THE TRANSNATIONAL RACIAL DISCOURSE ABOUT WEST AFRICAN MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS IN AN ERA OF GLOBAL TERRORISM

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Elite racist discourses contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims), which heightens their invisibility. This study used critical discourse analysis, racial formation theory and intersectionality theory to examine written text and verbal language in the data to show a relationship between discourse and racialization because elite racist discourses produce and reproduce racism, which racially categorize West African immigrants as terrorists, criminals, fraudsters, and inferior people. The results show that dominant western ideologies emerge in elite racist discourses and play a role in spreading Islamophobia and disseminating stereotypes about Africa, shaping, and influencing public perceptions and Black discourses about West African immigrants, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about them and heightens their invisibility.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my Heavenly Father GOD, my loving and supportive husband Ikechukwu, my handsome supportive son Keneolisa and my beautiful supportive daughter Onyekachi. In loving memory of my parents – Mr. Martin A. Iroabuchi and Mrs. Chioma C. Iroabuchi, Rest in Peace.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While previous studies have provided important insights into the experiences of immigrants of Middle Eastern origin in the U.S. since 9/11, they have not adequately explored how written text and verbal language in elite racist discourses have shaped dominant narratives of West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims) in an era of global terrorism. Using Dijk's (1993) interpretation, I define an elite racist discourse as a form of racial discourse where elites in power such as presidents, prime ministers, leading politicians, and news editors use racial bias through written texts and verbal language to "speak and write about ethnic minorities" which contributes to the production and reproduction of racism (Dijk 1993, 48). Since there are few studies that relate elite racist discourses to transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants, this study is contributing to the literature by defining transnational racial discourses as racial discourses about West African immigrants that travels from one nation to another nation, across national boundaries. In this study, I used critical discourse analysis methods of Dijk (1993) and Machin and Mayr (2012) to show a relationship between discourse and racialization by examining how elite racist discourses use power and domination to racially categorize West African immigrants as terrorists, criminals, fraudsters, and inferior people, which contributes to their invisibility and the construction of transnational racial discourses.

The central argument of this study is that there is a relationship between discourse and racialization because discourse is a powerful platform, where the racialization of West African immigrants happens through discourse in the form of written text and verbal language that are produced and reproduced by racialized social structures. According to Omi and Winant (1994),

racialization is the social process of racial discrimination where minority groups are placed in racial categories based on how social structures and people assign racial meanings to that group (Omi and Winant 1994). Additionally, I define discourse as a form of communication that is written through texts and spoken through verbal language that is shared during speeches, interviews, news storytelling and everyday conversations/interactions. Further, Dijk (1993) argues that discourse must examine the role of text and language "in the social, political and cultural structures and processes that define the system of ethnic and racial dominance of white groups over minorities," which "supports the system of ethnic-racial dominance, that is, racism" (Dijk 1993, 97-134). This ethnic-racial dominance emerges in elite racist discourses that are produced and reproduced by dominant groups who use power and discriminatory practices through texts and language to racialize minority groups. For example, President Donald J. Trump's U.S. immigration policies and political rhetoric that racially categorize West African immigrants as terrorists, criminals, fraudsters, and inferior immigrants are part of elite racist discourses that use ethnic-racial dominance to racialize this group. This shows a relationship between discourse and racialization because the elite use political rhetoric and oppressive immigration policies as a form discourse to racialize West African immigrants.

Additionally, Dijk argues that elite racist discourses shape and influence everyday conversation by ordinary people, which can produce and reproduce racist discourses through text and languages that are discriminatory towards minorities (97). For example, when anti-Muslim organizations, white supremacist groups and individual actors disseminate hate speeches and racial slurs that racially categorize West African immigrants as terrorists, these are forms of discourse that are shaped and influenced by elite racist discourses. Therefore, the relationship between discourse and the racialization of West Africans is manifested through elite racist discourses.

The theoretical framework used to support the analysis is a combination of racial formation theory and intersectionality theory. Omi and Winant (1994) define racial formation as a "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed. . . it is the process of historically situated projects in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized which is linked to the evolution of hegemony" (Omi and Winant 1994, 55-56). I used racial formation theory to show how racial categories are formed in the social processes of racism on the macro, meso and micro levels. Specifically, how racial projects are used on macro (news, political rhetoric, immigration policies), meso (anti-Muslim organizations) and micro levels (everyday experiences) to racialize West African immigrants.

According to Omi and Winant, racial projects demonstrate how racial categorizations are hierarchically organized to benefit the dominant group over the minority other (Omi and Winant 2014). Specifically, Omi and Winant define racial projects as "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics that connects "what race means in a particular discursive practice in both social structures and everyday experiences that are racially organized, based upon racial meaning" (56). That is, racial projects can be examined on the macro level through racialized social structures and on the micro level through individual everyday experiences of immigrants. Omi and Winant refer to this macro level influence as "preconceived notions of a racialized social structure," where the elite racist discourses shape and influence public perceptions about minority groups on the micro levels (59). As Omi and Winant argue, "at the micro-social level, racial projects are applications of common sense," that operate at the "level of everyday life," where we can "examine the many ways in which, often unconsciously, we notice race" (59). For instance, Omi and Winant argue, that when we meet people "of an ethnic/racial group we are not familiar with, such an encounter becomes a source of discomfort and momentarily a crisis of

racial meaning" (59). In this study, I found that racial projects on the macro level racially categorized West African immigrants as terrorists, criminals, fraudsters, and inferior people, which shape the perceptions of groups on the meso and micro levels. Additionally, I found that racial categorizations of West African immigrants are based on their cultural and ethnic differences. These differences are based on dominant perceptions of race, ethnicity, religion, and immigration, which intersect to oppress, marginalize, and discriminate against West African immigrants.

According to Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall (2013), intersectionality framework requires "analyzing the multiple ways that race and gender intersect with class in the labor market" (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall 2013, 787). Similarly, Powell's (2007) work on intersectionality argues that that "race and class are mutually constitutive and highly interactive" and "neither race nor class can be adequately understood without a historical recognition of the profound interaction between race and class in the United States" (Powell 2007, 423-424). In another study, King's (1988) work on Black feminism argues that black women are oppressed at multiple intersections based on race, gender, and class, which heightens their invisibility and marginalizes them compared to white women (King 1988, 72). These studies argue that the intersections of race, gender and class are important to understand how minority groups are oppressed and racialized at the intersection of their racial identity, gender, and social economic status. In this study, intersectionality theory was used to examine how West African immigrants are oppressed at multiple intersections based on how race, ethnicity, religion, and immigration intersect to marginalize them, which heightens their invisibility. I argue that being Black, African, Muslim and an immigrant works at a disadvantage against West African Muslim immigrants because they are racially categorized based on their race, ethnicity, religion, and immigrant status, which oppresses and marginalizes them.

The aim of this study is to show a relationship between discourse and racialization through written text and verbal language that are used in elite racist discourses to racialize West African immigrants, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses and heightens their invisibility. To accomplish the aim of this study, I have written three articles namely, "The transnational racial discourse about Muslims in Nigeria, Britain, and the U.S.: A critical discourse perspective," "The invisibility of West African immigrants and transnational racial discourses in global discourses on terrorism in the U.S.: A crucial discourse perspective," and "The influence of cultural/ethnic diversity on Black/African identities and the transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants in the U.S.: A critical discourse perspective". These articles show a relationship between discourse and racialization through news media, political rhetoric, immigration policies, everyday conversations and Black discourses that racialize West African immigrants, which heightens their invisibility and contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses. My study was conducted during the presidency of Trump and my study reflects on events that occurred during his presidency. Future studies are encouraged to explore how transnational discourses about Black immigrants reflect on current political debates about Africa.

This study is limited because the data is not sufficient to generalize that the findings speak to all aspects of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims). This limitation is due to the time demand that will be required for this type of comprehensive generalization, which would be beyond what is possible for the scope of this dissertation. However, the data provokes critical thoughts and public conversation on the implications of racialization on West African immigrants/Black immigrants/immigrants of color.

Regarding the implications of my study, I believe that my study is filling a gap in race, transnational and Black immigration discourses that have insufficient literature on transnational

racial discourses that contribute to the racialization and invisibility of West African immigrants in an era of global terrorism. The impact of this insufficiency is that the struggles and racist experiences of West African immigrants in western societies are silenced, which heightens their invisibility. My study can have an impact on how discourse is constructed about West African immigrants through immigration policies, news stories and Black discourses. The outcomes of my study can change the way West African immigrants are perceived as dangerous people by showing that perceptions about them are racially constructed by racialized social structures. Importantly, my analysis will bring visibility to West African immigrants in their struggle with racism and ethnicism, which will heighten their visibility. Further, my analysis will impact the way dominant narratives lump all Blacks together and provoke a discourse on cultural diversity in the Black community. Additionally, my analysis will contribute to the discourse on Black and African identity construction. Last, I believe that my study will impact the way race, immigration, Black identity, African identity, and transnational research are conducted about other immigrant groups (Caribbean, Asia, South America, et al) struggling with racialization and invisibility in the west.

Literature Review

Studies have examined global terrorism in relation to brown skin people from the Middle East, and people who are perceived to be Muslims. According to Joshi (2006), these studies argue that since 9/11, brown skin people, such as Sikhs and Indians are characterized as terrorists because they reinforce well-known Arabic physical characteristics, and American culture associates these ethnic groups "with the acts committed by Al-Qaeda" (Joshi 2006, 218). However, studies have not examined the position of West Africans immigrants in racial discourses in an era of global terrorism. Specifically, the relationship between discourse and the racialization of West African immigrants. I fill this gap by showing the relationship between discourse and racialization by examining how elite racist discourses contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants. This study looks at the media as a site for racialization, looks at U.S. immigration agencies as sites for the racialization of West African Muslim immigrants, and looks at Black newspapers as sites for Black discourse. Since previous studies on transnationalism have limited information on racial discourses about West African immigrants, this study defines transnational racial discourses as racial discourses about West African immigrants that travels from one nation to another nation, across national boundaries.

First, this literature review discusses theories of race that guided this study in understanding how race is structured and operationalized between racialized social structures and individual actors. Second, it raises the argument that race is a discourse, because people communicate their beliefs about race on a wide scale, and this discursive element can produce and reproduce racial discourses about global terrorism. Third, majority of the racial discourse on global terrorism is happening in the media, which makes the media sites for racializing Muslims. Fourth, when the

media disseminates racial discourses on global terrorism, dominant news narratives are shared worldwide where diverse beliefs about Muslims emerge. These dominant narratives, and beliefs are forms of elite racist discourses contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses. Last, transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants, influence how West African immigrants create identities considering cultural diversity and conflicts in Black communities.

Theories of Race

Race and racial formation. Race studies have different definitions of race, that contribute to the study of racial discourses and racialized systems of oppression in the U.S. Miles (1988), argues that race is an ideology based on human construction and power relations within an economic capitalist driven society. In contrast, Omi and Winant (1994) argue that through racial formation theory the meaning of race changes over time, because race is a social construct used to organize groups, which shapes individuals and social aspects of society. Omi and Winant (1994) define racial formation as a "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed. . . it is the process of historically situated projects in, which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized which is linked to the evolution of hegemony" (Omi and Winant 1994, 55-56). Omi and Winant argue that racial formation addresses class and power relations, which allows us to examine how socio-economic political policies or agendas are connected to "racial projects" which is a "simultaneous interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines" (56). Racial projects connect race to the racial social

structure and demonstrate how there is racial inequality in the distribution of resources amongst whites and non-whites in institutions, legal systems, government policies and political systems.

Additionally, Bonilla-Silva (1997) argues that though race is socially constructed, racial structures are linked to white privilege based on economic and political ideologies founded on social racial hierarchies that form racialized social systems. According to Bonilla-Silva, "racialized social relations and practices constitutes the racial structure of a society," and racialized social systems use race as a criterion to distribute wealth, power, and resources to one group over another based on the racial hierarchies which are socially constructed (Bonilla-Silva 1997, 470). These racial social structures are embedded in the historical context of race, which discriminates against those at the bottom of the racial hierarchy.

On the contrary, Miles argues that the idea of race being a social construct is problematic, because it does not address how human construction of race influences class conflicts in a capitalist regulated society. That is, class is instrumental in understanding how groups are categorized and racialized in profit driven societies. While I agree with Miles that the construction of race has a connection with class and economic power, I believe that race is a social construct as well, because according to Omi and Winant (1994), race is an "unstable complex social meaning that is constantly being transformed by political struggle" that produces universal racial meaning that shapes our race, ethnic identities, and social structures (68). In this study, I focused on race as a social construct, because of the multiple meanings of race produced in social racial relations between racialized social structures and individual actors.

Regarding racialization, there are multiple scholarly interpretations of how racialization should be utilized in race studies. In earlier studies, Miles (1989) argues that racialization happens when "social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human

biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectives" (Miles 1989, 75). Additionally, Miles (1988) argues that racialization relates to class, capitalism and migrant labor, because there is the "need of the capitalist world economy for the mobility of human beings," and "the drawing of territorial boundaries and construction of citizenship as a legal category which sets boundaries for human mobility" (Miles 1988, 438). That is, Miles argues that in racial relationships, racialization and racial categorization are based on racial differences situated in the context of class differences that are regulated in a capitalist society. I agree with Miles that class, economics and capitalism may influence the racialization process based on racial hierarchal order. However, reducing racialization strictly in the context of economic and class differentiation limits the possibility of examining culture, ethnicity, religion, and immigration, which may be responsible for creating racialized social relationships. Importantly, analyzing class alone limits our sociological inquiry about how racism is conceptualized in theoretical frameworks.

Furthermore, Bonilla-Silva argues that racism can be understood through the process of racialization, because "racialization framework accounts for the ways in which racial/ethnic stereotypes emerge, are transformed and disappear" (476). Bonilla-Silva argues that to understand how racism and racialization operates, we must look at racialized social systems as a framework to analyze "societies in which economic, political, social and ideological levels are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories" (469). That is, racial groups are racialized, based on racial categories formed through racial hierarchies. Therefore, racism should be understood through the process of racialization, because when groups are racialized by racialized social structures, this racialized identity becomes the norm of society.

On other hand, Omi and Winant argue that the process of racialization highlights relevant structures of racial relations, where politics, laws and discourse construct racial categories, which define the social meanings of racial inequality, racism, and ethnicity (Omi and Winant 1994). That is, our social meanings of race are influenced by social structures, which influences how groups are placed in racial categories. Similarly, Murji and Solomos (2005) argue that racialization is a "synonym for racial or racist meanings," and "although the concept of race appeals to biologically based human characteristics, selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process" (Murji and Solomos 2005, 21). That is, racialization is a process that emphasizes the social, cultural, and racial processes that place groups in racial categories. Though Miles argues that racialization is rooted solely in class struggles, this study is used the approach of Omi and Winant, who argue that racial categories are formed based on the social construction of race. In addition to race, this study addressed ethnicity, because there is West African Muslim immigrant population in the U.S., and they are discriminated against based on their ethnic differences.

Race studies have argued that the process of racialization is limited in our understanding of how immigrants of color are categorized based on ethnic and cultural differences. Miles and Brown (2003) argue that ethnicization cannot be separated from racialization, because ethnic groups are placed in categories based on their "biological, cultural or political" differences and when "biological features are signified we speak of racialization as a specific modality of ethnicization" (Miles and Brown 2003, 99). That is, ethnicization is an important process of racial categorization based on cultural and ethnic differences. In addition to ethnicization, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) argue that inferiority plays a role in how immigrants of color are categorized through the process of inferiorization, which is the process of exploitation, exclusion and the

"othering" of immigrants as inferior (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, 2). Therefore, the process of racialization should be inclusive of the ethnic and inferior components of racial groups who experience racism, ethnicism and inferiorism based on their ethnic and cultural differences. It is important to point out that though the process of racialization offers a deeper understanding of class relations and institutional racism, this concept of racialization does not allow for a broader understanding of how cultural and ethnic differences influence racial categorization of ethnic groups. This study explored the processes of ethnicization and inferiorization based on cultural and ethnic difference, because it helped me to understand and explain the experiences of West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims) in the U.S.

