children of immigrants put on the uniform and helped to liberate the lands of their ancestors'). This topic is associated to arguments in favour of continuing to attract and manage high-worth individual immigration according to the US model of wealth management and it is involved in positive ingroup evaluation as well as positive evaluation of immigrants.

Particularly recurrent in the immigration discourse of G.W. Bush are force topoi realised by either longer stretches of language or argument development. The most salient are: DANGER/ THREAT, e.g., 'a real problem', 'brings crime to our communities', BURDEN, e.g., 'so you don't have to burden our borders', 'pressure on the schools and the hospitals', 'strains the Arizona budget', and ABUSE, e.g., 'somebody gets apprehended (...) and they say, look, check back after 45 days with us, please - well, they're not checking back after 45 days'; 'They've broken our law, and they ought to pay a fine for breaking the law'. The topic of abuse is not only used in the representation of immigrants, but in the description of terrorists as well, confirming at the level of argumentation the common framing of immigration and terrorism, e.g., 'reduce the pressures that create illegal immigration in the first place', 'Abuse is found in every community in our country', 'They saw our complacency as weakness. And so their plans became more ambitious and their attacks more deadly' (emphasis added). The cheater detection module triggered by these topics establishes levels of accountability ('their plans', 'their attacks', 'pressures') for the others towards the ingroup ('our complacency', 'every community in our country') and vice-versa, subordination of the outgroup to the ingroup.

The topos of HISTORY presents a special interest for its potential to harbour ideological discourse, as it may function as a safe platform for knowledge validation. It is on the temporal axis that present-day perceptions about immigrants are argued as factual data in the past, as earlier discussed in relation to the ingroup representation in the past as welcoming and proudly multicultural. But it is at the same time the perspective that allows a great deal of analogy to take place. For instance, G.W. Bush invokes the need to learn from the past in order to pass a new immigration law, e.g., 'our immigrant heritage has enriched America's history', 'this problem [crime] has been growing for decades, and past efforts to address it have failed'. Closely related to the topos of history, the topos of CULTURE offers a valuable source of argumentation by analogy, whereby the greatness of America in the past obliges contemporary America to hold on to its values at the same time as it obliges immigrants to embrace those. G.W. Bush invokes the history and political culture of the ingroup as an argument for the approval of his immigration reform, e.g., 'one of the great beauties of America has been people can come to this country with a dream

and become Americans', 'they have the obligation to learn the values that make us one nation: liberty and civic responsibility, equality under God, and tolerance', etc.

Finally, the topic of DEFINITION/ NAME INTERPRETATION embraces all the previous topics traced in the discourses of G.W. Bush. Alterity at the level of linguistic choice consists in using institutional language to express belittling of immigrants, whether infantilisation, de-personalisation, zoofication or criminalisation. Thus, they are named according to a scheduled route ('temporary'), economy ('worker', 'labor migration'), birthplace ('foreign-born'), political status ('legal', 'refugee', 'unauthorised'), activity domain ('agriculture immigrant', 'talent and ideas'), genealogy ('children of immigrants'), volume ('massive'), action ('crossings', 'entries'), burden ('pressure'), legal intervention ('apprehended', 'deported'), extraterritorial grounding ('coyote'), inland legal offense ('criminal', 'forgers'), etc.

National/ ethnic notions add considerably to the relevance of the topic of definition in the representation of immigrants. Some of the national/ ethnic nominalisations, such as Slovak, Italian, Polish, Greek, Jewish, Latino (especially Mexican and Cuban) are involved in positive immigrant representation, especially attached to past immigrants and in relation to the ADVANTAGE/ USEFULNESS topic discussed above. Occasionally, contemporary immigrants are positively evaluated by means of their nationality at birth or that of their parents', such as talented Mexican or Cuban American people. However, national citizenship rather ethnic background orients many of the naming devices used in negative reference to immigrants, such as illegal immigration and criminal behaviour, e.g., Mexican illegal immigrants, non-Mexican immigrants. Comparing the ethnic references in the discourses of G.W. Bush with the more general trend in spoken and written American English, it was found that, while immigrant ethnicity in the Bush corpus pointed towards Europe for the past immigrants (and present positive evaluation) and South America for the contemporary (and negatively evaluated) immigration, the point of interest in contemporary English used in U.S.A. is placed on Asia and the Pacific Isles, followed by Mexico and, interestingly, not only immigration to the U.S., but immigration to Israel is presently another issue of arduous political debate in America.

A correlation was observed between the ethnic name choice and immigrant status (section 2.1 of the previous chapter). Although temporal frames are shifting and even rendered irrelevant in the description of the immigrant ('The fellow was a Mexican American – or is a Mexican American. The father came from – the grandfather came from Mexico'), by means of ethnic definitions some immigrants are placed closer to the affective centre of the ingroup, and some others farther away ('Mexican American' vs. 'non Mexican illegal immigrants'). To some extent, the word 'alien' is a description reminiscent of an ethnic/ national conceptualisation, negatively construed in relation to an idea of selfness which I argue impoverished insofar as it is reduced to an institutional (territorial or national) notion.

Besides immigration policy, linguistic and broader cultural policies are tackled in those contexts that make use of ethnic/ national naming devices in the description of immigrants. Thus, voters and immigrants alike are reminded of a series of conditions the latter must meet in order to be fully acceptable residents, the dominion of the English language being one of these. Although the association of education and immigration is positively valued in the past ('schools were built by poor immigrants'), and in the present ('It provides new opportunities for immigrants to learn English and embrace the shared ideals that bind us as a nation'), it is also a source of contemporary negative representation of immigrants, through their children ('children whose parents didn't speak English as a first language').

According to (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5), with the help of metaphors, meanings and whole domains of meaning are bridged to sculpture experiences in a way suggested by the entailed discourses and representations, or to new perceptions. For instance, it was emphasised in the previous chapter that conceptual metaphors abound in the speeches of G.W. Bush. For instance, the state, the government, or the US government are persons ('the needs of our economy', 'countries benefit from healthy, prosperous, confident partners', 'troubled nations export their ills', etc.). It is not only the oral style of the presidential discourses which makes metaphors fit in comfortably. Due to their possibility to turn away from referential precision in language use and thusly avoid controversy, a number of metaphors and metaphor blends act as complex narratives by means of which immigrants (and the ingroup) are rendered subaltern.

They are the GAME, the PATH, the PROBLEM and the CONTAINER metaphors, which in their turn rely on each other or on a shared cognitive ground (about confrontation, values, worth, responsibility or consequences) in order to orient an interpretation in the sense suggested by the narrative frame of the . For instance, the CONTAINER metaphor allows the United States to be seen as a demarcated territory but also as a symbolic space whose identity is to be preserved from evildoers, which are external to it, probably terrorists or immigrants. The territorial construction also suggested to represent 'one Nation under God', 'the greatest economy in the world', 'the greatest country on the face of the Earth', 'a country that offers you the greatest freedom and opportunity on Earth', built on values such as freedom, democracy, humanity and the rule of law. The axiological construction of the metaphor allows the American identity to be projected to other more or less distant places of the planet where its values, i.e., 'the American interests' can be prejudiced. Related to the latter construction, (the promise of) a higher (world) order, terrorist others are represented as threat, while the former, more territorial, model construes immigrants as internal threat. The discursive construction of the container, as well as the symbolic value with which it is endowed is reminiscent of the war metaphor, in which the container stands for the fortress, identity and power are the stakes of the confrontation and citizens and foreigners represent the ingroup and the outgroup.

The GAME metaphor, drawing on the concept of principled contend, is invoked in the context of immigration reform. By it, immigrants are divided into two factions, the lawful (those who played by the rules) and the unlawful; the latter are reminded that a path to residence for them would not take into account their length if stay in the U.S., but the filing date, and therefore would not affect those immigrants which are already in the middle of the process. By the game metaphor, the unchallenged point is that of the rule (here, of law), whatever the form and provisions. In the representation of immigrants, one segment is positively represented as following the rule, in contrast with the other segment. What the metaphor leaves unquestioned manifests is the ethic of interaction, which is here guided by the existence of an authority; instead, what it encodes is that it is the law which creates the categories of legal and illegal immigrants, and that the lack of authorisation consists in ruling outside the protection of the law, but not of its jurisdiction, as the law can still be enforced on illegal immigrants.

The PATH metaphor encrypts the message of the immigrants being mentored or guided towards a final aim, which can be reaching education or status (citizenship). The path is related with the JOURNEY and the DOOR metaphors, both also reminding of the structural advantages offered by the U.S. to its immigrants, so they are related to the more institutional side of the ingroup identity and feeds back into its positive evaluation.

A stereotyped frame for the representation of immigrants is the PROBLEM metaphor, which is also used, to the fullest of its referential potential, in the 'terrorist(s)' construction.

If the game metaphor functioned on the fixed principle of the rule, the problem metaphor has its own, non negotiable, schema for reception, which consists in already evaluated structures. Thus, the problem, viz. (the negative presence of) immigrants, comes upon an entity, viz., the ingroup, about which a consensus is suggested over its positive evaluation, and needs to be dealt with, viz., by institutional (legal) intervention. The problem is ascribable to the border criminality, to the (illegal) immigrants, to other people opaquely denoted, in the semantic field of wrongdoings; it is never attributed to American citizens, neither is it suggested by the sweeping positive ingroup evaluation. With the problem metaphor comes the topic of responsibility and that of law enforcement, viz., security, crime, but also apprehension, detention, catch and release, amnesty and deportation. Among others, these topics represent the source of positive representation of the ingroup, which is involved in debates, political activism, the rational middle ground in reform; they are also the carrier of the strongest negative representation of the immigrants in the discourses of G.W. Bush.

Fruit of the kinship of the container and the problem metaphor emerge, within the territorial concept of the former and the immigrant notion of the latter, the LAW metaphor. They are used to construe the intricacy of political life and the responsibility of president. G.W. Bush's shift from the colloquial to the legal register is a strategy of legitimation carried on at different levels, from that of traditional visual metaphors in legal speech (to see a problem, to reflect some principles, to outline a program, etc) to that of a strong presidential figure as that claimed in his eight years in Washington D.C.

LAW ENFORCEMENT is the response/ solution proposed by G.B. Bush for the problem metaphor. It is also the most extensively used frame for the representation of others, which reveals the actual emphasis on the idea of problem in these discourses. These metaphors represent (potential) immigrants on the fast track to surveillance, control, detention and deportation, together with (potential) terrorists, as claimed by the Patriot Act. Moreover, the APOCALYPSE metaphor emerges through the blending of these metaphors with the war metaphor suggested by the topic of legislation. By it, older scenarios of cultural apocalypse are brought to life, by means of topoi such as identity conflicts (American exceptionalism preserved through the rejection of the gentiles), implications of the estrangement from the traditional values (the immigrant past, faith, family) or the right doctrine (democracy, freedom, a God chosen nation), and finally, the challenge of the Evil (Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden), etc.

It should be added that the metaphors used to represent immigrants, and especially to address immigration, in terms of alterity, draw on a representation template which places an over dimensioned self at the core of the national container, and which was described in 4.2 as American exceptionalism. From this perspective, representations of power alternate with the suggestion of a scenery of disintegration and the mimicry of an apocalyptic consciousness. The use of metaphor enhances the perception, once the phenomenon is assumed, that what really matters about others is not the vision of some observer or a number of observers of the facts (or their evaluation), but rather the perception of a critical environment, moment in time, or experience, acute enough to produce an apocalyptic response.

This does not mean to say that metaphors are responsible for ideological manipulation. Rather, they represent available structures for argumentation, which language users decide to personalise at the level of images, examples and evaluations. G.W. Bush followed a well-established tradition of filling the available slots with positive ingroup and negative outgroup evaluations, with the adjustments and concessions discussed in this chapter. These pre-designed interpretations are not contradictory to other

negative evaluations of immigrants, but their contribution lays in presenting themselves as appealing devices assembled and ready for consume, which aborts in the consumers of the discourse the impulse to scrutinise the fact or truth-value of the informational.

7.3.3. In relation to modality and transitivity

The pattern of certainty/ uncertainty in the representation of immigrants is shown in the massive presence of modal verbs will/ would, must/ have to, can/ could, should/ ought to and to a much lesser degree may/ might, as presented in Figure 37. As presented in the previous chapter, the most frequent verbal expressions of modality are those expressing future events, preference, commands and requests. 'Will' is equally used with the ingroup and the outgroup to describe future developments, plans or commands, although the context of usage suggests Bush's plans with Iraq, his struggle in the Middle East and the determination to destroy terrorists and their capacity of (re)action. The general context of law enforcement includes immigration and more marginally so the immigrant people; when that occurs, they are portrayed in grateful or submissive attitude towards one politician ('will always remember their staunch friend who defended their interests'), or some policy, in the sense of being put away by it ('caught and sent home'). 'Would' is mostly dedicated to describe internal affairs such as health or retirement accounts, more indirectly linked with the discourse on immigration, although the weapon of mass destruction represent an explicit opening towards different types of others. Its occasional use in the context of immigration is related to the intended effects of law enforcement, viz., to reduce the presence of illegal immigrants in the territory. Both modals add to the impression of ingroup authority and create a distance between symbolic America and its significant others.

The second most frequent modal verbs used in the context of immigration relate to experiences of subordination and obligation. Predominantly entailing existential and material processes, 'must' and 'have to' involve an ingroup entity or actor ('a president', 'my opponent') and any group identifier or beneficiary ('the enforcement of our laws', 'new immigrants'). Immigrants are designed actors to a lesser degree, in which cases they have to satisfy requirements ('must assimilate'). The ingroup is invested with the moral obligation to legislate immigration, e.g., 'we must make our immigration laws more rational', 'There must be strong workplace enforcement', etc.). The presence of these modals helps G.W. Bush put a significant emphasis on the government's prerogatives and more generally on the need in the American society for immigration enforcement and penalties at every level, starting with entry into the territory and continuing with the hindrance of physiological and security-related accomplishments while staying in the territory.

Third in order of modal frequency, immigrants appear in contexts expressing ability, permission or possibility to act or be acted upon ('can', 'be able to'). By them, immigrants are endowed with the ability and capacity to challenge border control or to breach it. They are cognisant doers or actors involved in a series of criminal activities (such as crossing the border, not stopping when summoned, or introducing immigrants or drugs in the U.S. territory). In relation to capacity or potential, immigrants are construed as concern and problem, and when they are presented as beneficiaries of a set of measures, more often than not these refer to the legal obligation to show up in court. Finally, immigrants are

beneficiaries of cultural settlements or such as the freedom to worship or to social networking.

The last on the list of significant presence of modal verbs in relation to immigrants come necessity and imperative obligation. 'Should' occurs in assertions whose subject or initiator is the ingroup at different levels of authority or formality, immigrants are debated and regulated upon, their access to status is restricted, they are enforced upon and, to the extent to which immigrants are invoked as a legacy of the past, they are acclaimed. Obligation is also extended to the ingroup, as its needs and even its drawbacks in respecting the law are strongly urged on with the help of these verbs. 'Ought to' is used once, as a strong recommendation for the ingroup to back Bush's proposal of immigration reform. On this occasion, the former president argues that it is a debt of honour for all Americans to mend a broken system and that the solution lies in his vision for change.

In the context of immigration, modal verbs witness to a context of active potential (to harm), external obligation (to fulfil) and prescriptions for the future (to stop illegal crossings and for the government to apply the law). A comparison in the use of modal verbs in the context of immigration and their more general presence on the corpus indicates higher proportional rate of commands and requests as compared to the corpus and an important reduction in the use of modal verbs of ability and possibility.

The context in which modal auxiliaries are associated with the immigrants are critical to the understanding of their alterity. These verbs present them in the middle of a struggle for the right to file for citizenship, e.g., '... I do think makes sense is that a person ought to be allowed to get in line', but also with a will to behave in an undesired manner, e.g., 'The fact that people are willing to take those risks puts enormous pressure on our border...'. They are the topic of political debate or federal funding aiming at getting rid of them, e.g., '...it's done [the Congress] a good job of providing additional money for bed space and money to make sure that we can send people back home' and they are very often the object of recommendations, the matter of some legal provision or governmental program. Finally, modal verbs show immigrants short of complying with some requisites, e.g., 'You've got to learn the English language' or a hazard to the effort directed to establish legal order, e.g., 'Amnesty would reward those who have broken the laws of the United States'.

Only to an insignificant degree are immigrants mentioned in a context of possibility or probability; in other words, there is a possibility for immigrants to be involved in illegal activities at the border or there is a certain degree of probability that they score lower in school due to their mother tongue being other than English. The eventuality of a process taking place is in itself an understatement. Applied on a collective of others which has been consistently represented as threat and burden, it makes under-representation equally altering due to an already interiorised model of negative immigrant representation.

I propose that the inconclusive argumentation responds to a strategy of representation earlier discussed in relation to reference, namely one whose disentanglement requires attentive interpretation of the co-text and inter-text, precisely because the effort may result overly consuming for a mere discursive puzzle. The effect and disclosing potential of this strategy lies with the target audience. G.W. Bush does not need to put excessive effort in persuading his own fellow countrymen, as they are construed as people of the container, located inside it, and formally owning it. The (re)actualisation of the negative immigrant representation model strengthens the cohesive ties within the ingroup as well as creates a distance between them and immigrants.

Approached from the perspective of immigrants, reference to negative facts about them, generalisation of negative facts about them and, with the modal verbs 'may' and

‘might’, even generalised reference to potential and possible negative facts about them, perform a legitimating function. It brings the fear factor into the affective model of the immigrants, as threat and therefore rejection, are presented as ever pending, as an issue of the future, not just the present. But it does more than that: it renders the dynamic of present and future intervention of the state towards possible others fact-proof and argument-proof at the same time as reveals an otherwise unconcealed truth about the driving force of political discourse, viz., the enactment of coercion.

The approximately 1580 processes analysed presented immigrants especially involved in MATERIAL, RELATIONAL and MENTAL processes, and to a lesser degree in VERBAL and EXISTENTIAL PROCESSES. The proportion of processes describing psychological and physiological re (actions) to external stimuli appears irrelevant in the representation of immigrants. The greatest share of the relevant processes represent finite verb forms, although an important number of non-finite forms carry a semantic load which makes them accountable for the meaning of the language string, for which they have been included in the analysis. Another reason for the inclusion of non-finite verb forms into the semantic analysis is provided by the complex syntactic realisations which characterise the language of G.W. Bush, with a rich pattern of subordination, all of which have been argued in section 6.3.

As participants in material processes, the (illegal) immigrants are (wilful) doers of actions such as sneaking in, crossing the border, or (not) speaking English. Almost to the same degree immigrants are the goal or the target of some present process, such as being hired, caught, or a past one, e.g., being welcomed or assimilated. They are represented in two subgroups, whose evaluation is once more related to the moment in time when immigration took place. Thus, past immigrants are beneficiary of immigration politics and doers of positively evaluated actions, while contemporary immigrants share predications with contemporary terrorists and only marginally with the ingroup.

This model of chronological evaluation has been discussed with regard to group awareness in the discourses of G.W. Bush. I argue that this is a representation scheme which results altering towards the real target of Bush’s immigration policy, namely the contemporary illegal immigrants. Bringing past immigrants in the discussion may not seem to make much sense, as these are as much immigrants as they are Americans. However, Bush appeals to their ingroup likeness in order to divide the outgroup consciousness and gain electoral support from those who, in part feel need to feel integrated, and full members of the ideal self, but also feel exposed to misidentification according to the model of insubordinate illegal immigrant.

As Goal, immigrants are tackled from the perspective of law enforcement and their actions are a compendium of offences and crimes. Sometimes immigrants can be at the same time actors and goals, especially so when one of the categories are only suggested to be immigrants, but not explicitly stated, e.g., ‘criminal enterprises dedicated to (...) human trafficking’, etc. Immigrants are only occasionally represented as beneficiaries of material processes which turn out to be unfavourable to them, such as setting ‘high expectations for what new citizens should know’ or ‘if you pay your fine (...), you can get at the end of the citizenship line’.

On few occasions immigrants are the identifier of a relation, in sharp contrast to the frequency with which they are the identified entity, more often than not with a negative evaluation attached to them. This finding suggests how carefully G.W. Bush manages the effect of the words he chooses to describe immigrants, so that he can pursue his enforcement policy without falling into socially censored anti-immigration clichés.

Relational processes construe immigrants in terms of group membership with a predilection for assigning them the role of Carrier of some attribute, e.g., 'they are hardworking', 'criminals and drug dealers and terrorists', 'people who love their families'. Other types of relational participation relate heavily on identification, both on the Token and the Value side, e.g., 'These are non-Mexican aliens', 'they are just what they have always been'. Finally, immigrants are owners of a relational process, a role generally attributed to member of the ingroup, and to a lesser degree they are represented as a possession, e.g., 'We got a lot of people waiting to be citizens'. The great number of Relational processes identified in connection to immigrants is hardly surprising, given the strong group conceptualisation present in the discursive world of G.W. Bush. The relation is the immigrants' with a reference point, which is the self, an abstract construct taken to represent a whole group of citizens, e.g., 'They're part of American life'.

In general, the hard talk about immigration (deportation, detainment, crime) and the small share of positive representation of contemporary immigration, always reflecting back on positive self-representation, take place from the perspective of the immigrants' social or ideological network. This binary system of representation around a reference centre, an ideal self, construed around a series of self-attributed values, generates a model of evaluation based on merit and worth according to which status is regulated. Dual in its evaluation, (positive for the ingroup, largely negative for the outgroup) and emphasis (positive first evaluation for the ingroup and negative first evaluation for the outgroup), the system of representation reaches a balance in the strategic interplay between direct and indirect representation. More specifically, to the model described by van Dijk (...), one can emphasize the proportion between specific and residual representations. In other words, while the ingroup is construed mainly on the affirmation and/ or positive evaluation of core values and only secondarily by (positive) contrast with the (negatively evaluated) outgroup, the latter is construed mainly on the negation and/ or negative evaluation of the core values (taken to represent the ingroup) and only additionally by reflection of those positive values of the ingroup. As in the discursive representation of groups, core values stand at the same time for factual knowledge about the ingroup,

It places a great deal of emphasis on value and worth in the configuration of social groups and favours an argumentation scheme whereby the competence of the legal approach, state powers to enforce, or the legal ambiguity regarding the presence of unauthorised immigrants are never summoned, but rather selectively applied and adapted. Accordingly, past immigration is placed in the legal zone and is positively evaluated in terms of contributions and benefits, and contemporary immigration draws public attention for its being out of the legal zone, therefore it is negatively evaluated (for the most part) in terms of crime and violence.

As with material processes, immigrants and immigration are represented by means of relational processes as policy concern, to argue the need of reform in the sense suggested by G.W. Bush. More specifically, the immigrants are consumers of border or inland, past or present, enforcement politics, presented as beneficial for the government and the country, e.g. 'most of the people we apprehend down here are from Mexico', 'Catch and release for every non-Mexican has been effectively ended', and for themselves, e.g., 'people getting smuggled across the border'.

Alternatively, they are construed as the aim of further immigration reform, invoking difficulties in implementing the current legislation, e.g., 'Massive deportation of the people here is unrealistic', 'the illegal immigrants from other countries that are not that easy to send home'. Their positive abilities and capabilities sum up to the construction of an exceptional America, e.g., 'welcome the skills, education and English proficiency that will

help America compete in a global economy’, ‘this economy could not function without them’, and their negative characterisation reinforce, by contrast, the positive representation of the self, e.g., ‘we’re a nation of law’, ‘a welcoming nation’, ‘a nation that honors people’s traditions no matter where they come from’, etc.

The third more frequent role attributed to immigrants after those revealed by processes of doing, is associated with Relational and Mental processes in equal proportions. The frequent display of immigrants in the role of Carrier of an attribute or identity discussed above is parallel to their representation in terms of (mindful) sensing or planning, e.g., ‘They remembered the long lines [at Staten Island]’, ‘a child whose parents do not speak English as a first language’. They are endowed with capacities and cognitive potential relating to the most numerous process in the corpus, viz., to doing, and in positive ingroup/ negative immigrant descriptions or circumstances, e.g., ‘We need a system that (...) helps newcomers’, ‘I believe (...) they ought to pay a fine, first and foremost’, ‘we need to remember that immigrants have been one of the greatest strengths of the United States’.

To a much lesser degree, immigrant-related mental processes project additional processes of relating, e.g., ‘we must remember that the vast majority of illegal immigrants are decent people’ or existing, e.g., ‘You got to understand there are people in our neighbourhood who are desperate’. Only a reduced number of mental processes used in relation to immigrants tenor further verbal or mental processes, e.g., ‘I feel I am honoured and I feel that I’m loved’, ‘I appreciate what Colburn said (...) “They see us watching them”’.

Sensing and perceiving are counted among the qualities that make one person aware of things. Understanding immigrants in terms of sensing or perceiving invites us to consider immigrants responsible and conscious social actors. However, 22% of the total number of mental processes in which immigrants were presented as Senser construes alterity in terms of the immigrants’ parents not being able to speak English. It is also highly suggestive that mental processes used in the representation of immigrants invoke educational programs and expenditure, one domain in which Bush invests a lot of discursive effort, as student levels of achievement or performance are important indicators on periodic trial in the U.S. educational system.

This framing allows Bush to present the children of immigrants (many of whom are U.S. citizens by birth) as the lag in the system, in the same way in which they are presented as the criminals in the society. Both topics are delicate and exploited in immigration debates, and G.W. Bush represents a moment in a larger sequence of alterity. From the ingroup perspective, the cynically called ‘anchor-babies’ (Time US, July 3, 2010) are one of the reasons why Latino immigrants are more difficult to remove from the US territory and can litigate their rights of permanence.

I propose that the higher purpose talk incriminating immigrants treasures, at discursive level, a new source of negative other representation, unexplored previously, that of giving birth on the American territory, in order to give them the dignity of American citizenship. However, at the practical level, the resistance of the larger American society is tested regarding future institutional reformation to prevent unscheduled shares of US population. The stake lies with an alleged political will to alter the 14th Amendment, which would trade the old tradition of Constitutional rights for a beforehand solution to prospective identity loss.

This trend can be safely argued with information available posterior to 2010, when the modification of the 14th Amendment returned on the frontline of public debates. Then,

the productive anchor-babies metaphor, was adapted by a Republican senator from Texas to fit into the reality of Arab women giving birth to their children in the USA. Post 9/11 fear and insecurity towards this ethnic group and the altering reductionism of equalling Arab background to al-Qaida, emerge subtly in the xenophobic topic of 'terror babies', and their role in a global 'drop and leave conspiracy' (Chicago Tribune , 23/08/2010) to US security.

From a critical perspective on immigration, the pressure put by certain groups in the USA to reverse American citizenship at birth for children of illegal immigrants, represents a more general disposition to ignore the personhood of a newborn. The concept deemphasises personal innocence in favour of the Old Testament concept of deserved punishment running in the family up to the third and fourth generations (Deuteronomy 5:9). With these legal interpretations troubling the general outlook at immigration enforcement, the discursive representation of immigrants is channelled towards mental models of indentured servitude, which I argue to represent, together with the exceptional self and the apocalyptic fight between good and evil in which it is involved, conceptual predicaments in the presidential discourse on the self and the others.

The management of available assets is one of the focal points of the resource and population policies of any country. As is the case with other aspects of US domestic policies, such as economy and defence, education is framed by G.W. Bush in a wide perspective and interdependence between past and future. Specifically aiming at education, the outcome-based approach has become paramount in the evaluation, and further funding, of educational programs. This paradigm of education, which precedes G.W. Bush but which he favours, is not free of ideological turnover. His appraisal of the reasonableness of standardised testing blends traditional arguments in favour of Skinnerian mastery learning with the more modern concept of standard-based education, e.g., 'you'll hear people say it's racist to test. Folks, it's racist not to test, because guess who gets shuffled through the system, oftentimes: children whose parents don't speak English as a first language', 'all they're doing is teaching the test; it's racist to measure. No, it's racist not to measure. It's racist not to know whether a curriculum is working. It makes sense for the federal government to demand results for money spent.'