Intersectionality is an important part of race studies and discourses. Having established the connection between race and ethnicity, the next step is to examine how race intersects with "modalities of power" in oppressive dominant social racial structures. Omi and Winant (1994) argue that "modalities of power," such as race, class, gender, and ethnicity constitute "regions" of hegemony in which certain social and political racial projects can shape social realities (68). In this study, I will examine the data to show that modalities of power such as race, ethnicity, immigration, and religion intersect in the marginalization of West African Muslim immigrants through unequal and discriminatory practices by dominant racial social structures, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses and the invisibility of West African immigrants.

Intersectionality as a theoretical framework theorizes that race, class, ethnicity, and gender intersect with our individual experiences to reproduce systems of privilege and oppression such as racism, ethnicism or sexism. Intersectionality was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1991), who argued that Black woman are invisible at the intersections of gender, race and class, which limits

their economic progress because white dominant social power "works to exclude or marginalize those who are different" (Crenshaw 1991, 1242). Further, Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall (2013), argue that intersectionality framework requires "analyzing the multiple ways that race and gender intersect with class in the labor market" (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall 2013, 787). Similarly, Powell's (2007) work on intersectionality argues that that "race and class are mutually constitutive and highly interactive" and "neither race nor class can be adequately understood without a historical recognition of the profound interaction between race and class in the United States" (Powell 2007, 423-424). In another study, King's (1988) work on Black feminism argues that black women are oppressed at multiple intersections based on race, gender, and class, which heightens their invisibility and marginalizes them compared to white women (King 1988, 72).

In contrast, Walby, Armstrong and Strid (2012) argue that the focus on white and Black inequalities loses sight of the dominant white racist structures that orchestrate hierarchies of power that place Blacks at the bottom and whites at the top. On the contrary, contemporary studies on intersectionality interrogate and expose how powerful racist structures contribute to unequal practices across racial, ethnic, gender and class lines. For instance, Collins and Bilge (2016) argue that categories of race, gender or class intersect with each other to understand how "power structures are intertwined and constructed" through cultural and structural processes of "racism, sexism, heterosexism and class exploitation" (Collins and Bilge 2016, 13). Therefore, intersectionality as a theory, allows immigrants of color to understand our complex experiences with inequality through race, gender, ethnicity, immigration, and religion, that influence our experiences with inequality and discrimination. Specifically, Collins and Bilge argue that the experiences of marginalized groups within racialized structures can be "understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that

work together and influence each other" (3). Therefore, intersectionality is used to examine dominant social structures that create unequal opportunities for men, women, and immigrants. However, there is a gap in the literature because limited studies have used intersectionality as a framework to examine the experiences of West African Muslim immigrants and how this pertains to the idea of a transnational racial discourse. This study used intersectionality to examine the experiences of West African Muslim immigrants in transnational racial discourses globally. Specifically looking at how race, ethnicity, immigration, and religion intersect to demonstrate how inequality and discrimination against West African Muslim immigrants shape Black identities, influence transnational racial discourses and heighten the invisibility of West African Muslim immigrants in an era of global terrorism.

Theoretical framework. This study utilized a combination of racial formation theory, and intersectionality as theoretical frameworks to analyze texts to examine how the news, immigration and Black discourses produce and reproduce transnational racial discourses about West African Muslim immigrants. This theoretical framework offers more explanatory power to demonstrate how that the state, the media, and individual actors racially categorize "Black," "Muslims," and "Africans" as dangerous, and this racialization process happens on the macro and micro structural levels. On the macro level, immigration policies and negative media representations of West African Muslim immigrants, demonstrate that racialized social structures create racial meaning that racially categorizes this group as terrorists and dangerous criminals. On the micro level, everyday experiences and individual interactions can form social racial meanings about West African Muslim immigrants, which can place them in racial categories through the process of racialization. As I mentioned earlier, the process of racialization about West African immigrants is not just about race, it includes the process of ethnicization and how it plays out in social spaces.

Therefore, this study looked at racial formation as the social and political meaning of being a West African Muslim immigrant and how this racial meaning gets interpreted and re-interpreted over time.

Race as a Discourse

Though structural race theories have diverse approaches to the study of race, they all recognize that social discourse is part of a racial hierarchy. Race studies have argued that in the process of racialization, racial groups are discussed in particular ways based on historical dominant racist ideologies about race, and this constitutes a racial discourse.

In earlier race studies, Reeves (1983), argues that racial discourses are discourses that use "racial categories and language symbols used to differentiate between the superior and inferior race; so 'racial categories must always be present in racist discourses" (Reeves 1983, 15-22). In later studies, Omi and Winant argue that historically the "discourse of race" began in the 1400s, when Christian Europeans migrated to America and expressed hostility towards native American Indians who were non-Christians and "othered" based on racial differences (61). Therefore, Omi and Winant argue that racial differences create a hierarchical "racialized social structure" with white Europeans placed at the top and non-white/non-Christians placed at the bottom (61). Specifically, racial discourse began in America when the encounter between white Christian Europeans and Indigenous people were established, and simultaneously this racial discourse spread to other parts of the world. In this historical moment, the emergence of racial hierarchies created racial discourses based on how white Christian Europeans perceived non-whites/non-Christians as inferior, and this was a prelude or "a rehearsal for racial formation" (Omi and Winant

1994, 61). That is, in this historical context, racial formation processes began as early the 1400s and continues to be a part of racial constructs in our society today.

Omi and Winant define racial formation, as the "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (55). According to Omi and Winant, racial formation is historically rooted in hegemonic domination, where human beings and social structures are "organized and ruled" in hierarchal order based on racial differences (56). Further, Omi and Winant argue that racial formation allows us to understand the meaning of race through racial projects because they "connect what race means in a particular *discursive* practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially organized" (Omi and Winant 1994, 56). That is, racial projects are sites where the production and reproduction of racial discourses occur on both the structural, and individual levels of interaction between racial groups. The narratives, stories and discourses that emerge from racial projects provide understandings of what race means to social structures and individual actors.

In other studies, Bonilla-Silva (2003), argues that racial discourses are based on the racial ideologies of the dominant race. Bonilla-Silva (2003) defines a racial ideology as an "interpretative repertoire consisting of the following three elements: frames, style or race talk, and racial stories," which are part of the U.S. dominant racial ideology as it is manifested in everyday discourses (Bonilla-Silva 2003, 67). Bonilla-Silva argues that, in everyday discourses, social/political structures and individual actors are influenced by the "dominant repertoire" because "the ideas of the dominant race tend to be the dominant ideas in society"; however, "ideological rule over the subordinate race is never absolute, it is always contested" (67). That is, the meaning of race is always contested between racial groups, which produces racial discourses. For instance, in the U.S., the social activist organization known as Black Lives Matters (BLM), challenges racial

injustice and police brutality against Black people in the U.S. In this process of social activism, there is a production and reproduction of racial discourse that happens between racialized U.S. structures and BLM activists, where the meaning of being Black in America is contested back and forth between racialized U.S. structures and BLM activists.

In similar race studies, Bonilla-Silva, Lewis and Embrick (2004) argue that it is important to examine racial discourses that are considered race-based stories because "storytelling most often reproduces power relations, as the specific stories we tell tend to reinforce the social order" (Bonilla-Silva, Lewis and Embrick 2004, 556). In this case, "social order" is based on hierarchal racialized social structures, where dominant western ideologies produce and reproduce racist discourse. Bonilla-Silva, Lewis and Embrick, describe dominant western ideologies as "white racial discourse," which is the "racial ideology of the dominant race," where racial stories are "part of the dominant post-civil rights racial ideology" which "sustain the contemporary racial order" in the U.S. (557-561). Thus, supporting Bonilla-Silva and Omi and Winant's arguments that hegemonic dominance creates racial ideologies and racial hierarchies, which produces racial discourses based on race. Therefore, the discursive element of race is crucial in understanding how racial hierarchies operate in racialized social structures.

In terms of racialized social structures, this expanded its scope to include the discourse on globalized terrorism because globalization is a social structure controlled by capitalism, which has incited "wars that have bred situations in foreign governments that have contributed to terrorism" (Lutz and Lutz 2019, 22). Globalization and capitalism are connected through the hyper-commercialization of goods and services, which enables the migration of immigrants from one nation to another nation: thus, integrating immigrants into commercial societies. This migration and integration of immigrants into a broader world, globalizes their experiences with terrorism,

which makes them part of the discourse on global terrorism. Due to the globalization of terrorism, racial discourses are happening globally, and these discourses influence immigrant experiences overseas. Therefore, global terrorism creates discourse and West African Muslim immigrants are part of global terrorism discourse that transcends Africa in an era of terrorism.

Global terrorism as a racial discourse. Omi Winant and Bonilla-Silva have argued that racial discourse is part of a racial hierarchy, and we must examine the discursive element of race to understand how racial hierarchies operate. However, since 9/11 limited studies on race have analyzed racial discourses that emerge from U.S. dominant narratives about West African Muslim immigrants in an era of global terrorism. This study argues that global terrorism is an example of a discursive element of race because when people talk about global terrorism they are talking about Muslims, and this makes global terrorism a form of racial discourse. In this study, global terrorism racial discourse is defined as the discursive ways in which global terrorism is talked about in an era when Muslims are racially constructed as "enemies" and "threats" to national and global security.

Newman and Levine (2006) argue that after 9/11, President George Bush's "war on terror" discourse created a "language of war," that allows U.S. institutions to enact policies and laws that strategically reproduce sovereign power and domination over Muslims (Newman and Levine 2006, 35). The "war on terror" rhetoric incites global terrorism racial discourses, that promote the "mobilization of racist and religious violence and prejudice that is directed towards the Muslim 'other'" (Newman and Levine 2006, 24). Newman and Levine argue that the "war on terror" rhetoric are "hegemonic discourses," which are based on the "discourse of race," where Muslims are constructed as the "enemy" that threatens the American "way of life" (38). When the "war on terror" rhetoric constructs Muslims as enemies, this construction incites a global terrorism racial

discourse that are mediated through news media and disseminated across different global media platforms. Therefore, the media acts as sites where global terrorism racial discourses about Muslims are framed, produced, reproduced, and disseminated globally.

Examining the media as a site of racialization, Steuter and Wills (2009), argue that in dominant news media, Muslims are framed and constructed as enemies, which "mobilizes familiar metaphors in representations that fabricate an enemy-Other who is dehumanized, de-individualized, and ultimately expendable" (Steuter and Wills 2009, 7). These metaphors are familiar stereotypes, that racially categorize Muslims as terrorists and threats to national security. Cainkar (2004), argues that this racial categorization of Muslims stems from how the media depicts Muslims as "terrorists" and "threats" to U.S. national security (Cainkar 2004, 229). That is, Muslims are racially categorized as terrorists based on the way the media assigns racial meaning to their race and ethnicity. This process of racialization contributes to the global terrorism racial discourse, because when Muslims are categorized as terrorists it generates a racial discourse about how Muslims should be perceived globally.

On the international sphere, Asogwa, Iyere, Attah (2012), argue that foreign media sensationalizes global terrorism by promoting terrorist activities in the news, which instills fear amongst Africans (Asogwa, Iyere and Attah 2012, 180). That is, global terrorism discourse in Africa is controlled through fear of Muslims terrorists by foreign news media. For instance, the global terrorism discourse is a growing concern when terrorist groups, such as Boko Haram are gaining negative attention for terrorist attacks against Muslims and Christians in Nigeria. Further, Yusha'u (2012,) argues that foreign news on Boko Haram is influenced by the "ideological stand of Western media towards Islam and Muslim" which intensified after 9/11 (Yusha'u 2012, 105). This media influence on the news in Africa shapes global perceptions of Muslims, which creates

and spreads racial discourses worldwide. As Onapajo, Uzodike and Whetho (2012) argue, global terrorism has a "transnational dimension," which transcends worldwide because "globalization permits the spread of terrorism" (Onapajo, Uzodike and Whetho 2012, 351). When we think about globalization, the issues of global politics and capitalism arise because foreign news media are driven by profits in an era of hyper-commercialism and hyper-sensationalized news about Muslims. Therefore, the globalization of terrorism is an example of a racial discourse about Muslims that travels across several nations, thus, creating transnational racial discourses. Another aspect of the globalization of terrorism is the spread of Islamophobia by the media through racial discourses in the news. Islamophobia is important to explore because it shows how the media, institutions, individual actors, and political rhetoric can spread negativity about Muslims and Islam, which can influence the transnational racial discourses about Muslims.

Regarding Islamophobia, historically, Muslims have been racialized as the inferior "other" to be feared. Early studies by postcolonial theorist, Edward W. Said's (1979), on mediated representations of Islam and western perceptions of Muslims laid the analytical foundation for studying the contemporary racialization of Muslims in the western societies. Said's (1979), work with Orientalism began in the eighteenth century, where he defined the West as Europe and the United States, and the East as Orient, especially people of Middle Eastern descent (Said 1979, 1). In 1979, Said defined Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3). In 1981, Said defined Orientalism as "an imaginative and yet drastically polarized geography dividing the world into two unequal parts, the larger, "different" one called the Orient, the other, also known as "our" world, called the Occident or the West' (Said 1981, 4). According to Said, the domination of the West and the exclusion of Arab Muslims in the U.S. was problematic for Muslims because of orientalist stereotypes of Muslims in western media

during the Iranian hostage crisis in 1979. According to Said, during the Iranian hostage crisis, he media characterized Muslims as "terrorists" and "bloodthirsty mobs," which created the perception that Muslims should be feared (Said 1981, 6). These media representations of Muslims as terrorists and blood thirty barbarians, continue to be part of the racial discourse about Muslims in contemporary western presidential rhetoric, political speeches, and news narratives, which contributes to the spread of Islamophobia. Therefore, it is important to look at recent studies that have examined how Orientalism impacts the spread of Islamophobia. This will show that the discourse about Muslims has not changed since Edward W. Said's literary contribution to the study of Orientalism.

In later studies, Burak Erdenir (2010), argues that western "Orientalist perspective fuels racism towards Muslims on the grounds that they are different, incompatible, and inassimilable because of their particular norms, standards, customs, values, ethics, and forms of socialization" (Erdenir 2010, 39). According to Erdenir (2010), this form of racism is built on Islamophobia and the rising hostility towards Muslims and Islam (28). In recent studies, Beydoun (2016), argues that Islamophobia is the new form of Orientalism because dominant discourses are rooted in racist ideologies that "positions Islam as the civilizational foil of the West" and characterizes Muslims and Islam as "inherently violent" terrorists (Beydoun 2016, 115). These characterizations of Muslims as inferior to the west and violent followers of Islam, are parallel to Said's study on Orientalist stereotypes that demonize Muslims and Islam. In similar studies, Abbas (2004), defines the term Islamophobia as the "fear or dread of Islam and Muslims," which is a political propaganda spread by the West to negatively characterize Islam and Muslims as terrorists which legitimizes the domination of Muslims (Abbas 2004, 28).

However, in contemporary studies, Beydoun (2016), argues that the definition of Islamophobia is more complex than the creation of a culture of fear and contempt for Muslims and Islam. Rather, Beydoun (2016), argues that Islamophobia is defined by three distinctive concepts namely – "private Islamophobia, structural Islamophobia and the dialectic process of Islamophobia" (Beydoun 2016, 111). First, private Islamophobia refers to individual actors who violently attack Muslims based on their suspicion of terrorism and fear of Islam and Muslims (Beydoun 2016). Second, structural Islamophobia refers to state actors that incite the fear of Islam and Muslims, through immigration policies, police profiling and surveillance monitoring of Muslims (Beydoun 2016). Third, dialectical Islamophobia is a process, where state policies target Muslims by endorsing stereotypes and "misrepresentations of Muslims widely held by private citizens," where the "presumption of guilt is assigned onto Muslims by state and private actors" (Beydoun 2016, 119). That is, Islamophobia is "rooted in understandings of Islam as civilization's antithesis perpetuated by government structures and private citizens" (Beydoun 2016, 111). Therefore, the state, individual actors, and political rhetoric influence the racial discourse about Islamophobia. These social structures should be examined, to understand how they collectively influence the circulation and mediation of anti-Muslim racism through the racial discourse of Islamophobia. Furthermore, Beydoun argues that Islamophobia incorporates Orientalist images of Muslims as "others" in political discourses, state policies and laws that shape the way Islam and Muslim identities are represented and characterized as suspicious threats to national security (1737). The "othering" of Muslims through racial discourses, influence the way Orientalist perceptions and stereotypes are formed about Muslims.