The behavioural training of students into standards, with curricula contents (Reading skills for English; knowledge or opinion formation about the past, the present and the future for History and Social Science, etc.) raise issues of discrimination against students of non-white or non-citizen background, to which Bush feels necessary to reply. It feels right to situate this critique of the education paradigm in its right context, before discussing its implication to immigrant alterity. Starting with the thirties and exploding in the nineties, the governmental programs in the Department of Education have been highly criticised for an alleged suppression of individual personality and, in the context of the Cold War, of American individuality, into a huge team/ group working its way out into the intricacies of superpower America with a Kaizen mentality of the self (Iserbyt 2001: Appendix XXII). In this huge prospect, Language Arts and Direct Instruction were assigned a leading role. It is, therefore, fair to say that if immigrants are brought into the attention of the uninformed public as the weigh of the learning society, it is done so by discriminating the majority against the minority of lackluster performers in the U.S., if we give credit to scholars like Petrilli and Scull (2011: 11).

By invoking immigrant-related underachievement in U.S. education, G.W. Bush makes a heartfelt defence of the testing system and falls into a classic scheme of denial of racism (Van Dijk 2002: 739) through emphasis on those negative evaluations about other races which are most used to stir racist attitudes. The implications of this instance of

alterity lies in the hegemonic guilt which seems to sit at the centre of the image proposed. In other words, the identity of the law-ranked students focuses on their filiation, viz., children of immigrants, and de-focalises any other concurrent conditions, as may be the teaching program or the measurement battery as possible causative factors. What Bush implies about immigrants' children being a causal factor of US education system underachievement is not the only aspect which can be read against. Another aspect of alterity has to do with that which G.W. Bush does not topicalise, viz., immigrant children' overachievement. That the famous American contest known as the Spelling Bee had been won by American-naturalised Indian children five out of eight times during his Administrations is not considered remarkable enough for the representation of (even the children of) immigrants.

This aspect of alterity is further associated with the cliché of immigrants' reluctance or hostility to respect the national values or to integrate, e.g., 'This bill affirms that English is the language of the United States', 'people can come to this country with a dream and become Americans – that's assimilate', 'Each has come not only to take, but to give', 'ensure that immigrants assimilate into our society and learn our customs and values-including the English language', etc.

Immigrants love, think and perceive phenomena related to their group and group characteristics, such as families and faith, but also in relation to the English language, the U.S customs and laws; from the perspective of the roles associated with these processes, immigrants see law enforcers or law being enforced on them, or going through affective de-inhibition with *the* discourse about the messianic destiny of America in the world. Even though Mental processes usually suggest an appeal to the more humane side of those which are described by them, one can appreciate how immigrants which are endowed with reason and perception are reduced, often as must-(not)-be entities, to orbiting pieces of the self. I root this interpretation in the finding that power relations are explicitly construed with the help of relational and mental processes. Especially with regard to the latter, the self is endowed with the will to pursue immigration enforcement and elaborates the conditions and restrictions in legal terms of necessity and permissibility and the lack thereof.

The constant feedback of immigrants' actions and processes into positive self-representation has a significant contrary effect. The institutional perspective adopted on immigrants and their mental resourcefulness sets up a representation pattern which can be extended, and in fact it is, to the citizens also. Thus, when a series of 'nons', i.e., non-white, non-legal, non-citizens, etc., are positively evaluated for their values, usefulness or potential, they actualise the same attributes of the idealised self, usually at odds with the negative predications of the outgroup, but they still represent a structural preference for role over personhood.

The role-dominated model of representation solidifies into a structure, which I argue to be altering in the sense indicated by MacIntyre, viz. relating to a person's freedom to conceive and be conceptualised outside the institutional roles assigned to a person (MacIntyre 2006: 202). Once a similar structure of representation is tested on consensual others, it is available for and occasionally takes over citizen/ ingroup representation. Not only immigrants, but occasionally American citizens are represented as roles, capability or expertise, and are enforced onto. Although the subtle breach in ingroup representation is saved for the more general design by the fixed slot of unaccounted positive evaluation, in extraordinary situations, such as the Oklahoma or the Twin Towers bombing, institutional power has produced notable exceptions to the protocols and practices of population

management, far beyond the discursive level (Whitehead and Aden 2002: 1081, Joy 1996: 18).

Verbal processes situate immigrants on the verbiage side. Immigration, rather than immigrants are reported, which reports often involve further reporting or quoting. Predictably, the Sayer of verbal processes is mainly the president. Except on counted occasions, the verbiage about illegal immigrants is attributed to enforcement officers at the border but also average Americans' reported opinions about immigration reform. At times (10% of the verbal processes) immigrants are reported to be those who speak. These immigrants involved in verbal processes are really members of the ingroup, for discursive and practical purposes. Their verbiage is always a success story in America or an eulogy to the ideal self. Linguistic competence in English of foreign-born people is frequently the trigger of the 'land of opportunities' narrative scheme.

The fact that G.W. Bush focuses far more on the phenomenon than on the immigrants proper is attune with the legal approach – of all the possible approaches possible - taken by a U.S. President on the presence of immigrants; from this perspective, it makes perfect sense that immigrants (and the general public at large) can be referred to in impersonal terms, when persons are involved, e.g., , 'the rules say you check', 'this bill says (...) you'll go home' and by personification when inanimate entities take the role of Sayer, e.g., 'this bill says'. In general, verbal processes do not feature a receiver, other than the impersonal 'you', which more often than not refers to an immigrant interlocutor.

I propose that this feature is reflective of the fact that message is streamed out in an ingroup context and does not address or expect interaction from others, which was an initial criterion for corpus selection. Even so, the content of the discourses and more generally the representation niche assigned to immigrants is related to the descriptive use of language, but it does not end there. The performative use is even more present, in measures 'being enforced onto' immigrants, as the extensive use of the immigration and enforcement-related language illustrates.

By adopting a legal frame for his discourses on immigrants, G.W. Bush acts on his presidential powers and prerogatives to govern. At the same time, this frame places himself in a safe spot from potential criticism of social, racial or economic profiling of the immigrants, while the positive evaluation of past immigrants add to the impression of objectivity. Thus, past and present immigrants are occasionally focused on, each complying with the traditional scheme of positive ingroup/ negative outgroup evaluation.

Past immigrants are reported to they speak about themselves in terms of English learners and pursuer of an education in the U.S.; in turn, contemporary immigrants are required, told and summoned to pay a fine, learn English, turn themselves in, appear in court, or halt for identification. Occasionally a milder, more sympathetic tone is used regarding illegal immigrants, when they are drilled on hard work and motivation and assured of the generosity of the United States of America in response to that.

The speeches analysed being monologues, immigrants' intervention is not expected to take place. Rather than the fact that immigrants are both spoken about and for, it is the model of immigrant subordination showed by the content of the verbiage, viz., evaluations, relation with the speaker, etc., which indicates alterity, as found by Spivak (1988: 275-309) in relation to the postcolonial other; at any rate, when immigrants are reported speaking or directly quoted, it's always unproblematic (past or legal) immigrants and positive evaluations which are dealt with. Giving voice to the words of an immigrant is a form of authorisation; at the same time, doing so through one's persona ultimately accounts for a position of given power, to which some degree of self-empowerment is added.

Verbal processes illustrate in a more obvious manner how discourse reveals structures of power. Analysing the discourses of G.W. Bush, one comes across an empowered self and a very ample strand of others, more or less attune with the self according to their (lack of) freedom to fill existent slots of the social structure. Illegal immigrants who live as residents in the U.S. territory are entrapped in an institutional scheme which rules them out the legal network based on legal status upon entry, irrespective of them complying with the rest of social and communitarian rituals of a U.S. citizen. Their institutional characterisation translates into no access to a number of resources and accountability, an alterity illustrated at discursive level by them being spoken about, never quoted or reported, but frequently those instructed or managed in an organised, legal environment.

Existential processes feature immigrants as people crossing the U.S. Border or simply living in the U.S. outside the protection of the law. Two extreme characterisations of immigrants present them as Existent, from the near-self 'decent and hardworking people', to useful people, 'folks that are coming to do works that Americans aren't doing'. On the more altering side of representation, immigrants are portrayed as discomforting for their massive presence, e.g., '11 million to 12 million people', and further still as extreme-others, e.g., 'human smugglers'.

One indirect characterisation of immigrants is expressed by means of existential processes featuring members of the ingroup, presumably also influential politicians, who push for tough enforcement in derogatory terms, e.g., 'saying, kick them out' or goodwill, e.g., 'give them automatic citizenship'. The self-group existent of a number of existential processes being a concept, e.g., words, desire, consequence, their immigrant circumstances are also remotely tackled to adjust the register tone and the degree of explicitness in reference, viz., in terms of 'problem', 'issue' or 'bill'.

It was earlier interpreted in relation to the ingroup/ outgroup evaluation, that one source of immigrants alterity can be situated in the multifarious representation and evaluation of the outgroup, in sharp contrast with the monolithic representation of the ingroup, which derives positive self-evaluation from whatever evaluations of the outgroup. Existential processes involved in the description of immigrants confirm this pattern of alterity, by presenting immigrants in a variety of (contrasting) lights, to the extent that one affirmation and its opposite can be argued in the presidential speeches of G.W. Bush: 'The contributions of immigrants to America continue', 'No one should claim that immigrants are a burden' vs. 'so you don't have to burden our borders'. The sum of dispersed representations, in terms of evaluation and group segmentation, ranging from the ideal ingroup to the extreme outgroup, makes easier the shift along categories, as it was discussed in relation to group assignment of actors belonging to different sub-groups.

I coincide with Hart when he agrees with Chilton that the aim of political discourse is coercion (Hart 2010: 63), even if it feels necessary to emphasize that discourse is instrumental to political action and as such political action can do without significant discursive coercion if it so pleases. For instance, weapons of mass destruction made a poor argument for the war in Iraq and it was met with appalling opposition from political leaders and civilian population worldwide, and still the intervention took place and continued long after the argument was exposed as an intelligence fraud. Turning back to immigrants, the important number of inconclusive reference found in the speeches of G.W. Bush proves that for his political goal to be attained, saying who does the action is less important than conveying the idea of action being done. The scarce topicalisation of immigration, as opposed to them being the inland target of most important legislative package approved by the G.W. Bush Administration, also argues the salience of the

pragmatic aim over the rhetoric exercise. I identify this salience with the affective load invested in the representation of, rather than with the stability of the truth system construed for, the ingroup and the outgroup.

Besides an outstanding presence on the initiator side of the processes featured, immigrants are given a special place also in the circumstances surrounding every one of the processes discussed so far. Essentially, they can be spotted in circumstances of location accompanying material processes. Whether a physical ('in detention facilities') or a conceptual place ('in the shadows of our society'), immigrants are strongly marked for alterity with the help of these circumstances, as the hot spot of their negative characterisation is placed in their (factual or construed) difference. Space, as well as time, is paramount for the construction of immigrants in the discourses of G.W. Bush, as Chilton made the case for political discourse in general (Chilton 2004: 166).

In the discourses analysed, circumstances relating to the temporal dimension as well as those describing a causal relation involving immigrants follow closely those circumstances relating to space. This prompts an analyst interested in a more critical interpretation of the discourses of G.W. Bush to relate to Chilton's model of legitimisation along spatial, temporal and axiological perspectives in order to see what is the effect of the pragmatically-oriented self-representation onto the outgroup. In other words, if the interplay of time, space and value frames can bring alien/ even inexistent objects (such as the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction) right into the deictic centre of the ingroup, to justify a decade's war, then a two way switch linguistic mechanism can be argued in Cap's proximation device (Cap 2007:14). This model allows space or time-dynamic events to create analogies which will ultimately place actions and actors in or out of the deictic centre according to a value grill which epitomises the ingroup (speaker and addressee), but not the other (immigrants). Cap's space-time-value triad attempts to account for 'negative' (spatial) proximation, the linguist's word choice for the contrary meaning of placing subjects or objects at a *distance* from the centre. Accordingly, places or objects that are spatially close to the ideal self, e.g., 'Rio Grande', 'our Southern Border' are projected as distant from the self and in return (negative) value-leaden imagery about immigrants are focalised, e.g., 'in detention', 'for breaking the law', etc.

Circumstances of cause occur frequently within the limits of immigrant-related discourse, and especially so expressing reprehensible actions caused or materialised by immigrants. These circumstances construe a context of prohibition, with the help of modal verbs or of concern, due to the highly specific problem framing of immigrants in the discourses of G.W. Bush. The image projected by the circumstances of manner reinforce immigrants' representation as wrongdoers and the opposition with the ingroup, whose interests are at any rate emphasised and positively construed.

In close correspondence with cause come circumstances of manner involving immigrants. The manner intended for G.W. Bush resumes to absence of the opposition of political adversaries, avoiding radical solutions, not meeting public resistance, on the contrary, it means public support. Rather than immigrants, the concern of these circumstances is the Government's policy, i.e., the Green Card, the residence or the work permit, as well as the ideal profile of immigrants-to-be.

Positive circumstances are linked to the ingroup role as a manager of resources and designer of the nation's future. Other manners, situate on the negative side of immigrant evaluation, regard the result of power and authority and the effect of the enforcement of the law, such as temporary jobs for the immigrants and a definitive solution to immigration, both in the interest of the U.S. Government and of the US citizens. The

manner in which the legal debate and the enforcement are to take place decisively presents the phenomenon as the focal point of other representation, at the same time as it subordinates the human aspect to the institutional image of the idealised American self which runs the risk of proving too idealised a model for the ingroup itself.

To sum immigrant representation, neither immigrants nor immigration are a frequent reference in the discourses of G.W. Bush. One of the most restrictive measures of population management of the last decades, viz., the 2002 Patriot Act, proves that immigrants were a real concern of the Bush Administration, even if not the most distressful. As the same piece of legislation enforces, the foreign-born population constituted one common source of fear, irrespective of their status or location with regard to the US population and interests. Group representation being salient in these discourses, group overlapping was found to channel false positive immigrant representation when the evaluated people were actually American citizens.

When it takes place, immigrant-related reference was discussed along two aspects: the persons, and the phenomenon, the latter being the theme of numerous mentions in the presidential discourses analysed. Immigrant alterity lays in the most frequent context words and it is realised along a number of criteria, such as status (illegal), time (new), ethnic background (Mexican, non-Mexican), quantity (millions), quality (poor, criminals), context (country, economy). Immigrant predication is dominated by expressions of subjection such as the fact of being caught, detained, apprehended, processed, but also by the actions of learning, living, returning and assimilating. Time reference was further discussed as having a role in the evaluation of immigrants, in that past immigrants are always evaluated positively (although they were evaluated negatively at that time in the past) while contemporary (illegal) immigrants are mainly attached negative evaluations. In a limited number of occasions, positive self-presentation makes place for positive evaluation of illegal immigrants.

Immigration regulation is the most powerful source of altering representations of immigrants. Immigration discourse is at the same time the source of self-eulogy and other-alterity. It involves the authority of the state and the governing institutions, the unchallenged source of self-presentation where non-negotiable truth about one's objectivity and the common good stem from. Legal enforcement, homeland security, and economy represent so many narratives underpinning immigration as a threat and the immigrants as public enemies, together with the terrorists. Other perspectives from which immigrants are represented unfavourably, are education and welfare; complementary, entrepreneurship and exceptional talent are among the very few frames for positive representation of (especially past and future) immigrants.

The interplay of time and axiological frames, the distance between explicit positive ingroup evaluation and suggested negative outgroup evaluation are argued as referential and predicational strategies to portray immigrants as undesirable social element. The dissociation of the experience from the self of immigrant individuals were argued to allow the description of immigrants as threatening and vengeful groups of people. The relevance of the legal approach in the social and discursive profiling of immigrants was argued to enforce the idea of a necessary deportation behind the euphemistic expression of 'returning immigrants'. The argument of loss of status of (possible) nationals in that more efficiently persecuted by the law than foreign-born citizens sends across the impression of an arbitrary justice within a race for structural enforcement was argued to act as a scheme for discursive alterity.

Metaphors such as container, path, problem and threat, as well as the predominance of visual metaphors in the contexts in which legal language was used are also discussed as more or less subtle sources of discursive altering of immigrants. Another source of immigrant alterity is their representation as self-conscious doers of antisocial and illegal actions and beneficiary or receivers of corrective measures such as punishment or the promise of further castigation.

The present work originated out of a concern with the contemporary perception on immigrants and with a view to taking the political discourses of a U.S. President of our times, G.W. Bush, as corpus of study. Immersed in the legal and political entanglements of past and present policies (whose effectiveness is often an issue of debate itself), U.S. governance of the 2000s has been accompanied by a load of guilt thrown on the shoulders of immigrant communities. Although aware of the self-censured nature of professional discourse with respect to possible allegations of incrimination or racial profiling, the analysis is undertaken of immigrant representation in the official discourses of G.W. Bush in his eight years of tenure at the White House.

As the title suggests, the analysis of the main linguistic features is expected to conduce towards a specific portrait of the immigrants in the U.S.A., and how non-immigrants are construed to relate to it. The selection of the content to be analysed is related to high-level politics, which can be understood, due to the democratic majority it represents and the institutions it governs, as the most relevant and influential voice in the representation of immigrants.

The preliminary chapter introduces the aim of the present dissertation and is written as a preamble to the chapters preceding corpus description and results. In compliance with the aim of disclosing power relations with regard to immigrants, the consideration of historical developments is proposed as a way of breaking away from the conventional thinking and talking about immigrants. Therefore, the consideration on how dissimilar people were perceived, conceptually and legally, along the many decades of intense immigration to the U.S.A., presented itself as a reasonable frame for the understanding of present-day immigration discourse. This contextual aspect is addressed in Chapter two, 'The Other'.

The journey to the roots of immigrant representation is argued here as one stage in a broader human experience of itself and the surrounding world, with its social and political complexities, but also within a series of interconnected discourses. That is why the preliminaries settle the starting point in this endeavour in the ontological metaphors of the Ancient civilization such as the puppet or the cave, to briefly explore them for their potential to depict the relation between knowledge and power. Fragmentary knowledge and political ventriloquism are particularly found as appropriate for institutional discourse, sometimes signalled by CDA practitioners as faulty in terms of doctrine or manipulation. By means of a concrete example, commonly referred to as the Arizona Law, it broadly illustrates how language is a vehicle for social discrimination of immigrants. As the object generates the method, the Critical Discourse paradigm, later to be developed in chapter three, is argued from the start as appropriate to the analysis and interpretation of the political discourse of G.W. Bush.

The discourse model about the self and the others, reflective of a deeper conceptual predicament, is also tackled, albeit roughly, in the introduction. Starting with the names used by the first colonizers to refer to local others, the relevance of 'nativity' to the

immigration discourse is focalized, together with the construction, in antagonistic term, of American and immigrant identity. Following nativity, a second concept is emphasised as central to the discourse about others, that of 'contribution'. Both terms are of relevance in contemporary legislation addressing immigration, and both are captured to manifest semantic shifts in the benefit of the more powerful. Some aspects of diachronic discursive alterity are also introduced here, such as the power to chose a theme or a word and define it, the freedom to use language, the sources of illocutionary force in the characterization of others and the way in which different others have been immortalized in history or literature.

The discussion of previous research on the management of impression argues the need for a transdisciplinary approach in the study of immigrant alterity. In communication science it is given information that the configuration of the news or more general information about immigrants can professionally oriented the public towards a specific response (attitude). The prominence of emotional over the rational, of group and not individual approach, and the focalisation on a related, typically negative behaviour, revealed by research in communication studies represent possible moves towards alterity of immigrants, one should not ignore. Finally, a number of research question were formulated to orient corpus exploration, as well as the discussion of the results.

The concept of alterity is explored in chapter one. Of the possible past referents, the choice is made of the colonial model of dispossession and its corresponding model of representation, of the self and of the dispossessed. On the one hand, this choice is motivated by objective cultural conditions of the speeches, namely the locus of their production and reception, the United States of America. On the other hand, the proximity in time between the colonial beginnings of the American Federation and the present moment, allows historical documents of the epoch to be consulted. Hence it follows that the appearance of the events narrated back then can be objectified thanks to their closeness to the contemporary viewer; but at the same time, the diachronic perspective allows more global interpretations for specific facts or trends observed in time in relation to different others. Digging into the alterity generated by the colonial structures of power in contemporary U.S.A. means exploring past canons of representation. This contextual knowledge is argued necessary if one is interested in establishing a tradition of representation or a brake away from that tradition in the case of the discourses of G.W. Bush.

At no point is the postcolonial approach claimed to be the original contribution of the present piece of research. To illustrate it, the postcolonial paradigm is brought into discussion and briefly illustrated. Therefore, the criteria and arguments are presented for such reading of the literary texts produced in the political context of imperial conquest. In turn, the postcolonial approach is also put into perspective, and its scholarship is briefly discussed.

Postcolonial scholarship is undertaken as a heuristic device in search for a more general mental frame which makes possible to think of the self and the others in broad categories and which those categories may be. Not limiting itself to the concurring perspectives and the practical developments made possible by general representations, some implications of the defining task are undertaken (chapter one), especially so in relation to the other. They will be elaborated in the following chapter (chapter two), with their most relevant implications to immigration. The exploration of historical, cultural and argumentative patterns surrounding the texts of the colonial enterprise are argued as a valid, although perhaps not the only, frame with the potential to account for the cognitive and developmental approach for the textual 'othering' of immigrants.

Given the discursive nature of historical narration and the creative power of literary fiction, the portrayal of the colonial self and others appeared as a context-friendly precedent of discursive representation, an equivalent for the contemporary means of opinion and knowledge formation and integration. The description of the 19th century colonies' others are argued a discursive model for the conceptualization of past and present immigrants. A number of texts have been presented and critically discussed which were considered to represent a precedent of discursive alterity, from word choice and attributions to the metaphors and arguments, a whole discursive battery used up to our days in relation to (especially illegal) immigrants.

The commonalities of the colonial framework and present-day immigration allow one to claim certain continuity in the use of themes and motives about 'others'. The discursive continuity, it is further argued in chapter one, allow a certain parallelism to be drawn with the developmental model adopted in the countries of immigration. Among other social and political transformations, the compartmentalisation of social life is argued here to structure people's perceptions on themselves and other people in relation to power and wealth along institutional paths. That is why the opinion of media gurus or that of G.W. Bush about immigrants and their roles in the American society will orient the discourse on and the way in which people relate to immigration more than everyday experience with immigrants.

As the present work looks at immigrant representation *today*, social and political actuality cannot be neglected. A series of aspects of the globalised world are brought into discussion in chapter one, which can be constitutive of alterity, such as territoriality (in and out migration), community and institutions (non resident, (non) citizen), and economic power (development and inequality). Based on data shared by the World Bank economist Lant Pritchett, alterity is approached as the other side of development, a structural niche filled by groups of others, and immigrant others too.

A sketch of the complex reality of contemporary immigration and the related representations is drawn in chapter two. Immigration in the U.S.A. and the regulation thereof are explored as a starting point in the discussion of the historical conditions impending on immigration, and the interplay of pro- and anti-immigration policies along the decades. Starting with the European's arrival and territorial occupation of the American continent, the lucrative administration of the new territories by the colonisers caused the collapse of the indigenous populations. The relation between different territorial arrangements and status politics being highlighted, legal language appears instrumental in framing social organization with the claims of the established power. Linguistic proof of the reversal in power between the new and the old population is the use of the words 'native' and 'first nations' before and after the beginning of the process of national construction on the North American Continent.

Old immigration and regulation are retained to configure a model of territorial re-arrangement with acquisition of status of certain categories of immigrants, viz., white Protestant Northwestern European. They are taken as the prototype of (ideal) American, always optimistically represented in terms of superiority, and in relation to which other immigrants are dismissed, legally and discursively, in increasing proportion to their ethnic distance from the Old Continent. Two contrary directions of enforcement are signalled to have contributed to the ethnic composition of the immigrant population over the years, and two large immigrant sub-groups, viz., the Protestant Northwestern Europeans and the rest. The most blatant racist enforcements of immigration contrast with the unrestricted immigration of the former category until the 20th century, and other legislative measures tried, in turn, to avoid the entrance of West European Catholics, Asian and particularly

Chinese people, Central and South European Orthodox and occasionally Jewish populations. Chapter one provides examples of how the former category altered discursively the latter, and how, in turn, others altered posterior generation of their own background.

Despite the apparently random immigration policy in favour of one group or another, the American governments of all times has build up an impressive institutional structure, formed by the state/ federal structures at the beginning, to which added political/ economical policies, to incorporate with G.W. Bush a third additional structure concerned with risk and population management. More specifically, a series of terrorist attacks taking place during the administrations of B. Clinton and G.W. Bush, a huge restructuration of the Homeland Security Department took place. Potential terrorist acts are beforehand answered with structural schemes of violence, enabling discrimination of status such as the administrative detention experienced by many Latino immigrants post 9/11.

The immigration policy of the G.W. Bush administration is tackled from a progressive perspective. I proposed in chapter two that the former president follows in the footsteps of his predecessors, although his interest in immigration policy surpasses by far previous presidential efforts, at least in terms of federal spending and institutional rearrangement during his eight years at the White House. Corpus results (chapter six) will bring more insight into this tendency. It allows the interpretation that the concern of the US president with immigration is backgrounded by his greater concern with terrorism, and legal enforcement addressing the latter brings every (suspected) illegal immigrant into the focus of the civil population and the legal apparatus of the states.

Together with institutional growth, other phenomena are emphasized in the contextualization of immigration (chapter two), such as ethnic/ racial concern, economic development model and ideological concern in domestic and international policies. In turn, the concept of immigrant itself is discussed (section 2.3), together with the diverse categories and their relation with the legality frame established by the US Government. Previous research into the discursive representation of immigrants and into the language of G.W. Bush is provided, dealing shortly but illustratively with van Dijk's 'ideological square' and Hidalgo Tenorio's 'language of evil'. They manifest the centrality of negative, group reference in the discourse about different others, immigrants included, as well as Bush's fascination with religious metaphors and moral frames, which determined some informal political analyst to jest about him having a Messiah syndrome.

The theoretical frame for the analysis of the discourses of G.W. Bush is introduced in chapter three. Critical Discourse Analysis is presented as a heterogenic intellectual system inscribed in the larger paradigm of critical science, which allows the researcher to dig for the fact-conducive meaning behind the spoken and written word. The parameters of this practice not only linguistic, but critical as well, are presented, as one hopes that the insight gained from the analysis of the text and its semiotics can be used to bring about more equity, fairness, liberty, peace, and hope.

The source of a similar approach to language study is presented in chapter three, by means of an incursion into some fundamental differences from previous ways of doing linguistic analysis. The new paradigm is not to be understood separately, nor independently from previous linguistic approaches, therefore the CDA model applied in this work is justified from the fine distinctions between the notions of text, discourse, context, intertextuality and critique. Even though CDA is oriented towards the description of the meaning, it is a broader sense of meaning which CDA pursues, namely that identified by the immediate social, political, and historical conditions of text production

and reception, typically related to structures of power. Accordingly, the work of Fairclough, Wodak and van Dijk are presented as central to the concept of CDA adopted further in the description, analysis and interpretation of the text (chapter three). A critical assessment is undertaken of the soft spots of CDA, both in theory (systematicity, critique, conceptual tuning), statement of outcomes (the kind of change and extent of it reached after years of practice) and future developments.

A brief but methodical exploration of the dynamic creation of meaning is offered in chapter three, with a view to immigrant alterity. Some meaning-making devices have been tested by looking at a fragment randomly chosen from concordance lists, others have put to work exploration tools such as WordList and Concord to create immigrant-significant contexts and put them to examination later in chapter six. Corpus-driven information instantiated, and duly argued, language use indicative of immigrant alterity, but also contexts in which immigrants were represented in a positive light. Towards the end of chapter three, a methodological statement brings into focus the characteristics of the textual material used, the electronic tool employed in the linguistic exploration, the odds to systemic operationality and critical interpretation of the retrieved data in conditions of validity.

Chapter four presents the ontogeny of the research as well as the methodological model used to pursue its goals following a number of text and co-text triggered questions. It makes no effort in dissimulating that personal interest into political systems and academic interest into language use and the power of words converged into the genesis of the present work. The topic is however relevant in itself, for its actuality and implications, and the spatiotemporal coordinates relate to high-level international politics, so that the decision over data collection bent in favour of including, saving a small number of identical discourses given at different times and places, almost every presidential address.

It is fair to say that the object generated the method. The constituted corpus imposed, on the one hand, its own criterion, that of computerised language and the exploration tools. On the other hand, the human factor, with its insights and intuitions, but also, limitations, has contributed to the selection of categories to be later scrutinised more consistently. The methodology used in the analysis of the linguistic data was briefly illustrated with examples in the sub-corpus resulted from the selection of those linguistic categories referring to immigrants (section 4.2). These examples aimed at offering a glimpse of immigrant representation in terms of grammar of experience (as actors, processes and circumstances), of exchange (polarity and modality), and message (thematic and information structure).

As the analysis of text organisation requires far too much time and research conditions than those presently available and informs potentially less on the experience and exchange taking place with respect to immigrants, a good functional analysis of the linguistic categories generated by the corpus will hopefully help me relate the structural organization at clausal level with the possible ideologies embedded in the speeches of the former President of the United States.

The choice of the speeches which integrate the corpus is argued in section 1 of the chapter dealing with corpus justification and description, chapter five. They are public speeches delivered in the time span already mentioned, which corresponds to the second Bush Presidency of the U.S.A., that of G.W. Bush. Those official interventions where questions and answers took place were not included, nor were briefings or short statement unless they concerned immigration. A total of 1,457 discourses were included in the corpus, roughly accounting for 95% of the total number made public on the government's

webpage, whence they were retrieved. This made up for a corpus sized over 3.5 million words, even though immigrant-related expressions reduce considerably the content to be analysed.

The totality of immigrant-related content was heuristically explored, either as direct reference or as co-text, one that is, which oriented the interpretation of the references. This task would have been impossible without the capacity for fast, accurate and complex analysis of the Wordsmith 5.0 toolkit. The linguistic software analyst fathered by Dr. Michel Scott during his years at the University of Liverpool made possible the access to empirical data, and offered a merry company of pixels in the form of wordlists, statistics and correlations to provide for responsible quantitative data and a reliable starting point for the qualitative analysis of data orienting immigrant alterity.

Relevant frequencies in the corpus made possible an outline of characters and actions, which emerged as group oriented. Insofar as the conformation of the groups, the analysis of a rich linguistic context was necessary, either because ingroup indicators informed about different types of others, or because what could be outgroup indicators frequently referred to the ingroup. While implicit reference to the in-group is easier to disentangle, due to well-formed (in principle and expression) canons of self-presentation, hints to the out-group, saving the extreme example of terrorists, were ambiguous. Also confusing, although not surprising, is the finding that representation in terms of values and attributions occasionally displaced the group criterion from the focal point of view, with the consequences illustrated in chapter 7, Discussion.

Somewhere on the identity continuum suggested in the corpus, and in contrast with the huge numbers of concordances generated for third parties (reasonably, 'they' counts among the most frequent words in the corpus), explicit reference to immigrants and immigration is scarce, and implicit reference appears contentious. Even though the results show little, almost insignificant relevance of the group indicators for the first and third person with immigration, one can situate immigration and the immigrants closer to the centre of the identity axis due to reference to the immigrant past, but farther on the axiological axis, as it can be appreciated by the focus on the illegal condition and the type of intervention pointed out.

Given the broad characterisation of 'they', and the forceful negative representation of what appear to be extremely antagonist others as opposed to the diversity of predications about the in-group, (and the inexistence of a category of extreme selves), immigrants are expected to be made visible only thorough appeal to co-text (most frequent clusters) and context.

A wealth of contextual information presented in chapter one and two profile and the other on antagonistic evaluations and designs. This perspective is confirmed at a first corpus exploration, in chapter five. Perhaps not singularly, the truth assumption about the American exceptionality, which is commonly associated with consensus, appears in the discourses of G.W. Bush as the non-negotiable content of the construct of 'self'. Perhaps even ironically for an expression used by Stalin to underclass America's disavowal of Marxism, the doctrine of exceptionality continues to be a belief commonly shared by Republicans and Democrats alike, its paradigm being at the same time the locus of much debate and occasional, although notable, dissidence in the U.S.A.

The thematic content (section 5.4.1) brings us in front of a number of strategic concerns, that of the U.S. Government, with war and security/ command, economic development and environmental conservation and finally, with social welfare. What is more important, these topics, recurrent in the discourses of G.W. Bush, are frames from the

perspective of risk and dissension. If business is discussed, it is either expanding trade agreements or the fight against unauthorised production of goods. If command and interoperability is the issue, then it's the threat of using Smallpox or Anthrax against U.S. facilities; the Global War on terror needs no further explanation, and social welfare is about the fight against drug use, an obsolete system of retirement savings and a burdened health care system. Immigration is also fought against in the frame of border enforcement and the war on terror, increasingly so after 2002 and reaching the highest level as a presidential in 2006 and 2007, towards the end of his legislature.

The qualitative potential of the corpus (section 5.4.3) serving as a heuristic device towards the representation of immigrants, it is followed by the exploration of its immigrant-related references, and stand for the qualitative approach to corpus exploration. It revealed that the plural referent 'we' and its most frequently co-occurring words design almost exclusively the ingroup, while the counterpart 'they' and its preferred company of words relate almost equally to the ingroup and the outgroup. This makes the density of references to one's persona and to American citizens significantly high in the whole corpus, as well as the modal realisations of power, such as 'will', 'can' and 'should' with their respective negations. An overall appreciation of the evaluative patterns associated to these ingroup indicators point towards ingroup representation in terms of authority and dignity, and a more diverse outgroup representation, including imagery related to the criminal, even terrorist, environment.

Chapter six presents the results of the corpus exploration. It goes from the more general account of corpus findings to the quantitative analysis of the most relevant categories used to refer to immigrants, whose selection was described in chapter five. These have been explored in the light of their co-text and the larger context of American English, using as a reference the Corpus of Contemporary American English available online.

The general exploration is used as a step-by-step illustration of the procedure leading to the selection of immigrant triggers and their context (see Table 7), on which an extensive analysis of the referential and predicational strategies, the pattern of (un)certainly and of the transitivity system was performed. The fusion of immigrant-related and other corpus-driven realisations has proceeded from the quantitative data to qualitative analysis, which allowed for their correlation and interpretation in terms of alterity patterns. Plenty of indicators of immigrant alterity were found at different levels of analysis, starting from the lexical choices, predication, the use of metaphors, topicalisation and argumentation, all of which make the argument of chapter seven, dealing with Discussion.

Thus, reference to immigration is far more substantial than that to immigrants, both in quantitative terms and as potential for argumentation. It complies with different levels of explicitness, varying from the most explicit to the least explicit. In between the two, inconclusive reference and allusion (to previously established models of group attribution or predications) function as a neutral ground exploited for either self-censure or manipulation. Immigrants are positively represented and, more often than not, negatively portrayed, especially so from the perspective of other domestic policies, such as economy, education, defence, and homeland security. Occasionally, explicit positive representation of immigrants turns out to refer to American citizens, named from a retrospective perspective. Most negative descriptions

Register variation and taxonomic imprecision, especially with topics such as legal offence and law enforcement, contribute to the impression of the speaker distancing

himself from immigrants, although not necessarily from the offence as well, as considerable contexts in which illegal immigrants are positively evaluated even in relation to their illegal entry. The impression of the ingroup speaking for oneself (positively only) sharpens the contrast with the others, which are ousted in terms of self-definition, since they do not seem endowed with the capacity to represent themselves, but instead are spoken for and about.

Immigrant alterity was manifest in topic development, more exactly in the way in which criminalising devices are emphasised about contemporary immigrants, while past immigrants are acknowledged for their contribution and their personal values. G.W. Bush portrays past immigrants from the perspective of the American Dream and contemporary immigrants are approached within that of law enforcement. The perspective being the speakers' choice, receptors respect the conventions of message decoding without normally challenging the frame. The undertaking is at the same time legitimate, in terms of communication features and manipulative as to the common audience. Manipulation here consists in the coverage one topic is given over another, with the attached mental model about its reception, since the global image of immigrants turns out to be the sum of different types of legal intervention on them. Indeed, with this profile attached to them, people are more likely to segregate from possible immigrants to a much greater extent than they may see them as ordinary, neutral elements of the community.

The interplay of time frames and their combination with different sub-groups help create the sensation of a cohesive immigrant group, as is common affirmation in the U.S. to display one's immigrant ancestry, with emphasis on the multi-ethnic background (as discussed in chapter eight).

The final chapter brings into discussion all those results selected following corpus analysis. Results are interpreted in relation to the theoretical and methodological frames and the contextual background built in the initial chapters of the present work.

Group representation was dealt with in the first part of the discussion chapter, as an attempt to identify immigrant reference in conditions of difficulty to establish a clear indication for many naming devices in the corpus. Starting with the thematic content, the discourses of G.W. Bush profile a well-built ingroup, which was argued as unitary and strong besides the great diversity of members precisely because it is positively evaluated and this evaluation is self-generated and fixed.

In contrast, the outgroup is construed in contrasting hypostases, varying from border crossers to criminals and from illegal workers to successful businessmen or politicians. Also there is a striking difference with respect to the ingroup representation which consists in the precision of reference, specifically underlying the use of precise naming devices for decidedly positive ingroup and negative other actions, leaving the middle ground open to interpretation based on context and previously observed patterns.

In between positive self- and negative-other evaluation, explicit and vague reference already confining the outgroup to the sphere of alterity, the speeches of G.W. Bush weaves, by means of predications and argumentation, a discourse space framed by dynamic spatial-temporal-axiological variables able to suggest the presence or absence of the truth value of information structures, to persuade or legitimise, but always to coerce.

Groups and the relation between them have provided a reasonable co-text for the discussion of immigrant alterity construed in the discourses analysed. Accordingly, the deictic centre of the discourse world has been established in a conflated, self-appointed positive self. Immigrants were suggested to occupy different positions closer or farther this

centre up to the more distant point of the outgroup sphere, that inhabited by violent illegal immigrants and terrorists. Near-self and near-terrorist immigrants are solely argued with the force of evaluations, and the axiological framing is a powerful support for the configuration of a mental model about immigrants as threat. Even though it is not the first time when terrorist attacks and immigration are artificially tackled as one common problematic, G.W. Bush uses the visibility of immigrants to argue a population policy reaching doctrinal extensions.

Some of the most recurrent topics and metaphors found in the representation of immigrants relate strongly with the group approach to immigrants and the centrality of the self to the whole model of representation, in strong correlation with the ingroup metaphor of container. Relating to the representation of immigrants as 'threat' or 'problem' are the most frequent nominalisations, viz. immigration, but also the most processes and roles employed for their description, which is mainly, although not exclusively, realised through the evaluation of the phenomenon. Criminalising devices, depersonalising devices and container-related metaphors were discussed in this chapter for their power to induce immigrant alterity.

The strategic and sweeping criminalisation, scapegoating, blaming or alienation of immigrants have been argued as rooted in the subtle dissociation of the immigrants' experience or roles from the self, characteristic to theoretical thinking. This has been found to represent the most fruitful model of representation in terms of frequency and at the same time to carry the highest density of negative immigrant evaluation in the corpus. The legal framing of the discourse on immigration is paramount in the description of immigrants and responds to the topic of threat or problem, to which immigrants' personhood is irrelevant and general categories necessary.

Other frames for negative representation of immigrants are school achievement and communicative competence in English. Although overachievement is tackled with respect to past immigrants gone successful, underachievement is associated to present immigrants' children, but also, with a federal-funded battery of tests which was part of the standard-based education reform initiated by G.W. Bush, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. The provisions of the law being unobtainable, it has the character of enforcement and a clear objective in the offspring of immigrants.

In relation to the transitivity analysis, immigrants are assigned roles of Doers, Carriers of Attributes, Senser and Existent entities, which present them as active, able and cognisant actors, either of past beneficial or present prejudicial processes for America, but also as target of immigration debates and enforcement policies. The great number of circumstances involving immigrant participation contribute to their representation along spatiotemporal and affective axes, which were specifically found to account for legitimisation of the speaker's perceptions and decisions about immigrants.

Not in the least, cause/ consequence argumentation scheme enclose representation of immigrants as the active cause of illegal and criminal activities in the present and of progress and development in the past; also, in an original twist to immigrant representation, potential illegal immigrants are represented as potential sufferers of the consequences of law enforcement to keep away from illegal immigration. Finally, circumstances of manner construe immigrants from the perspective of the effect of law enforcement, pondered with regard to the ingroup's intentionality as to its outcomes, but firmly exclusionary with regard to immigrants, who are only suggested by words and expressions from the field of administrative procedures for immigration regulation.

In the speeches of G.W. Bush, contemporary immigrants are assigned, with notable theoretical exceptions, a marginal space in the life of the community and a subaltern space in the life of the society. The legal frame confines them to the area of negatively perceived entities, while the economic frame assigns them a discontinuous role. Neither envisions immigrants as persons, endowed with innate worth and dignity, which creates a representational gap with respect to the self. Time is the coordinate along which immigrant subalternity is overcome, as past immigrants progressively become selves. In the speeches of G.W. Bush, retrospection is the only gate to discursive mobility for contemporary immigrants.

Finally, the U.S. is presented as a social space to be conquered with good behaviour and obedience to the law. Politically, the former president names in various occasions Latino businessmen and politicians who accessed the highest strata of the American society. Character descriptions made by G.W. Bush during his speeches always end in the advertisement of a role model or a philosophy of life which end up reinforcing the positive representation of the ingroup. Reading against the overconfident self-portrayal, the U.S. described by G.W. Bush can be identified with the owner of absolute wealth, absolute morality, and absolute power. And there is little space for correction where there is little space for imperfection.

El presente trabajo surge del interés por la percepción contemporánea dominante sobre los inmigrantes, por lo cual se detiene sobre los discursos políticos de un presidente de los EEUU de nuestros días, George W. Bush. Inmersa en los meandros legales de políticas pasadas y presentes, a veces ellas mismas objeto de debate, la política de EEUU en los años 2000 ha cargado una gran cantidad de culpa a hombros de las diversas comunidades de inmigrantes del país.

Somos concientes que la auto-censura que acompaña al discurso político frente a posibles alegaciones de discriminación o racismo puede llevar a un discurso ajustado a los cánones de la corrección política; por otra parte, los modelos de representación exhibidos se pueden valorar como canónicos a su vez, pudiendo estos ser producto de discursos concurrentes o tendencias emergentes en la conceptualización de los inmigrantes. Se han elegido los discursos oficiales de los ocho años de G.W. Bush (2001-2009) en la Casa Blanca, para analizar con un margen satisfactorio de veracidad la imagen de los inmigrantes que se proyecta en la sociedad estadounidense desde las alturas de la institución gubernamental.

Desde el principio del presente trabajo se ha visto necesario acompañar la declaración del propósito de un preámbulo al contenido expuesto en los capítulos cinco, de descripción y justificación del corpus, y seis, que presenta los resultados de la exploración del corpus. En conformidad con el propósito de identificar estructuras lingüísticas que testimonian el uso del poder para desprestigiar a los inmigrantes, los preliminares introducen algunos aspectos históricos relativos al tema de la inmigración en los EEUU y su respetiva regulación, que luego vendrán desarrollados en los capítulos uno, 'El Otro' y dos, 'El contexto Americano'. Si los datos del corpus confirman la observación inicial, es decir, la alteridad discursiva de los inmigrantes, nuestro análisis se propone concretizar en una serie de aspectos lingüísticos mediante cuales esta alteridad se concretiza, tratando de dar una adecuada interpretación a las estructuras lingüísticas con la ayuda de la información contextual.

Como viene siendo el propósito del análisis crítico del discurso, las estructuras lingüísticas consideradas indicativas de actitudes y hechos discriminatorios hacia los inmigrantes necesitan ser expuestas y dadas a conocer en todo su potencial. La labor divulgativa aspira a romper con aquellos modelos mentales y discursivos negativos hacia los inmigrantes, que se han 'fosilizado' a lo largo de muchas décadas en la sociedad estadounidense en particular, aunque no de modo singular. Por lo contrario, haciendo accesibles los mecanismos cognitivos y de poder que hay detrás de la alteridad discursiva del inmigrante, se intentan desmitificar unas posturas utilitaristas existentes en las sociedades del bienestar, para proponer un paradigma más personalista de interacción dentro de la sociedad, y la búsqueda de otras formas de relación interhumana y de desarrollo.

Argumentamos en los preliminares que el ser humano siente un impulso interior de conocerse (auto-representarse) en relación con el mundo que le rodea, pero también en interconexión con otras representaciones o discursos sobre él mismo y su entorno. Esto

hace que uno tenga una idea de uno mismo y de los demás, sin que este conocimiento sea condenable. Por su relación con el tema elegido exploramos brevemente dos metáforas de la Antigüedad, ‘la marioneta’ y ‘la cueva’. Ambas contribuyen a la representación del hombre como animal político, pero también dentro de unos límites cognitivos que se pueden (y deben) confrontar con más significado para su propia existencia.

Proponemos que un modelo de discurso sobre ‘uno mismo’ y ‘el otro’ se halla en el tratamiento discriminatorio impuesto por los primeros colonizadores a las tribus indígenas del Continente Americano. Se da particular énfasis a la nominalización “nativo” y a la idea de utilidad, en torno a los cuales se construye, hasta nuestros días, la legitimidad del poder de ‘uno mismo’ sobre ‘el otro’. Sin embargo, otros aspectos lingüísticos indicativos de la relación poder/ alteridad se pueden encontrar en la decisión de elegir un tema o un determinado término para referirse al representado en el enfoque, el desarrollo, o la persistencia de determinados conocimientos, actitudes o argumentos.

Estudios llevados a cabo en el campo de las ciencias de la comunicación ofrecen una visión práctica sobre la manera en la cual la estructura de una noticia (elección de tópico, énfasis, configuración de la información, etc.), así como su programación influyen en la recepción de la información. En el caso de los inmigrantes nos propusimos mirar si los discursos presidenciales representan a la persona o al grupo, si su contenido deja espacio para procesar la información de una manera personal, o condicionan provocando en la audiencia una reacción emocional, y en este caso, determinar si la reacción es positiva o negativa hacia los inmigrantes.

Quién es el otro y qué le define como tal es la tarea del primer capítulo. El ‘otro’ de nuestro estudio crítico no es el de Stein, aun siendo este compatible con el discurso crítico en cuanto a la apuesta por la intersubjetividad en la tarea gnoseológica, así como por su solución a favor de la empatía con ‘el Otro’ - persona física, psíquica y espiritual, cuyo reflejo se encuentra en todas las personas humanas. Tampoco se ha explorado, como viene siendo el caso en el último siglo, ‘el Otro’ de Lévinas, con sus distinciones entre el hablante y lo que se habla, que podrían exponer la falacia de hablar con autoridad incontestada tanto de ‘uno mismo’ como de ‘el otro’. Posiblemente el enfoque de Lévinas nos permitiría profundizar en los conceptos de ser y poder y sus implicaciones para la construcción de la identidad.

Finalmente, podríamos interesarnos en como los conceptos antagónicos de ‘yo’ y de ‘el otro’ hacen posible una relación/ interacción significativa y si sería, como auguraba Loomba, en el sentido de la cooperación y la fraternidad universal. Puesto que su enfoque no ha encontrado eco en la escuela crítica, el ámbito de este trabajo se encuentra demasiado reducido para discurrir sobre la compatibilidad de la tarea crítica con algunas propuestas filosóficas alternativas.

Nuestro concepto operativo se debe marginalmente a Lacan, por su articulación de ‘el otro’ existente en el mundo y textualizado mediante el lenguaje y aquel definido en términos opuestos. Se lo debemos principalmente a Said, quien introduce a ‘el otro’ en los estudios lingüísticos. También por la acepción que le da, como una lectura alternativa de lo que Cioran llamaba la gran literatura – los textos de los grandes poderes –, una lectura que rompa el largo discurrir de monólogos auto-complacientes creadores de historia y de conocimiento objetivo. Con Said, al igual que para nosotros, ‘el otro’ es aquel sobre quién se habla, el representado, por efecto de un enfrentamiento de poder, en sus posturas de inferior, irracional, fanático, pero también de exótico, misterico, pasional, etc.

De los posibles precedentes de destitución que puedan soportar una comparación nos detuvimos en el modelo colonial de desposesión y la labor discursiva que acompañó, a

nuestro entender, al nuevo orden territorial correspondiente. Esta elección está motivada por las características de los discursos analizados. En primer lugar, existe una continuidad histórica entre los comienzos de la ocupación territorial del continente Americano y los Estados Unidos de América que merece ser analizada. En segundo lugar, entre los dos momentos históricos hay un espacio temporal lo suficientemente amplio para entender el desarrollo administrativo, económico y político de los EEUU y lo suficientemente breve para contar con los datos históricos y literarios que permitan establecer una relación causativa entre los mismos y el fenómeno de la inmigración.

Parece ineludible, si se desea hablar de la empresa colonial o del imperio, adentrarse, aunque mínimamente, en la postura de los intelectuales marxistas, a cerca del colonialismo. Estos se han mostrado abiertamente críticos con el éxito de la Corona Británica, y después de la segunda guerra mundial, con todo el establecimiento anglo-americano, sin embargo, su postura no parece surgir de la oposición a toda forma de dominación y subjugación de otros pueblos. Puede parecer que los aspectos técnicos de la ocupación preocupaban especialmente, como por ejemplo la necesidad/ utilidad de la permanencia en los territorios ocupados o la apuesta por la administración a distancia.

Llama la atención en este sentido el empeño de estos intelectuales por definir y establecer diferencias y lugares comunes entre los conceptos de colonialismo e imperialismo, que acaban por utilizarse indiscriminadamente con cierta reincidencia. Se debe remarcar, de igual manera, cierta incoherencia entre la teórica a favor de los más débiles y los sistemas políticos totalitarios generados en los países donde las teorías marxistas fueron implantadas. A pesar de las incongruencias señaladas, la tarea crítica mantiene su validez en el ámbito territorial de interés en nuestro trabajo, específicamente con respecto a la alteridad ocurrida en el continente americano.

La lectura postcolonial de los textos seleccionados para argumentar la relación entre el poder, la desposesión y la alteridad discursiva son una propuesta heurística de cara al análisis de los discursos de G.W. Bush. Una introspección en los modelos discursivos elaborados a cerca de las poblaciones de los territorios ocupados puede servir para establecer una relación de continuidad en la alteridad de otros o, por el contrario, para confirmar la evolución hacia una sociedad multicultural igualitaria cuya tarea es la persona y su bien.

Los fragmentos puestos en discusión han permitido observar, empezando por la denotación/ connotación y terminando por la argumentación, que se puede establecer una relación significativa entre la alteridad social, más específicamente ligado al modelo de desarrollo en los nuevos territorios convertidos en países de inmigración, y el tratamiento discursivo de los nativos en el pasado, transformado en modelos conceptuales y representacionales de los nuevos inmigrantes.

Un factor añadido se argumenta en la ordenación de la vida social en los así llamados países desarrollados, un reflejo de un desarrollo institucional sin precedentes en su celeridad y sistematicidad. Este modelo de sociedad, afirmamos con MacIntyre, tiene la capacidad de moldear la percepción de las personas que la integran hacia el cumplimiento de unos roles hasta el punto, que más de un líder político en la historia reciente se ha sentido tentado a explorar, de que la persona no se puede concebir a sí misma, y menos aún a los demás, fuera de los modelos y roles institucionales heredados o asignados. Por ello reforzamos el papel primordial del tenor de los discursos analizados en el presente trabajo, por el carácter institucional de los discursos de G.W. Bush y por lo tanto por su autoridad para acuñar o confirmar un modelo conceptual de los inmigrantes válido no solo en el ámbito nacional, sino, por la actual supremacía estadounidense, en todo el mundo.

Puesto que nuestro interés es la imagen del inmigrante *hoy*, la inter-discursividad no es el único factor con un potencial valor explicativo puesto en discusión en el capítulo dos. Al contexto norte-americano se añade la actualidad política y social, siempre arraigada en el factor económico y de desarrollo de un país. Según Lant Pritchett, la otra cara del crecimiento económico es la pobreza, cuyo rasgo más dramático, la falta de medios, argumentamos que crean un nicho estructural para la alteridad en el sentido de limitar la participación de otros en el crecimiento. Por ello, una serie de factores contextuales son puestos en discusión en el primer capítulo, que pueden ser vinculantes para la otredad discursiva, eso es, las políticas territoriales, institucionales y comunitarias.

Desde los inicios de la presencia europea en el continente americano, la ley ha jugado un papel esencial en la reordenación administrativa del territorio que, a su vez, ha causado la destrucción del modo de vida y gobierno de las tribus indígenas. Una prueba lingüística de ello es el poder de definir y de orientar el uso de las palabras ‘nativo’ y ‘primeras naciones’, re-conceptualizadas en contradicción con la cronología de los eventos históricos, para denotar las primeras generaciones de colonizadores en relación con las generaciones sucesivas de inmigrantes.

Empezando por la inmigración más antigua a América de Norte, las tareas legislativas orientadas a limitar y modelar la composición étnica y religiosa de los inmigrantes dejar entrever, por una parte, una preferencia por la inmigración proveniente del Noroeste Europeo, prácticamente ilimitada hasta el siglo veinte, mientras que por otra parte, los inmigrantes de Asia, especialmente de China eran indeseados. En medio estaban los Europeos de religiones tradicionales como los católicos de Irlanda, Italia y Polonia, o los ortodoxos del Europa del Este y los Balcanes -, así como los judíos que se desplazaban de estas últimas zonas, a diferencia de los que venían de los países nórdicos o Alemania. A menudo, el factor religioso no representaba en sí un elemento de discriminación, pero sí las implicaciones de ser de una determinada fe sobre unos modelos preferentes de sociedad o modelo de desarrollo que se querían promover. Por ejemplo, a los creyentes católicos se les reprochaba la falta de entusiasmo republicano, en base a la estructura jerárquica de su religión que mantiene su unidad alrededor de la figura de un líder vitalicio.

El modelo económico era otro elemento de división. Por ejemplo, algunos grupos étnicos apostaban por una economía agraria que brindara abundancia al país, a la vez que permitiera a sus miembros una vida reflexiva y la dignidad de ser auto-suficientes; en contraste, los inmigrantes pobres recién llegados vivían en aglomeraciones urbanas y trabajaban en fábricas con contratos fiduciarios por un número de años variables. A estos se les reprochaba falta de compromiso a largo plazo, de la misma manera que Bush manifiesta su preferencia por los trabajadores extranjeros temporales.

Otros factores invocados en la regulación de la inmigración, que han resultado en modelos de representación para los nuevos inmigrantes en el pasado, incluyen el papel desempeñado por los EEUU en conflictos mundiales o en el desarrollo económico diferenciado entre el hemisferio norte y el resto del mundo. Concretamente, para los inmigrantes provenientes de los países con los que EEUU estaban enfrentados, el gobierno creaba nichos legislativos y programas humanitarios que permitían a los ciudadanos de los respectivos países conseguir asilo político o estatuto de refugiados políticos con más facilidad que los ciudadanos de otros países de la zona afectados por diversos conflictos.

Más allá de los diferentes aspectos identitarios que provocaban discriminaciones masivas hacia un grupo u otro todos los gobiernos de la joven federación americana se han visto involucrados en una impresionante labor de estructuración institucional. El crecimiento institucional no puede ser separado de la labor complementaria de ordenación

jurídica, con diferentes niveles de implementación, empezando por la ciudadanía y terminando con el ámbito federal. La más reciente, obrada por G.W. Bush después del ataque a las Torres Gemelas, ha supuesto la reorganización del Departamento de Seguridad y de los servicios de información federales para permitir rastrear y comunicar datos relativos a la seguridad nacional. Esta compleja labor respondía a un concepto de amenaza que sumaba un perfil extranjero y una ideología no diferente, sino contraria a la filosofía de vida americana. El discurso de legitimización lanzado por el presidente se puede caracterizar como discurso del terror, en al menos dos aspectos. El primero es la caracterización que hace del enemigo, viz., impersonal pero potencial, violento, misántropo, antidemocrático and antiamericano. El segundo aspecto es táctico, y quizás el más destacado: frente al miedo a un futuro que se imagina mortífero, la propuesta es la acción pre-emptiva concreta. La dosis de surrealismo que subyace a su construcción del enemigo se resuelve en plan argumentativo con un lenguaje religioso, que alterna metáforas apocalípticas con una original interpretación de la ley del talión.

Se ha afirmado que el discurso de G.W. Bush, con su elección de términos y categorías, su concepto de ataque razonado como defensa y su apropiación de una moral antiguo-testamental, es llevado a cabo con un lenguaje del mal (Hidalgo-Tenorio) enfascado en una concepción 'excepcionalista' respecto del propio pueblo y su papel mesiánico en el mundo. Un discurso ideológico confirmará los resultados del corpus analizado, que emplea términos imprecisos o impropios para circunvenir el cuadro ideológico (van Dijk) que caracteriza el discurso discriminatorio.