Other studies have argued that Orientalist stereotypes of Muslims contribute to the spread of Islamophobia, which incites hostile environments for Muslims. According to Beck, Charania, Al-Issa and Wahab (2017) Orientalism produces Islamophobia because "Orientalist views underlie the production, reproduction, and acceptability of Islamophobia" (Beck, Charania, Al-Issa and Wahab 2017, 59). That is, Orientalist views of Muslims and people of Arab descent, are stereotypes based on racial and religious markers used to identify Muslims, which creates a hostile environment and racial attitude towards Muslims. This hostility towards Muslims produces and reproduces Islamophobia, which is a form of racism because Muslims are racialized based on their racial and religious identities. The racialization of Muslims is centered on Orientalism within the framework of imperialism, which Said (1993) defines as "dominance and supremacy that operates within the cultural sphere and political practices" (Said 1993, 9). Essentially, imperialism is practiced in empires such as America, where a racial hierarchy is used maintain superiority in racialized social structures. Similarly, in recent studies, Abubakar and Muhammad (2019), argue that "Orientalism and Islamophobia are rooted in the development of the American empire," because the misrepresentation of Islam and Muslims as terrorists serves America's "quest for power and domination" and "imperial expansion" (Abubakar and Muhammad 2019, 86). Further, Abukakar and Muhammad argue that the spread of Islamophobia serves American political interests, because Muslims and Islam are categorized as threats and enemies that should be monitored, surveilled, and conquered; thus, allowing America to maintain power and domination over the political discourses about Muslims (91). Therefore, Islamophobia is rooted in the mechanisms of Orientalism, which is present in dominant U.S. racialized social structures.

In Europe, Islamophobia has been examined differently to understand how the discourse on global terrorism and Islamophobia influence the lives of Muslims in European regions. For instance, in Britain, Abbas (2004), argues that Islam as a religion is used by the British government to racialize Muslims, and Islamophobia is a political form of anti-Muslim racism perpetrated by media through depictions of Muslims as "evil demons", "extremist groups" and "Islamic terrorism" (Abbas 2004, 30). That is, the state as an institution and news narratives use Islamophobia to discriminate and racialize British Muslims. Similarly, Saeed (2007), argues that the representation of Islam and Muslims in British media as deviants, categorizes them as "alien others," which leads to the construction of racism and Islamophobia (Saeed 2007, 18). According to Saeed, media portrayal of British Muslims supports Orientalist stereotypes of terrorists, which alienate them from the "British way of life" (18). The way the media depicts British Muslims as evil deviants, influence British perceptions about Muslims, which creates hostility towards Muslims and impacts their interactions with Muslims.

Similarly, Modood (2005), argues that British hostility towards Islam is to blame for the tension amongst Muslims and non-Muslims in Britain. That is, there is a white and black division in Britain, which is caused by cultural racism, Islamophobia and secularism. Similarly, Abbas argues that Muslims find it difficult to integrate into core European values, such as democracy because of the demonization of Islam. For instance, post 9/11, Muslims in Britain are still experiencing hostility because the British National Party initiated a segregation plot between the "good, law-abiding Asians and Asian Muslims" (Abbas 2005, x). Muslim lives have been affected by 9/11, and it is important to examine the local, national and international consequences of the "war on terror," and the necessary social requirements of becoming a legitimate British citizen.

Furthermore, Islamophobia is a major form of racism against Muslims in Britain because Islamophobia is part of the political agenda in British politics that deems Islam as a radical religious ideology. As Modood argues, Muslims are perceived to be a threat to western societies, and Muslims suffer a double racism based on culture on race depending on their class and gender. Similarly, Erdenir (2010) argues, Europeans view Muslims as strangers who "provoke fear," because Europeans perceive Muslims to have values that are alien to the dominant group, which "alienates and segregates "Muslims from westerners (38). Though these studies describe how Islamophobia operates in different social structures, there is a gap in the literature that informs on how Islamophobia influences transnational racial discourses about West African Muslim immigrants in an era of global terrorism. This study examined how Islamophobia is operationalized by the state, news stories, groups, individual actors, and how they influence the transnational racial discourses about West African Muslims immigrants.

In regard to the politics of Islamophobia, studies on Islamophobia have examined ways in which state politics use Islamophobia to further their interests, through policies that target Muslims in European countries. Waikar (2018), argues that western depictions of Islamophobia are based on "characterizations of Islam as a hostile ideology that seeks to trigger Islamist revolutions in the Middle East and undermine Western interests in the region," and the "inspiration for global jihad against the west" (Waikar 2018, 155). Additionally, Kumar (2012), argues that historically, in Europe, "the ruling elites have constructed particular images of the Muslim enemy to advance their political ambitions," because of the "political rivalries and competing imperial agendas" between "Islam and the West" (Kumar 2012, 9). For instance, the British government uses multiculturalism politics to exclude and racialize Muslims because they practice Islam. Similarly, Abbas argues that the notion of multiculturalism in Britain rejects Islam, and Muslims because they do not conform

to British norms and values. Muslims are pressured to renounce Islam, and when Muslims refuse to denounce Islam they are blamed for their exclusion from the British way of life. Similarly, Modood argues that in Britain, multiculturalism is not focused on assimilating Muslims into British values, but focused on acknowledging the diverse cultural differences, which creates racial segregation between Muslims and white British communities. To change segregation, Abbas argues that Muslims must be integrated into British state politics that will provide protection, and resources for Muslims who have suffered discrimination and racial attacks by far-right extremists. That is, Muslims must be legitimate in the eyes of the Church and State where they are part of the society, and not "othered" based on their religious and cultural differences.

In the U.S., Kumar (2014), argues that while the media are responsible for mediating racism through news narratives and discourses on Islamophobia, there are other institutions that "serve both as conduit and creators of anti-Muslim racism" (Kumar 2014, 9). That is, the media are not solely responsible for anti-Muslim racial discourses. Therefore, Kumar argues that a structural analysis of institutions is necessary to demonstrate how "Islamophobic ideologies are produced and circulated in mainstream" discourses (9). Additionally, Kumar (2012), argues that in the U.S., anti-Muslim racism fueled by Islamophobia is more about politics and less about religion because the political agenda is to advance the "war on terror" policies that monitor and surveil Muslims (Kumar 2012, 6). For instance, Trump's administration advanced the "war on terror," and the "radical Islamic terrorism" rhetoric through racially motivated immigration policy reforms that targeted Muslims and West African Muslim immigrants, hence, the travel bans and visa restrictions on Muslim and West African countries. Similarly, Waikar (2018), argues that Trump's rhetoric spreads Islamophobia by "characterizing Islam and Muslims as a security threat

to the U.S.," and reducing "terrorism into a problem emanating from a radical variant of Islam is a global existential threat" (Waikar 2018, 169).

Trump's administration served the political interests of far-right conservatives who sought to control the narrative about Muslims and monitor the migration of Muslims and West Africans deemed to be dangerous. Similarly, on one hand, Kumar (2014) argues that far-right conservatives in the U.S. have influenced the increase in anti-Muslim racism, and they are responsible for producing and spreading Islamophobic narratives. In recent studies, Waikar argues that far-right groups in western societies have gained support from "Islamophobic political campaigns," and they "exploit the existing climate of exaggerated fear of Muslim-led terrorism by using anti-immigration Islamophobia to acquire political capital" (156). Importantly, Waikar argues that the political rhetoric of Islamophobia across western nations parallels with the "dramatic increase in Islamophobic hate crimes in the U.S. and Europe, implying that these narratives may energize hate groups to lash out against Muslims" (156).

However, on the other hand, Kumar (2014), argues that liberals equally contribute to the spread of Islamophobia, and together with far-right conservatives both political parties have the power to set the political agenda that spreads Islamophobic discourses that demonizes Muslims (10). Subsequently, Kumar (2012), argues that when "liberals use rhetoric that is similar to that of the far-right, albeit in more subtle language, it strengthens the latter's position" (Kumar 2012). For instance, Lewis (2001), argues that when powerful liberal political officials publicly support Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric, "corporate news media rarely strays from the official discourse"; instead, the news spreads Islamophobic narratives about Muslims and this incites fear and suspicion about Muslims (Lewis 2001). However, Waikar argues that the spread of Islamophobia should not be limited to only the media and political parties, because the "Islamophobia industry

refers to a web of loosely connected academics, think-tanks and entrepreneurs across the political spectrum that funds and perpetuates Islamophobia" whose narratives are shared all over the world (155). That is, the spread of Islamophobia is not limited to liberals and far-right conservatives, because Islamophobic narratives are widespread through various platforms that share public opinions about Islam and Muslims. Therefore, social structures, political institutions, media, groups and individual actors influence narratives that endorse Islamophobia. The mechanisms of Islamophobia are crucial to understand how it impacts Muslim communities. One way to understand how the state, individual actors, and political rhetoric spread Islamophobia is to examine western representations of Muslim women, the veil, head scarf and hijab. I argue that the discourse on the veil is a transnational racial discourse about Muslim women, because this discourse spreads from one nation to another through news narratives, state policies, political rhetoric, groups, and individual actors.

Regarding the representations of Muslim women and the veil, according to Waikar (2018), there are "gendered forms of Islamophobia" that inform western beliefs that "Islam is endemically patriarchal," where "Muslim men are deemed to be misogynists who perpetually police how Muslim women behave," and "the hijab and veil are labeled as grotesque manifestations of how Muslim men control what Muslim women can even wear" (155). According to Waikar, in order to save the Muslim woman from oppressive Muslim male patriarchy, the west becomes the benevolent white saviors who rescues her from one oppression to another oppressive system by "implementing policies that either limit or ban Muslim women from wearing the hijab, veil, or burkini in public spaces" in an attempt to protect secularism in the west (155). Contrary to westem ideologies and beliefs that Muslim women are oppressed and powerless, Ahmed (1992) argues that in early Islamic era, Muslim women were independent and held positions of authority, but

they were still oppressed by patriarchal structures. However, with the rise of urbanization in the Middle East, there was a shift from the "unadulterated cultural purity" of Islam to the "revitalized and reimagined Islam," which currently informs western discourses about Muslim women (Ahmed 1992, 236). In western racial discourses about Muslim women the veil, headscarf or hijab are symbols of controversy, that threaten western civilization because it represents Islam. However, in contemporary discourse about Muslim women, the veil represents resistance to westem hegemony, which incites racist attitudes towards Muslim women. Therefore, Asante (2005), argues that to understand transnational racial discourses about Muslim women and the veil, we must acknowledge that racism still exists in the form of dominant racial ideologies of superiority and inferiority (Asante 2005).

Previous studies on western representations of Muslim women and veil, have examined what the veil symbolizes and how meaning is assigned to a Muslim woman that wears a veil. On one hand, Byng (2010), argues that the veil is a symbol of national identity for Muslim women, and the veil symbolizes empowerment and a sense of belonging (Byng 2010). On the other hand, Al-Saji (2010), argues that western representations of Muslim women in a veil depicts Muslim women as being oppressed by Islam, and the western colonial "gaze" of Muslim women is that of oppression, possession, and control of the "other" (Al-Saji 2010, 886). When the veil is depicted as oppressive it hides the importance of the veil, which diminishes the religious, moral and cultural significance of wearing the veil. The significance of the veil for Muslim women is empowerment and identity, but the visibility of the veil signifies a threat in western societies, which is problematic for Muslim women who choose to wear their veils in public.

In similar studies, Mirza (2012), argues that the visibility of Muslim women wearing veils has heightened since the 9/11 attacks in the U.S. and July 7, 2005, attacks in Britain, which has

attracted negative attention to the veil that "embodies" Muslim women (Mirza 2012, 129). Further, Mirza argues that western views of the veil are associated with the oppression of the Muslim woman who is controlled by social structures that seek to unveil her body as "an act of political interests" (Mirza 2012). That is, Mirza argues that this negative attention on the veil is connected to the "war on terror" politics that contributes to the discourse on Islamophobia, which characterizes Muslim women as "barbaric Muslim others" (130). When Muslim women wear veils, they are visibly embodying the symbol of Islam and Muslim identity, which "others" them as oppressed and inferior women. The implication of "othering" Muslim women is that they are isolated, and excluded from state resources, which heightens their invisibility. The consequences of invisibility are that Muslim women will be isolated and excluded from state resources and benefits, where they will be denied access to police protection when they are racially attacked, and denied access to financial, education, housing, and infrastructural support from the state.

Furthermore, in recent studies, Zempi (2019), argues that Muslim women who wear veils are oppressed in multiple ways, and one way is through state bans on the veil, which is a form of "discrimination on grounds of religion and gender" that "dehumanizes Muslim women and leads to self-exclusion" (Zempi 2019, 2600). Importantly, state bans on the veil encourages Islamophobic racial attitudes, that incite racial attacks against Muslim women. Additionally, Zempi argues that state bans on the veil is a "sexist and oppressive law," that instills fear unto Muslim women and forces them to go under "house arrest," which excludes them from participating in daily activities or interacting with the public (2600). The implication of banning the veil is that the veil becomes criminalized as a terrorist symbol. When the veil is criminalized it legitimizes bias state policies that exclude Muslim women; it justifies racial attacks on Muslim women who visibly wear veils and it isolates Muslim women, which heightens their invisibility.

In the U.S., Muslim women who wear headscarves or hijabs, have been racially targeted because of their visibility. According to Williams and Vashi (2007), the hijab is a controversial "visible symbol of Muslim identity," which raises issues of national security in America, and due to hostility and the fear of being attacked by Americans, Muslim women are pressured not to wear their hijabs (Williams and Vashi 2007, 271). The pressure not to wear hijabs is more serious now in the U.S., because of the climate of fear Trump's administration created through harsh immigration policies and "radical Islam terrorism" rhetoric that targeted Muslims. In other studies, Dubbati (2017) argues that rather than focus on unveiling Muslim women, the focus should be on "the exploitation of the garment by Arab misogyny, Islamophobia and xenophobia," because the visibility of the veil "offends Western sensibilities" that results in the punishment of Muslim women who wear hijabs (Dubbati 2017, 435). That is, Dubbati argues that when Muslim women wear veils or hijabs, they become "visible in the context of oppressive discourses that construct it as a tool of control (misogyny) or oppression" (439). A form of this oppressive discourse is the construction of veiled Muslim women as monstrous "others," who are feared by the west. In previous studies, Calafell (2012), argues that western racist ideologies are oppressive, because women of color are constructed as monstrous cultural "others" who are shapeshifters like were-wolves; thus, making the connection between western racist ideologies and the monster imagery (Calafell 2012, 113). That is, based on western racist ideologies, women of color are perceived to be monstrous "others," who change into dangerous people, and this is an oppressive form of racial discourse that racializes women of color. In this case, Muslim women who wear veils are perceived to be dangerous people who wear of symbol of Islam, which is demonized as a radical terrorist religion. This oppressive form of racial discourse, frames veiled Muslim women as dangerous, evil and demonic terrorists who threaten American national security and liberty. For instance, westem

news narratives, have represented veiled Muslim women as suicide bombers for ISIS, which promotes the dominant narrative that Muslim women are dangerous terrorists. Therefore, in the western gaze, Muslim women that wear the veil are dangerous terrorists, which attaches a monster image on veiled Muslim women.