El marco teórico elegido para analizar el tratamiento discursivo dado por G.W. Bush a los inmigrantes está presentado en el capítulo tres. El análisis crítico del discurso es un sistema heterogéneo, que parte del paradigma de ciencias críticas y permite al investigador buscar significados más allá de la palabra escrita o hablada. Ello implica tener en cuenta el texto mismo en su dimensión semántica, semiótica y pragmática, siendo las observaciones del mundo real las que guían la interpretación crítica del texto inicial.

El análisis crítico del discurso (de ahora en adelante CDA) representaba, en su momento incipiente, una nueva modalidad de exploración lingüística, sin constituir una suspensión con respecto a la anterior, sino abriendo el estudio de texto hacia disciplinas conexas y nuevas aplicaciones. Sus puntos comunes y sus elementos de divergencia se hacen visibles en la discusión de los conceptos de texto y discurso, análisis e interpretación o contexto, vienen presentados en el mismo capítulo. Finalmente, las nociones de poder, ideología y crítica, que tienen su especificidad dentro del nuevo enfoque lingüístico, son brevemente examinados siguiendo los desarrollos teóricos de analistas críticos como Fairclough, van Dijk y Wodak.

Una breve explicación de diferentes aspectos lingüísticos que contribuyen a la construcción del significado se emprende en la tercera parte de este capítulo, en el intento de comprobar el potencial del corpus para revelar estructuras de alteridad discursiva hacia los inmigrantes, pero también para orientar la futura selección de expresiones lingüísticas y contextos que fijan su referente en el inmigrante y que pueden no resultar muy obvios a una primera lectura. Ello nos lleva a la necesaria aclaración metodológica a cerca de las características del texto analizado, del uso del software lingüístico que hace posible el análisis de un número importante de discursos presidenciales, y de las limitaciones para una interpretación sistemática vista la desproporción entre el gran volumen de datos cuantitativos generados y el procesamiento de los datos cualitativos, siempre abierto a nuevas interpretaciones por muy fiables que sean las que aquí vienen expuestas.

El capítulo cuatro presenta el ontogénesis del presente trabajo, así como las preguntas iniciales, cuyas respuestas nos lleve a detectar unas estructuras de alteridad activas en la representación de los inmigrantes. De la motivación inicial del trabajo deriva la decisión a cerca del material textual elegido; a su vez, la aspiración a que este último permita una mínima proporción de error interpretativo por falta de suficiente contexto, es responsable de la decisión de incluir en el corpus la inmensa mayoría de los discursos presidenciales de G.W. Bush, un total de casi 1470.

La metodología utilizada en el análisis de los discursos presidenciales tornados lenguaje electrónico es ilustrada con el análisis de algunas estructuras generadoras de significado (sección 3.2) ejemplificadas con fragmentos de discurso que hacen referencia a los inmigrantes. Estas pretenden orientar la exploración cualitativa de los datos cualitativos generados por el corpus, que tendrá lugar en dos etapas, la de exploración integral del corpus (capítulo 5) y en el tratamiento a los inmigrantes (capítulo 6), esta última en concepto de gramática de la experiencia (actores, procesos, circunstancias), de intercambio (polaridad y modalidad) y de la estructura del mensaje (estructura temática y de la información). No en último lugar, se resalta la importancia del software de análisis lingüístico transformado por Dr. Michael Scott en una excelente herramienta de búsqueda, a la vez que un aspecto de objetividad en una tarea tan inter-subjetiva como la interpretación de un texto político.

La exploración del contexto más inmediato de los términos que con más frecuencia aparecen en los discursos de G.W. Bush permite diferenciar dos grandes grupos de actores protagonistas, el grupo americano y el grupo de noes organizado alrededor de conceptos tan variados como origen (Polaco, Mexicano), filiación (hijos de inmigrantes, bandas), lengua (hispano-hablantes), o estatus (ilegales, no-ciudadanos). El discurso está repleto de referencias a la identidad del grupo mayoritario, realizada tanto por pronombres en primera persona como también, en gran medida, por lexicalizaciones en tercera persona del plural.

Otras estructuras de significado, comprobadas aleatoriamente de entre las concordancias también han permitido ver una tendencia a la caracterización negativa de los inmigrantes, como también, ocasionalmente, positivas, mientras el grupo con el que el hablante se identifica siempre viene representado en una luz favorable. Nos parece significativo que, entre los dos polos identitarios sugeridos en los discursos de G.W. Bush, en contraste con el gran número de referencias a un grupo exterior (el pronombre personal en tercera persona del plural está entre las palabras más frecuentes del corpus), hay escasas referencias explícitas a los inmigrantes. Ellos se asocian al grupo dominante, especialmente los inmigrantes de las pasadas décadas, cuya descripción es positiva y desde la afinidad. Por lo contrario, los inmigrantes actuales están no solo más alejados del grupo de referencia, pero en contraposición con ello, están negativamente representados, o bien mediante referencias explícitas o por asociación grupal o valórico con diferentes categorías de otros.

El contenido temático de los discursos (sección 5.4.1) nos desvela la preocupación del gobierno de G.W. Bush por una serie de objetivos estratégicos, como la guerra, el orden y seguridad, el desarrollo económico, la conservación medioambiental y el bienestar social. Es recurrente en el desarrollo de estos temas una perspectiva de justa, que deja entrever riesgos, amenazas y antagonismos, tanto en el escenario doméstico como en el internacional. En relación a ellos, emerge una compleja construcción nacional. La excepcionalidad de EEUU en sí y en el mundo, la cuál sostiene la idea de patriotismo y de la cual se embeben los miembros de una entera sociedad (desde el recién nacionalizado hasta cada uno de sus presidentes) define el grupo americano sin que otras distinciones o percepciones, que parecen tener menor relevancia, puedan darle un giro discursivo.

La presencia de la primacía y del riesgo en el tratamiento temático de los discursos analizados es constante. Si el tópico son los negocios, se trata de relocalización al extranjero o del control de las mercancías no-autorizadas en el país. Si se trata de seguridad e interoperabilidad, la amenaza del ataques biológicos que provoquen Ántrax (medios de diagnosticar no disponibles en al sistema sanitario) o viruela (la única enfermedad erradicada en el mundo) sobre el país. El bienestar social gira alrededor del cambio en el sistema de pensiones, el control del uso de medicinas y drogas y la lucha para disminuir el número de pleitos relacionados con mala praxis en los centros de atención medical. Este contexto viene colmado por la agenda internacional que los EEUU se propone desempeñar, en el sentido de guerra global al terrorismo, la tipificación del riesgo y de la lucha por prevalecer. La inmigración, a la cual se da poca cobertura en los discursos presidenciales de G.W. Bush, se combate en el marco de la seguridad en los pasos fronterizos que comparten México y EEUU, y como un aspecto más de la política anti-terrorista iniciada durante la administración Clinton pero priorizada como nunca en la historia de EEUU por el presidente aquí en discusión.

Los primeros resultados cuantitativos ayudan discernir el justo énfasis que se debe dar a los primeros resultados cualitativos presentados en la sección 5.4.3. A su vez, estos ahondan aún más en la exploración heurística de diferentes expresiones de significado, en búsqueda de modelos de representación del inmigrante. Este emerge en oposición con el ciudadano estadounidense ideal: si el grupo mayoritario es representado en términos de autoridad, dignidad y nobles ideales, los inmigrantes se mencionan mayoritariamente en correlación con los criminales y los terroristas.

El capítulo seis presenta los resultados de la exploración completa del corpus; completa en cuanto a que un aspecto lingüístico, una estructura de significado o una representación se intenta explorar en todo el corpus relativo a inmigración; no es exhaustiva, puesto que no agota el número de posibles construcciones similares. Los referentes más explícitos, algunos particularmente interesantes desde el punto de vista de la alteridad, han sido examinados en el contexto inmediato de las correlaciones más recurrentes y en el contexto más amplio de la expresión inglesa norteamericana, con la ayuda del corpus del inglés americano contemporáneo (COCA).

Partiendo de la información rescatada del corpus (capítulo 6) y guiados por el ensayo heurístico del capítulo tres, las lexicalizaciones y predicaciones utilizadas para describir a los inmigrantes han sido analizados junto con el uso de los verbos modales y la configuración de la transitividad en el contexto de la inmigración. Abundantes indicios de alteridad se encontraron a diferentes niveles de descripción, empezando por las selecciones en el sistema léxico-semántico, hasta los recursos constitutivos de texto empleados para hablar de los inmigrantes. Todos ellos, y sus respectivos entornos textuales y contextuales, son objeto de interpretación razonada en el capítulo siete.

Concretamente, ‘el otro’ es un reflejo, generalmente uno negativo, del grupo central o de referencia. Este grupo de referencia es representado según un modelo de americano ideal. El ciudadano ideal en los discursos de George W. Bush es una persona autorizada, o visible para las instituciones del estado y la federación estadounidense (ciudadano), a la cual está además unido por lazos afectivos. El grupo americano también se auto-define – una manifestación de poder - en términos encomiásticos. La identidad colectiva se constituye en torno al humanismo cívico que inspiró la Revolución Americana, pero que, irónicamente, no llega a reflejarse en la representación de los nuevos llegados. La auto-representación superlativa del ‘io’ contrasta con la representación del inmigrante, en tanto que éste no participa en la construcción discursiva de su propia identidad. La falta de

cooperación hace que el otro esté destituido discursivamente, y que el grupo que ostenta el poder de definición hable de él y sobre él.

La destitución discursiva se constata en la elección del tópico, en el desarrollo del tema y la decisión acerca de qué elementos reciben énfasis y cuáles, por lo contrario, se atenúan o se suprimen. Hemos hallado que la puesta en ejecución de la ley, junto con el debate acerca de una nueva propuesta legislativa relativa a la inmigración, representa la perspectiva dominante en el tratamiento discursivo de los inmigrantes. Puesto que el punto de partida en la argumentación lo representa el estatus actual del inmigrante, los inmigrantes de las pasadas décadas son representados como tenaces portadores de virtud que han contribuido al país y se han integrado. Por lo contrario, los inmigrantes actuales están sujetos a la coyuntura legal y política presente, que los coceptualiza como criminales, ilegales y (potenciales) amenazas al orden público.

La insistencia con la cual, en general, se hace uso de términos despectivos e incriminatorios en relación con los inmigrantes, por la visibilidad que se da a aquellos inmigrantes que viven y trabajan en EEUU de forma ilegal, resulta discriminatoria respecto de ambas categorías. La manipulación consiste aquí en la preferencia por el aspecto que más potencial tiene para generar una reacción afectiva instintiva en el sentido deseado por la propuesta legal. La finalidad pragmática que hay detrás de los discursos presidenciales, como la detención, la deportación o la regularización, despertará en la audiencia actitudes a cerca de los inmigrantes, dejando que el procesamiento lógico o la experiencia personal de cada americano con los inmigrantes se queden en un plan secundario.

La realidad grupal de los inmigrantes contradice la impresión que G.W. Bush desea crear en sus discursos, la de un todo unitario, digno a veces de reconocimiento y otras veces de incriminación. Esto se debe principalmente a las nominalizaciones de denotación imprecisa, cuyo procesamiento viene guiado por modelos pre-existentes de evaluación grupal, allá donde la decodificación semántica de los elementos lexicales resulta incongruente con respecto al término elegido o da lugar a interpretaciones en cuanto a la verdadera entidad denotada.

La interacción de marcos temporales y esquemas mentales acerca del otro hace posible la manipulación del público, inducido a ver un planteamiento objetivo en la evaluación positiva de unos y negativa de otros subgrupos de inmigrantes. Los cambios de marcos temporales (inmigrantes en el pasado o en el presente), o estatus (inmigrantes legales o ilegales) y la transición del foco narrativo de un subgrupo de inmigrantes a otro, contribuyen a la impresión de un grupo homogéneo, indiferenciado, de inmigrantes, con un fuerte énfasis en la pertenencia étnica y el país de origen de los mismos.

El capítulo de discusiones parte de la representación grupal construido entorno al ego americano por una parte y el enemigo por otra, configuración que permite situar a los inmigrantes, alternativamente, cerca del centro deíctico del discurso o muy lejanamente, en compañía de los terroristas. Argumentamos allí que el grupo nacional es constituido por un número inagotable de categorías sociales, políticas, ideológicas, y situaciones en los que estos se ven involucrados (negocios, guerra, el sistema sanitario, jurídico, creencias, etc.), todas ellas evaluadas positivamente. La ausencia de evaluación negativa con respecto al grupo mayoritario se explica por lexicalizaciones cuyo referente carece de claridad, y atribuible por lo tanto, a diversos 'otros'. La misma ausencia aboga por un modelo de representación para el grupo americano compuesto por un campo fijo, el de la evaluación positiva, y un campo editable, donde los personajes armonizan con los auspicios que les están reservados en una gama variada de comparativos de superioridad y superlativos.

Por contraste, los inmigrantes, a veces entremezclados con otras categorías de diferentes, vienen representados de una manera más variopinta, en negativo (travesías ilegales, criminalidad, bandas, traficantes, trabajadores no-autorizados) y en positivo (valores comunes, utilidad/ contribución en el pasado, aspiraciones de superación, etc.), aunque la imagen dominante sea la de una presencia indeseable. El matiz intermedio es territorio de la interpretación, tales expresiones pudiendo denotar integrantes de cualquiera de los dos grupos. Las expresiones lingüísticas que precisan inferencias contextuales para ser identificado o descartado como una referencia a los inmigrantes son, a demás de las nominalizaciones, las predicaciones, las estructuras de argumentación, las perspectivas narrativas y la interrelación entre el espacio, el tiempo y los valores implicados en fabricar/ ocultar la verdad de la estructura de información, en definitiva, para persuadir o legitimar, pero siempre a favor de una estructura de poder.

Si el grupo mayoritario de ciudadanos estadounidenses está en el centro del mundo discursivo del presidente Bush, sus actores, participaciones y valores se transforman en punto de referencia no solo para la identidad del ser colectivo – (americano) – sino, a la vez, en modelo de evaluación para los inmigrantes. En relación a ello, los inmigrantes pueden ser representados como ‘casi-nativos’, aunque lexicalizados como inmigrantes debido a su ascendencia, o, por lo contrario, en terrorista, entre cuales extremos se abre toda una gama de adversarios y amenazas cuyo ángulo de representación fundamental es la imposición de la ley.

La casi-natividad y el casi-terrorismo constituyen los dos límites discursivos entre los cuales se construye la representación de los inmigrantes. Estas representaciones se dibujan con la fuerza de las evaluaciones, según el contraste axiológico entre las valencias del americano/ ciudadano ideal y la sociedad ideal que ellos constituyen, y las del enemigo maligno, personificado en el extranjero agresivo, ideológicamente opuesto, ensalzado en una lucha de dominación mundial, o por lo menos, de impedir el destino mesiánico de los EEUU en el nuevo orden mundial. Aunque no es la primera vez que a los inmigrantes se les asocia con los terroristas, y a una problemática común – la seguridad y gobernabilidad, primero territorial y ulteriormente global -, la precariedad de los argumentos a favor de incluir inmigrantes en este esquema mental de la amenaza hace sospechar que la imagen dominante (negativa) de los inmigrantes sirve de signo conducente a un paradigma de enemigo, esta vez interno, de la misma manera que las barajas de la agencia central de inteligencia, CIA, eran una secuencia semiótica (números, formas y letras asociadas a caras) que personificaban al enemigo lejano.

La precedencia del poder y de la ley sobre la población es argumentada con una categoría sin acceso a los recursos de auto-definición, pero con tradición de representación negativa, y una continuada presencia en EEUU - debida no solo a la permanencia de los inmigrantes en el territorio, sino, sobretudo, a las constantes nuevas entradas concertadas por las agencias oficiales de inmigración. De los posibles ‘otros’, se recurre al extranjero para personificar el concepto funcional de enemigo. La representación discursiva no queda, por lo tanto, en el ámbito conceptual, sino que, a partir de un prototipo de enemigo convenido, es posible - y hasta práctico - desarrollar una doctrina del miedo. La cuál, puesta en el centro de la tarea de gobierno, ha servido, en el caso del USA PATRIOT Act, para profundizar en el crecimiento institucional mencionado en el capítulo 2 en relación con la inmigración y su regulación en EEUU. Concretamente, la propuesta legislativa de G.W. Bush se ve concretizada en la reestructuración sin precedentes del Departamento de Seguridad Nacional, dando de este modo legitimación a unas prácticas legales duramente criticadas por los defensores de los derechos humanos, como el uso de la tortura, la

privación de la intimidad y hasta de la libertad por sospechas de amenaza basadas en la identidad o red social de los individuos.

Una de las metáforas más recurrentes empleadas en representación de los inmigrantes es ‘el contenedor’ aplicado al territorio, a las instituciones, a los intereses americanos, al modo de vida, a una filosofía política y al modelo de gobierno americano. Entre las nominalizaciones más frecuentes en representación de los inmigrantes destaca el fenómeno y no la persona, este primero asociado de manera reincidente a una terminología persecutoria, como ‘amenaza’ o ‘problema’, concretizados en actores, acciones y circunstancias que evocan una tensión latente entre estado y grupos de subordinados, inmigrantes incluidos. En relación a la representación del inmigrante como grupo problemático advertimos el uso de términos despectivos, deshumanizantes, incluso el recurrir a denotaciones propias del reino animal, para referirse al inmigrante en su postura de amenaza al establecimiento institucional.

Numerosas estrategias discursivas han sido destacadas por su fuerza de evocación de un modelo mental del inmigrante fundamentado en la alteridad discursiva de los textos que han acompañado a la empresa colonial en el Nuevo Continente. La generalizada criminalización de los inmigrantes – expresión discursiva de una destitución estructural obrada mediante unas leyes de inmigración que no amparan al inmigrante, pero le hacen responsable delante de la ley –, la alienación social que de allí deriva, la recriminación colectiva, confiere al inmigrante el papel extra-institucional de chivo expiatorio. Este rol, argumentamos en el capítulo siete, resulta conveniente para argumentar, sin alteraciones significativas al modelo fijo de auto-representación colectiva del grupo dominante, la necesidad y la legitimidad de la intervención institucional a favor de control de la población.

Pero a la vez, la disociación practicada en la representación del inmigrante, entre el hecho de ser inmigrante – una construcción jurídica exportada al ambiente social y comunitario – y la persona, cada uno de los inmigrantes ilegales viviendo y trabajando desde hace décadas en EEUU, deja entrever una concepción de estado fuertemente arraigada en las estructuras institucionales y los papeles que estas otorgan a los miembros de una sociedad, fuera de las cuales se hace muy complicado pensar y actuar. Retenemos que la reincidencia del motivo de la culpa colectiva es la manifestación de una estructura profunda de alteridad que afecta en primera línea a los inmigrantes por estar fuera de los mecanismos de la movilidad social, pero que es perfectamente aplicable a otros grupos, como lo han demostrado las previsiones del Patriot Act antes mencionado.

A parte del topoi de la ley, responsable de la mayor parte de referencias, predicaciones y perspectivas identificadas en el discurso sobre los inmigrantes, G.W. Bush recurre al tópico de la educación, concretamente al rendimiento escolar y la competencia comunicativa en Inglés. El potencial de alteridad discursiva de este tópico radica en los comienzos del movimiento afirmativo Chicano, quienes por primera vez se preocuparon por que sus hijos, considerados ‘el otro’ del Gobierno mexicano y del Gobierno de los EEUU, tengan acceso a la educación. El grito de un trato igualitario ‘No Child Left Behind!’ se ha transformado, a partir de los años 60, en una política federal, a pesar de una larga tendencia de descentralizar la escuela.

La apuesta particular de G.W. Bush es una muestra más de poder discursivo y efectivo, quien retoma el lema de la lucha anti-racial de los mexicano-americanos para una ley de educación homónima a la cual hace referencia en sus discursos presidenciales. Específicamente, su política educativa consiste en la implantación agresiva de un currículo basado en adquisición de destrezas, altos rendimientos, evaluación, incentivos y sanciones

(al profesorado) a nivel federal. Entre los múltiples factores de descontento en la sociedad americana, la relación entre grupos raciales y resultados ha sido objeto de encendidos debates, con recíprocas acusaciones de racismo. Este motivo es retomado por Bush, cuyas pocas afirmaciones imprudentes le han acreado acusaciones de racismo, de las cuales se intenta defender sin evitar confirmarlas, pero sin reparar en contra-acusaciones de racismo hacia sus críticos y oponentes.

Los objetivos de dicha ley son probablemente difíciles de alcanzar y, en opinión de algunos especialistas, utópicos. Identificar a los hijos de inmigrantes (algunos, ciudadanos estadounidenses, no se libran del determinismo impuesto por la otredad étnica de sus padres) con el fallo en el sistema educativo americano, es reduccionista y un elemento de alteridad discursiva. La discriminación más directa afecta a los inmigrantes, conceptualizados en grupo compacto, por ser particularizados como el eslabón débil del sistema, a costa del grupo mayoritario de alumnos con retrasos educativos en EEUU.

Es importante añadir, para dar la justa proporción evaluativa de los inmigrantes en los discursos presidenciales analizados, un inciso sobre la evaluación positiva. Puesto que, como vimos, los modelos de evaluación de los grupos, tanto nacional como de los inmigrantes, pretenden tener valor de verdad acerca del sujeto evaluado, cabe preguntarse sobre las implicaciones, discursivas y pragmáticas, de tal representación casi reservada al grupo dominante.

Un aspecto a tener en cuenta puede ser la proporción entre las dos representaciones. Los inmigrantes son mayoritariamente descritos en términos negativos, antagónicos al grupo de referencia, desde una postura superior, materializado en el poder de auto-definición, de ejecución y en el grado de libertad de acceso a la movilidad social. Pero también, aunque en menos ocasiones, tratamos con evaluaciones positivas, en términos de empatía, y con consideración, ya no de un perfil social o legal, sino del valor de la persona, de sus valores, sus aspiraciones personales y profesionales y de su ejercicio de la libre voluntad.

En esta categoría entran, sobre todo, los inmigrantes legales, los de las pasadas décadas, ya integrados, las personalidades destacadas de la vida artística, política, militar y los talentos excepcionales que han contribuido al modelo americano de excepcionalidad. De una manera secundaria, algunas valoraciones positivas se extienden a los inmigrantes ilegales, en cuyo caso el tema principal es el debate sobre la reforma de la inmigración. Conociendo que al presidente G.W. Bush se debe el éxito electoral cosechado por primera vez por el partido Republicano entre la comunidad latina en EEUU, voto que interesaba mantener de cara a un segundo mandato a la Casa Blanca, es razonable motivar la ruptura discursiva del modelo negativo de evaluación de los inmigrantes en base al objetivo electoral. Esto no elimina la posibilidad de una motivación añadida, la de persuadir a los compañeros políticos, una vez (re)electo, sobre la sensatez del proyecto iniciado y, por lo tanto conseguir apoyo para la reforma deseada.

La evaluación de los inmigrantes no es autónoma de la evaluación del grupo dominante. Hemos resaltado el contraste entre la evaluación positiva invariada del último y el contraste con el primero, mayoritariamente evaluado en negativo. La relación de interdependencia de los inmigrantes con el grupo de autorizados (ciudadanos, inmigrantes legales, hombres de negocios, estudiantes, turistas) se hace doblemente visible en la representación positiva de los dos grupos. El análisis de las referencias a estos inmigrantes nos revela un perfil de ciudadano americano integrado, si bien de origen inmigrante, del cual se destaca, por una parte el éxito actual de haberse realizado, por otra parte su condición o estatus pasado, el de inmigrante. Retenemos que esta es un aspecto de

identidad resaltado por los norteamericanos, quienes ostentan orgullosamente su pasado étnico; sin embargo, continua siendo un modelo de auto-representación que no se aplica en la simultaneidad la recién llegada al país de destino, y que muy posiblemente sea eco de la discriminación en la simultaneidad del pasado.

El análisis de la transitividad nos muestra un inmigrante masivamente implicado en procesos materiales, relacionales, mentales y existenciales, especialmente como actor causante (especialmente de procesos causantes de daños), portador de algún atributo (especialmente negativo), sede de procesamientos cognitivos que establecen una distancia o enfrentamiento entre los inmigrantes y los ciudadanos de pleno derecho y, finalmente como entidad existente.

Como ya se mencionó anteriormente, el marco legal representa la principal perspectiva en el tratamiento dado a los inmigrantes, a través del fenómeno generado, la inmigración y el debate sobre el cual puede ser el mejor tipo de intervención en el contexto temporal dado. Bajo este aspecto, los inmigrantes son representados como piezas en un necesario engranaje legal y su destino viene decidido por el grupo dominante, quien implica a toda la sociedad americana a llevarlo a cumplimiento. Los inmigrantes son subalternos del poder instituido, pero su alteridad cobra particular significado cuando la población civil es invitada a participar en el sentido de las medidas adoptadas y hasta presionar a los funcionarios policiales a aplicar la ley en su máximo potencial coercitivo (como la ley USA PATRIOT Act y el proyecto de ley conocido como la ley de Arizona permiten ver).

Entre los esquemas de argumentación un destacado lugar lo ocupan las relaciones causa/ consecuencia, íntimamente ligado a la metáfora ‘problema’. Este modelo atribuye a los inmigrantes el papel causante en actividades ilegales y criminales en el presente, así como participación activa en el progreso del país en el pasado. En un giro original al modelo general de representación del inmigrante, los potenciales inmigrantes vienen representados como potenciales afectados por la ejecución de la ley, en el intento de disuadirlos de la posibilidad de emprender la inmigración ilegal.

Las circunstancias de modo, de una manera particular, construyen a los inmigrantes desde la perspectiva de las consecuencias de la ley, tal y como se lo propone el grupo dominante. Hay indicios en el discurso – evaluaciones positivas intervienen ocasionalmente, a cuenta-gotas, simplemente para evitar que la argumentación alcance matices discriminatorias – del riesgo de que este enfoque sea percibido como excesivos por lo que el uso de términos administrativos y jurídicos son abundantes.

En los discursos de G.W. Bush, a los inmigrantes actuales se les atribuye, con notables excepciones de naturaleza teórica, un espacio marginal en la vida de la comunidad y un espacio subalterno en la estructura social. La perspectiva dominante de la legalidad se concretiza en un modelo negativo de inmigrante, mientras que el marco económico les asigna una representación discontinua, a veces de contribuyentes, otras veces de carga. El efecto, en relación con el tratamiento discursivo del grupo dominante, es uno de contraste. El tiempo es la dimensión que permite al inmigrante transformarse en casi-nativo, cosa que es importante que se produzca tanto a nivel efectivo, en la vida de las instituciones, como a nivel discursivo.

Finalmente, los EEUU son representados como un espacio social que se debe conquistar con buen comportamiento y cumplimiento de la ley. A la luz de la excepcionalidad americana, estos parecen unos medios poco ambiciosos. De hecho, en sus discursos, G.W. Bush recuerda en varias ocasiones a un a serie de personalidades latinas de la política, la empresa, y la investigación que han alcanzado los escalones más altos de la

sociedad americana. La implicación es un modelo de integración, basado en el sueño americano, también reflejado en el perfil más buscado por el sistema de inmigración estadounidense.

La caracterización positiva de estos inmigrantes va más allá del reconocimiento de unos méritos profesionales. Más bien son un reclamo a unos modelos y a una filosofía de vida que permitan avanzar a modelo de sociedad deseado desde el principio de los EEUU, esto es, uno configurado para el liderazgo. Leyendo en el sentido del autorretrato excesivamente confiado, los EEUU representados por G.W. Bush buscan identificarse con el poseedor de la máxima riqueza, la más eficaz legalidad y el poder absoluto. Mientras en esto consiste la tarea del gobierno, los inmigrantes se enfrentan a una alteridad estructural con efectos cuanto menos provisorios.

En los discursos de George W. Bush, la representación positiva de los inmigrantes, es propiciada por la mirada retrospectiva a sus logros en tiempo, y conforme a la sensibilidad del presente. No trasciende el motivo de la discriminación en el pasado, por lo que no se imponen como imperativos los cambios estructurales en la dirección de la neutralidad del inmigrante en la sociedad estadounidense. No quiere esto decir que no hay conciencia o voluntad política para hacerlo posible.

Posiblemente los EEUU sea el país con más políticas afirmativas del hemisferio norte, por su innegable esfuerzo hacia la integración. Su inquietud igualitaria, visible en el número creciente de personas de origen latino y asiático, una vez los grandes discriminados de las reformas de inmigración, permite que personas desfavorecidas emprendan un camino de movilidad social y profesional. Esta es una de las metas de nuestro trabajo, que tenga un impacto en la representación del inmigrante, en una sociedad altamente discursiva como la nuestra, donde la imagen es el mensaje. Sigue siendo una de las motivaciones específicas dentro del paradigma CDA la de contribuir con el estudio crítico del lenguaje político a eliminar la exclusión. Solo así, se puede aspirar a provocar un cambio efectivo en las vidas de las personas más afectadas, que un día se puedan traducir en buenos resultados a beneficio de la entera sociedad.

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OTROS

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ANNEX 1. PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES INTEGRATING THE CORPUS.

1. January 20, 2001 - Inaugural Address
2. January 22, 2001 - President Bush's Remarks at Swearing-In Ceremony for New White House Staff
3. January 25, 2001 - Remarks by the President to Students and Faculty at Merritt Elementary School
4. January 27, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
5. January 29, 2001 - Remarks by the President in Announcement of the Faith-Based Initiative
6. February 1, 2001 - Remarks by the President in Announcement of New Freedom Initiative
7. February 1, 2001 - Remarks by the President at National Prayer Breakfast
8. February 2, 2001 - Remarks by the President at Republican Congressional Retreat
9. February 3, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
10. February 8, 2001 - President Releases Agenda for Tax Relief
11. February 10, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
12. February 12, 2001 - President Speaks to Troops of Fort Stewart
13. February 13, 2001 - President Speaks to the Troops and Personnel at Norfolk Naval Air Station
14. February 14, 2001 - President Speaks to National Guard Personnel in Charleston, West Virginia
15. February 15, 2001 - Remarks of the President to State Department Employees
16. February 17, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
17. February 19, 2001 - Remarks by the President at Dedication of Oklahoma City National Memorial
18. February 21, 2001 - President Bush speaks at Townsend Elementary School in Tennessee
19. February 24, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
20. February 27, 2001 - President's Address to the Joint Session of Congress
21. March 2, 2001 - President Speaks at National Conference of State Legislatures Meeting
22. March 3, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
23. March 4, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Christening Ceremony for the USS Ronald Reagan
24. March 5, 2001 - President Meets with University of Oklahoma Football and Softball Teams
25. March 6, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Chicago Mercantile Exchange
26. March 8, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at North Dakota State University
27. March 9, 2001 - President Bush Discusses the Budget in Lafayette, Louisiana
28. March 10, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
29. March 14, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Joint Meeting of the New Jersey Chamber of Commerce
30. March 16, 2001 - President Bush Meets with Small Business Owners
31. March 17, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
32. March 19, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
33. March 21, 2001 - President Welcomes Catholic Leaders to White House
34. March 22, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at National Newspaper Association Conference
35. March 23, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at the Greater Portland Chamber of Commerce
36. March 24, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
37. March 26, 2001 - President Bush Discusses the Budget in Billings, Montana
38. March 27, 2001 - President Bush Discusses the Economy at Western Michigan University
39. March 28, 2001 - President Speaks to High Tech Leaders
40. March 29, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to African American Leaders
41. March 29, 2001 - President Speaks at Radio-TV Correspondents Dinner
42. March 31, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
43. April 3, 2001 - President Speaks at Leadership Forum in Wilmington, Delaware
44. April 6, 2001 - President Bush Congratulates Winners of Horatio Alger Award
45. April 7, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
46. April 11, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Concord Middle School in Concord, North Carolina

47. April 12, 2001 - President Bush Speaks on Parental Empowerment in Education
48. April 14, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
49. April 16, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at United States Chamber of Commerce
50. April 18, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Holocaust Museum
51. April 20, 2001 - President Bush Departs to Quebec, Canada for Summit of the Americas
52. April 21, 2001 - President Bush Discusses the Summit of the Americas at Working Session
53. April 23, 2001 - President Bush Welcomes the NCAA Men's Basketball Champions from Duke University and the NCAA Women's Basketball Champions from Notre Dame University
54. April 24, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to Winners of Environmental Youth Awards
55. April 25, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Zephyr Field in New Orleans, Louisiana
56. April 27, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Dedication of Bob Bullock Texas History Museum
57. April 28, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
58. April 30, 2001 - President Bush Discusses First 100 Days at Congressional Luncheon
59. May 1, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at National Defence University
60. May 2, 2001 - President Bush Announces Formation of Social Security Commission
61. May 3, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at National Day of Prayer Reception
62. May 4, 2001 - President Bush Delivers Message on Cinco de Mayo
63. May 5, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
64. May 7, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Council of Americas Conference
65. May 8, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Small Business Person Award Ceremony
66. May 9, 2001 - President Bush Announces Federal Judicial Appointees
67. May 12, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
68. May 14, 2001 - President Bush Announces Project Safe Neighborhoods Initiative
69. May 14, 2001 - President Bush Meets With 2000 WNBA Champion Houston Comets
70. May 15, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at 20th Annual Peace Officers Memorial Service
71. May 16, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at African Growth and Opportunity Act Trade and Economic Cooperation Forum
72. May 17, 2001 - President Bush Discusses National Energy Policy in St. Paul, Minnesota
73. May 17, 2001 - President Discusses Energy Plan at Iowa Energy Center
74. May 18, 2001 - President Bush Discusses Energy Plan at Safe Harbor Water Power Corporation
75. May 18, 2001 - President Bush Recognizes Cuba Independence Day
76. May 19, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
77. May 20, 2001 - Remarks by the President in Commencement Address - Notre Dame, Indiana
78. May 21, 2001 - Remarks by the President in Commencement Address - New Haven, Connecticut
79. May 22, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to National Leadership of the Hispanic Faith-Based Organizations
80. May 22, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Hispanic Scholarship Fund Briefing
81. May 23, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Military Reenlistment Ceremony
82. May 24, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to St. Augustine Parish in Cleveland, Ohio
83. May 25, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at U.S. Naval Academy Commencement
84. May 26, 2001 - President Bush Speaks after Passage of Tax Plan
85. May 26, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
86. May 28, 2001 - President Bush Delivers Memorial Day Address at Arlington National Cemetery
87. May 29, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Camp Pendleton, California
88. May 30, 2001 - President Bush Announces National Parks Legacy Project
89. May 31, 2001 - Remarks by the President to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council - Los Angeles, CA
90. June 1, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Race For The Cure Event
91. June 2, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
92. June 4, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Royal Palm Visitors Center in Everglades National Park
93. June 5, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to Habitat for Humanity Supporters
94. June 6, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Dedication of National D-Day Memorial
95. June 7, 2001 - President Bush Signs Tax Cut Bill
96. June 7, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at the Fourth National Summit on Fatherhood
97. June 7, 2001 - President Bush Meets with the 2001 Super Bowl Champion Baltimore Ravens
98. June 8, 2001 - President Speaks at Tax Celebration Event in Iowa
99. June 9, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
100. June 11, 2001 - President Bush Discusses Global Climate Change
101. June 13, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at the Opening of NATO Meeting in Brussels
102. June 15, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to Faculty and Students of Warsaw University

103. June, 18, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to Agriculture Leaders
104. June 19, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Pentagon Assistive Technology Center
105. June 20, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Summit on the 21st Century Work Force
106. June 21, 2001 - President Bush Discusses Land and Water Conservation Fund
107. June 22, 2001 - Remarks by the President at Senate Dinner for Senator Jeff Sessions
108. June 23, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
109. June 25, 2001 - President Discusses Faith-Based Initiative at Conference of Mayors
110. June 27, 2001 - Remarks by the President at the President's Dinner
111. June 28, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to Department of Energy Employees
112. June 29, 2001 - President Bush Recognizes Black Music Month
113. June, 30, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
114. July 4, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Independence Day Celebration
115. July 7, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
116. July 9, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to Participants of America's Promise
117. July 10, 2001 - President Speaks at Ceremony Honoring John Cardinal O'Connor
118. July 10, 2001 - Remarks by the President At INS Naturalization Ceremony
119. July 11, 2001 - President Speaks to Specialty Doctors and Patients on Patients' Bill of Rights
120. July 12, 2001 - President Announces Medicare Initiative
121. July 17, 2001 - President Outlines Europe Trip at World Bank
122. July 21 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation to the Nation
123. July 24, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to American Troops in Kosovo
124. July 27, 2001 - President Talks Taxes, Economy (Remarks to the Future Farmers of America)
125. July 30, 2001 - President Reemphasizes Call to End Racial Profiling Remarks by the President to National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives)
126. August 3, 2001 - President Discusses First Six Months in Office
127. August 4, 2001 - President Announces Medicaid Reform in Weekly Radio Address
128. August 9, 2001 - Remarks by the President on Stem Cell Research
129. August 11, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
130. August 13, 2001 - President Bush Signs Agriculture Supplemental Bill
131. August 14, 2001 - President speaks about character development at YMCA Picnic
132. August 14, 2001 - Remarks by the President at Fundraising Dinner for Senator Wayne Allard and Governor Bill Owens
133. August 15, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
134. August 16, 2001 - Remarks by the President at "People for Pete" Dinner in Honor of Senator Pete Domenici
135. August 18, 2001 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation
136. August 20, 2001 - Remarks by the President to Workers at Harley Davidson Factory
137. August 20, 2001 - Remarks by the President to the Veterans of Foreign Wars
138. August 20, 2001 - Remarks by the President on the Budget
139. August 25, 2001 - President Discusses Budget in Radio Address
140. August 26, 2001 - President Bush Speaks at Little League World Series
141. August 29, 2001 - President Discusses Defense Priorities at American Legion
142. September 1, 2001 - President Urges Quick Passage of Education Plan in Radio Address
143. September 3, 2001 - President Discusses Economy at Teamsters Barbecue in Detroit, Michigan
144. September 3, 2001 - President Meets With Northern Wisconsin Council of Carpenters in Kaukauna, Wisconsin
145. September 3, 2001 - President's Message on the Economy in Green Bay, Wisconsin
146. September 7, 2001 - President Voices Concern Over Economy
147. September 11, 2001 - Statement by the President in Address to the Nation
148. September 12, 2001 - President Bush Meets with National Security Team
149. September 15, 2001 - President Addresses Nation in Radio Address
150. September 17, 2001 - "Islam is Peace" Says President
151. September 18, 2001 - President Launches Online American Relief and Response Effort
152. September 20, 2001 - President Declares "Freedom at War with Fear"
153. September 22, 2001 - Radio Address: Despite Challenges, Economy Fundamentally Strong
154. September 26, 2001 - President Thanks CIA
155. September 27, 2001 - At O'Hare, President Says "Get On Board"
156. September 29, 2001 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation
157. October 1, 2001 - President: "We're Making Progress"
158. October 2, 2001 - President Opens Reagan National Airport

159. October 4, 2001 - President Unveils Back to Work Plan
160. October 4, 2001 - President Directs Humanitarian Aid for Afghanistan
161. October 5, 2001 - President Urges Tax Relief Aimed at Recovery
162. October 6, 2001 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation
163. October 7, 2001 - Presidential Address to the Nation
164. October 7, 2001 - President Speaks at 20th Annual National Fallen Firefighters Memorial Tribute
165. October 8, 2001 - Gov. Ridge Sworn-In to Lead Homeland Security
166. October 10, 2001 - President Unveils "Most Wanted" Terrorists
167. October 11, 2001 - President Pays Tribute at Pentagon Memorial
168. October 12, 2001 - President Asks American Children to Help Afghan Children
169. October 12, 2001 - President's Remarks during Hispanic Heritage Month Event
170. October 13, 2001 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation
171. October 14, 2001 - President Discusses Medicare to the American Society of Anesthesiologists
[Videotaped Remarks]
172. October 15, 2001 - President Honors Public Servants
173. October 16, 2001 - America's Youth Respond to Afghan Children's Fund
174. October 17, 2001 - President Rallies Troops at Travis Air Force Base
175. October 20, 2001 - President's Radio Address from Shanghai, China
176. October 24, 2001 - President Discusses Stronger Economy and Homeland Defense
177. October 25, 2001 - President Launches Education Partnership with Muslim Nations
178. October 26, 2001 - President Signs Anti-Terrorism Bil
179. October 26, 2001 - President Bush Calls for Action on the Economy and Energy
180. October 27, 2001 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation
181. October 29, 2001 - U.S., Africa Strengthen Counter-Terrorism and Economic Ties
182. October 30, 2001 - President Launches "Lessons of Liberty"
183. October 31, 2001 - President Discusses Economic Stimulus with National Association of
Manufacturers
184. November 2, 2001 - President Salutes USO in White House Ceremony
185. November 3, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
186. November 6, 2001 - "No Nation Can Be Neutral in This Conflict"
187. November 8, 2001 - President Discusses War on Terrorism
188. November 9, 2001 - President Bush Acts to Make Holiday Travel Safer
189. November 10, 2001 - President Bush Speaks to United Nations
190. November 11, 2001 - President Speaks at Veterans Day Prayer Breakfast
191. November 15, 2001 - President's Message for Ramadan
192. November 20, 2001 - President Urges Support for America's Charities
193. November 21, 2001 - President Shares Thanksgiving Meal with Troops
194. November 24, 2001 - Radio Address by the President To the Nation
195. November 27, 2001 - President Commends U.S. Nobel Laureates
196. November 28, 2001 - President Discusses Economic Stimulus with the Farmers Journal Corporation
Convention
197. November 29, 2001 - President Says U.S. Attorneys on Front Line in War
198. November 28, 2001 - President Discusses Economic Stimulus with the Farmers Journal Corporation
Convention
199. November 30, 2001 - President Pleased with Mexican Trucking Compromise
200. December 1, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation. President Discusses Job Creation
Package
201. December 4, 2001 - President Promotes Economic Security & Worker Assistance
202. December 6, 2001 - President Lights National Christmas Tree
203. December 7, 2001 - President: We're Fighting to Win - And Win We Will. Remarks by the President on
the USS Enterprise on Pearl Harbor Day
204. December 8, 2001 - President's Radio Address
205. December 8, 2001 - President Sends Off Relief Supplies for Afghan Children
206. December 11, 2001 - President Speaks on War Effort to Citadel Cadets
207. December 12, 2001 - President Signs Afghan Women and Children Relief Act
208. December 13, 2001 - President Discusses National Missile Defense
209. December 13, 2001 - President's Remarks at Special Olympics Holiday Reception
210. December 14, 2001 - President Empowers Communities in Fight Against Illegal Drug Abuse
211. December 15, 2001 - President's Radio Address
212. December 20, 2001 - President Thanks Americans for Helping Victims of Sept 11

213. December 22, 2001 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
214. December 22, 2001 - President Welcomes Olympic Torch Runners to White House
215. December 25, 2001 - Christmas Radio Message by the President to the Nation
216. December 26, 2001 - President's Kwanzaa Message
217. December 29, 2001 - President's Radio Address
218. January 5, 2002 - President's Radio Address
219. January 8, 2002 - President Signs Landmark No Child Left Behind Education Bill
220. January 10, 2002 - President Signs Defense Appropriations Bill
221. January 12, 2002 - President's Radio Address
222. January 14, 2002 - President Discusses Economic Growth in Illinois
223. January 15, 2002 - President Talks Trade in New Orleans
224. January 16, 2002 - President Announces Step to Expand Trade & Create Jobs
225. January 17, 2002 - President Bush Acts to Promote Strong Families, Safe Children
226. January 19, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
227. January 22, 2002 - President Calls on Congress to Pass Economic Security Package, at Cecil I. Walker Machinery Company in Charleston, West Virginia
228. January 22, 2002 - President Discusses Energy, Economy in West Virginia at Charleston Regional Airport, West Virginia
229. January 23, 2002 - President Thanks Reserve Officers Association for Commitment, remarks at Reserved Officers Association Luncheon
230. January 24, 2002 - President Announces Substantial Increases in Homeland Security Budget (Remarks by the President to U.S. Mayors and County Officials)
231. January 25, 2002 - President Increases Budget for Border Security
232. January 26, 2002 - President Discusses 2002 Priorities in Radio Address
233. January 29, 2002 - President Delivers State of the Union Address
234. January 30, 2002 - President Asks Seniors to Get Involved in USA Freedom Corps
235. January 31, 2002 - President Calls for 100,000 New Senior Corps Volunteers (Fire Services)
236. January 31, 2002 - President Stresses Volunteerism at Atlanta High School
237. February 2, 2002 - President Outlines Pension Protection Plan in Radio Address
238. February 6, 2002 - Remarks by the President to the NYPD Command and Control Center Personnel
239. February 7, 2002 - President's Remarks at National Prayer Breakfast
240. February 8, 2002 - President Discusses Agriculture Policy at Cattle Industry Convention, Denver, Colorado
241. February 9, 2002 - President Discusses Black History Month in Radio Address
242. February 11, 2002 - President Bush Outlines Health Care Agenda (Medical College)
243. February 14, 2002 - President Announces Clear Skies & Global Climate Change Initiatives
244. February 15, 2002 - President Announces Plan to Strengthen Peace Corps
245. February 16, 2002 - President Rallies the Troops in Alaska
246. February 16, 2002 - Remarks by the President to the Republican Party of Alaska
247. February 16, 2002 - President Discusses Asia Trip in Radio Address
248. February 21, 2002 - President Speaks to U.S. Troops in Seoul
249. February 23, 2002 - President Focuses on Energy Security in Radio Address
250. February 25, 2002 - President Salutes VOA's 60-Year Commitment to Freedom
251. February 26, 2002 - President Announces Welfare Reform Agenda
252. February 26, 2002 - President Announces Welfare Reform Agenda at St. Luke's Catholic Church, Washington, D.C.
253. February 27, 2002 - President Discusses Welfare Reform and Job Training at the Chamber of Commerce in Charlotte, North Carolina
254. February 27, 2002 - President's Remarks at GOP Luncheon, Charlotte, North Carolina
255. February 28, 2002 - President Promotes Retirement Security Agenda
256. March 1, 2002 - President Reiterates Call for Retirement Security Reform, Des Moines, California
257. March 2, 2002 - President Emphasizes Teacher Quality in Radio Address
258. March 4, 2002 - President Launches Quality Teacher Initiative, Eden Prairie, Minnesota
259. March 5, 2002 - President's Remarks at Minnesota Republican Party Dinner
260. March 9, 2002 - President Signs Stimulus Bill During Live Radio Address
261. March 11, 2002 - President Thanks World Coalition for Anti-Terrorism Efforts
262. March 12, 2002 - Remarks by the President to the NCAA Sports Champions
263. March 12, 2002 - Remarks by the President at Reception for "Keep Our Majority" PAC
264. March 14, 2002 - President Proposes \$5 Billion Plan to Help Developing Nations
265. March 16, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation

266. March 19, 2002 - President Unveils Small Business Plan at Women's Entrepreneurship Summit
267. March 21, 2002 - President Promotes Secure and Open Borders at the El Paso International Airport, Texas
268. March 23, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
269. March 25, 2002 - President Recognizes Greek Independence Day
270. March 27, 2002 - President Promotes Funding for Emergency First Responders
271. March 30, 2002 - President Promotes Peace in Radio Address
272. April 2, 2002 - President Announces Early Childhood Initiative
273. April 6, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
274. April 8, 2002 - President Promotes Citizen Corps for Safer Communities
275. April 9, 2002 - President Outlines Principles for Public Service
276. April 10, 2002 - President Bush Calls on Senate to Back Human Cloning Ban
277. April 11, 2002 - President Promotes Faith-Based Initiative
278. April 13, 2002 - President's Radio Address
279. April 15, 2002 - President Calls on Congress to Make Tax Relief Permanent
280. April 16, 2002 - President Calls for Crime Victims' Rights Amendment
281. April 17, 2002 - President Outlines War Effort
282. April 18, 2002 - Remarks by the President at 2002 President's Environmental Youth Awards Ceremony
283. April 20, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
284. April 22, 2002 - President Calls for Conservation and Stewardship on Earth Day
285. April 24, 2002 - President Discusses Ag, Trade in South Dakota
286. April 24, 2002 - President Presents National Teacher of the Year Award
287. April 27, 2002 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation
288. April 29, 2002 - President Speaks to Community Leaders in Los Angeles
289. April 29, 2002 - President Says U.S. Must Make Commitment to Mental Health Care
290. April 30, 2002 - President Promotes Compassionate Conservatism
291. May 1, 2002 - Remarks by the President at Simon for Governor Luncheon
292. May 4, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
293. May 8, 2002 - President Visits Logan High School in Lacrosse, Wisconsin
294. May 10, 2002 - President Calls for Ticket to Independence in Welfare Reform
295. May 11, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
296. May 14, 2002 - President Signs Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act
297. May 15, 2002 - President Honors Fallen Peace Officers' at Memorial Service
298. May 16, 2002 - President Addresses National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast
299. May 17, 2002 - President Discusses Response to September 11 Attacks
300. May 18, 2002 - President's Radio Address
301. May 20, 2002 - President Bush Announces Initiative for a New Cuba
302. May 21, 2002 - President Welcomes NCAA Champs to White House
303. May 24, 2002 - Remarks by the President to Community and Religious Leaders, Spaso House, Moscow, Russia
304. May 27, 2002 - President Bush Commemorates Memorial Day at Normandy, France
305. May 31, 2002 - President Speaks at Celebration of African American Music, History, and Culture
306. June 1, 2002 - President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point
307. June 3, 2002 - President Says Strong Work Requirement Needed in Welfare Reform
308. June 6, 2002 - Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation
309. June 7, 2002 - President Discusses Homeland Security and Commemorates One-Year Anniversary of Tax Relief
310. June 8, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
311. June 10, 2002 - Remarks by the President to International Democratic Union Leaders Dinner
312. June 11, 2002 - President Discusses Nation's Critical Infrastructure
313. June 13, 2002 - President Discusses the Future Technology at White House Forum
314. June 14, 2002 - President Bush Delivers Commencement Address at Ohio State University
315. June 15, 2002 - President Focuses on Home-Ownership in Radio Address
316. June 17, 2002 - President Calls for Expanding Opportunities to Home Ownership
317. June 19, 2002 - Remarks by the President at the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America 2002 Legislative Conference
318. June 21, 2002 - President Promotes Physical Fitness to Senior Citizens
319. June 22, 2002 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Fitness challenge initiative
320. June 29, 2002 - President's Radio Address
321. July 4, 2002 - President Honors Veterans at West Virginia Fourth of July Celebration

322. July 9, 2002 - President Announces Tough New Enforcement Initiatives for Reform
323. July 10, 2002 - President Bush Thanks Homeland Security Workers
324. July 12, 2002 - President Honors Scientists and Engineers in Awards Ceremony
325. July 22, 2002 - Anti-Terrorism Technology Key to Homeland Security
326. July 13, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
327. July 15, 2002 - The President's Agenda for Long-Term Growth & Prosperity
328. July 20, 2002 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation
329. July 25, 2002 - President Proposes Major Reforms to Address Medical Liability Crisis, High Point University, Greensboro, North Carolina
330. July 27, 2002 - Radio Address of the President to the Nation
331. August 3, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
332. August 5, 2002 - President Bush Meets with Pennsylvania Coal Miners
333. August 10, 2002 - President's Radio Address
334. August 13, 2002 - President Hosts Economic Forum
335. August 14, 2002 - President Discusses National, Homeland, and Economic Security Priorities at the Klotsche Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
336. August 15, 2002 - President Discusses Homeland and Economic Security at Mt. Rushmore
337. August 17, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
338. August 23, 2002 - President Discusses Education with Hispanic Leaders
339. August 24, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
340. August 25, 2002 - Remarks by the President in Pierce for Congress Dinner
341. August 29, 2002 - President Highlights Education Reform at Back to School Event
342. August 31, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
343. September 2, 2002 - President Bush Thanks America's Workers at Labor Day Picnic
344. September 4, 2002 - President Highlights Progress Made in Education Reform
345. September 5, 2002 - President Focuses on Economy and War on Terrorism in Kentucky Speech
346. September 7, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
347. September 9, 2002 - President Bush, PM Chretien Announce Progress in Smart Border Plan
348. September 11, 2002 - President's Remarks to the Nation
349. September 11, 2002 - President's Remarks at the Pentagon
350. September 12, 2002 - President's Remarks at the United Nations General Assembly
351. September 14, 2002 - President Discusses Growing Danger posed by Saddam Hussein's Regime. Radio Address by the President to the Nation
352. September 16, 2002 - President Stresses Budget Discipline and Fiscal Restraint at Sears Manufacturing, Davenport, Iowa
353. September 21, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
354. September 23, 2002 - President Bush Calls on Congress to Act on Nation's Priorities, Army National Guard Aviation Support Facility at Trenton, New Jersey
355. September 26, 2002 - President Continues Fight Against Corporate Fraud and Abuse
356. September 27, 2002 - President Presses Congress for Action on Defense Appropriations Bill
357. September 28, 2002 - President Bush Pushes for Homeland Security Bill
358. October 3, 2002 - President Reiterates Need for Terrorism Insurance Agreement
359. October 4, 2002 - Remarks by the President at Massachusetts Victory 2002 Reception
360. October 5, 2002 - President: Iraqi Regime Danger to America is "Grave and Growing". Radio Address by the President to the Nation
361. October 7, 2002 - President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat
362. October 8, 2002 - President's Remarks on West Coast Ports
363. October 9, 2002 - President Hosts White House Event for Hispanic Heritage Month
364. October 11, 2002 - President Highlights Humanitarian Efforts in Afghanistan
365. October 12, 2002 - President's Radio Address. Radio Address by the President to the Nation
366. October 15, 2002 - President Hosts Conference on Minority Homeownership
367. October 17, 2002 - President Promotes Reading First Program in Florida
368. October 17, 2002 - President Delivers Keynote to U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
369. October 18, 2002 - President Discusses Tax Relief Impact in Springfield, Missouri
370. October 19, 2002 - President Acts to Protect Pensions and Retirement Security. Radio Address by the President to the Nation
371. October 22, 2002 - Remarks by the President at Bangor, Maine Welcome
372. October 26, 2002 - President's Radio Address. In focus: American Health Care System
373. October 27, 2002 - Remarks by the President in Arizona Welcome
374. October 28, 2002 - Remarks by the President at New Mexico Welcome

375. October 31, 2002 - Remarks by the President at South Dakota Welcome
376. November 1, 2002 - Remarks by the President in Pennsylvania Welcome
377. November 2, 2002 - President Offers Solutions to Fix Judicial Crisis. Radio Address by the President to the Nation
378. November 3, 2002 - Iraq Must Disarm Says President in South Dakota Speech
379. November 4, 2002 - Remarks by the President in Texas Welcome at the Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas
380. November 8, 2002 - President Pleased with U.N. Vote
381. November 9, 2002 - President Bush Recaps Important Week in Weekly Radio Address
382. November 11, 2002 - President Bush Salutes Veterans at White House Ceremony
383. November 12, 2002 - President Bush Pushes for Homeland Security Department (District of Columbia Metropolitan - Police Operations Center)
384. November 16, 2002 - President Discusses Department of Homeland Security in Radio Address
385. November 23, 2002 - President Bush Welcomes Romania to NATO (Bucharest, Romania)
386. November 25, 2002 - President Bush Signs Homeland Security Act
387. November 26, 2002 - President Signs Terrorism Insurance Act
388. November 27, 2002 - President Signs 911 Commission Bill
389. November 30, 2002 - President Thanks Military and Volunteers in Radio Address
390. December 2, 2002 - President Signs National Defense Authorization Act
391. December 12, 2002 - President Bush Implements Key Elements of his Faith-Based Initiative
392. December 13, 2002 - President Delivers Remarks on Smallpox as a weapon of terror
393. December 19, 2002 - President Visits D.C. Food Bank (The Capital Area Food Bank – Washington DC)
394. December 21, 2002 - Radio Address by the President to the Nation
395. December 28, 2002 - President's Weekly Radio Address
396. January 7, 2003 - President Discusses Taking Action to Strengthen America's Economy (Economic Club of Chicago)
397. January 9, 2003 - President Discusses Growth and Jobs Package at the National Capital Flag Company in Alexandria, Virginia
398. January 11, 2003 - President's Radio Address
399. January 15, 2003 - President Bush Discusses Michigan Affirmative Action Case
400. January 16, 2003 - President Calls for Medical Liability Reform
401. January 18, 2003 - President's Radio Address
402. January 20, 2003 - President Bush Honors Martin Luther King, Junior in Church Service
403. January 22, 2003 - President Discusses Taking Action to Strengthen Small Businesses
404. January 25, 2003 - President Bush Discusses State of the Union
405. January 28, 2003 - President Delivers "State of the Union"
406. January 29, 2003 - President Calls for Strengthened and Reformed Medicare Program
407. February 3, 2003 - President Discusses Measures to Protect the Homeland from Bioterrorism
408. February 6, 2003 - President Bush Addresses the 51st Annual Prayer Breakfast
409. February 8, 2003 - President's Radio Address
410. February 9, 2003 - President Says "It is a Moment of Truth" for UN
411. February 12, 2003 - President Bush Meets with Small Investors
412. February 14, 2003 - President Speaks at FBI on New Terrorist Threat Integration Center
413. February 15, 2003 - President's Weekly Radio Address
414. February 22, 2003 - President's Weekly Radio Address. Policy in Focus: Judicial Nominations
415. February 24, 2003 - President Welcomes NCAA Champs
416. February 26, 2003 - President Discusses the Future of Iraq
417. March 1, 2003 - President's Radio Address
418. March 4, 2003 - President Announces Framework to Modernize and Improve Medicare
419. March 8, 2003 - President's Radio Address. War on Terror
420. March 15, 2003 - President Discusses Iraq in Radio Address
421. March 17, 2003 - President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours. Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation
422. March 19, 2003 - President Bush Addresses the Nation
423. March 25, 2003 - President Submits Wartime Budget
424. March 26, 2003 - President Rallies Troops at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa
425. March 29, 2003 - President Discusses Iraqi Freedom Progress in Radio Address
426. March 31, 2003 - President Updates America on Operations Liberty Shield and Iraqi Freedom
427. April 3, 2003 - President Discusses Operation Iraqi Freedom at Camp Lejeune