In recent studies, Dubbati (2017) argues that for Muslim women, the "visibility, monstrosity and, most importantly, the physicality of the Other's difference are foundational to cultural and literary narrative that parallels the metanarrative of colonialism" (436). That is, historically in western colonial dominant discourses, Muslim women were seen differently compared to white women and considered dangerous to western civilization. A major issue with western racial ideology about Muslim women is that it attaches terrorism with Islam, which impacts Muslim women who visibly wear veils to honor their religious beliefs. According to Williams and Vashi (2007), though the visibility of the veil threatens U.S. national security, the veil provides religious, cultural visibility and modesty preferences to Muslim women seeking to connect and socialize with other members of the Muslim community (Williams and Vashi 2007). Additionally, Dubbati argues that a Muslim woman has agency and she can either "transform her expected visibility as a marker of Islamic virtues or an object of Islamic victimization into a formidable presence that confronts and punishes those who exploit her image for socio-political gains" (445). The political exploitation of the veil is manifested through political rhetoric, that claim that the veil symbolizes Islam radicalism, which is a threat to western societies. This political narrative of the veil as a threat, justifies and legitimizes harsh immigration policies and national security surveillance. Despite political hostility towards the veil, the veil is significant to Muslim women because it is associated with their religious beliefs and Muslim identities, which has political implications in western societies that have large populations of Muslims. For instance,

Britain and the U.S. have a large Muslim population, and the political rhetoric that surrounds the discourse on terrorism makes some Muslim women feel unsafe to wear their veils in public, and for their safety they choose not to wear veils.

The controversy of the veil has been discussed in Britain and the U.S., and different strategies have been employed in both countries to force Muslim women to unveil and assimilate into society. Though the U.S. and Britain have criminalized the veil in different ways, both countries share the same sentiments that veiling is not an appropriate cultural symbol for acceptance and tolerance in both societies. According to Byng (2010) in Britain, the veil symbolizes "separation" and "difference," which isolates Muslims from British nationals and hinders integration (Byng 2010, 116). Further, Byng argues that post 9/11, in Britain, the veil symbolizes social disorder, which disrupts the "social harmony" and poses as a threat to the British national identity (117). Additionally, Byng argues that to protect and preserve the British ideology of freedom, equality and national identity, the British government created the multiculturalism policy (117). According to Meer, Neer and Modood (2009), the British multicultural policy was enacted to recognize and integrate ethnic and minorities, but there is a Muslim exception because of "Islamic terrorism," which prevents veiled Muslim women from assimilating and benefitting from state policies (Meer, Neer, Modood, 2009, 479 - 481). In Britain, multiculturalism debates argue that Muslim women who refuse to reject the veil, hinder their opportunities to assimilate, integrate and achieve social harmony in Britain. Their refusal to reject the veil, legitimatizes and justifies discriminatory state practices that the exclude Muslim women from state benefits and resources. Though the U.S. does not have policies that restrict or condemn the veil, there are existing U.S. racial ideologies about Islam that characterize the veil as a symbol of terrorism.

Though previous studies have examined how the media racializes Muslims through Islamophobia, there is a gap in the literature that examines how the spread of fear of Islam and Muslims influence the transnational racial discourses about West African Muslim immigrants in an era of global terrorism. This study fills this gap by showing that media narratives link terrorism to Islam, which influence and shape the way groups, individual actors and the state, contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African Muslim immigrants.

Regarding transnational racial discourses, transnational racial discourses. Previous studies on racism have addressed how racial discourses are influenced by racial hierarchies, that uphold dominant ideologies about Muslims. As Doane argues, racial discourses are forms of "rhetorical strategies" that emerge from racist ideologies, which are considered to be "global systems of thought" (256). According to Shoemaker (2004), historically, global systems of thought originated from European "racial vocabularies" about people of color that travels worldwide (Shoemaker 2004). In this study, I argue that global terrorism is an example of a racial discourse, that is made up of global systems of thoughts about Muslims that travels worldwide, which creates transnational racial discourses about Muslims.

Since I am looking at discourses that emerge about Muslims during an era of global terrorism, I argue that terrorist attacks that happen across the world contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses of Muslims. In support, Hoffman (1998) argues that "transnational terrorism" are terrorist attacks, that involve victims and perpetrators from two or more countries (Hoffman 1998). The concept of "transnational" here, captures the movement of terrorist attacks from one nation to another nation. When terrorist attacks occur, these events generate a form of racial discourse about Muslims through public discourse and news stories, which travels transnationally from one nation to another nation. Therefore, I argue that

transnational racial discourses can be the movement of discourses and stories about West African Muslim immigrants from one nation to another nation. This study defines transnational racial discourses as racial discourses about West African immigrants (Muslims/non-Muslims) that travels from one nation to another nation, across national boundaries.

Existing studies on transnationalism, argue that racism travels across nations through racist ideologies based on dominant western views of people of color, especially immigrants. Lentin (2016) argues that racism is part of the social context of transnational racial discourses, which are "ideas that travels and its spread relies on the reference to shared knowledge" about racial groups (Lentin 2016). In another study, Nowicka (2018) argues that racism is a "transnational outcome of an ongoing negotiation between two or more socio-cultural, geographical locations, in which global racist imaginaries are adapted and re-interpreted" (Nowicka 2018, 825). Global interpretations of people of color, are manifested through racist stereotypes framed by European perceptions. For instance, Nowicka argues that pre-existing European racial stereotypes of Arabs as "dangerous Other" and "fanatically Muslim" shape racial discourses about Muslims, and "the history of colonialism shapes the racial discourse about Africa as a wild continent of naked blacks who need to be civilized for their own sake" (828-829). The western and colonial perceptions of Muslims and Africans as dangerous, and untamed savages shows that racism is transnational. Therefore, is a need to explore the ways in which West African Muslim immigrants are talked about globally. This knowledge will inform studies of Black immigrant experiences with racism, exclusion and invisibility in dominant discourses. Further, this study examined the data, to find out how cultural and ethnic diversity in Black regions shape transnational racial discourses and Black immigrant identities. Transnational racial discourses influence American perceptions of

Black immigrants, shapes how they see themselves and how reevaluate their own learned experiences of being African and Black.

Regarding creating Black identities**,** existing studies on immigrant identities, argue that Black immigrants create their identities based on ethnic conflict with African Americans. Alex-Assensoh (2009), argues that Black conflict in the U.S. is "inspired by historical and contemporary manifestations of racial oppression and racial subordination and African immigrant's unwillingness to be characterized as Black or African American" (Alex-Assensoh 2009, 117). Similarly, Imoagene (2017) argues that second generation Nigerian immigrants in the U.S., are hesitant to identify as Black because they are considered to be a "different kind of black" compared to African Americans, which creates tension and forces Black immigrants to define their "blackness and distance themselves ethnically from African Americans" (Imoagene 2017, 7). In another study, Waters (2009) argues that West Indian "immigrant" identities allows them to assimilate into white spaces, and distance themselves from the stereotypes attached to African Americans. However, Waters argues that "racial barriers" affect West Indian immigrants in the same way as African Americans, because of the stigmatization of blackness in America, therefore, to become "American for West Indians entails becoming black American" which West Indians "perceive as downward mobility" (12). To maintain a higher social status in America, West Indians identify as immigrants to avoid being classified as Black Americans, but they still experience racism because they are considered Black people. Similarly, Alex-Assensoh argues that African immigrants shape their identities in the context of their "Homeland" ethnic origins, which distances them from identifying as "Black" which carries an assumption for being African American (99). On the other hand, Ogbu and Simons (1998) argue that Black identities are created based on the way Blacks migrate to the U.S., hence the terms "voluntary immigrants" (Caribbean,

Africans) who migrate on their own will and "involuntary non-immigrants" (African Americans) who were forced to migrate to the U.S. during slavery (Ogbu and Simons 1998, 164). Essentially, immigrant status plays a role in the way Black immigrants create their identities, which distinguishes them from African Americans.

In related studies, Abdullah (2009), argues that in the U.S., African immigrants create their identities by embracing their culture and traditions through cultural performance. According to Abdullah, African Muslim immigrants in New York City perform culturally through the Cheikh Amadou Bamba Day parade, which allows African immigrants to create their identities. Importantly, Abdullah argues that the Bamba Day parade, allows scholars to understand how stereotypes of terrorism, poverty and Muslim identities "intersect with race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, nationality, age or class" in the creation of Black identities (30). The intersections of race, ethnicity, gender, class and nationality explains how West African Muslim immigrants negotiate their identities, and how they feel about themselves as marginalized groups in the U.S. Regarding African Americans and their identity construction, Abdullah argues that African Americans "experience Blackness through the prism of an imagined Africa and as diasporic populations living in the West," and "African immigrants locate their Blackness through feelings of exile and against the backdrop of a postcolonial Africa" (11). However, though African Americans and West African Muslim immigrants share "a common link to Blackness," both groups have different experiences of Blackness, which creates ethnic and cultural conflicts between both groups (11). So far, different studies have shown that Black immigrants create their identities differently based on how they perceive themselves and African Americans, and how African Americans perceive Black immigrants. However, there is a missing link that explains the reason for the conflict between African immigrants and African Americans.

Other studies have argued that the conflict between African immigrants, and African Americans is based on competition for political and socio-economic benefits. For instance, Alex-Assensoh argues that African immigrants face harsher conflicts with African Americans in the U.S. due to "black intra-racial contestation over policy benefits, cultural boundaries and race-based resources in higher education and municipal politics" (100). Additionally, Imoagene argues that African immigrants benefit from affirmative action and infrastructure built from the Jim Crow era, which were originally created to benefit African Americans, and this increases tensions between African immigrants and African Americans (9). This tension creates socio-economic conflicts between both groups, and Alex-Assensoh argues that socio-economic conflict will discourage any type of "race-based alliances between African immigrants and African-Americans, given the relative socio-economic divide and lack of perceptions of linked fate among African immigrants" (104). In similar studies, Waters, Kasinitz, and Asad (2014), argue that socio-economic conflicts between African Americans and African immigrants slows down efforts for African Americans to ally with African immigrants politically (Waters, Kasinitz, and Asad 2014, 377). Further, Waters, Kasinits and Asad argue that the progress of immigrants is at the socio-economic and political expense of African Americans, and when immigrants use "mobilization strategies," this "allows them to take advantage of political opportunities and resources while simultaneously creating boundary markers between themselves and African Americans" (377). The social, economic, and political rift between African immigrants and African Americans, influence the way Black identities shaped because Black identities are created on multiple levels by complex groups of actors. That is, cultural and ethnic differences are part of the complexities of Black identities in the U.S., and social, economic, and political conflicts plays a role in the way African immigrants

and African Americans interact with each other, negotiate, and create their identities, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses.

Though existing studies argue that Black immigrants create identities due to racial, ethnic, cultural, and political conflicts between African Americans, there is relatively little information on how West African Muslim immigrants create their identities within Black regions in the U.S. Specifically, how the dominant western ideologies about Africa shapes Black discourses about West African Muslim immigrants. This study fills this gap by examining Black discourses to find out how western ideologies about Africa influence the way West African Muslim immigrants create their identities amidst cultural and ethnic diversity in Black communities. This study shows how Black discourses shape transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants.

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSNATIONAL RACIAL DISCOURSE ABOUT MUSLIMS IN NIGERIA, BRITAIN, AND THE U.S.: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

This article seeks to show how the framing of Muslims as terrorists by news media in Nigeria, Britain and the U.S. connects discourse with racialization through elite racist discourses, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourse about Muslims in an era of global terrorism. Lutz and Lutz (2013) define global terrorism as acts of terrorist incidents or events that occur all over the world, which makes "terrorism global" (Lutz and Lutz 2013). September 11, 2011 was a pivotal moment of global terrorism that led to the racialization of Muslims, and since 9/11, subsequent terrorist actions have been attributed to Islamic groups. Strong domestic and international backlash against Muslims arose in countries with sizeable Muslim populations. These populations have been racialized in the media and state policies, which impacts the lives of Muslims through employment, education, immigration, and social activities. Though scholars have analyzed the social, economic, and political conditions of Muslims in Western countries such as U.S., Britain, France, and Germany since 9/11 (Fetzer and Soper 2004; Abbas 2004: Abbas 2005; Mohood 2005: Keaton 2006), there is limited information about how elite racist discourses that emerge in news narratives about Muslims have influenced or shaped transnational racial discourse about Muslims in Europe, the U.S., and West Africa. I argue that there is a relationship between elite racist discourse and racialization that emerge in verbal language used in news media to racialize Muslims as terrorists in Nigeria, Britain, and the U.S.

Utilizing critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a methodology to analyze news media reproduction of stereotypes, and racial categorizations of Muslims as dangerous terrorists, this study explores the rhetorical discourse about Muslims in Nigeria, Britain, and the U.S. (Dijk 1993, Dijk 2000, Yusha'u 2012, Machin and Mayr 2012). The different facets of discourse that will be explored using CDA are language and ideology. I examined 36 news reports published on YouTube about Muslims that contain the root words "Muslims". I sourced my data from the social media platform YouTube because of its popularity with video production, circulation, and distribution of videos in various social contexts. According to "Similar Web" analytics reports, in terms of popularity and high traffic, YouTube ranks 2nd in the U.S. and 2nd globally (Similar Web 2019). The data were coded for themes, that represent the ongoing research questions that drive the academic social inquiry for this study. First, this article provides a synopsis of the discourses about Muslims in different countries. Second, this article provides an overview of the theoretical frameworks racial formation and intersectionality theories used to analyze the data. Third, this article utilizes direct quotes from the news stories, to illustrate the themes that emerge from the analysis to give readers a deeper understanding of the language used in the news stories.

This study argues that the state, and media are sites for the racialization of Muslims. The theoretical frameworks racial formation and intersectionality theories argues that the state is central in the racialization of Muslims because it facilitates tension at the policy level, and the news media sites manifests this racial tension (Miles and Brown 2003; Omi and Winant 1994). The role of the state and media racial domination is important because the state and the media racialize Muslims based on the western historical ideologies about Muslims. Importantly, racialization happens within communities where individual actors contribute to racial tensions. Miles and Brown (2003) refer to this practice as racialization, which is a social process where

people express and imitate already known racist ideologies that leads to racial discrimination. In support, Omi and Winant (1994) argue that state upholds dominant racist ideologies that discriminate and exclude non-whites in state policies. This theoretical framework provides an ideal context to analyze dominant racial discourses about Muslims, and how racial discourses are influenced by race, ethnicity, immigration, and religion.

The importance of this article is to show that the racialization of Muslims, may lead to anti-Muslim hate crimes. For instance, in 2017, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, reported that,

> Law enforcement agencies reported that 4,832 single-bias hate crime offenses were motivated by race/ethnicity/ancestry. Of these offenses: 2.6% were classified as anti-Arab bias. Hate crimes motivated by religious bias accounted for 1,679 offenses reported by law enforcement. A breakdown of the bias motivation of religious-biased offenses showed: 18.7% were anti-Islamic (Muslim) and 41.4%were anti-Sikh.

Further, in 2018, FBI-UCR reported that,

> Of the 1,617 victims of anti-religious hate crimes: 14.6% were victims of anti-Islamic (Muslim) bias and 4.3% were victims of anti-Sikh bias. Among single-bias hate crime incidents in 2018, there were 5,155 victims of race/ethnicity/ancestry motivated hate crime and 1.9% were victims of anti-Arab bias

Additionally, according to the New Jersey Office of Homeland Security and Preparedness (NJOHSP) 2020 Threat Assessment report, in 2019,

> Domestic extremists conducted nine attacks and were responsible for an additional 35 plots, threats of violence, and instances of weapons stockpiling, according to an NJOHSP nationwide review. Race-based extremists were responsible for 57% of all domestic terrorist incidents, highlighting a new threat focus for law enforcement.