428. April 10, 2003 - President's Message to the Iraqi People
429. April 12, 2003 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Operation Iraqi Freedom
430. April 15, 2003 - President Discusses the Economy with Small Business Owners
431. April 16, 2003 - President Bush Outlines Progress in Operation Iraqi Freedom
432. April 24, 2003 - President Gives Iraq Update to Workers of Tank Plant in Lima, Ohio
433. April 26, 2003 - President's Radio Address
434. April 29, 2003 - President Urges Congress to Act Quickly on Global HIV/AIDS Initiative
435. May 1, 2003 - President Bush Announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended
436. May 5, 2003 - President Discusses Tax Relief in Arkansas
437. May 6, 2003 - President Addresses Tax Relief Coalition
438. May 9, 2003 - President Bush Presses for Peace in the Middle East (Remarks by the President in Commencement Address at the University of South Carolina)
439. May 10, 2003 - President's Radio Address
440. May 12, 2003 - President Bush Pushes for Tax Relief in New Mexico
441. May 15, 2003 - President Honors Fallen Peace Officers at Memorial Service
442. May 24, 2003 - President's Radio Address
443. May 26, 2003 - President Bush Honors the Brave and Fallen Defenders of Freedom
444. May 28, 2003 - President Signs Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003
445. May 31, 2003 - President's Radio Address
446. June 5, 2003 - President Talks to Troops in Qatar
447. June 7, 2003 - President's Radio Address
448. June 10, 2003 - President Highlights Progress in Education Reform
449. June 14, 2003 - President's Radio Address
450. June 16, 2003 - President Meets with Small Business Owners in New Jersey
451. June 17, 2003 - President Bush Pushes for Personal Reemployment Accounts Legislation
452. June 19, 2003 - President Discusses Tax Relief in Minnesota
453. June 21, 2003 - President's Radio Address
454. June 28, 2003 - President's Radio Address
455. June 30, 2003 - President Bush Pleased with Progress on Medicare
456. July 1, 2003 - President Discusses Progress in Afghanistan, Iraq (Remarks by the President at Reenlistment of Military Service Members)
457. July 4, 2003 - President Bush Honors Military in Fourth of July Speech
458. July 5, 2003 - President's Radio Address
459. July 7, 2003 - President Discusses Strengthening Head Start
460. July 8, 2003 - President Bush Speaks at Goree Island in Senegal
461. July 12, 2003 - President Bush Concludes Week Long Trip to Africa
462. July 16, 2003 - President Bush Discusses Faith-Based Initiative with Urban Leaders
463. July 18, 2003 - President Bush Highlights Health and Fitness Initiative
464. July 23, 2003 - President Bush Discusses Progress in Iraq
465. July 24, 2003 - President Discusses Economy, Child Tax Credit in Philadelphia
466. July 26, 2003 - President's Radio Address
467. August 2, 2003 - President's Radio Address
468. August 9, 2003 - President's Radio Address
469. August 14, 2003 - President Bush Thanks Military
470. August 15, 2003 - Strengthening and Caring for America's National Parks
471. August 16, 2003 - President Discusses Healthy Forests in Weekly Radio Address
472. August 21, 2003 - President's Remarks on Healthy Forests
473. August 23, 2003 - President's Radio Address
474. August 26, 2003 - President Delivers Remarks to 85th American Legion Convention
475. August 30, 2003 - President's Radio Address
476. September 1, 2003 - President's Remarks on Labor Day
477. September 4, 2003 - President Bush Outlines Six Point Plan for the Economy
478. September 5, 2003 - President Bush Discusses the Economy in Indianapolis
479. September 6, 2003 - President's Radio Address
480. September 7, 2003 - President Addresses the Nation
481. September 8, 2003 - President Discusses Education at Elementary School in Tennessee
482. September 9, 2003 - President Bush Discusses the "No Child Left Behind Act" in Florida
483. September 12, 2003 - President Bush Commends Military in Speech at Fort Stewart, Georgia
484. September 13, 2003 - President's Radio Address
485. September 15, 2003 - President Visits Detroit Edison Monroe Power Plant in Monroe, Michigan

486. September 16, 2003 - President Bush Calls on Congress to Act on Clear Skies Legislation
487. September 23, 2003 President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly
488. September 27, 2003 - President's Radio Address
489. October 1, 2003 - President Bush Signs Homeland Security Appropriations Bill
490. October 4, 2003 - President's Radio Address
491. October 2, 2003 - President Celebrates Hispanic Heritage Month
492. October 8, 2003 - President Bush Proclaims October Domestic Violence Awareness Month
493. October 9, 2003 - President Addresses Top Priorities: Economic & National Security
494. October 10, 2003 - President Bush Discusses Cuba Policy in Rose Garden Speech
495. October 14, 2003 - President Bush Welcomes NBA Champs to the White House
496. October 15, 2003 - President Calls on Senate to Pass American Dream Downpayment Act
497. October 16, 2003 - President Bush Discusses the Economy and the War on Terror
498. October 18, 2003 - Remarks by the President to the Philippine Congress
499. October 25, 2003 - President's Radio Address
500. October 29, 2003 - President Calls on Congress to Complete Work on Medicare Bill
501. October 30, 2003 - President Bush Calls on Congress to Pass Energy Bill
502. November 1, 2003 - President's Radio Address
503. November 3, 2003 President Bush Discusses Economy, Small Business in Alabama
504. November 4, 2003 - President Bush Thanks Firefighters and Volunteers in California
505. November 5, 2003 - President Bush Signs Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003
506. November 6, 2003 - President Bush Discusses Freedom in Iraq and Middle East
507. November 8, 2003 - President's Radio Address
508. November 11, 2003 - President Honors America's Veterans
509. November 13, 2003 - President Bush Meets with Florida Seniors to Discuss Medicare
510. November 15, 2003 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Medicare
511. November 19, 2003 - President Bush Discusses Iraq Policy at Whitehall Palace in London
512. November 24, 2003 - President Bush Meets with Troops in Fort Carson, Colorado
513. November 27, 2003 - President Bush Meets with Troops in Iraq on Thanksgiving
514. November 29, 2003 - President Thanks Troops in Weekly Radio Address
515. December 3, 2003 - President Bush Signs Healthy Forest Restoration Act into Law
516. December 6, 2003 - President's Radio Address
517. December 14, 2003 - President Bush Addresses Nation on the Capture of Saddam Hussein
518. December 16, 2003 - President Bush Signs American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003
519. December 17, 2003 - President Commemorates 100th Anniversary of Wright Brothers Flight
520. December 18, 2003 - President Bush Meets with Wounded Soldiers at Walter Reed
521. December 20, 2003 - President's Radio Address
522. December 27, 2003 - President's Radio Address
523. January 3, 2004 - President's Radio Address
524. January 7, 2004 - President Bush Proposes New Temporary Worker Program
525. January 10, 2004 - President's Radio Address
526. January 14, 2004 - President Bush Announces New Vision for Space
527. January 15, 2004 - President Speaks with Faith-Based and Community Leaders
528. January 17, 2004 - President's Radio Address
529. January 20, 2004 - State of the Union Address
530. January 22, 2004 - President Discusses America's Leadership in Global War on Terror
531. January 23, 2004 - President Bush Speaks with Nation's Mayors at Winter Meeting
532. January 24, 2004 - The President's Address to the Nation
533. January 26, 2004 - President Bush Calls for Medical Liability Reform
534. January 28, 2004 - President Bush Discusses Quality, Affordable Health Care
535. January 31, 2004 - President's Radio Address
536. January 31, 2004 - Remarks by the President at the 2004 "Congress of Tomorrow" Luncheon, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
537. February 4, 2004 - President Bush Discusses Importance of Democracy in Middle East
538. February 5, 2004 - President Bush Focuses on Seaport and Cargo Security in South Carolina
539. February 6, 2004 - President Discusses Growing Economy and Job Numbers with Press
540. February 7, 2004 - President's Radio Address
541. February 11, 2004 - President Announces New Measures to Counter the Threat of WMD
542. February 14, 2004 - President's Radio Address
543. February 17, 2004 - President Meets with US Military Personnel at Fort Polk, Louisiana
544. February 19, 2004 - President Discusses Economy, Urges Congress to Make Tax Cuts Permanent

545. February 22, 2004 - President's Toast Remarks at a State Dinner for the Nation's Governors
546. February 23, 2004 - Remarks by the President to the National Governors Association
547. February 24, 2004 - President Calls for Constitutional Amendment Protecting Marriage
548. February 28, 2004 - President's Radio Address
549. March 2, 2004 - President Marks Homeland Security's Accomplishments at Year One
550. March 3, 2004 - President's Remarks at Faith-Based and Community Initiatives Conference
551. March 6, 2004 - President's Radio Address
552. March 9, 2004 - President Commends Recipients of Malcolm Baldrige Awards
553. March 10, 2004 - President Discusses Jobs & Trade at Women's Entrepreneurship Forum
554. March 11, 2004 - President Bush Condemns Terrorist Bombings in Spain
555. March 12, 2004 - President Bush Honors Victims of Bombings in Spain
556. March 13, 2004 - President's Radio Address
557. March 18, 2004 - President Bush Meets with Military Personnel at Fort Campbell
558. March 19, 2004 - President Bush Reaffirms Resolve to War on Terror, Iraq and Afghanistan
559. March 20, 2004 - President's Radio Address
560. March 24, 2004 - President Discusses Small Business at Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
561. March 27, 2004 - President's Radio Address
562. March 29, 2004 - President Bush Welcomes Seven Nations to the NATO Alliance
563. March 30, 2004 - President Discusses Jobs and Economy in Wisconsin
564. April 1, 2004 - President Bush Signs Unborn Victims of Violence Act of 2004
565. April 3, 2004 - President Bush Discusses Strengthening Economy in Weekly Radio Address
566. April 5, 2004 - President Discusses Economy and Job Training in North Carolina
567. April 9, 2004 - President's Easter Message
568. April 10, 2004 - President Bush Discusses Iraq in Saturday Morning Radio Address
569. April 15, 2004 - President Discusses Tax Relief in Iowa
570. April 17, 2004 - President's Radio Address
571. April 19, 2004 - President Bush Calls for Renewing the USA PATRIOT Act
572. April 19, 2004 - President Bush Presents Trophy to the U.S. Naval Academy
573. April 22, 2004 - President Announces Wetlands Initiative on Earth Day
574. April 23, 2004 - President Discusses Earth Day, National Volunteer Week
575. April 24, 2004 - President's Radio Address
576. April 26, 2004 - President Unveils Tech Initiatives for Energy, Health Care, Internet
577. May 1, 2004 - President's Radio Address
578. May 11, 2004 - President Bush Visits Butterfield Junior High in Van Buren, Arkansas
579. May 13, 2004 - Remarks by the President to the American Conservative Union 40th Anniversary Gala
580. May 14, 2004 - President Delivers Commencement Address at Concordia University
581. May 15, 2004 - President's Radio Address
582. May 17, 2004 - President Speaks at Brown v Board of Education National Historic Site
583. May 18, 2004 - President Speaks to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee
584. May 21, 2004 - President Delivers Commencement Address at Louisiana State
585. May 29, 2004 - President Dedicates National World War II
586. June 2, 2004 - President Bush speaks at Air Force Academy Graduation
587. June 12, 2004 - President Bush Salutes President Reagan in Radio Address
588. June 16, 2004 - President Salutes the Military at Macdill Air Force Base in Tampa
589. June 17, 2004 - President's Remarks at the National Federation of Independent Businesses
590. June 19, 2004 - President's Radio Address
591. June 23, 2004 - President Bush Discusses HIV/AIDS Initiatives in Philadelphia
592. July 1, 2004 - President Commemorates 40th Anniversary of Civil Rights Act
593. July 2, 2004 - President's Remarks on the Economy to Small Business Owners
594. July 3, 2004 - President's Radio Address
595. July 4, 2004 - President Celebrates Independence Day
596. July 8, 2004 - President Discusses American Dream (Via Satellite to the League of United Latin American Citizens Annual Convention)
597. July 10, 2004 - President's Radio Address
598. July 12, 2004 - President Bush Discusses Progress in the War on Terror
599. July 13, 2004 - President Bush Signs African Growth and Opportunity Act
600. July 14, 2004 - President's Remarks in Waukesha, Wisconsin
601. July 15, 2004 - President Bush Signs Identity Theft Penalty Enhancement Act
602. July 16, 2004 - President Announces Initiatives to Combat Human Trafficking
603. July 17, 2004 - President's Radio Address

604. July 21, 2004 - President Bush Signs Project Bioshield Act of 2004
605. July 22, 2004 - President Bush Discusses Progress in Homeland Security in Illinois
606. July 23, 2004 - President Emphasizes Minority Entrepreneurship at Urban League
607. July 24, 2004 - President's Radio Address
608. August 3, 2004 - President Discusses Compassionate Conservative Agenda in Dallas
609. August 5, 2004 - President Signs Defense Bill
610. August 7, 2004 - President's Radio Address
611. August 13, 2004 - President's Proposal to Expand Export Opportunities in Pacific NW
612. August 16, 2004 - President Speaks at Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention (VFW)
613. August 17, 2004 - President's Remarks in Ridley Park, Pennsylvania
614. August 18, 2004 - Remarks by the President at St. Paul, Minnesota
615. August 21, 2004 - President's Radio Address
616. August 28, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Perrysburg, Ohio Rally
617. August 28, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Troy, Ohio Rally
618. August 28, 2004 - President's Radio Address
619. August 31, 2004 - Remarks by the President of the American Legion at the 86th Annual National Convention, Nashville, Tennessee
620. September 1, 2004 - President's Remarks at Columbus, Ohio Rally
621. September 2, 2004 - President's Remarks at the 2004 Republican National Convention
622. September 5, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in Parkersburg, West Virginia
623. September 6, 2004 - President's Remarks at a Victory 2004 Rally in Poplar Bluff, Missouri
624. September 9, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in Johnstown, Pennsylvania
625. September 9, 2004 - President's Remarks at Colmar, Pennsylvania Rally
626. September 11, 2004 - President's Radio Address
627. September 14, 2004 - President's Remarks to the General Conference of the National Guard Association of the United States
628. September 14, 2004 - President's Remarks in Victory 2004 Rally
629. September 15, 2004 - Hispanic Heritage Month Celebrated
630. September 16, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in St. Cloud, Minnesota
631. September 18, 2004 - President's Radio Address
632. September 20, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in New York City
633. September 21, 2004 - President Speaks to the United Nations General Assembly
634. September 25, 2004 - President's Radio Address
635. September 29, 2004 - President Tours Hurricane Damage, Lake Wales, Florida
636. September 30, 2004 - President Thanks Volunteers for Helping Hurricane Victims
637. October 2, 2004 - President's Radio Address
638. October 2, 2004 - President's Remarks to the National Association of Home Builders at Columbus, Ohio
639. October 2, 2004 - President's Remarks at Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio Rally
640. October 4, 2004 - President Signs Tax Relief Bill Benefiting Millions of Families
641. October 9, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in Chanhassen, Minnesota
642. October 9, 2004 - President's Radio Address
643. October 12, 2004 - President's Remarks at a Victory 2004 Rally in Colorado Springs, Colorado
644. October 12, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in Paradise Valley, Arizona
645. October 14, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Las Vegas, Nevada
646. October 14, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Reno, Nevada
647. October 18, 2004 - President's Remarks on Homeland Security in New Jersey
648. October 15, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in Central Point, Oregon
649. October 15, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Central Rapids, Iowa
650. October 16, 2004 - President's Radio Address
651. October 16, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Daytona Beach, Florida
652. October 16, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Sunrise, Florida Victory 2004 Rally
653. October 18, 2004 - President's Remarks on Homeland Security in Marlton, New Jersey
654. October 19, 2004 - President's Remarks in The Villages, Florida
655. October 19, 2004 - President's Remarks in New Port Richey, Florida
656. October 20, 2004 - President's Remarks in Mason City, Iowa
657. October 21, 2004 - President's Remarks in Hershey, Pennsylvania
658. October 21, 2004 - President Discusses Medical Liability Reform and Health Care in Downingtown, Pennsylvania
659. October 22, 2004 - President's Remarks in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania

660. October 23, 2004 - President's Radio Address
661. October 23, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in Jacksonville, Florida
662. October 23, 2004 - President's Remarks in Melbourne, Florida
663. October 23, 2004 - President's Remarks in Lakeland, Florida
664. October 23, 2004 - President's Remarks in Ft. Myers, Florida
665. October 24, 2004 - President's Remarks in Alamogordo, New Mexico
666. October 25, 2004 - President's Remarks in Greeley, Colorado
667. October 25, 2004 - President's Remarks in Davenport, Iowa
668. October 25, 2004 - President's Remarks in Council Bluffs, Iowa
669. October 26, 2004 - President's Remarks in Onalaska, Wisconsin
670. October 26, 2004 - President's Remarks in Cuba City, Wisconsin
671. October 26, 2004 - President's Remarks in Dubuque, Iowa
672. October 27, 2004 - President's Remarks in Lititz, Pennsylvania
673. October 27, 2004 - President's Remarks in Vienna, Ohio
674. October 27, 2004 - President's Remarks in Findlay, Ohio
675. October 27, 2004 - President's Remarks in Pontiac, Michigan
676. October 28, 2004 - President's Remarks in Saginaw, Michigan
677. October 28, 2004 - President's Remarks in Westlake, Ohio
678. October 28, 2004 - President's Remarks in Dayton, Ohio
679. October 28, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Yardley, Pennsylvania
680. October 29, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Manchester, New Hampshire
681. October 29, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Toledo, Ohio
682. October 29, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Portsmouth, New Hampshire
683. October 29, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally, Columbus, Ohio
684. October 30, 2004 - President's Radio Address
685. October 30, 2004 - President's Remarks in Orlando, Florida
686. October 30, 2004 - President's Remarks in Minneapolis, Minnesota
687. October 30, 2004 - Remarks by the President at Victory 2004 Rally in Ashwaubenon, Wisconsin
688. October 30, 2004 - President's Remarks at Victory 2004 Rally in Grand Rapids, Michigan
689. October 31, 2004 - President's Remarks in Cincinnati, Ohio
690. October 31, 2004 - President's Remarks in Gainesville, Florida
691. October 31, 2004 - President's Remarks in Tampa, Florida
692. October 31, 2004 - President's Remarks in Miami, Florida
693. November 1, 2004 - President's Remarks in Wilmington, Ohio
694. November 1, 2004 - President's Remarks in Burgettstown, Pennsylvania
695. November 1, 2004 - President's Remarks in Milwaukee, Wisconsin
696. November 1, 2004 - President's Remarks in Albuquerque, New Mexico
697. November 1, 2004 - President's Remarks in Sioux City, Iowa
698. November 1, 2004 - President's Remarks in Des Moines, Iowa
699. November 3, 2004 - President Bush Thanks Americans in Wednesday Acceptance Speech
700. November 6, 2004 - President's Radio Address
701. November 11, 2004 - President Bush Honors Veterans at Arlington National Cemetery
702. November 13, 2004 - President's Radio Address
703. November 17, 2004 - President Pardons "Biscuits and Gravy" in Annual Turkey Ceremony
704. November 20, 2004 - President's Remarks at CEO Summit Closing Session
705. November 20, 2004 - President's Radio Address
706. November 27, 2004 - President's Radio Address
707. December 4, 2004 - President's Radio Address
708. December 7, 2004 - President Thanks Military Personnel and Families For Serving Our Country at
Camp Pendleton, California
709. December 11, 2004 - President's Radio Address
710. December 16, 2004 - President Bush Closes the White House Economic Conference
711. December 17, 2004 - President Signs Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act
712. December 18, 2004 - President's Radio Address
713. December 23, 2004 - Presidential Christmas Message, 2004
714. December 25, 2004 - President's Radio Address
715. January 1, 2005 - President Discusses Tsunami Relief in Radio Address
716. January 5, 2005 - President Discusses Medical Liability Reform
717. January 8, 2005 - President Discusses ongoing Tsunami Relief in Radio Address
718. January 10, 2005 - President Thanks USAID Employees and NGO Presidents

719. January 12, 2005 - President Discusses No Child Left Behind and High School Initiatives
720. January 15, 2005 - President Discusses ongoing Tsunami Relief in Radio Address
721. January 18, 2005 - President Thanks Armed Forces at 'Saluting Those Who Serve' Event
722. January 20, 2005 - President Sworn-In to Second Term
723. January 22, 2005 - President's Radio Address
724. January 29, 2005 - President's Radio Address
725. January 30, 2005 - President Congratulates Iraqis on Election
726. January 31, 2005 - President Congratulates 2004 World Champion Detroit Pistons
727. February 2, 2005 - State of the Union Address
728. February 3, 2005 - President Delivers Remarks at Annual National Prayer Breakfast
729. February 5, 2005 - President's Radio Address
730. February 8, 2005 - President Discusses Economy, Budget at Detroit Economic Club
731. February 12, 2005 - President Discusses Social Security in Radio Address
732. February 18, 2005 - President Signs Class-Action Fairness Act of 2005
733. February 19, 2005 - President's State of Union Radio Address
734. February 21, 2005 - President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium in Brussels, Belgium
735. February 23, 2005 - President Thanks U.S. Troops at Wiesbaden Army Airfield Base, Germany
736. February 24, 2005 - President Addresses and Thanks Citizens of Slovakia at Bratislava
737. February 26, 2005 - President Discusses Strengthening Social Security in Radio Address
738. February 28, 2005 - President Welcomes and Thanks National Governors Association
739. March 1, 2005 - President Highlights Faith-Based Initiative at Leadership Conference
740. March 5, 2005 - President's Radio Address
741. March 8, 2005 - President Discusses War on Terror at the National Defense University in Fort Lesley J. McNair
742. March 8, 2005 - President Discusses War on Terror
743. March 9, 2005 - President Discusses Energy Policy in Columbus, Ohio
744. March 12, 2005 - President Discusses Strengthening Social Security in Radio Address
745. March 14, 2005 - President Presents National Medals of Science and Technology
746. March 19, 2005 - President's Radio Address
747. March 24, 2005 - President's Easter Message
748. March 26, 2005 - President's Radio Address
749. March 29, 2005 - President Discusses Freedom and Democracy on Voting Day in Iraq
750. March 31, 2005 - President Discusses Schiavo and Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission Report
751. April 5, 2005 - President Participates in Social Security Conversation in West Virginia
752. April 9, 2005 - President's Radio Address
753. April 12, 2005 - President Discusses War on Terror at Fort Hood
754. April 16, 2005 - President's Radio Address
755. April 18, 2005 - President Discusses Strengthening Social Security in Columbia, South Carolina
756. April 20, 2005 - President Speaks to U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce Conference
757. April 21, 2005 - President Discusses Strengthening Social Security in Washington, D.C.
758. April 23, 2005 - President's Radio Address
759. April 27, 2005 - President Discusses Energy at National Small Business Conference
760. April 30, 2005 - President Discusses Social Security and Youth in Radio Address
761. May 4, 2005 - President Celebrates Cinco de Mayo
762. May 5, 2005 - President Commemorates National Day of Prayer at the White House
763. May 7, 2005 - President's Radio Address
764. May 7, 2005 - President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Latvia
765. May 10, 2005 - President Addresses and Thanks Citizens in Tbilisi, Georgia
766. May 12, 2005 - President Discusses CAFTA-DR
767. May 13, 2005 - President Welcomes 2004 NCAA Spring and Fall Sports Champions
768. May 14, 2005 - President's Radio Address
769. May 15, 2005 - President Honors Annual National Peace Officers' Memorial Service
770. May 16, 2005 - President Discusses Biodiesel and Alternative Fuel Sources
771. May 17, 2005 - Remarks by the President at Republican National Committee Gala
772. May 18, 2005 - President Attends International Republican Institute Dinner
773. May 20, 2005 - President Attends National Catholic Prayer Breakfast
774. May 21, 2005 - President Delivers Commencement Address at Calvin College
775. May 21, 2005 - President's Radio Address
776. May 24, 2005 - President Discusses Embryo Adoption and Ethical Stem Cell Research

777. May 27, 2005 - President Discusses War on Terror at Naval Academy Commencement
778. May 28, 2005 - President's Radio Address
779. May 30, 2005 - President Commemorates Memorial Day at Arlington National Cemetery
780. June 2, 2005 - President's Remarks at Talent for Senate Dinner in St. Louis, Missouri
781. June 4, 2005 - President's Radio Address
782. June 6, 2005 - President Discusses Trade, CAFTA at Organization of American States in Fort Lauderdale, Florida
783. June 8, 2005 - President Discusses Strengthening Social Security in Washington, D.C.
784. June 9, 2005 - President Discusses Patriot Act at the Ohio State Highway Patrol Academy
785. June 10, 2005 - President Visits National Counterterrorism Center
786. June 11, 2005 - President's Radio Address
787. June 13, 2005 - President Discusses Democracy, AGOA with African Leaders
788. June 14, 2005 - President Discusses Strengthening Social Security with Future Farmers of America at the Pennsylvania State University
789. June 15, 2005 - President Discusses Energy Policy
790. June 22, 2005 - President Discusses Energy Policy, Economic Security
791. June 28, 2005 - President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror
792. June 30, 2005 - President Discusses G8 Summit, Progress in Africa
793. July 2, 2005 - President's Radio Address
794. July 4, 2005 - President Celebrates Independence Day in West Virginia
795. July 9, 2005 - President's Radio Address
796. July 11, 2005 - President Discusses War on Terror at FBI Academy
797. July 12, 2005 - President Congratulates 2004 and 2005 NCAA Sports Champions
798. July 14, 2005 - President Discusses Education, Entrepreneurship & Home Ownership at Indiana Black Expo
799. July 15, 2005 - President Discusses CAFTA-DR, Jobs in Dallas, North Carolina
800. July 16, 2005 - President's Radio Address
801. July 20, 2005 - President Encourages Renewal of Patriot Act Provisions
802. July 21, 2005 - President Promotes Central American Free Trade Agreement
803. July 23, 2005 - President's Radio Address
804. July 29, 2005 - President Signs Patient Safety and Quality Improvement Act of 2005
805. July 30, 2005 - President's Radio Address
806. July 31, 2005 - President Addresses 2005 National Boy Scout Jamboree
807. Fort A.P. Hill, Virginia
808. August 2, 2005 - President Signs CAFTA-DR
809. August 3, 2005 - President Discusses Second Term Accomplishments and Priorities in Grapevine, Texas
810. August 6, 2005 - President's Radio Address from Crawford, Texas
811. August 8, 2005 - President Signs Energy Policy Act
812. August 10, 2005 - President Signs Transportation Act
813. August 13, 2005 - President's Radio Address from Crawford, Texas
814. August 20, 2005 - President's Radio Address
815. August 22, 2005 - President Honors Veterans of Foreign Wars at National Convention
816. August 24, 2005 - President Addresses Military Families, Discusses War on Terror
817. August 27, 2005 - President's Radio Address
818. August 28, 2005 - President Discusses Hurricane Katrina, Congratulates Iraqis on Draft Constitution
819. August 30, 2005 - President Commemorates 60th Anniversary of V-J Day (Victory over Japan Day)
820. August 31, 2005 - President Outlines Hurricane Katrina Relief Efforts
821. September 3, 2005 - President Addresses Nation, Discusses Hurricane Katrina Relief Efforts
822. September 8, 2005 - President Discusses Hurricane Katrina Emergency Disaster Relief
823. September 9, 2005 - President Remembers 9/11 Heroes at Medal of Valor Award Ceremony
824. September 10, 2005 - President's Radio Address
825. September 14, 2005 - President Addresses United Nations High-Level Plenary Meeting
826. September 14, 2005 - President Addresses United Nations Security Council
827. September 15, 2005 - President Discusses Hurricane Relief in Address to the Nation
828. September 16, 2005 - President's Remarks at National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service
829. September 17, 2005 - President's Radio Address
830. September 21, 2005 - President's Remarks at Republican Jewish Coalition 20th Anniversary
831. September 24, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Hurricane Relief
832. October 1, 2005 - President's Radio Address