Based on the increase in racial attacks in New Jersey, the NJOHSP projects that in 2020 "White supremacist extremists will pose a high threat to New Jersey as supporters of this ideology demonstrate their willingness and capability to carry out attacks, direct and inspire sympathizers online, and attempt to network globally" (10). These statistics show that racial attacks based on

religious and racial biases exists, and the implications are that racial bias impacts the lives of Muslims and influence transnational racial discourse about Muslims. This article sheds light on the multiple ways that Muslims are discussed around the globe, and compliments existing literature that focus on anti-Muslim racism disseminated through news media. This article was limited because it focused on only three countries, therefore, it is impossible to generalize the findings. Therefore, this study is not representative of all the dominant discourses and perceptions of Muslims all over the world. However, this study will add to the existing literature on transnational research, by showing how discourses relate with processes of racialization through elite racist discourses that influence transnational racial discourses about Muslims in Nigeria, Britain, and the U.S. Further research is encouraged to explore the transnational racial discourse about Muslims in other countries with high Muslim populations.

Methodology

The following section describes the data collection procedures used in this study. First, I will discuss critical discourse analysis methodology, that was used to determine the various transnational racial discourses about Muslims in both Muslim and non-Muslim populations. Second, the research design will be discussed to understand why a qualitative method was utilized. Third, the setting for the data collection will be established. Fourth, data collection protocol will be discussed. Fifth, transcription of the videos is defined. Sixth, the coding procedure for analyzing the data collected in explained.

Using critical discourse analysis (CDA), this study is a thematically arranged inquiry into the rhetoric, discourse, and narratives surrounding the representation of Muslims in Nigeria, Britain, and the U.S. To answer my research questions, I conducted a critical discourse analysis on verbal language and rhetoric produced by professional press online news videos. The method of analysis used in this study is critical discourse analysis because it allows researchers to examine verbal language used in general discourse about groups of people. Before we understand critical discourse analysis, we must understand discourse because it is the fundamental part of language and communication.

First, Dijk (1997), defines discourse as a "form of language, communication of beliefs (cognition) and interaction in social situations" (Dijk 1997). Further, Willig (2013), defines discourse analysis as "research that focuses on the role of language in the construction of social and psychological phenomena" (Willig 2013, 6). According to Willig, discourse analysis allows studies to understand "how the use of language is implicated in the construction of particular events," which center around "social, institutional and psychological effects of discourse and not

about the thoughts and feelings within individual speakers" (4). In contrast, Parker (1992), argues that texts and language used to analyze discourse must consider the "speech, writing and non-verbal behavior" (Parker 1992, 7). That is, thoughts and feelings matter in language because racist thoughts and feelings of individual speakers conveyed through rhetorical speeches are discourses, that portray specific power strategies used to control the dominant narrative. Therefore, I argue that discourse analysis incorporates the examination of languages and feelings of social discourses that are personal and institutional.

Discourse analysis is important because it will analyze transnational racial discourses about Muslims through text, language, political rhetoric, and power structures. I adapted Dijk's model of critical discourse analysis, which critically looks at the "role of discourse in the reproduction and challenge of dominance" (249). Dijk defines dominance as "the exercise of social power by elites, institutions that result in social inequality" (250). Further, Dijk argues that "power and dominance of groups are measured by control over access to discourse" (257). In this study, the state is considered a powerful institution that uses dominance, and control to produce and reproduce dominant racial discourses through news stories about Muslims. Therefore, state rhetoric and news stories will be analyzed to show how power, and dominance are used to construct transnational racial discourses about Muslims.

However, critics of critical discourse analysis argue that CDA has limited information about what motivates human experiences with discourse. For instance, Willig argues that "while discourse analysis is very good at generating insights into how speakers deploy discursive resources and with what effects, it not very good at telling us what motivates them to do so," because discourse analysis is more "concerned with the effects of discourse rather than with human experience" (6). To connect human experiences with discourse, Foucault (1982), argues that

discourse analysis must involve a discursive process, where "human beings are made subjects" in the discourse process (Foucault 1982, 208). In support of Foucault's argument, Willing argues, that discourse about people must include "historical subjects who are themselves constructed through and positioned within discourse" (7). That is, if we want to understand and examine human experiences through critical discourse analysis, we must include historical events of human beings in discourse. However, the question remains, can human experiences be theorized through discourse? In response, Willig argues that human experiences can be theorized through "discursive construction," based on "how discursive resources are used within particular contexts to construct interpersonal and social meanings" (7-12). That is, we must look at the way the discourse frames and positions the human experiences of Muslims within the context of the language in dominant racial discourses.

The concept of discourse analysis has become popular as a methodology in social sciences. Specifically looking at Muslims, in the previous years the scholarly field has seen the use of different methodological approach to study the discourse about Muslims. For instance, Cinalli and Giugni's (2011), work focused on how political participation of Muslim immigrants in nine European countries are influenced by "institutional discursive" elements that constrain or favor Muslims in their political environments (Cinalli and Giugni 2011, 60). Similarly, Vanparys, Jacobs, and Torrekens (2013), analyzed political debates in six European countries, and found that there are "counter discursive movements" that debunk the "overemphasized stigmatization and demonization" of Islam and Muslims in Europe, thus, urging scholars to conduct more research on the counter narratives of Muslim (Vanparys, Jacobs, and Torrekens 2013, 225).

Though studies on Muslims have used discourse analysis to examine Muslim experiences, scholarly claims have been made that discourse analysis methodology across disciplines is vague and lacks clarification and rigor in engaging the analysis of discourse (Muller 2011, Antaki, Billig, Edwards, and Potter 2003). To resolve this limitation Dijk (1990), stresses the need for "explicit and systematic analyses on serious methods and theories" (14). In support, Muller argues that though discourse analysis does not have a "how-to-do-a-discourse-analysis scheme," it is important that "different forms of discourse analysis" are "tailored to the goals of the study and to the respective concept of discourse to fully harness their analytical power" (6). To achieve this goal, Torfing (1999), argues that discourse analysts should not develop an "all-purpose technique for discourse analysis" because methodologies change based on different theories and empirical findings (Torfing 1999, 292). Therefore, the goal of this study is not to create a new method of discourse analysis but maintain a level of transparency as I utilize critical discourse analysis as a methodology. To achieve this goal, this study provides a systematic way in which critical discourse analysis plays out in transnational racial discourse scholarship. Adapting Wetherell's (2001) approach, in this study, the systematic discourse analysis approach required the "complex balancing act between the aims and scope of such an analysis, the topic of the research and the type of data" collected (Wetherell 2001, 380). Since this study is interested in how institutions frame the news about Muslims, the issue of power and dominance come into question in relation to the production and reproduction of transnational racial discourses. In recent studies, Kabir's (2019) findings show that print media produces stereotypes of Muslims, and these "media stereotypes can further marginalize vulnerable Muslim youth and that can make them susceptible to radicalization" (Kabir 2019, 97) Therefore, the systematic approach used in this study focused on the political position of dominant discourses about Muslims.

Furthermore, critical discourse analysis as a methodology serves as a tool to interrogate issues pertaining to the rhetorical production of marginality, racism, discrimination, political/economic oppression and power relations (Dijk 1987, Dijk 1991, Dijk 1993; Wodak and Reisigl 1999). The implementation of the discourse concept in critical discourse analysis, brings attention to the construction of meaning in political rhetoric and news narratives. Advocates of critical discourse analysis have argued that a discursive analysis of political rhetoric, and news narratives must consider the political and social contexts in which power is rooted in dominant social structures (Dijk 1990, Dijk 1993, Wodak and Meyer 2009). According to Dijk, a critical political approach to discourse analysis must seek to understand how "dominance, hegemony and unequal power relationships or social inequality" take place in political, and capitalist driven social structures (Dijk 1993). Importantly, Dijk (1993), argues that critical discourse analysis is interested in addressing social issues, such as racism with the goal of bringing change through critical understanding of how "power elites enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice" (252). Therefore, Dijk (1993), argues that a critical discourse analyst must use the social and political analysis approach, where the analyst explicitly outlines the goals, standpoints and philosophies of the research interests that will be used to develop a sociopolitical analytical approach to hold "those responsible for the perversion in the reproduction of dominance and inequality" (253).

Subsequently, using a sociopolitical analytical approach in CDA has an advantage because this methodology keeps a division between discourse and social/power relationships, culture and economy (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, 28-29). Further, Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter (2000), argue that this division between discourse and social/power/culture/economy, allows critical discourse analysts to develop the concept of analysis that facilitates the connection between

language or discourse and social/power/cultural structures (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter 2000). That is, critical discourse analysis creates a relationship between language or discourse and social structures, where dominant ideologies are produced in attempts to create dominant political rhetoric that governs society. According to Dijk (2001), the creation of this relationship between discourse and social structures, allows critical discourse analysts to interrogate institutions that use social power to control and influence public opinion about marginalized groups (Dijk 2001).

In addition to Dijk's CDA method, this study used Machin and Mayr's (2012), CDA strategy to analyze texts and language in the data collected. First, Machin and Mayr agree with Dijk's (1993), argument that "social relations of power are present in texts both explicitly and implicitly" (249). Second, like Dijk's stance on power and domination, Machin and Mayr (2012), argue that CDA is a method used to understand the "interrelationship" between power and ideology in texts and language because "power relations are transmitted and practiced through discourse" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 4). That is, CDA can be used to examine how power relationships are operationalized and conveyed in dominant discourses. Machin and Mayr argue that we must look at how language, power and ideology interrelate in the production of discourses.

According to Machin and Mayr, language can produce and "reproduce social life" because language is a "vehicle of communication, persuasion and the social construction of power and domination" by social structures (24). Importantly, Machin and Mayr argue that the power of language is produced by people in power, and people who believe that social structures legitimately govern society. For instance, we have the power to elect state officials because we believe that they will serve our best interests in their governance. However, the power we bestow on state officials can become problematic because of the powerful influence their language and political rhetoric have on people who believe in them. This shows that the use of language in

discourse is powerful within racialized social structures, and state rhetoric must be examined to understand how language shapes public discourse and perceptions. Therefore, Machin and Mayr argue that critical discourse analysis looks at how language operates within dominant groups who "succeed in persuading subordinate groups to accept the moral, political, cultural values and institutions" of dominant racial structures (24).

Further, Machin and Mayr argue that when we analyze power, we must also look at how ideologies are formed because ideologies are "important means by which dominant forces in society can exercise power subordinate and subjugated groups" (25). According to Machin and Mayr, ideologies are opinions or views that people have about the world, and critical discourse analysis can be used to "describe the way that the ideas and values that comprise these ideas reflect particular interests on the part of the powerful" (25). Importantly, CDA seeks to find out whose interests are being served when dominant ideologies are used to influence public opinion, and policies that impact people with the least power in the social structure. For instance, when western news stories show more depictions of Muslims as terrorists, and less depictions of white-collar crimes by rich corporations, Machin and Mayr would argue that this "ideology characterizes the way that certain discourses become accepted and obscures the nature of our unequal societies which prevents us from seeing alternatives" (25). That is, when western dominant ideologies of Muslims are depictions of terrorists these representations become the accepted ideology of Muslims, which does not allow diverse opinions about Muslims to emerge from popular discourses.

To understand how western representation influences public discourse about Muslims, I utilized Machin and Mayr's "representational strategies in language" CDA method to analyze the data. Machin and Mayr define representational strategies in language as a method used to describe

how the "communicator's choice of language is used to represent individuals and groups of people which draws attention to their identity that is associated with certain kinds of discourses," and with CDA we can analyze the choice of language by placing "people in the social world to highlight certain aspects of identity we wish to draw attention to" (77). For instance, when the news reports that - a Nigerian Muslim woman was arrested for committing birth tourism fraud and terrorism in Texas – the attention is drawn to her "Nigerian" and "Muslim" identities, which reinforces U.S. immigration discourses that Nigerian Muslims are dangerous fraudulent immigrants who should be banned from migrating to the U.S. According to Machin and Mayr, specifying her Nigerian Muslim identity "locates the story in a news frame emphasizing" her "otherness," which makes the Nigerian Muslim woman part of the immigration problems in the U.S. (78). On the other hand, the news report could have simply stated – a mother of three boys was arrested for committing fraudulent acts in Texas – This version removes any type of "othering" or ethnic identity to the person accused of committing a crime. Therefore, representational strategies in language is a useful method used in CDA to examine texts and language produced by the news media.

Furthermore, Machin and Mayr argue that the way individuals and groups are represented through discourse shapes the way they are perceived, and the choice of language portrays "othered" groups "in ways that tend to align us alongside or against them" (104). For instance, political rhetoric or news stories can either turn us "for" or "against" Muslims. Therefore, Machin and Mayr argue that we must look at how texts, and languages "create opposites to make events and issues appear simplified in order to control their meaning" (78). For instance, texts and language used in news stories refer to Muslim terrorists, and news stories are controlled by powerful media conglomerates that use the news to creates opposites between Muslims and non-

Muslims. Therefore, we should look at how Muslims are being "referred" to through text and language, hence, the creation of "referential strategies".

Machin and Mayr define referential strategies as ways "we perceive people and their actions" (79). For instance, when a Muslim man or woman are found guilty by the law or by popular opinion, news reports will "refer" to them as terrorists, savages, Islamists and evil because they endanger the safety of American mothers, fathers, daughters, and sons. In this case, Muslims are referred to as terrorists, but the innocent victims are referred to as mothers, fathers, daughters, and sons, which dehumanizes Muslims and creates opposites that will turn people against Muslims. Subsequently, Machin and Mayr argue that the creation of opposites leads to an "us" versus "them" dichotomy, which "aligns us alongside or against particular ideas" (84). The importance of using representational and referential strategies is that both CDA methods will show how language is used to position Muslims as "others" in elite racist discourses.

While Machin and Mayr argue that critical discourse analysis is useful in connecting discourse with social power, other studies have argued that CDA does not connect texts to dominant ideologies and power relations, neither are texts rooted in the social conditions of the production and reproduction of racism (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). On contrary, Dijk's work on CDA argues that critical discourse analysis is designed to interpret and interrogate the use of domination and power embedded in elite racist discourses that produce and reproduce racism, especially through political rhetoric and news media. According to Schegloff (1997), another critique of CDA, is that there is a possibility of analytical bias if the analyst interprets the data based on their concerns and personal political points of view. That is, Schegloff argues that researchers who use political analysis run the risk of using their authority to analyze the data based on their views on politics and power relations, which can lead to bias in the findings (Schegloff

1997). To resolve this issue, CDA analysts must develop a political distance approach to prevent them from making personal judgements, and political implications that might jeopardize the analysis and findings. Importantly, Muller suggests that analysts must maintain a "technical discipline with rules and regularities of the construction of texts, syntactic and sematic schemata interaction" with the data to avoid analytic bias (24).

I have explained my CDA approach to my analysis and organized the platform to engage and develop a CDA methodology. My study seeks to improve methodological transparency in the way CDA is utilized in discourse scholarship.

Regarding the research design, this study is choosing to use qualitative methods because qualitative research can help researchers understand the world by observing and immersing themselves in different cultures of study. Qualitative research allows us to study what we are interested in while we keep an open mind to new understandings. According to Tracy (2013), qualitative methods allow the researcher to concentrate on understanding relationships between cultures, organizations, and mediated settings (Tracy 2013, 6-7). According to Tracy, the process of understanding relationships requires patience and time, therefore, qualitative inquiry is for the researcher who is willing to do the following: Commit to extensive time in collecting extensive data, engage in the complex, time-consuming process of data analysis through the ambitious task of sorting through large amounts of data and reducing them to a few themes or categories (Tracy 2013). This period for most researchers can be lonely and isolating while they struggle and ponder on the data. The task is challenging, especially because the database consists of complex texts and images. According to Tracy, the following steps are necessary to help the researcher overcome the challenges of qualitative research – first, initiate the research question; second, select the data;

third, collect the data; fourth, conduct the data analysis, and write the conclusion of the research (Tracy 2013).

Regarding the setting, the data for this study was obtained from publicly available media content (news stories) on YouTube. The rationale for choosing these sites is based on the relevance of the contents.