833. October 6, 2005 - President Discusses War on Terror at National Endowment for Democracy
834. October 6, 2005 - President Honors Buckley at 50th Anniversary of National Review
835. October 7, 2005 - President Celebrates Hispanic Heritage, Honors Volunteer Service
836. October 8, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Judicial Nominations
837. October 15, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Renewal in Iraq
838. October 17, 2005 - President Hosts Iftaar Dinner. In focus: Ramadan
839. October 18, 2005 - President Signs Homeland Security Appropriations Act for 2006
840. October 21, 2005 - President Participates in Opening Ceremony for Air Force One Pavilion
841. October 22, 2005 - President's Radio Address
842. October 25, 2005 - President Addresses Joint Armed Forces Officers' Wives' Luncheon
843. October 25, 2005 - President Addresses Republican National Committee Dinner
844. October 26, 2005 - President Outlines Economic Growth Agenda
845. October 27, 2005 - President Tours Hurricane Wilma Damage in Pompano Beach, Florida
846. October 28, 2005 - President Discusses War on Terror in Norfolk, Virginia
847. October 29, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Renewal in Iraq
848. November 1, 2005 - President Outlines Pandemic Influenza Preparations and Response
849. November 5, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Judicial Nominations
850. November 6, 2005 - President Bush Discusses Democracy in the Western Hemisphere in Brasilia, Brazil
851. November 7, 2005 - President's Remarks at a Virginia Victory Rally
852. November 9, 2005 - President Honors Recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom
853. November 9, 2005 - President Discusses South Asia Earthquake Relief Efforts
854. November 11, 2005 - President Commemorates Veterans Day, Discusses War on Terror at the Tobyhanna Army Depot, Pennsylvania
855. November 12, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Medicaid
856. November 14, 2005 - President Delivers Remarks at Elmendorf Air Force Base on War on Terror in Anchorage, Alaska
857. November 16, 2005 - President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Kyoto, Japan
858. November 19, 2005 - President Addresses Troops at Osan Air Base in Osan, South Korea
859. November 19, 2005 - President's Radio Address
860. November 21, 2005 - President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia
861. November 22, 2005 - President Pardons "Marshmallow and Yam" in Annual Turkey Ceremony
862. November 26, 2005 - President's Radio Address
863. November 28, 2005 - President Discusses Border Security and Immigration Reform in Arizona
864. November 29, 2005 - President's Remarks at Musgrave for Congress Luncheon at Denver, Colorado
865. November 30, 2005 - President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland
866. November 30, 2005 - President's Remarks at Steele for Senate Reception in Baltimore, Maryland
867. December 2, 2005 - President Discusses Strong Economic Growth and Job Creation
868. December 3, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Immigration
869. December 4, 2005 - President Welcomes Kennedy Center Honorees to the White House
870. December 5, 2005 - President Discusses Economy and Tax Relief in Kernersville, North Carolina
871. December 7, 2005 - President Discusses War on Terror and Rebuilding Iraq
872. December 10, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Re-authorisation of the Patriot Act by the Senate
873. December 14, 2005 - President Discusses Iraqi Elections, Victory in the War on Terror
874. December 15, 2005 - President Visits with Iraqi Out-Of-Country Voters
875. December 17, 2005 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Homeland Security
876. December 18, 2005 - President's Address to the Nation
877. December 24, 2005 - President's Radio Address
878. December 31, 2005 - President's Radio Address
879. January 5, 2006 - President's Remarks at U.S. University Presidents Summit on International Education
880. January 6, 2006 - President Discusses Strong and Growing Economy in Chicago, Illinois
881. January 7, 2006 - President's Radio Address
882. January 10, 2006 - President Addresses Veterans of Foreign Wars on the War on Terror
883. January 12, 2006 - President Visits Mississippi, Discusses Gulf Coast Reconstruction
884. January 14, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Judicial Nominations
885. January 16, 2006 - President Honors Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at "Let Freedom Ring" Celebration
886. January 21, 2006 - President's Radio Address
887. January 25, 2006 - President Visits National Security Agency

888. January 28, 2006 - President's Radio Address
889. January 31, 2006 - President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address
890. February 1, 2006 - President Discusses 2006 Agenda
891. February 2, 2006 - President Discusses American Competitiveness Agenda in Minnesota
892. February 2, 2006 - President Attends 54th Annual National Prayer Breakfast
893. February 4, 2006 - President's Radio Address
894. February 7, 2006 - President Honors Coretta Scott King at Homegoing Celebration
895. February 8, 2006 - President Discusses 2007 Budget and Deficit Reduction in New Hampshire
896. February 9, 2006 - President Discusses Progress in War on Terror to National Guard
897. February 10, 2006 - President Addresses House Republican Conference
898. February 11, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Medicare
899. February 13, 2006 - President Bush Presents National Medals of Science and Technology
900. February 15, 2006 - President Discusses Health Care
901. February 18, 2006 - President's Radio Address
902. February 20, 2006 - President Discusses Advanced Energy Initiative In Milwaukee
903. February 22, 2006 - President Celebrates African American History Month at the White House
904. February 24, 2006 - President Addresses American Legion, Discusses Global War on Terror
905. February 25, 2006 - President's Radio Address
906. February 27, 2006 - President Addresses National Governors Association Meeting
907. March 1, 2006 - President Thanks U.S. and Coalition Troops in Afghanistan
908. March 3, 2006 - President Discusses Strong U.S.-India Partnership in New Delhi, India
909. March 4, 2006 - President's Radio Address - President's Visit to India and Pakistan
910. March 9, 2006 - President Signs USA PATRIOT Improvement and Reauthorization Act
911. March 9, 2006 - President Highlights Faith-Based Results at National Conference
912. March 11, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Renewal in Iraq
913. March 13, 2006 - President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Iraq
914. March 16, 2006 - President Signs 'Stop Counterfeiting in Manufactured Goods' Act
915. March 18, 2006 - President's Radio Address
916. March 23, 2006 - President Participates in Meeting on Comprehensive Immigration Reform
917. March 24, 2006 - President Celebrates Greek Independence Day at the White House
918. March 24, 2006 - President's Remarks at Mike Sodrel for Congress and Indiana Victory 2006 Reception
919. March 25, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Immigration
920. March 27, 2006 - President Attends Naturalization Ceremony
921. April 1, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Jobs and Economy
922. April 7, 2006 - President Bush Discusses America's Strong and Growing Economy
923. April 8, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Immigration
924. April 11, 2006 - President Discusses Medicare in Iowa
925. April 15, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Jobs and Economy
926. April 18, 2006 - President Discusses American Competitiveness Initiative
927. April 19, 2006 - President Discusses the American Competitiveness Initiative at Tuskegee Univ.
928. April 20, 2006 - President Bush Welcomes Recipients of the President's Environmental Youth Awards
929. April 22, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Advanced Transportation Technology in California
930. April 22, 2006 - President Attends Republican National Committee Reception in California
931. April 23, 2006 - President Visits with Marine Corps and Navy Families in Twentynine Palms, California
932. April 24, 2006 - President Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform
933. April 25, 2006 - President Discusses Immigration Reform with Members of the Senate
934. April 25, 2006 - President Discusses Energy Policy
935. April 25, 2006 - President Bush Presents Commander-In-Chief's Trophy to the United States Naval Academy
936. April 29, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Renewal in Iraq
937. May 1, 2006 - President Discusses Health Care Initiatives
938. May 3, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Strong and Growing U.S. Economy
939. May 4, 2006 - President Bush Commemorates National Day of Prayer
940. May 4, 2006 - President Celebrates Cinco de Mayo at the White House
941. May 4, 2006 - President Attends American Jewish Committee's Centennial Dinner
942. May 6, 2006 - President Bush Delivers Commencement Address at Oklahoma State University
943. May 6, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Medicare
944. May 8, 2006 - President Discusses Peace Agreement in Sudan

945. May 11, 2006 - President Bush Delivers Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College Commencement Address
946. May 12, 2006 - President Celebrates Asian Pacific American Heritage Month and Presents President's Volunteer Service Awards
947. May 13, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: National Security
948. May 15, 2006 - President Bush Addresses the Nation on Immigration Reform
949. May 15, 2006 - President Bush Attends Annual Peace Officers' Memorial Service
950. May 16, 2006 - President Bush Welcomes WNBA Champion Sacramento Monarchs to the White House
951. May 17, 2006 - President Bush Signs Tax Relief Extension Reconciliation Act of 2005
952. May 17, 2006 - President Bush Welcomes 2006 U.S. Winter Olympic and Paralympic Teams
953. May 18, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Border Security and Immigration Reform in Arizona
954. May 19, 2006 - President Discusses the American Competitiveness Initiative
955. May 20, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Immigration
956. May 24, 2006 - President Discusses Energy During Visit to Nuclear Generating Station in Pennsylvania
957. May 24, 2006 - President Attends Pennsylvania Congressional Victory Committee Dinner
958. May 25, 2006 - President Attends Change of Command Ceremony for the Commandant of the United States Coast Guard
959. May 27, 2006 - President Delivers Commencement Address at the United States Military Academy at West Point
960. May 27, 2006 - President's Radio Address
961. May 29, 2006 - President Bush Honors Memorial Day at Arlington National Cemetery
962. June 1, 2006 - President Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform
963. June 2, 2006 - President Welcomes Super Bowl Champion Pittsburgh Steelers to the White House
964. June 3, 2006 - President's Radio Address
965. June 5, 2006 - President Discusses Marriage Protection Amendment
966. June 6, 2006 - President Discusses Border Security and Comprehensive Immigration Reform, Participates in Swearing-In Ceremony for CBP Commissioner
967. June 7, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform in Nebraska
968. June 8, 2006 - President Bush Attends National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast
969. June 10, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: National Security
970. June 13, 2006 - President Bush Visits Troops in Iraq
971. June 13, 2006 - President Bush Visits Troops in Iraq
972. June 15, 2006 - President Attends Initiative for Global Development's 2006 National Summit
973. June 17, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Renewal in Iraq
974. June 19, 2006 - Remarks by the President at the 2006 President's Dinner
975. June 22, 2006 - President's Remarks to the People of Hungary in Budapest
976. June 23, 2006 - President Attends White House Tee Ball Game
977. June 24, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Jobs & Economy
978. June 26, 2006 - President Bush Celebrates Black Music Month
979. June 27, 2006 - President Discusses Line-Item Veto
980. June 28, 2006 - Remarks by the President at Talent for Senate Dinner
981. July 1, 2006 - President's Radio Address
982. July 4, 2006 - President Bush Thanks Military on Independence Day at Fort Bragg, North Carolina
983. July 7, 2006 - President Discusses the American Competitiveness Initiative in Illinois
984. July 8, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Jobs & Economy
985. July 11, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Mid-Session Review
986. July 15, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Jobs & Economy
987. July 19, 2006 - President Discusses Stem Cell Research Policy
988. July 20, 2006 - President Bush Addresses NAACP Annual Convention
989. July 22, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Peace in the Middle East
990. July 24, 2006 - President Bush Attends Naturalization Ceremony
991. July 27, 2006 - President Bush Signs Voting Rights Act Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 2006
992. July 29, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Peace in the Middle East
993. July 30, 2006 - President Attends White House Tee Ball Game
994. July 31, 2006 - President Bush Discusses the Economy in Florida
995. August 3, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform in Texas
996. August 5, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Immigration
997. August 12, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Homeland Security
998. August 19, 2006 - President's Radio Address

999. August 26, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Hurricane Katrina
1000. August 28, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Gulf Coast Recovery
1001. August 30, 2006 - President Bush's Remarks Upon Arrival in Utah
1002. August 31, 2006 - President Bush Addresses American Legion National Convention
1003. September 2, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: National Security
1004. September 4, 2006 - President Bush Honors American Work Force on Labor Day
1005. September 5, 2006 - President Discusses Global War on Terror
1006. September 6, 2006 - President Discusses Creation of Military Commissions to Try Suspected Terrorists
1007. September 7, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Progress in the Global War on Terror
1008. September 9, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Remembering 9/11
1009. September 11, 2006 - President's Address to the Nation (5th anniversary)
1010. September 16, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: National Security
1011. September 19, 2006 - President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly
1012. September 23, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Global Diplomacy
1013. September 28, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Energy in Alabama
1014. September 29, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror
1015. September 30, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: National Security
1016. October 4, 2006 - President Bush Signs Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act
1017. October 4, 2006 - Remarks by the President at Bob Beauprez for Governor and Colorado Republican Party Reception
1018. October 5, 2006 - President Bush Discusses No Child Left Behind
1019. October 6, 2006 - President Bush Celebrates Hispanic Heritage Month at the White House
1020. October 7, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Education
1021. October 11, 2006 - President Bush Discusses the Economy and Budget
1022. October 12, 2006 - President Bush Discusses Energy at Renewable Energy Conference
1023. October 13, 2006 - President Bush Signs SAFE Port Act
1024. October 14, 2006 - President Bush Attends United States Air Force Memorial Dedication
1025. October 14, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: National Security
1026. October 17, 2006 - President Bush Signs Military Commissions Act of 2006
1027. October 21, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Renewal in Iraq
1028. October 26, 2006 - President Bush Signs Secure Fence Act
1029. October 28, 2006 - President Bush Greets Troops in Charleston, South Carolina
1030. October 28, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Job & Economy
1031. November 3, 2006 - Remarks by the President at Missouri Victory 2006 Rally
1032. November 4, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Jobs & Economy
1033. November 10, 2006 - President Bush Attends Dedication of the National Museum of the Marine Corps
1034. November 11, 2006 - President Bush Honors Veterans at Arlington National Cemetery
1035. November 11, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Veterans and National Security
1036. November 13, 2006 - President Bush Attends Ceremonial Groundbreaking of the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Memorial
1037. November 16, 2006 - President Bush Visits National University of Singapore
1038. November 18, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: President's Trip to Southeast Asia
1039. November 21, 2006 - President Bush Visits with Troops at Hickam Air Force Base in Hawaii
1040. November 22, 2006 - President Bush Pardons "Flyer and Fryer" in National Thanksgiving Turkey Ceremony
1041. November 25, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Thanksgiving 2006
1042. December 2, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Renewal in Iraq
1043. December 7, 2006 - President Bush Attends Lighting of the National Christmas Tree
1044. December 9, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Renewal in Iraq
1045. December 11, 2006 - President Bush Meets with Senior State Department Officials on Iraq
1046. December 16, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Jobs and Economy
1047. December 23, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Holidays at the White House 2006
1048. December 30, 2006 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Remembering President Gerald R. Ford
1049. December 31, 2006 - Presidential Message for New Year's Day, 2007
1050. January 2, 2007 - President Bush Attends Funeral Service for President Ford at the National Cathedral

1051. January 3, 2007 - President Bush Meets with Cabinet, Proposes Balanced Budget and Earmark Reform
1052. January 6, 2007 - President's Radio Address
1053. January 10, 2007 - President's Address to the Nation
1054. January 11, 2007 - President Bush Visits with Military Personnel and Families at Fort Benning, Georgia
1055. January 13, 2007 - President's Radio Address
1056. January 20, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Health Care
1057. January 22, 2007 - President Bush Calls March for Life Participants
1058. January 23, 2007 - President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address
1059. January 24, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Energy Initiative
1060. January 27, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: State of Union Address
1061. January 30, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Economy
1062. January 31, 2007 - President Bush Delivers State of the Economy Report
1063. February 1, 2007 - President Bush Attends National Prayer Breakfast
1064. February 2, 2007 - President Bush Welcomes Stanley Cup Champion Carolina Hurricanes
1065. February 3, 2007 - President Bush Attends House Democratic Caucus Issues Conference
1066. February 3, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Jobs & Economy
1067. February 6, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Fiscal Responsibility
1068. February 7, 2007 - President Bush Discusses the National Parks Centennial Initiative
1069. February 8, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Department of Homeland Security Priorities
1070. February 10, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Energy
1071. February 12, 2007 - President Bush Celebrates African American History Month
1072. February 15, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Progress in Afghanistan, Global War on Terror
1073. February 19, 2007 - President Bush Visits Mount Vernon, Honors President Washington's 275th Birthday on President's Day
1074. February 24, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Health Care
1075. February 26, 2007 - President Bush Meets with the National Governors Association
1076. February 26, 2007 - President Bush Presents the Medal of Honor to Lieutenant Colonel Bruce Crandall
1077. February 27, 2007 - President Bush Welcomes the 2006 NBA Champion Miami Heat to the White House
1078. March 1, 2007 - President Bush Meets with Mississippi Elected Officials and Community Leaders
1079. March 1, 2007 - President Bush Visits Samuel J. Green Charter School
1080. March 2, 2007 - President Bush Discusses No Child Left Behind Reauthorization
1081. March 2, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Veterans and Defense
1082. March 2, 2007 - Remarks by the President at McConnell for Senate and National Republican Senatorial Committee Dinner
1083. March 5, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Western Hemisphere Policy
1084. March 6, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Care for America's Returning Wounded Warriors, War on Terror at American Legion
1085. March 10, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: President's Trip to Latin America
1086. March 15, 2007 - Remarks by the President at the National Republican Congressional Committee Dinner
1087. March 17, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Defense
1088. March 19, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Fourth Anniversary of Operation Iraqi Freedom
1089. March 19, 2007 - President Bush Welcomes the 2006 NCAA Football Champion Florida Gators to the White House
1090. March 20, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Energy Initiatives in Missouri
1091. March 24, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Defense
1092. March 28, 2007 - President Bush Attends Radio and Television Correspondents' Annual Dinner
1093. March 28, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Economy, War on Terror During Remarks to the National Cattlemen's Beef Association
1094. March 29, 2007 - President Bush Discusses the Budget and the Emergency Supplemental
1095. March 29, 2007 - President Bush Participates in Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony Honoring the Tuskegee Airmen
1096. March 30, 2007 - President Bush Visits Troops at Walter Reed Army Medical Center
1097. March 31, 2007 - President's Radio Address
1098. April 2, 2007 - President Bush Participates in Meeting on Health Savings Accounts

1099. April 2, 2007 – President Bush Presents the Commander-In-Chief's Trophy to the United States Naval Academy Football Team
1100. April 2, 2007 - Presidential Message, Passover
1101. April 4, 2007 -President Bush Visits with the Troops at Fort Irwin, California
1102. April 6, 2007 - Presidential Message: Easter 2007
1103. April 7, 2007 -President's Radio Address
1104. April 9, 2007 – President Bush Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform in Yuma, Arizona
1105. April 9, 2007-President Bush Visits Yuma Sector Border Patrol in Arizona
1106. April 10, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Iraq War Supplemental, War on Terror
1107. April 13, 2007 - President Bush Attends National Catholic Prayer Breakfast
1108. April 14, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Defense
1109. April 16, 2007 - President Bush Discusses the Iraq War Supplemental April 17, 2007 - President Bush Offers Condolences at Virginia Tech Memorial Convocation
1110. April 18, 2007 - President Bush Visits the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
1111. April 21, 2007 - President Bush Honors Victims of Virginia Tech Tragedy at White House
1112. April 24, 2007 - President Bush Encourages the Reauthorization of No Child Left Behind
1113. April 28, 2007 - President Bush Delivers Commencement Address at Miami Dade College
1114. April 28, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Immigration
1115. May 1, 2007 - President Bush Rejects Artificial Deadline, Vetoes Iraq War Supplemental
1116. May 1, 2007 - President Bush Addresses CENTCOM Coalition Conference
1117. May 3, 2007 - President Bush Commemorates National Day of Prayer
1118. May 3, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform with Clergy in Washington, D.C. at the Asamblea de Iglesias Cristianas, Centro Evangelistico
1119. May 4, 2007 - President Bush Celebrates Cinco de Mayo, Discusses Immigration
1120. May 4, 2007 - Presidential Message on Cinco de Mayo
1121. May 5, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Physical Fitness Month, Encourages Americans to Exercise
1122. May 6, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Tornado Devastation in Greensburg, Kansas
1123. May 10, 2007 – Remarks by the President at the Republican National Committee Gala
1124. May 11, 2007 - President Bush Commemorates Military Spouse Day and Presents the President's Volunteer Service Awards
1125. May 12, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Immigration
1126. May 13, 2007 - President Bush Celebrates America's 400th Anniversary in Jamestown
1127. May 14, 2007 – President Bush Discusses CAFE and Alternative Fuel Standards
1128. May 15, 2007 - President Bush Attends the Annual Peace Officers' Memorial Service
1129. May 16, 2007 - President Bush Participates in Roundtable on Employment Eligibility Verification System. In focus: Immigration
1130. May 17, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Bill
1131. May 17, 2007 - President Bush Attends Joint Reserve Officer Training Corps Commissioning Ceremony
1132. May 19, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Immigration
1133. May 23, 2007 - President Bush Delivers Commencement Address at United States Coast Guard Academy
1134. May 26, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Veterans
1135. May 28, 2007 - President Bush Commemorates Memorial Day at Arlington National Cemetery
1136. May 29, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform in Glynco, Georgia
1137. May 29, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Genocide in Darfur, Implements Sanctions
1138. May 30, 2007 - President Bush Announces Five-Year, \$30 Billion HIV/AIDS Plan
1139. June 1, 2007 - President Bush Attends Briefing on Comprehensive Immigration Reform
1140. June 2, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: the G8 Summit
1141. June 8, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Immigration
1142. June 12, 2007 - President Bush Attends Dedication of Victims of Communism Memorial
1143. June 13, 2007 - President Bush Makes Remarks Via Satellite to the Southern Baptist Convention Annual Meeting
1144. June 14, 2007-President Bush Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform with Associated Builders and Contractors
1145. June 15, 2007 - President Bush Attends National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast
1146. June 16, 2007 - President's Radio Address
1147. June 18, 2007 - President Bush Meets with NCAA Championship Teams
1148. June 20, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Stem Cell Veto and Executive Order
1149. June 21, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Energy Initiatives in Athens, Alabama

- 1150. June 23, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Immigration
- 1151. June 25, 2007 - President Bush Congratulates Presidential Scholars, Discusses No Child Left Behind Reauthorization
- 1152. June 26, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Comprehensive Immigration Reform
- 1153. June 27, 2007 - President Bush Attends Seventh-Annual White House Tee Ball Game
- 1154. June 27, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Health Care
- 1155. June 27, 2007 - President Bush Rededicates Islamic Center of Washington
- 1156. June 28, 2007 - President Bush Disappointed by Congress's Failure to Act on Comprehensive Immigration Reform
- 1157. June 30, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Renewal in Iraq
- 1158. July 4, 2007 - President Bush Celebrates Independence Day With West Virginia Air National Guard
- 1159. July 7, 2007 -President's Radio Address. In focus: Jobs and Economy
- 1160. July 11, 2007 - President Bush Discusses the Budget
- 1161. July 14, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Renewal in Iraq
- 1162. July 20, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror, Thanks Troops
- 1163. July 21, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Renewal of Iraq / National Security
- 1164. July 24, 2007 - President Bush Discusses War on Terror in South Carolina
- 1165. July 27, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Economic Expansion and Gross Domestic Product Growth
- 1166. July 28, 2007 - President's Radio Address
- 1167. August 3, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus:Minneapolis I-35 bridge collapse
- 1168. August 10, 2007 - President Bush Addresses Border Security and Immigration Challenges
- 1169. August 11, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Iraq
- 1170. August 18, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Iraq
- 1171. August 22, 2007-President Bush Attends Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention, Discusses War on Terror
- 1172. August 25, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Iraq
- 1173. August 28, 2007 - President Bush Addresses the 89th Annual National Convention of the American Legion
- 1174. August 29, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Rebuilding Efforts in New Orleans at Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Charter School for Science and Technology in New Orleans, Louisiana
- 1175. September 1, 2007 – President's Radio Address. In Focus: Economy
- 1176. September 3, 2007 - President Bush Visits and Thanks Troops in Anbar Province
- 1177. September 7, 2007 - President Bush Attends APEC Business Summit
- 1178. September 13, 2007 - Address by the President to the Nation on the Way Forward in Iraq from the Oval Office
- 1179. September 14, 2007-President Bush Visits with Military Personnel at Quantico
- 1180. Marine Corps Base Quantico, Virginia
- 1181. September 15, 2007-President's Radio Address
- 1182. September 18, 2007-President Bush Meets with Military Support Organizations
- 1183. September 19, 2007-President Bush Discusses the Protect America Act of 2007
- 1184. National Security Agency at Fort Meade, Maryland
- 1185. September 21, 2007 - President Bush Welcomes 2006 and 2007 NCAA Sports Champions to White House
- 1186. September 22, 2007-President's Radio Address. In Focus: Health Care
- 1187. September 24, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Budget
- 1188. September 25, 2007 - President Bush Addresses The United Nations General Assembly at The United Nations Headquarters, New York
- 1189. September 26, 2007 - President Bush Discusses No Child Left Behind Reauthorization
- 1190. September 27, 2007 - President Bush Signs College Cost Reduction and Access Act
- 1191. September 28, 2007 - President Bush Participates in Major Economies Meeting on Energy Security and Climate Change at the U.S. Department of State
- 1192. September 29, 2007-President's Radio Address. In Focus: Budget Management
- 1193. October 1, 2007-President Bush Attends Armed Forces Farewell Tribute in Honor of General Peter Pace and Armed Forces Hail in Honor of Admiral Michael Mullen at Fort Myer, Virginia
- 1194. October 4, 2007 - President Bush Attends Iftaar Dinner at the White House
- 1195. October 5, 2007 - President Bush Discusses the Economy and Protecting Americans From Terrorism
- 1196. October 6, 2007-President's Radio Address. In Focus: Health Care