Regarding the data collection process, I examined 36 news stories published between 2014 and 2020 from Nigeria, Britain and the U.S. about Muslims that contain the root word "Muslims." I selected this period to observe how the news about Muslims has been narrated over time, to find out if the news has changed or stayed the same in the last six years. These news stories are produced and published on three popular professional news organizations YouTube channels namely, Channels Television, CNN, and BBC. Channels Television is a popular award-winning Nigerian 24-hour live news, and media television channel based in Lagos, Nigeria that produces all its news content. The Channels Television YouTube channel has over 800, 000 subscribers. CNN is an American news-based television channel that is popular for being a 24-hour cable news channel, that produces all its news content. The CNN YouTube channel has over 8 million subscribers. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is a British public service broadcaster located Westminster, London, and known as one of the world's oldest national broadcasting organizations that produces all its news content. The BBC YouTube channel has over 5 million subscribers.

I obtained my data from the social media platform YouTube because of its popularity with video production, circulation, and distribution of videos in various social contexts globally. According to "Similar Web" (2019) analytics reports, in terms of popularity and high traffic, YouTube ranks 2nd in the U.S. and 2nd globally (Similar Web 2019).

The data identified on these professional YouTube news channels, are news stories that report on terrorism, and sentiments about Muslims. The news stories are relevant because they provide useful information on how Muslims are talked about in Nigeria, Britain, and the U.S. The justification for choosing data from YouTube, is that YouTube is a powerhouse for the dissemination of global information, which reaches a wide range of audience through television and mobile devices. Further, according to Pew Research Center (2012), an advantage of news stories produced on YouTube by professional news channel is that "a complex, symbiotic relationship has developed between citizens and news organizations on YouTube, a relationship that comes close to the continuous journalistic "dialogue" many observers predicted would become the new journalism online" (Pew Research Center 2012).

However, there are limitations to this study for news stories produced and published on YouTube channels. First, political and media frame slants in each country can influence news sources and the way they are produced and disseminated globally. As Altschull (1984) argues, "the content of the press is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the press" (Altschull 1984, 254). That is, whoever owns and controls the media can tilt news stories in their favor. For instance, Gever, Ukonu and Oyeoku (2018), argue that there is a "significant relationship between media ownership and sources of stories, frames and slants that influence media reports on restructuring agitations in Nigeria" (Gever, Ukonu and Oyeoku 2018, 131). Further, based on Levi's (2018), research findings on slanted images, "CNN provided some of the most Democrat-slanted visual coverages" in news stories (Levi 2018, 6). On the contrary, in their study Crawford and Vardges (2018), found that BBC "uses more Conservative phrases and they spent more time on the Conservative-leaning topics" (Crawford and Vardges 2018, 20-22). Though issues of political and media frame slants may arise with professional news organizations

online, this study did not conduct interviews with the news editors from Channels Television, CNN or BBC to find out how news stories are sourced and selected for production. This study neither sought the opinions of YouTube audience on how they perceive the news sources, frames and political slants on Muslims; nor, did this study analyze the YouTube comment section on each news channel to understand how the audience interprets the news stories about Muslims. The limitation for not obtaining further information from news editors, owners or the audience is that my analysis will have limited explanation for the motivation or reasons for the selecting news stories on Muslims, and how the audience perceive Muslims.

Second, it is important to recognize the limitation with using online data in visual format. The limitation has to do with the study not being able to offer estimations about motivation and reasons for why the news stories were selected for publication. My first concern was to determine how much data would be collected from the YouTube news reports. As Jewitt (2012), argues, though YouTube videos are increasingly common now for social science research, there are several issues that may arise, such as, our need to "understand the history of a video, its context of production, its original purpose and audience, and how they are embedded in the video as artefact, as well as what is missing in the video" (Jewitt 2012, 3). That is, Jewitt argues that the protocol for analyzing YouTube videos can be overwhelming because there is no "universal right amount" of video data to collect; therefore, the "collection of video data needs to be planned and managed with analysis in mind" to avoid the collection of unnecessary data (18). Therefore, it is the researcher's discretion on the amount of video data needed to accomplish the goal of the research. This study employed Jewitt's "deductive approach" to collecting data because it requires the researcher to have "a strong theory and clear research questions, which involves creating datasets and systematically sampling from it to examine specific research questions" (20). In this study, the

criteria for collecting the data from YouTube news stories was based on the research questions and theoretical approach to racial formation/intersectional theories.

In the data collection process, I selected three research questions with racial formation/intersectional theories guiding my selections. The research questions that shaped the inquiry for this study and guided the data are,

- How does the framing of Muslims by news media in Nigeria, Britain and the U.S. contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourse about Muslims in an era of global terrorism?
- What dominant discourses in news stories emerged about West African Muslims in an era of global terrorism, and how the discourses compare to discourses about Middle Eastern Muslims?
- How does the dominant discourse about terrorism impact West African Muslim immigrants in the popular discourse?

In total I selected 36 news stories; 12 from Nigeria, 12 from Britain and 12 from the U.S. that related to the research questions. First, I located the YouTube website at www.youtube.com, and I typed "Channels TV" in the search engine; when the page appeared, I typed the root word "Muslims" in the search box and 509 results were found. Using the research questions to guide my search, I chose 12 videos that represented the research interests of this study. Second, I typed "BBC" in the YouTube search engine; when the page appeared, I typed the root word "Muslims" in the search box and 331 results were found. Using the research questions to guide my search, I chose 12 videos that represented the research interests of this study. Third, I typed "CNN" in the YouTube search engine; when the page appeared, I typed the root word "Muslims" in the search box and 433 results were found. Using the research questions to guide my search, I chose 12 videos that represented the research interests of this study. When all 36 videos were selected, I began the

process of transcribing the videos into text format. In the next section, I will describe my transcription process.

Regarding the transcription procedure, all 36 videos were chosen for full transcription. The selected videos were in English, so I did not need to translate any foreign languages. I translated each video verbatim directly from the speakers and narrators. I typed up the transcription into a word document on the computer. After I transcribed all 36 videos, I double checked the videos for accuracy to make sure that I included all the important facts in the notes. When I completed the transcription, I began the coding process to group the data into themes that were related to the research questions.

Regarding the coding process, I developed a coding system based on the research questions to categorize the themes present in the news stories, and I recorded the frequency of the themes. According to Barron and Engle (2007), it is beneficial to develop a coding scheme from the research questions because the study "benefits from iterative cycles of work, distributed expertise, and moving across different levels of analysis" (Barron and Eagle 2007, 34). First, I printed the transcribed data so I could code directly on the transcripts. Second, I used different color markers to highlight new themes as I wrote in the margins of the transcripts. Third, after the coding was completed and themes emerged, I selected a table from the word document with two columns to write the research question on the left side and code the themes on the right side. I repeated this process for all six research questions. These processes yielded sets of thematic codes that were broken down to core themes, sub-themes, and clusters of codes. After I completed the process, I revisited each step to ensure that there were no discrepancies with the research questions, theoretical framework, and method of analysis. After the coding was completed and themes were recorded, I proceeded to outline the findings, which I will discuss in the next section.

Regarding the findings, when the coding process was completed, three core themes emerged, namely, "Climate of fear, anger, and anxiety in the era of President J. Trump," "Islamophobia the spread of hate," and "The invisibility of West Africans in the U.S. and visibility of terrorism in Nigeria". The themes that emerged were linked back to the research questions: How does the framing of Muslims by news media in Nigeria, Britain and the U.S. contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourse about Muslims in an era of global terrorism. What dominant discourses in news stories emerged about West African Muslims in an era of global terrorism, and how the discourses compare to discourses about Middle Eastern Muslims? How does the dominant discourse about terrorism impact West African Muslim immigrants in the popular discourse? In the following section, the analysis will focus on interpreting the three core themes using critical discourse analysis strategies.

Analysis

The goal of this article is to show how discourse relates to racialization by examining how elite racist discourses racialize Muslims in news stories. I found that the news media in Nigeria, Britain and the U.S. operate as sites for the racialization of Muslims, which contributes to the construction of a transnational racial discourse about Muslims. Based on the findings, three core themes emerged that show how news media shapes elite racist discourses about Muslims in Nigeria, Britain, and the U.S. In this section, critical discourse analysis (CDA), will be used to situate the core themes within a theoretical framework that explains the data in connection with the research questions. This study employed Dijk's (1993), CDA methods to examine elite racist discourses that play a role in shaping transnational racial discourses about Muslims. Additionally, this study employed Machin and Mayr's (2012) CDA strategies to analyze the language in the data. I used representational strategies to examine how Muslims are represented through language, and how it draws attention to their identity and shapes perceptions about their religion. Further, I looked at how Muslims are being "referred" to through language by using the "referential strategy," which examines the way people are perceived by their actions. In the next section, I will analyze the theme "Climate of fear, anger, and anxiety in the era of President Donald J. Trump".

The first theme is "Climate of fear, anger, and anxiety in the era of President Donald J. Trump". In the post 9/11 climate, there have been negative portrayals of Muslims as terrorists in news stories, but sometimes we see news stories that capture the experiences of Muslims struggling to navigate their lives through tough immigration policies and racial politics. The core theme, "climate of fear, anger and anxiety in the era of President Donald J. Trump," captures the experiences of Muslims in the U.S. through news stories shared by CNN.

Examining CNN in the United States of America, the data shows that on October 17, 2016, CNN shared a story titled *"Being Muslim and American in the year of Donald Trump,"* and CNN reporter MJ Lee (2016), interviewed Muslim residents and members of the House of Representatives for Minneapolis, Minnesota. MJ Lee (2016), asked Congresswoman IIhan Omar, who was a candidate for Minnesota House of Representatives at the time of the interview in 2016, the question,

> What kind of things have you heard from Muslim Americans in your community about Donald Trump and his campaign?

In her response, Congresswomen Omar states,

> You can't get past the fact that we are "triple minority", we are immigrants, we are Muslims, and we are Black.

In Trump's racialized social structure, Congresswoman Omar she sees herself as a "triple minority," where her race (Black), religion (Islam) and immigrant status intersect to create unequal discriminatory attitudes against her and Muslim Americans. As Crenshaw (1976) argues, we cannot look solely at a woman's race, or gender to determine her level of discrimination because we will ignore the specific challenges that her group encounters, therefore, we must look her race, gender, religion, and immigration to determine the ways discrimination hinder her economic, social and political upward mobility. Congresswoman Omar's "triple minority" concept is highly significant in this study because it shows the racial ethnic position of African Muslim immigrants within racialized social structures. By identifying as a "triple minority" Congresswoman Omar is vocalizing that her race, religion, immigrant intersect to oppress and discriminate against her in U.S. racialized political social systems.

Within racialized social systems the dominant discourse about Muslims, Blacks and immigrants of color are shaped by western ideologies, which are manifested through elite racist

discourses. These elite racist discourses have shaped the way African Muslim immigrants are perceived by politicians and the public. During his regime, Trump enforced existing dominant racist ideologies in his political rhetoric about Muslims and Africans that depict them as dangerous terrorists. Therefore, Dijk (1993), argues that we must look at the role "power, dominance and social inequality" play in the production and reproduction of elite racist discourses that shape mental representation of Muslims (257). According to Dijk, elite racist discourses are produced based on a model, and this model or frame of mind is our mental representation of a subject. This model is our mental representation of Muslims, which are shaped by elite racist discourses that emanate from dominant western ideologies and political rhetoric about Muslims. For instance, when Trump refers to Muslims as terrorists, and Africans as immigrants from a "shithole" continent he is creating a "model" for Americans to emulate. Therefore, Trump's representations of African Muslim immigrants shape the way elite racist discourses are formed about them.

For instance, according to the national public radio (NPR) news online, Congresswomen Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, Ayanna Pressley of Massachusetts, and Rashida Tlaib of Michigan, popularly known as "The Squad," accused Trump of "stoking white nationalism" through his racist tweets (Allyn NPR, 2019). Further, NPR reports that on July 14, 2019, Trump responded to Representatives Cortez, Omar, Pressley and Tlaib's accusations in this tweet,

> Go back and help fix the totally broken and crime infested places from which they came. So interesting to see 'Progressive' Democrat Congresswomen, who originally came from countries whose governments are a complete and total catastrophe, the worst, most corrupt and inept anywhere in the world (if they even have a functioning government at all), now loudly and viciously telling the people of the United States, the greatest and most powerful Nation on earth, how our government is to be run.

The language used in Trump's tweet is an example of an elite racist discourse. Dijk (1993) argues that this language links dominance and discourse, where the "production of discourse

depends on the speaker's mind set" (Dijk 1993). In this case, Trump represents this "speaker mind set" because he is the producer of elite racist discourses that targets people of color, Muslims, and immigrants such as Congresswomen Ocasio-Cortez (Peurto Rican immigrant), Omar (African Muslim immigrant), Pressley (African American) and Tlaib (Palestinian Muslim immigrant). It is important to note, that all the Congresswomen are women who fall into a racial category that Trump targets in his racist speeches, and the implication for producing elite racist discourse is that Trump shapes and influences American perceptions of women of color, people of color, Muslims, and immigrants, which can have a negative impact on their lives in the U.S. It is important to address the role racism and sexism play in Trump's patriarch oppression of Congresswomen Ocasio-Cortez, Omar, Pressley and Tlaib because their gender as women intersects with their race, which positions them at a disadvantage in Trump's oppressive racialized social structure. This shows that elite race discourses are racist and sexist towards women of color, which shows a relationship between discourse, racism, and sexism.

Further, Dijk (1993) suggests that discourse "production and interpretation are based on models, that is, mental representations of experiences, events or situations as well as the opinions we have about them" (258). For instance, in Trump's tweet, his elite racist discourse frames Ocasio-Cortez, Omar, Pressley and Tlaib as "foreigners" who migrated to the U.S. from "crime infested corrupt countries" that lacked civilized governments unlike the U.S., which is the "greatest and most powerful Nation on earth" (Allyn, NPR, 2019). Utilizing Machin and Mayr's (2012) "referential strategies," Trump is using his language to influence the way Americans perceive the Congresswomen by referring to them as lower-class citizens from lower class countries (Machin and Mayr 2012, 79). In his tweet, Trump refers to the Congresswomen as "they" and refers to the U.S. as "our" government, which creates an "us" versus "them" dichotomy about Ocasio-Cortez

who is a third generation Puerto Rican, Pressley who is an African American and Omar and Tlaib who are Muslim immigrants; specifically, Omar who is an African Muslim immigrant. By referring to the Congresswomen as "them," Trump is "othering" Ocasio-Cortez, Omar, Pressley and Tlaib as inferior people who do not belong in his in-group political racial hierarchy. Therefore, the representation of the Congresswomen as lower-class citizens, is a strategy Trump uses to devalue their race, religion, and immigrant status. The language that Trump uses to describe Ocasio-Cortez, Omar, Pressley and Tlaib, creates a mental "model" for Americans to racialize people who are Black/African, Muslim and immigrants, thus, "triple minorities". This shows a relationship between discourse and racialization because the Congresswomen are being racialized through Trump's verbal language expressed through his rhetoric which are elite racist discourses.

Furthermore, Trump uses this "model" to "represent" the Congresswomen as inferior "others". According to Machin and Mayr's CDA "representational strategies," the "communicator's choice of language is used to represent individuals and groups of people which draws attention to their identity that is associated with certain kinds of discourses" (77). For instance, when Trump told the Congresswomen to go back to their "crime infested corrupt countries," he represented them as poor, criminals and corrupt inferior "others," which can turn Americans against the Congresswomen. Machin and Mayr argue that racist political rhetoric, can turn one group against another group because language can "create opposites" (78). Trump's tweet is a racist political rhetoric with the potential of turning Americans against Black/African Muslim immigrants, thus, creating opposites. Both referential and representation strategies, show that Trump's elite racist discourses are produced and reproduced based on his mental representation of Black/African Muslim immigrants as people from "crime infested corrupt" countries. Therefore,

dominant racist structures produce, and reproduce elite racist discourses through negative mental representations of Black/African Muslim immigrants.