1197. October 7, 2007-President Bush Visits National Fallen Firefighters Memorial at Emmitsburg, Maryland
1198. October 10, 2007-President Bush Discusses Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Legislation
1199. October 10, 2007 - President Bush Attends Hispanic Heritage Month Celebration at White House
1200. October 12, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Free Trade Agreements in Miami, Florida
1201. October 13, 2007 – President's Radio Address. In Focus: International Trade
1202. October 19, 2007-President Bush Discusses Sanctions on Burma
1203. October 19, 2007-President's Radio Address. In Focus: Environment
1204. October 20, 2007-President Bush Signs Executive Order to Protect Striped Bass and Red Drum Fish Populations
1205. October 20, 2007-President Bush Discusses Migratory Bird Conservation
1206. October 23, 2007-President Bush Visits National Defense University, Discusses Global War on Terror
1207. October 24, 2007-President Bush Discusses Cuba Policy
1208. October 27, 2007-President's Radio Address
1209. October 31, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Health Care, Economic Growth and Free Trade at 2007 Grocery Manufacturers Association/Food Products Association Fall Conference
1210. November 1, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror
1211. November 3, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Judicial Nominations
1212. November 6, 2007 - President Bush Attends White House Forum on International Trade and Investment
1213. November 8, 2007 - President Bush Visits Wounded Warriors at Center for the Intrepid
1214. November 10, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Veterans
1215. November 11, 2007 - President Bush Marks Veterans Day at National Fallen Soldiers Memorial Ceremony at Waco, Texas
1216. November 13, 2007 - President Bush Visits Indiana, Discusses Budget
1217. November 15, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Aviation Congestion
1218. November 15, 2007 - President Bush Delivers Remarks at Federalist Society's 25th Annual Gala
1219. November 17, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Thanksgiving 2007
1220. November 19, 2007 - President Bush Offers Thanksgiving Greetings at the Berkeley Plantation Charles City, Virginia
1221. November 20, 2007 - President Bush Pardons "May and Flower" in National Thanksgiving Turkey Ceremony
1222. November 24, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Thanksgiving 2007
1223. November 30, 2007 - President Bush Discusses World AIDS Day at Calvary United Methodist Church, Mount Airy, Maryland
1224. December 1, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: 2007 War funding and budget management
1225. December 3, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Congress's Legislative Priorities for the Remainder of the Year
1226. December 5, 2007 - President Bush Participates in Meeting on Health Care in Omaha, Nebraska
1227. December 5, 2007 - President Bush Visits Omaha, Nebraska
1228. December 6, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Housing
1229. December 6, 2007 - President Bush Attends Lighting of the National Christmas Tree Ceremony
1230. December 10, 2007 - President Bush Meets with Jewish Leaders
1231. December 10, 2007 - President Bush Hosts Hanukkah Reception
1232. December 11, 2007 - President Bush Discusses Monitoring the Future Study on Teen Drug Use
1233. December 15, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Defense
1234. December 18, 2007 - President Bush Visits Little Sisters of the Poor and Discusses Volunteerism
1235. December 19, 2007 - President Bush Signs the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007
1236. December 20, 2007 - President Bush Signs The Mortgage Forgiveness Debt Relief Act of 2007
1237. December 21, 2007 - Presidential Message: Christmas 2007
1238. December 21, 2007 - Presidential Message: Kwanzaa 2007
1239. December 22, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Holiday in the National Parks
1240. December 29, 2007 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Economy
1241. December 31, 2007 - Presidential Message for New Year's Day, 2008
1242. January 5, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Middle East
1243. January 7, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Economy in Chicago, Illinois
1244. January 10, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process
1245. January 12, 2008 - President Bush Visits Military Personnel and Coalition Forces at Camp Arifjan, Kuwait

- 1246. January 12, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Middle East Trip
- 1247. January 13, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Importance of Freedom in the Middle East, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates
- 1248. January 18, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Economy, Growth Package
- 1249. January 19, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Economy
- 1250. January 21, 2008 - President Bush Visits Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Library, Washington, D.C. In Focus: African American History
- 1251. January 22, 2008 - President Bush Announces President's Advisory Council on Financial Literacy
- 1252. January 22, 2008 - President Bush Speaks to March for Life Rally Participants
- 1253. January 23, 2008 - President Bush Participates in Briefing with Mayors on Free Trade Agreements
- 1254. January 25, 2008 - President Bush Attends 2008 Congress of Tomorrow Luncheon
- 1255. January 26, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy and Defense
- 1256. January 28, 2008 - President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address
- 1257. January 29, 2008 - President Bush Discusses the Faith-Based and Community Initiative
- 1258. January 30, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Trade and Economy, Robinson Helicopter Company, Torrance, California
- 1259. January 31, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror in Las Vegas, Nevada
- 1260. February 1, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Economy in Kansas City
- 1261. February 5, 2008 - Presidential Message: Lunar New Year 2008
- 1262. February 7, 2008 - President Bush Attends National Prayer Breakfast
- 1263. February 8, 2008 - Remarks by the President to the Conservative Political Action Conference
- 1264. February 9, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Judicial Nominees
- 1265. February 12, 2008 - President Bush Celebrates African American History Month
- 1266. February 13, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Protect America Act
- 1267. February 13, 2008 - President Bush Signs H.R. 5140, the Economic Stimulus Act of 2008
- 1268. February 16, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Defense
- 1269. February 18, 2008 - President Bush Tours Meru District Hospital, Discusses Malaria, Arusha, Tanzania
- 1270. February 21, 2008 - President Bush Visits Barclay Training Center in Liberia
- 1271. Barclay Training Center
- 1272. February 23, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Defense
- 1273. February 25, 2008 - President Bush Meets with National Governors Association
- 1274. February 26, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Trip to Africa at Leon H. Sullivan Foundation
- 1275. February 26, 2008 - President Bush Meets with Former Cabinet Secretaries and Senior Government Officials on Free Trade Agreements. In focus: Columbia
- 1276. February 27, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes 2007 World Champion Boston Red Sox to White House
- 1277. March 1, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Drug Control Policy
- 1278. March 3, 2008 - President Bush Meets with National Association of Attorneys General
- 1279. March 4, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Colombia, Urges Congress to Pass Trade Agreement
- 1280. March 5, 2008 - President Bush Attends Washington International Renewable Energy Conference 2008
- 1281. March 6, 2008 - President Bush Commemorates Fifth Anniversary of U.S. Department of Homeland Security
- 1282. March 7, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Cuba
- 1283. March 8, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Defense
- 1284. March 12, 2008 - President Bush Meets with U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Discusses Trade
- 1285. March 12, 2008 - President Bush Attends Kuwait-America Foundation's Stand for Africa Gala Dinner
- 1286. March 12, 2008 - Remarks by the President at National Republican Congressional Committee Dinner
- 1287. March 13, 2008 - President Bush Discusses FISA. [Protect America Alert: House Foreign Surveillance Bill Undermines Our National Security]
- 1288. March 15, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Economy
- 1289. March 18, 2008 - President Bush Visits Jacksonville, Florida, Discusses Trade Policy
- 1290. March 19, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror
- 1291. March 20, 2008 - President Bush Discusses National President's Challenge
- 1292. March 21, 2008 - Presidential Message: Easter 2008
- 1293. March 22, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Easter 2008

- 1294. March 25, 2008 - President Bush Attends Celebration of Greek Independence Day
- 1295. March 26, 2008 - President Bush Visits ColorCraft of Virginia, Inc., Discusses Stimulus Package, Economy
- 1296. March 27, 2008 - President Bush Visits Dayton, Ohio, Discusses Global War on Terror, National Museum of the United States Air Force, Dayton, Ohio
- 1297. March 28, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Housing, Economy
- 1298. March 29, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Economy
- 1299. April 2, 2008 - President Bush Visits Bucharest, Romania, Discusses NATO
- 1300. April 3, 2008 - President Bush Attends North Atlantic Council Summit Meeting, Bucharest, Romania
- 1301. April 5, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: NATO
- 1302. April 7, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Colombia Free Trade Agreement
- 1303. April 7, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes 2007 NCAA Football Champion Louisiana State University Tigers to the White House
- 1304. April 10, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Iraq
- 1305. April 12, 2008 - President's Radio Address
- 1306. April 14, 2008 - President Bush Presents Commander-In-Chief's Trophy to the United States Naval Academy Football Team
- 1307. April 16, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Climate Change
- 1308. April 17, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes Recipients of the President's Environmental Youth Awards to White House
- 1309. April 18, 2008 - President Bush Attends National Catholic Prayer Breakfast
- 1310. April 18, 2008 - President Bush Attends America's Small Business Summit 2008
- 1311. April 19, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: International Trade
- 1312. April 21, 2008 - President Bush Attends United States Chamber of Commerce Reception
- 1313. April 23, 2008 - President Bush Attends Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony for Dr. Michael Ellis DeBakey
- 1314. April 23, 2008 - President Bush Discusses National Small Business Week
- 1315. April 24, 2008 - President Bush Attends White House Summit on Inner-City Children and Faith-Based Schools
- 1316. April 24, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes Members of Wounded Warrior Soldier Ride to White House
- 1317. April 25, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Malaria Awareness Day
- 1318. April 26, 2008 - President Bush Attends White House Correspondents' Association Dinner
- 1319. April 26, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Education and Economy
- 1320. April 29, 2008 - President Bush Discusses National Volunteer Week
- 1321. April 30, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes 2008 National and State Teachers of the Year to the White House
- 1322. May 1, 2008 - President Bush Celebrates National Day of Prayer
- 1323. May 1, 2008 - President Bush Celebrates Asian Pacific American Heritage Month
- 1324. May 1, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Food Aid
- 1325. May 3, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
- 1326. May 5, 2008 - President Bush Honors Cinco de Mayo
- 1327. May 6, 2008 - President Bush Commemorates Military Spouse Day
- 1328. May 7, 2008 - President Bush Attends Council of the Americas
- 1329. May 10, 2008 - President's Radio Address
- 1330. May 14, 2008 - President Bush Visits Jerusalem
- 1331. May 15, 2008 - President Bush Addresses Members of the Knesset
- 1332. May 17, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Middle East
- 1333. May 18, 2008 - President Bush Attends World Economic Forum in Egypt
- 1334. May 21, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Cuba, Marks Day of Solidarity
- 1335. May 22, 2008 - President Bush Attends Division Review Ceremony
- 1336. May 23, 2008 - President Bush Discusses World Trade Week
- 1337. May 24, 2008 - President's Radio Address
- 1338. May 26, 2008 - President Bush Attends Arlington National Cemetery Memorial Day Commemoration
- 1339. May 28, 2008 - President Bush Delivers Commencement Address at United States Air Force Academy
- 1340. May 31, 2008 - President Bush Delivers Commencement Address at Furman University
- 1341. May 31, 2008 - President's Radio Address

- 1342. June 2, 2008 - President Bush Presents Medal of Honor to Private First Class Ross Andrew McGinnis
- 1343. June 2, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Economy and Tax Cuts
- 1344. June 3, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes 2008 NCAA Men's Basketball Champion Kansas Jayhawks to the White House
- 1345. June 5, 2008 - President Bush Attends Ceremonial Groundbreaking of United States Institute of Peace
- 1346. June 7, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Defense
- 1347. June 13, 2008 - President Bush Visits Paris, Speaks to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, France
- 1348. June 14, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Trip to Europe
- 1349. June 17, 2008 - President Bush Honors Black Music Month
- 1350. June 18, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Energy
- 1351. June 18, 2008 - Remarks by the President at the 2008 President's Dinner
- 1352. June 21, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Energy
- 1353. June 24, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes 2007 and 2008 NCAA Sports Champions to the White House
- 1354. June 26, 2008 - President Bush Attends Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives' National Conference
- 1355. June 26, 2008 - President Bush Attends National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast
- 1356. June 28, 2008 - President's Radio Address
- 1357. July 3, 2008 - President Bush Attends Ceremonial Groundbreaking of Walter Reed National Military Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland
- 1358. July 4, 2008 - President Bush Attends Monticello's 46th Annual Independence Day Celebration and Naturalization Ceremony
- 1359. July 5, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Independence Day
- 1360. July 12, 2008 - President's Radio Address
- 1361. July 14, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Outer Continental Shelf Exploration
- 1362. July 14, 2008 - President Bush Honors the 10th Anniversary of the International Religious Freedom Act
- 1363. July 16, 2008 - President Bush Attends All-Star Tee Ball Game on the South Lawn
- 1364. July 19, 2008 - President's Radio Address
- 1365. July 21, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes Members of the 2008 United States Summer Olympic Team to the White House
- 1366. July 22, 2008 - President Bush Honors Colombian Independence Day
- 1367. July 24, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Freedom Agenda
- 1368. July 26, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Freedom Agenda
- 1369. July 29, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Energy and Economy at the Lincoln Electric Company in Euclid, Ohio
- 1370. July 31, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Iraq
- 1371. July 31, 2008 - President Bush Attends 2008 Annual Meeting of the West Virginia Coal Association
- 1372. August 2, 2008 - President's Radio Address: In focus: Economy and Energy
- 1373. August 4, 2008 - President Bush Visits Eielson Air Force Base, Alaska, Thanks Troops
- 1374. August 9, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Trip to Asia 2008 and Summer Olympics
- 1375. August 12, 2008 - President Bush Meets with Coalition for Affordable American Energy
- 1376. August 13, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Situation in Georgia, Urges Russia to Cease Military Operations
- 1377. August 15, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Situation in Georgia. In focus: National Security and Global Diplomacy
- 1378. August 16, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Situation in Georgia
- 1379. August 20, 2008 - President Bush Attends Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention, Discusses Global War on Terror
- 1380. August 20, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Gulf Coast Recovery
- 1381. August 23, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Energy
- 1382. August 30, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Economy
- 1383. September 2, 2008 - Remarks by the President to the Republican National Convention. Via Satellite
- 1384. September 6, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Energy and Hurricane Preparedness
- 1385. September 7, 2008 - President Bush Attends Salute to the Troops Tee Ball Game on the South Lawn
- 1386. September 8, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Volunteerism

1387. September 9, 2008 - President Bush Visits National Defense University's Distinguished Lecture Program, Discusses Global War on Terror
1388. September 11, 2008 - President Bush Attends Dedication of 9/11 Pentagon Memorial
1389. September 13, 2008 - President Bush Visits Oklahoma, Discusses Volunteers, Hurricane Ike
1390. September 13, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: National Security and Remembering 9/11
1391. September 17, 2008 - President Bush Attends Iftaar Dinner
1392. September 18, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Economy. In Focus: Economy
1393. September 19, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Economy
1394. September 20, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
1395. September 23, 2008 - President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly
1396. September 24, 2008 - President's Address to the Nation. In focus: Economy
1397. September 24, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Free Trade with Western Hemisphere Leaders
1398. September 26, 2008 - President Bush Discusses U.S. Ocean Action Plan at the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.
1399. September 27, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
1400. October 1, 2008 - President Bush Attends United States Service Organizations World Gala
1401. October 3, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008
1402. October 4, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
1403. October 6, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Judicial Accomplishments and Philosophy. at Cincinnati, Ohio
1404. October 7, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes Members of the 2008 United States Summer Olympic and Paralympic Teams to the White House
1405. October 9, 2008 - President Bush Celebrates Hispanic Heritage Month
1406. October 10, 2008 - President Bush Discusses the Economy
1407. October 11, 2008 - President Bush Meets with G7 Finance Ministers to Discuss World Economy
1408. October 11, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
1409. October 14, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Economy
1410. October 16, 2008 - President Bush Signs H.R. 7222, the Andean Trade Preference Act Extension
1411. October 17, 2008 - President Bush Discusses the Economy at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C.
1412. October 17, 2008 - President Bush Discusses the Visa Waiver Program
1413. October 18, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
1414. October 21, 2008 - President Bush Attends White House Summit on International Development
1415. October 24, 2008 - President Bush Participates in Signing Ceremony with NATO Secretary General De Hoop Scheffer for NATO Accession Protocols for Albania and Croatia
1416. October 25, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
1417. October 30, 2008 - President Bush Attends Graduation Ceremony for Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agents
1418. November 1, 2008 - President's Radio Address
1419. November 5, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Presidential Election
1420. November 6, 2008 - President Bush Discusses the Transition with Employees of the Executive Office of the President
1421. November 8, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Transition
1422. November 11, 2008 - President Bush Attends Rededication Ceremony of the Intrepid Sea, Air & Space Museum
1423. November 12, 2008 - President Bush Attends 2008 Bishop John T. Walker Memorial Dinner
1424. November 12, 2008 - President Bush Welcomes 2008 NCAA Sports Champions to the White House
1425. November 13, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Financial Markets and World Economy
1426. November 13, 2008 - President Bush Attends United Nations High-Level Debate on Interfaith Dialogue
1427. November 14, 2008 - President Bush Hosts Dinner with Summit on Financial Markets and World Economy Participants
1428. November 14, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
1429. November 15, 2008 - President Bush Hosts Summit on Financial Markets and the World Economy
1430. November 18, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Aviation Congestion and Transportation Safety
1431. November 19, 2008 - President Bush Attends Reopening of the National Museum of American History
1432. November 21, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: APEC 2008
1433. November 22, 2008 - President Bush Attends APEC CEO Summit 2008, Lima, Peru

- 1434. November 25, 2008 - President Bush Visits Fort Campbell, Discusses Iraq and Afghanistan, Fort Campbell, Kentucky
- 1435. November 26, 2008 - President Bush Pardons "Pumpkin and Pecan" in National Thanksgiving Turkey Ceremony
- 1436. November 26, 2008 - President's Radio Address
- 1437. December 5, 2008 - President Bush Attends Saban Forum 2008
- 1438. December 6, 2008 - President Bush Attends Unveiling of The Union League of Philadelphia's Portrait of the President
- 1439. December 6, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Defense, Iraq
- 1440. December 9, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Defense Transformation at West Point
- 1441. December 12, 2008 - President Bush Delivers Commencement Address at Texas A&M
- 1442. December 13, 2008 - President's Radio Address. Substance abuse
- 1443. December 14, 2008 - President Bush Visits Troops in Iraq
- 1444. December 15, 2008 - President Bush Visits with Troops in Afghanistan
- 1445. December 15, 2008 - President Bush Hosts Hanukkah Reception
- 1446. December 17, 2008 - President Bush Discusses National Security, Homeland Security and the Freedom Agenda at U.S. Army War College
- 1447. December 19, 2008 - President Bush Discusses Administration's Plan to Assist Automakers
- 1448. December 20, 2008 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Economy
- 1449. December 23, 2008 - President's Radio Address
- 1450. January 2, 2009 - President's Radio Address. In Focus: Middle East
- 1451. January 6, 2009 - President Bush Discusses Conservation and the Environment
- 1452. January 8, 2009 - President Bush Discusses No Child Left Behind
- 1453. January 10, 2009 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Defense
- 1454. January 13, 2009 - President Bush Holds Last Cabinet Meeting
- 1455. January 15, 2009 - President Bush Delivers Farewell Address to the Nation
- 1456. January 17, 2009 - President's Radio Address. In focus: Bush Record

ANNEX 2. CONCORDANCES FOR IMMIGRANT-RELATED WORDS.

N Concordance

1 shadows of our society, and that's not right. People don't have trust in the border- the f
2 e in Congress are working hard on this issue. Illegal immigrants who have roots in our cou
3 , and to work in a job for a number of years. People who meet these conditions should be a
4 ish, and work in a job for a number of years. People who meet these conditions should be a
5 key to unlocking the opportunity of America. English allows newcomers to go from pickin
6 it makes it hard to enforce the border. When people can come here in a rational way that
7 immigrant and a program of mass deportation. Illegal immigrants who have roots in our
8 gress are working hard on this issue. Illegal immigrants who have roots in our country and
9 police, or seek recourse in the legal system. They are cut off from their families far awa
10 and I have seen what they add to our country. They bring to America the values of faith in
11 no matter who they are or where they're from. Mexican Americans have brought with them
12 catch at our border, with no exceptions. For illegal immigrants from Mexico, we are worki
13 coming and give them a temporary worker card. They can come if they pass a criminal ba
14 embered the difficulties along with the joys. They remembered the long lines- never longer
15 ey will qualify for and maintain a Z visa. If they want to get a green card, they have to
16 bers will be deployed to our southern border. They will assist the Border Patrol by operat
17 there's some find people serving our country. They really are hard-working, decent folks w
18 hey've worked in a job for a number of years. People who meet a reasonable number of co
19 States Senate. I will report to the American people that there is a common desire to have
20 nt and a program of mass deportation. Illegal immigrants who have roots in our country a
21 have a conscience. But they will be stopped. They will be stopped because our great natio
22 McCain and Senator Kyl- for taking the lead. They understand the importance of getting th
23 o do a lot of other folks around the country. People are coming to work, and many of them
24 to comply with the law; they really do. Most people are good, law-abiding citizens who
25 verify that the workers they hire are legal. Illegal immigration puts pressure on public
26 e to America to work and build a better life. They walk across miles of desert in the summ
27 million people trying to get in the country. People are working hard to defend our border
28 t our border, with no exceptions. For illegal immigrants from Mexico, we are working to ex
29 ies for those who come out of the shadows. If they pass a strict background check, pay a f
30 after 45 days. They were coming to work, see. They wanted to put food on the table for the
31 iding. They really do want to uphold the law. They understand there's a responsibility to
32 Each has come not only to take, but to give. They come asking for a chance to work hard,
33 tice their faith, and lead responsible lives. They are a part of American life, but they a
34 more vibrant and more hopeful cada dia. Mexican Americans have enriched the American
35 workers. But approval would not be automatic. They would have to wait in line behind thos
36 But for some, they need a little extra help. They don't need to be inspired to dream big
37 eping an office floor to running that office. English allows someone to go from a low- pay
38 economic reasons behind illegal immigration. People will make great sacrifices to get int
39 values did not stop at the Rio Grande River. People are coming here to put food on the ta
40 in the past, and we will do so in the future. People newly arrived with dreams lift our so
41 tates by wearing our nation's uniform. Today, Mexican Americans in uniform answered the
42 e will be allowed to apply in the normal way. They will not be given unfair advantage over
43 at the southern border once and for all. When people know that they'll be caught and sent
44 and an otherwise clean record. I believe that illegal immigrants who have roots in our cou
45 , and to work in a job for a number of years. People who meet these conditions should be e
46 society, they realize their dreams. A lot of people have come here to this country over t
47 who have entered our country illegally. When illegal immigrants know they're going to be
48 nd the spirit of resolve. I want to thank the Mexican leaders- and will do so in person to
49 not function if we cannot control the border. Illegal immigration puts a strain on law enf
50 tvibrant and more hopeful every day. Mexican Americans have enriched the American

51 y to work. That's what you got to understand. People are motivated by a desire in many cas
52 loma, a career, and a home of their own. When immigrants assimilate and advance in our s
53 l be more compassionate. Decent, hard-working people will now be protected by labor
laws,
54 food on the table for their families. And if they, say, make \$7 in America versus 50 cent
55 , this great land will always be united. When they left behind the old world, the millions
56 nsecurity in a massive, undocumented economy. Illegal entry across our borders makes
57 legal documents we all take for granted. And they will be able to talk openly to authorit
58 reatness of America, when you think about it. People have come here with a dream, and
59 f people providing them with false documents. People are being exploited as a result of a
60 hat meets the needs of today's world. So when people come here, they come here to learn a
61 tizen fully embraces our common culture. When immigrants assimilate, they will advance i
62 therwise clean record. I believe that illegal immigrants who have roots in our country and
63 ild our country and helped shape our culture. Mexican Americans have made our nation mo
64 irst time these men have made such a promise. They took a similar oath when they became
65 Emergency Preparedness Committees. These are people in the state legislature with whom
66 a growing and dynamic economy. To discourage people from crossing our border illegally,
67 or them to attempt another crossing. For non- Mexican illegal immigrants, we're changing t
68 of a confident and successful nation. And people who seek to make America their home
69 s Island came with a vision of a better life. They sought more than economic opportunity,
70 and Mexico are bound by strong family ties. Mexican Americans have enriched our culture
71 hopeful by leading lives of faith and family. Mexican Americans have also defended the U
72 fe- fearful, often abused and exploited. When they are victimized by crime, they are afrai
73 attempt another crossing. For non-Mexican illegal immigrants, we're changing the unwis
74 when your time is up, you go home. Now these people are going to have to pass a criminal
75 rom picking crops to opening a grocery store. English allows a newcomer from sweeping a
76 lions of illegal immigrants are already here. They should not be given an automatic path t
77 o our shores. (Interruption continues.) These immigrants have helped transform 13 small co
78 end of the citizenship line. In other words, people have been here legally, somebody who
79 help us end catch and release. You see, when people know that they'll be caught and sent
80 ay a penalty for being here illegally. But if they want to choose to be a citizen, they ge
81 le for those who wear the uniform today. Many Mexican Americans have worn the uniform
82 the interior of Mexico. By returning illegal Mexican immigrants to their homes, far away
83 and so most were released back into society. They were each assigned a court date, but vi
84 e entered our country illegally. When illegal immigrants know they're going to be caught a
85 to leaving no child behind in America. Mexican Americans are also strengthening our
86 to America must assimilate into our society. They must embrace our values and learn to sp
87 rehensive immigration reform is a clear need. Illegal immigration is a serious problem- yo
88 xes, too. You're working hard, you pay taxes. People who have been here in this country ou
89 the shadows of society. Everyone suffers when people seeking to provide for their families
90 to speak and write the English language. When immigrants assimilate, they advance in our
91 to 18,000 Border Patrol agents. And these are people who are highly-trained people, whose
92 Evans, who represents this district. And they must have changed the immigration laws,
93 send somebody over to help me? And they show up and they put a Social Security
94 ur society. We've ended catch-and-release for illegal immigrants from the key Central Ame
95 who want to take advantage of low-cost labor. Illegal workers can be paid less than the ma
96 lity to speak and write the English language. English is also the key to unlocking the opp
97 legal immigrants already here in the country. People who entered our country illegally sho
98 can apply for a Z visa. To receive the visa, illegal workers must admit they violated the
99 ed more people to come here illegally. Today, illegal immigration is supported by criminal
100 to get here. In contrast, this bill requires illegal workers to pay a fine, to register w
101 thers won't do here in America. The fact that people are willing to take those risks puts
102 another crossing. For non-Mexican illegal immigrants, we're changing the unwise policy
103 ton to do so. People here know firsthand that illegal immigration puts big pressure on our
104 record. My position is clear: I believe that illegal immigrants who have roots in our cou

160 steady job. And if at the end of eight years they want to apply for a green card, they wi
161 nd uplifting ceremony. It is inspiring to see people of many different ages, many differen
162 o enforce the laws on the books, see. If it's illegal to hire somebody, then the federal g
163 doing jobs Americans aren't doing. There are people who have come across this border to
164 faster and more efficient. Putting more non- Mexican illegal immigrants through expedited
165 ndamental reforms are needed. In other words, people are coming to the conclusion we got
166 iety. And what does that mean? It means, help people learn English, to help people underst
167 , our whole nation benefits. In the 1970s, an immigrant from Ireland- or the 1790s, an imm
168 hose who have waited legally. We got a lot of people waiting to be citizens here, and they
169 ed States of America. As part of the ceremony they will promise to support and defend the
170 ied away on the issue, and they- in doing so, they forget the greatness of our country, th
171 ial spirit of immigrants. Every generation of immigrants has reaffirmed the wisdom of re
172 ul nations. Free nations are nations in which people can find hope and a chance to raise t
173 te further waves of illegal immigration. Some people think any proposal short of mass depo
174 the United States of America. For generations immigrants to this country have risked every
175 wouldn't work. And trying to find 10 million people who have been here for a long period
176 centers. Part of the problem we face is that illegal immigrant that was caught sneaking i
177 all across the southern border. The number of people apprehended for illegally crossing ou
178 d they're sent home within 24 hours. It's the illegal immigrants from other countries that
179 If you're serious about bringing hardworking illegal immigrants out of the shadows of our
180 to get here. In contrast, this bill requires illegal workers to pay a fine, register with
181 n. The schools were built by poor immigrants, they were staffed by legions of dedicated nu
182 victory of General Ignacio Zaragoza and his Mexican troops over the superior French fo
183 dreams of the world. And every generation of immigrants has reaffirmed our ability to ass
184 ing since 2001 and sent home. But most of the Mexican citizens who were caught trying to
185 of all, we've got to recognize that there are people who have been here that are newly arr
186 and diverse communities. Miami is home to people whose families have been in our count
187 mber of arrests go down. In other words, when people know there's a consequence to trying
188 ough. The tough to educate. If you don't speak English, or the mothers or daddys don't spea
189 English language. When immigrants assimilate, they advance in our society, realize their d
190 u for tutoring and being kind. I've talked to people that are raising families that have c
191 English language. When immigrants assimilate, they advance in our society, realize their d
192 freedom, though that was crucial. Above all, they wanted the rights, the duties and the d
193 ecurity, Chertoff. It's going to work to help people at the grass roots level expand the t
194 't matter. Children whose parents don't speak English as a first language, they're deemed
195 rs ask nothing in return. I saw a place where people are learning to speak English, and le
196 orkers. Jobs will go unfulfilled, hardworking immigrants will remain in the shadows of our
197 n a Z visa. If they want to get a green card, they have to do all these things- plus pay a
198 ing that's interesting. Since 2001, 6 million people have been caught illegally trying to
199 ountries trying to come in. It's easy to send people back into Mexico; it's hard to send s
200 as part of assimilating to be Americans. When immigrants assimilate into this society, the
201 is issue. So here's a reasonable way to treat people with respect and accomplish what we w
202 cans aren't doing, on a temporary basis. See, people are sneaking in because they want to
203 . Part of the problem we face is that illegal immigrant that was caught sneaking into the
204 omy the largest in the world. The children of immigrants put on the uniform and helped to
205 nues to shape our society. Each generation of immigrants brings a renewal to our national
206 That's called catch and release. Most of the people we catch are Mexican citizens and the