This is an example of an elite/dominant speaker abusing power and controlling the language with the intent to manipulate public perception of Black/African Muslim immigrants. The implication here is that Trump's racist political rhetoric are consumed worldwide, and negative mental representations of Black/African Muslim immigrants as poor corrupt criminals shapes the way Americans perceive them. Therefore, dominant racist structures dominate the production and reproduction of elite racist discourses by manipulating the way information is disseminated, thus, controlling the discourse about Black/African Muslim immigrants.

In my CDA analysis, I have demonstrated that dominant racist structures use power and control to produce and reproduce elite racist discourses through negative mental representations of Black/African Muslim immigrants. This shows that discourses relate to racialization because racism is produced through elite racist discourses. In this section, I will use racial formation theory to examine the process of racialization. To understand how the state and people engage in racialization, I will examine race as a social process on the social structure and individual levels.

Race is a social process, where the state and individual actors find meaning in racial identities, which changes over time and attracts a new type of racism. As Omi and Winant argues, racism is flexible and does not stay the same because there are different interpretations of state policies and individual interactions that impact racialized groups. Therefore, Omi and Winant's racial formation theory argues that the social processes of racialization can be examined and understood through the macro, meso and micro levels of interactions.

On the macro level, Omi and Winant's (1994) racial formation theory, suggests that the social structure and everyday experiences of people are connected in the shaping and re-shaping

of racial categories. According to Omi and Winant (1994), "racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed; it is the process of historically situated projects in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized; it is linked to the evolution of hegemony, the way in which society is organized and ruled" (Omi and Winant 1994, 55-56). That is, on the macro level, dominant social structures place people of color into racial categories based on historical processes of racialization against them.

For instance, Trump's degrading tweet to Congresswomen Ocasio-Cortez, Omar, Pressley and Tlaib, is an example of a social process of racialization on the macro level because he racially categorized them as an inferior people from "crime infested corrupt" countries. This is how Trump perceives them because Trump's ideas about the Congresswomen are informed by westem ideologies that are embedded in dominant racist structures that place Blacks, Muslims, and immigrants in racial categories through the social process of racialization. Omi and Winant (1994) argue that racialization is an ideological process through which the "shifting meaning of race are produced by the practices of various social groups" such as the state and individual actors (22). That is, Ocasio-Cortez, Omar, Pressley and Tlaib are racialized based on how state officials racially categorize them as inferior based on their race, religion, and immigrant status.

While I agree that on the macro level race, religion, and immigration intersect in the social process of racialization of the Congresswomen, I argue that in a capitalist society, racial categories are also formed along citizenship lines, where racial relationships, racialization and racial categorization are based on class and racial differences along racial hierarchical lines. For instance, Miles (1988) argues that racialization relates to class and capitalism because "the capitalist world economy draws territorial boundaries and constructs citizenship as a legal category which sets boundaries for human mobility" (Miles 1988, 438). That is, class and racial differences are

regulated in a capitalist society. The U.S. is a capitalist society that operates as racialized social systems, and Trump maintains a racial hierarchy by creating boundaries that "other" and racialize immigrants who migrate from impoverished countries.

In support, Bonilla-Silva (1997) argues that racialized social systems, such as the U.S., are racial hierarchies "in which economic, political, social and ideological levels are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories" (Bonilla-Silva 1997, 469). That is, poor immigrants are racialized based on social, economic, and political racial categories formed through U.S. racial hierarchies. These racial hierarchies place the elite, rich, wealthy people at the top and places the poor immigrants at the bottom. In this case, Trump's tweet is a dominant racist ideology that places Americans at the top of racial hierarchy and places immigrants from impoverished countries at the bottom based on class and racial differences.

In addition to class and racial differences, I argue that ethnic differences play a role in the way Black/African Muslim immigrants are placed in racial categories on the macro level. The fact that Omar is a Black/African immigrant from Somalia, East Africa, suggests that there is an ethnic factor associated with her experiences with racialization. Miles Brown (2003) argues that ethnicity and cultural differences play roles in how immigrants are placed in racial categories. Similarly, Miles and Brown (2003), argue that ethnic groups are placed in categories based on their "biological, cultural or political" differences, and when "biological features are signified we speak of racialization as a specific modality of ethnicization" (Miles and Brown 2003, 99). In Omar's case, ethnicization is a process of racial categorization based on cultural and ethnic differences.

Omar's ethnicity as a Black/African Muslim immigrant from East Africa, played a role in the way Trump racially categorized her as an inferior "other" who does not fit into Trump's racial hierarchical order. Additionally, the issue of inferiority arises because Trump perceived Omar to

be an inferior Black/African immigrant compared to Americans. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992), argue that inferiority plays a role in how immigrants are categorized through the process of inferiorization, which is the process of exploitation, exclusion, and the "othering" of immigrants as inferior (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, 2). Black Muslim immigrants are considered ethnically different and inferior people, who are "othered" by racialized social systems that strive to maintain racial hierarchies. Therefore, on the macro level, the processes of ethnicization, inferiorization and racialization are happening simultaneously because race, ethnicity, religion, and immigrant status are components of Black Muslim immigrant identities that makes them targets for racism.

In this section, I have demonstrated that on the macro level, Trump's elite racist discourses racialize Muslims, which creates a climate of fear for minorities, especially "triple minorities," who live on the edge because they are targeted for being Black/African, Muslim and immigrants. In the next section I will examine how Trump's era impacts Muslims on the micro level.

On the micro level, racism is processed through our daily interactions with one another, and our lived experiences as racial groups. Importantly, racial processes on the micro level are influenced by the macro level because racial categories are formed by racialized social structures to legitimatize individual interactions, social policies and political agendas that racialize Muslims. In this section, I will examine CNN news stories to show how the process of racialization occurs on the macro and micro levels.

On the micro level, Omi and Winant (1994) argue that racial categories occur at multiple levels including individual actors, which means that ordinary people can form racial categories about Muslims. In the data, I found that Trump's elite racist discourses shape and influence the way Americans racialize Muslim women who wear head scarfs. Here, Trump's position as a presidential figure represents the macro level, which influence American perceptions of Muslim

women on the micro level. The implication here for Muslim women who wear head scarfs is that Muslim women live in fear of racial attacks by Americans. For instance, on November 16, 2016, CNN shared a news story titled "Muslim woman: I don't feel safe wearing my head scarf" (CNN 2016). This news story was about a Muslim woman named Alaa Basatneh, who was a justice writer at Fusion net. In this story, Basatneh expressed her concerns about the rise of hate crimes against Muslim women when Trump won the election in 2016. Due to the rise of hate crimes, she no longer feels safe wearing her head scarf in public. During the interview, CNN anchor, Carol Costello (2016), asked Basatneh several questions.

> Carol Costello: I noticed that you are wearing a hijab today, but do you normally wear it and why is important that you are wearing it today?
>
> Alaa Basatneh: I wear a hat because it is no longer safe to walk on the streets with a head scarf on.
>
> Carol Costello: Tell me why you feel that way?
>
> Alaa Basatneh: I'll like to share an incident that happened, a couple of days ago I was in a hospital in Miami and I sat down, I was wearing my head scarf and I went into the waiting room and sat down next to an older white guy and there was an empty seat between us, so he took out his pocket knife and sat it next to me and I felt very threatened and I was shocked and I was waiting to be stabbed just for the fact that I was wearing a head scarf. He then took his weapon closed it, put it in his pocket and walked past me and said, "deport them all". With such incidents happening to Muslim women wearing a head scarf on the streets and on daily matters, it is no longer safe, and I don't know how long it is going to last.
>
> Carol Costello: Is there anything President elect Trump can say that will ease your mind that he is not anti-Muslim?
>
> Alaa Basatneh: President elect Trump told Anderson Cooper a couple of months back that he thinks that Islam hates us and I don't know what is going to heal that wound because he really opened a large wound within the Muslim community and to me personally he needs to apologize for what he has been saying, and to reassure the Muslim community that we will be safe because I don't know when I will be able to walk on the streets with my head scarf back on again.

This shows a relationship between the U.S. racial social structure and Americans because the white man said, "deport them all," which resonates with Trump's elite racist discourses embedded in immigration policies that ban and demand for the deportation of Muslims. Trump's political rhetoric demonize Muslims, and this shows that Trump's elite racist discourses about Muslims influence the way Americans perceive and interact with Muslims. Therefore, elite racist discourses about Muslims shape the way individual actors racialize Muslims on the micro level.

Another observation is that during their non-verbal interactions, the white man placed a knife on the seat between them to prevent her from seating close to him. This non-verbal behavior can be interpreted as the white man creating racial, moral, and cultural boundaries with a Muslim woman. The head scarf is a signifier of Muslim identity, and a symbol of radical Islam to Americans, which makes Basatneh a target for this type of racial hostility. Basatneh's experience shows the hostility Muslim women who wear scarfs encounter in their daily interactions with Americans. Therefore, I argue that he is creating racial, cultural, and moral boundaries based on how he perceives her as a threat. According to Michèle Lamont et al., (1996), "individuals will draw cultural and moral boundaries based on structural positions" that use class and race as predictors of how these boundaries are constructed (Lamont et al 1996, 31). That is, cultural boundaries are drawn when one group perceives its culture to be superior to the inferior group. Likewise, moral boundaries are drawn when a superior group perceives the inferior group as having low moral religious standards. In this case, Basatneh's head scarf is a public signifier of her Muslim identity, which the white man perceives to be threat to his safety. The implication here is that the knife threatened her safety, which made her feel unsafe to wear her veil in public.

In her interview, Basatneh blamed Trump for creating a climate of fear for Muslims because in one of his speeches he said that "Islam hates us" (CNN 2016). On March 9, 2016, CNN news journalist Anderson Cooper asked Trump the question,

> Cooper: Do you think Islam is at war with the West?
> Trump: I think Islam hates us. There is something there, there is tremendous hatred there we have to get to the bottom of it. There is an unbelievable hatred of us.

Trump's language, he creates an "us" versus "them" dichotomy by depicting Muslims as hateful people and depicting Americans as victims. By saying that "Islam has tremendous hate for us," Trump is shaping the way Americans see Muslims as hateful villains who threaten U.S. national security. As a state official, Trump is racially categorizing Muslims are dangerous people who will harm Americans, which may cause Americans to racially attack Muslims to protect themselves. As Omi and Winant (2003) argue, the state and politics "determines the content and importance of racial categories, which are in turn shaped by racial meaning" (Omi and Winant 2003, 61). That is, state policies and elite racist discourses about Muslims shapes how people assign racial meanings to Muslim identities. Therefore, race is shaped by how Americans perceive Muslims, which is based on how the state categorizes Muslims along racial lines.

In this case, Muslims are racialized based on how Trump and Americans racially categorizes Muslims as hateful, dangerous threats to the U.S. Essentially, Trump has created a hostile environment for Muslims through his elite racist discourses, which heightens anxiety and fear amongst Muslim women who wear head scarfs in public. Therefore, on micro level, the state shapes the political discourse about Muslims, which creates fear amongst Muslims, and impacts the ways Muslims struggle to survive in a hostile racial environment.

The macro and micro levels show that race, racial identity, and racial framing are a part of America's political, social, and cultural landscape. Trump's representation of Muslims as terrorists

who hate Americans, makes Muslims targets of racism, and hate crimes. Omi and Winant (1994), argue that these negative representations of Muslims are a type of "racial etiquette" that interprets racial meanings through the everyday interactions between Muslims and Americans (Omi and Winant, 1994). Negative representations of Muslims support and reinforce dominant racist ideologies of Muslims being dangerous threats to western societies. When Trump reinforces stereotypes of Muslims as dangerous threats, these representations allow the state to enact policies that will impact immigration for Muslims. When Muslims are demonized by the state, it legitimizes punitive laws that racialize Muslims and violate their civil rights. The implication here is that, if Muslims are depicted as threats to the national security, then Americans will discriminate against them by attacking and vandalizing their properties.

This section shows that in the U.S., Trump's elite racist discourses created a climate of fear and anxiety for Muslims, especially Muslim women. First, Congresswoman Omar felt threatened in Trump's era because she is a "triple minority," where her race, religion and immigration status intersect to oppress and discriminate against her even as a member of the U.S. House of Representative. Trump models a negative mental representation of Muslims as terrorists and inferior "others," who should not be part of American norms and values, which influences the way individual actors interact and socialize with Muslims. Second, Basatneh feels unsafe to wear her head scarf in public because Trump's elite racist discourses spews hate for Muslims, which influence the hostile behavior of Americans towards Muslims. Therefore, in the U.S., elite racist discourses on the state level shapes and influence the way racialization happens on the macro and micro levels, which shows a relationship between discourse and racialization. In the next section, I will examine the influence Trump's elite racist discourses have in Britain.

In Britain, Trump's elite racist discourses created a climate of anger amongst members of the House of Parliament. For instance, on February 6, 2017, BBC News reported that the House of Commons Speaker John Bercow, was "strongly opposed" to Trump's visit to the House of Commons because of Trump's political rhetoric that racialized Muslims (BBC 2017). In his speech to the House of Parliament, Speaker Bercow states,

> We value our relationship with the United States, I feel very strongly that our opposition to racism and sexism and our support for equality before the law and an independent judiciary are hugely important considerations in the House of Commons.

Since the data is in a visual format, I was able to see Speaker Bercrow's facial expression and he was visibly angry when he spoke against Trump visiting the House of Commons. He received an applaud and standing ovation from House members who supported his resilience to prevent Trump from speaking at the House of Commons. However, I find it odd that Speaker Bercow would be upset with Trump for issues relating to racism against Muslims because in the data, there is evidence of racism and hostility towards Muslim women in Britain. The data show that Muslim women in Britain experience racial discrimination and they are racially categorized as terrorists, which is like the experiences of Muslim women in America during the Trump era.

The history of racialization of Muslims as terrorists in Britain, is based on terrorist attacks that have occurred in Britain. According to BBC online, there have been 16 terrorist attacks in Britain from 1996 to 2017, which created a hostile environment for Muslims in Britain (BBC 2017). Similarly, terrorist attacks on 9/11 created a hostile environment for Muslims in the U.S. Therefore, Muslims in the U.S. and Britain share the same experiences with hostility. My goal is to show that like Trump, the British government uses elite racist discourses on the macro level to racialize Muslims as terrorists, and Muslims live in a climate of fear and anxiety in Britain.

On the macro level, the data show that state policies influence public perceptions about Muslims. When terrorist attacks occur in Britain, state policies and political rhetoric shape the way the British perceive Muslims, which impacts their interactions with Muslims. For instance, BBC (2017) online reported that on June 3, 2017, there was a terrorist attack on the London Bridge that killed seven people and injured 48 people (BBC 2017). According to BBC news, the terrorist suspects stabbed people in the nearby Borough Market and hit pedestrians with a white van before they were killed by the police (BBC 2017). According to a white male witness at the London Bridge scene, "the attacker was stabbing a woman yelling "This is for Allah" (BBC 2017). This incident sparked a national outcry against terrorism, which propelled former British Prime Minister (PM) Theresa May to give a public speech about the terrorist attack.

On June 4, 2017, PM May addressed the nation,

> We are experiencing a new trend in the threats we face, as terrorism breeds terrorism. We must not and cannot pretend that things can continue as they are. The recent attacks are bound together by the single evil ideology of Islamist extremism that preaches hatred, sows division and promotes sectarianism. It is an ideology that claims that our western values, freedom and democratic rights are incompatible with Islam. It is an ideology that is a perversion of Islam and the perversion of the truth. Defeating this ideology is one of the great challenges of our time but it cannot be defeated through military intervention alone. It will only be defeated when people's minds are away from this violence and make them understand that our values, pluralistic British values are superior to anything offered by the preachers and supporters of hate. Since the emergence of threats by Islamist inspired terrorism, our country has made significant progress in disrupting plots and protecting the public. But it is time to say, enough is enough. As a country our response should be as it has always been when we are confronted with violence, we must come together, we must pull together, and united we will take on and defeat our enemies.

May's speech is like Trump's elite racist discourse because she is using the "us" versus "them," and "good" versus "evil" dichotomies. In May's speech, there is the superiority versus inferiority presence in the way she "others" Muslims in her speech. First, in the "us" versus "them" dichotomy, May refers to Britain as "we" and "our" but refers to Muslim terrorists as "them," thus, "othering" Muslims as inferior compared to the British. The comparison between inferiority and

superiority is embedded in her statement, that "British values are superior to anything offered by the preachers and supporters of hate," who are presumably Muslim terrorists (BBC 2017). May's speech inferiorizes Muslims, like Trump's tweet racially categorized the Congresswomen as inferior "others" who migrated from crime infested corrupt countries. On the macro level, both Trump and May use elite racist discourses to inferiorize and racially categorize Muslims as terrorists, and these elite racist discourses are grounded on negative mental representations of Muslims, which becomes the model for people to emulate in their interactions with Muslims.

Furthermore, May's speech urges Britain to take action to combat terrorism and defeat the "enemies", which creates a "good" versus "evil" dichotomy. In May's speech, the "good" people are the British who are victimized by terrorists. The "evil" people are Muslim terrorists who threaten the lives of the British. The "good" versus "evil" dichotomy demonizes Muslims and Islam, while painting a picture of the West as victims and benevolent saviors. For instance, May refers to Islam as a "single evil ideology of Islamist extremism that preaches hatred," and "we" as British citizens "must unite to defeat our enemies" (BBC 2017). Here, May demonizes Islam as an "evil ideology," thus supporting dominant western ideologies that believe that Islam and Muslims are evil enemies to western civilization.

May's speech vilifies Muslims and the use of "evil" is a discursive strategy used to racialize and outcast Muslims from British society. It is important to address the concept of "evil" because May used the "good" versus "evil" dichotomy to demoralize Muslims and Islam. In support, Lazar and Lazar (2004), argue that the "good" versus "evil" dichotomy is a discursive strategy of "evilification," which is an effective way of declaring moral judgment on the inferior "other" (Lazar and Lazar 2004, 236). In similar studies, Bhatia argues that "evilification" is a "type of categorization which predicts the actions and behaviors of a certain group of people because of

previous experience of such types of people" (282). That is, evilification is a process, where Muslims are "othered" and categorized as "evil" because they are perceived to be people who carry out evil actions. I argue that on the macro level, "evilification" is a process of racialization, the state or political officials racially categorize Muslims as people who commit evil acts. Therefore, on the macro level, May's speech shows a relationship between discourse and racialization because her speech is like Trump's elite racist discourses that racially categorizes Muslims as terrorists, which influence the way anti-Muslim organizations interact with Muslims on the meso level.

According to Byng (2010), on the meso level, there is a combination of visuals or negative images we see on television, and racial discourses we listen to through hate speeches that contribute to the social process of racism (Byng 2010). On the meso level, the process of racialization can be examined through anti-Muslim organizations that have become highly visible in Britain. According to BBC news (2015), since 1996, anti-Muslim organizations in Britain have been vocal about their sentiments about Islam and Muslims who are benefitting from state resources. On September 28, 2015, BBC news shared a story titled "Britain First: The "most dangerous far-right party"? – A Declaration of War". This news story was based on a white supremacist group called "Britain First", an anti-Muslim organization that racially intimidates Muslims in Britain. Britain First is a far-right political party, that seeks to ban Islam and hang their enemies if they gain power in Britain (BBC 2015). During an interview, BBC reporter Benjamin Zand asked Jayda Fransen, (Deputy leader of "Britain First") a question - why should Islam be banned? In her response, Fransen stated,

> The Muslims have taken enough from our country and we are going to take it back. The Muslims were raping and torturing young female victims and dousing them in petrol. If you don't obey the laws and values of this country and the monarchy then you don't deserve to be here, so we will also hang you for treason.

The language in this statement shows a relationship between discourse and racialization that are influenced by western ideologies and disseminated through elite racist discourses about Muslims in Britain. In Fransen's statement, the "us" versus "them" dichotomy is used to position Britain First against Muslims. The "good" versus "evil" dichotomy is used to depict Britain First as white saviors protecting British values from evil Muslim rapists. The purpose of this evilification is to demonize Islam and Muslims. As Rediehs (2002) argues, to "regard us as good and others as evil is psychologically more comforting, justifying our judgments, moral superiority, and saving us the trouble of communicating with those we dislike" (Rediehs 2002, 282). I agree with Rediehs because Britain First suggests that white British are "good" and Muslims are "evil," and to protect Britain from Muslims, Fransen is advocating for the ban and punishment of Muslims by hanging Muslims who do not conform to the law, morals, and values of the Britain system.

Fransen's hate rhetoric is like PM May's speech, where May states that Islam is "an evil ideology that claims that our western values, freedom and democratic rights are incompatible with Islam. It is an ideology that is a perversion of Islam and the perversion of the truth" (BBC 2017). When the British Prime Minister publicly informs British citizens that Islam is an "evil ideology" that is not compatible with British morals and values, she is creating a negative model and mental representation for Britain First to emulate in their interactions with Muslims. The implication here, is that anti-Muslim organizations form opinions that demonize Islam and racially categorize Muslims as threats to Britain. Threatening the lives of Muslims, impacts their lives by creating an atmosphere of fear and anxiety, which impede their social, political, and economic growth. When anti-Muslim organizations intimidate and threaten Muslims, their actions influence the way ordinary people interact with Muslims on the micro level.

On the micro level, daily interactions between British citizens and Muslims often result in racial tension and threats towards Muslims. On February 4, 2017, BBC reporter Shaimaa Khalil shared a news story titled "British, female and Muslim" (BBC 2017). In this news story Khalil shared the experiences and struggles of Muslim women in Britain. One of the interviewees is Samayya Afzal, a young Muslim woman who felt threatened and afraid to go out in public. In her introduction, Khalil made the following statement,

> Samayya Afzal, hate attack victim was walking home with her friends when a man started yelling anti-Muslim abuse at them and it didn't stop there. Samayya Afzal said, he reached into his pocket and threatened us with a knife.

This statement shows that Muslim women in Britain live in an atmosphere of fear and anxiety. The anti-Muslim verbal abuse, and threats with a knife towards Afzal are like the experiences of Alaa Basatneh, the Muslim woman in the U.S. As discussed previously, Basatneh was verbally abused and threatened with a knife by a white American man at a hospital, which made her afraid to wear her head scarf in public. Both Afzal and Basatneh's experiences with racial intimidation by white men with knives are examples of how the U.S. and British elite racist discourses on the macro level shape and influence public perceptions of Muslims on the micro level. There is a relationship between the state (macro), anti-Muslim organizations (meso) and individual actors (micro), and this relationship is cultivated through elite racist discourses that model negative mental representations of Muslims as terrorists, and Islam as an evil ideology.

This analysis shows that Britain shares the same superior morals and values as the U.S. because both countries "other" Muslims as inferior and evil enemies, who threaten the national security of the U.S. and U.K. There are similarities in the usage of the "us" versus "them" dichotomies, which create racial, cultural, and moral boundaries between in-groups (whites) and out-groups (Muslims). The elite racist discourses from the state and political leaders in the U.S.

and Britain influence racist actions of anti-Muslim organizations and everyday people. The evilification of Muslims as evil enemies in state rhetoric moves across the U.S. and Britain political platforms, and we see these elite racist discourses manifested through political rhetoric, white supremacist racist propaganda and verbal/ physical abuse by ordinary people. The implication for hostility towards Muslims in Britain is that it creates an atmosphere of fear and anxiety, which impacts the livelihood of Muslims trying to survive in Britain. In the next section I will share my analysis on the next theme, "Islamophobia the spread of hate".

The second theme is "Islamophobia the spread of hate". This theme emerged from the overwhelming data on Trump using the phrase "radical Islamic terror" to conjure a "good" versus "evil" dichotomy against Islam and Muslims. In the data, Trump spread hatred for Islam through elite racist discourses, which supported the characteristics of Islamophobia. Abbas (2004) defines the term Islamophobia as the "fear or dread of Islam and Muslims" (Abbas 2004, 28). In recent studies, Beydoun (2016), argues that the definition of Islamophobia is more complex than the creation of fear and contempt for Muslims and Islam. Rather, Beydoun argues that Islamophobia is defined by three distinctive concepts: "private Islamophobia, structural Islamophobia and the dialectic process of Islamophobia" (111). First, Beydoun argues that private Islamophobia refers to individual actors, who violently attack Muslims based on their suspicion of terrorism, fear of Islam and Muslims. This refers to everyday people and anti-Muslim organizations on the meso and micro-levels, who threaten, intimidate, and racially attack Muslims. Second, Beydoun argues that structural Islamophobia refers to state actors, that incite fear of Islam and Muslims through immigration policies, police profiling and surveillance monitoring of Muslims. This aligns with Trump's political rhetoric on the macro level because he is notorious for inciting hatred for Islam and Muslims, which he justifies through harsh immigration policies. Third, Beydoun argues that

dialectical Islamophobia is a process where state policies target Muslims by endorsing stereotypes and "misrepresentations of Muslims widely held by private citizens" where the "presumption of guilt is assigned onto Muslims by state and private actors" (119). That is, Beydoun argues that Islamophobia is "rooted in understandings of Islam as civilization's antithesis perpetuated by government structures and private citizens" (111). This aligns with Bush's "war on terror" combat strategies that scrutinized Muslims, and Trump's "radical Islamic terror" political rhetoric that legitimizes visa restrictions and bans on Muslims. Therefore, state political rhetoric and individual actors influence racial discourses about Islamophobia. These social structures on the macro, meso and micro levels influence the circulation, and mediation of anti-Muslim racism through the racial discourse of Islamophobia.

In the data, I found that on the macro level, Trump's ideology incites fear, hate and Islamophobia, which influence individual actors on the meso and micro levels. Further, I found that anti-Muslim organizations, inaccurate news stories about Muslims, and individual actors play roles in reinforcing Islamophobia that support Trump's ideology that Islam is a radical terror. In this section, I will examine Islamophobia as a racial discourse of hate and fear in Britain and the U.S. I will begin the analysis by examining Trump's rhetoric on "radical Islam terror".

Trump used the term "radical Islamic terror" in his political rhetoric to describe how he feels about Islam, but the implication here is that "radical Islamic terror" contributes to the spread of Islamophobia. In recent studies, Waikar (2018), argues that in Trump's rhetoric he believes that "Radical Islamic Terrorism" is a "threat that challenges our world," and Trump's belief allows him to publicly say that the U.S. is "in a war against radical Islam" (Waikar 2018, 191). That is, Trump's belief that Islam is a radical terror, justifies his racist political rhetoric that demonize

Muslims and Islam. This public demonization of Islam and Muslims aligns Trump's racist discourses with anti-Muslim organizations that spew hate about Islam and Muslims.

For instance, in the data, BBC shared a story about Trump supporting racist tweets produced by British First. On November 29, 2017, BBC news reported a story titled "Donald Trump retweets far-right group's anti-Muslim videos" (BBC 2017). According to BBC (2017), Trump re-tweeted three inflammatory videos. The first tweet was a video of a Muslim migrant attacking a Dutch boy on crutches. The second tweet showed a video of Muslims destroying the statue of Mary. The third tweet showed a video of Islamist mob pushing a teenage boy off the roof while beating him to death. When Trump re-tweeted these videos, there was a global uproar in the U.S. and U.K. On January 26, 2018, BBC televised an interview between Piers Morgan and Trump,

> Piers Morgan: Given the amount of offense it caused do you regret now those retweets, and do you wish with hindsight you hadn't done it?
>
> Trump: It was done because I am a big believer is fighting radical Islamic terror. This was a depiction of radical Islamic terror.
>
> Trump: I am the least racist person that anybody is ever going to meet and certainly I wasn't endorsing anybody because I knew nothing about them. They had a couple of pictures of radical Islamic terror. Radical Islam terror, whether you like talking about it or not is a fact.

Trump's language implies that Islam incites radical behavior, which is problematic because not all Muslims are terrorists. Trump's evilification of Islam as a radical ideology is a discursive way of creating the "good" versus "evil" dichotomy that demonizes Muslims. Trump uses radical Islamic terrorism as a discursive political strategy to spread fear about Islam, which creates a racial discourse on Islamophobia.

In addition to spreading fear about Islam, Trump's political rhetoric spreads hatred for Islam. On March 9, 2016, CNN shared a news story titled "Donald Trump: 'I think Islam hates us." In this story, CNN's Anderson Cooper had an interview with Trump,

> Anderson Cooper: Do you think Islam is at war with the West?
>
> President Trump: I think Islam hates us. There is something there, there is tremendous hatred there we have to get to the bottom of it. There is an unbelievable hatred of us.
>
> Cooper: In Islam itself?
>
> Trump: There is a tremendous hatred, we have to be very vigilant, we have to be very careful, and we cannot allow people to come into this country with this hatred for the U.S.
> Cooper: Is there a war between the west and radical Islam or a war between the west and Islam itself?
>
> Trump: It is radical, but it is very hard to define and it is very hard to separate because you don't know who is who.

This interview shows how Trump's language invokes the "us" versus "them," and "good" versus "evil" dichotomies. When Trumps states that "Islam hates us," he is implying that those who practice Islam as a religion hate Americans. In support, Waiker (2018) argues that when Trump's states that "Islam hates us," Trump "deems all of Islam and all Muslims to be an existential threat to the world" (242). When Muslims are depicted as threats by the state on the macro level, this negative depiction justifies racial hostility towards Muslims. Therefore, on the macro level, Islamophobia serves as a contemporary form of racism and racialization of Muslims because Islamophobia vilifies Muslims, which incites hostility towards Muslims. Forms of hostility towards Muslims, happen on the meso level through anti-Muslim organizations.

On the meso level, Islamophobia is manifested through racist propaganda disseminated by anti-Muslim organizations. In the data, I found that Britain First, which is an anti-Muslim

organization is influenced by elite racist discourses that are produced on the macro level. In Britain, Prime Minister May describes British First,

> Britain First seeks to divide communities through their use of hateful narratives which peddle lies and stoke tensions. They cause anxiety to law-abiding people. British people overwhelmingly reject the prejudiced rhetoric of the far right, which is the antithesis of the values that this country represents decency, tolerance and respect.

According to BBC (2017), Britain First was founded in 2011 by former members of the far-right British National Party (BNP) (BBC 2017). On September 28, 2015, Benjamin Zand from *The Victoria Derbyshire Programme* shared a news story titled "Britain First: The "most dangerous far-right party"? – A Declaration of War" (Zand 2015). In this news story, Zand states that "Britain First are far-right political party who say they want Islam to be banned and would hang their enemies if in power. They are the most dangerous group to have emerged on the British far right scene for several years" (Zand 2015). In an interview, Zand asked Paul Golding, (the leader of Britain First) a question and Golding responded as follows,

> Zand: Don't you think that there should be freedom of religion. What is Britain First?
>
> Golding: There should be no freedom of religion for Islam. Britain First is the declaration of war on the corrupt self-serving career politicians who have wrecked this country. That is what we are about, we want to put our own people first and take our country back.
>
> Golding: We take a lot of our political tactics from America who are many, many years ahead of us.
>
> Golding: Islam will be banned (loud cheer and clap from supporters)

In his statement, Godling gives credit to the U.S. for inspiring his racist propaganda. This shows that U.S. political agenda and racist political rhetoric influence the spread of Islamophobia globally. This is a prime example of how U.S. elite racist discourses on the macro level, shape the way anti-Muslim organizations perceive Muslims and spread Islamophobia on the meso level.

For instance, Golding's statements are like Trump's elite racist discourses because he uses the "us" versus "them" dichotomy. First, Golding states that "we want to put our own people first and take our country back" (Zand 2015). Here, "we" and "our" refer to white British citizens, and those who practice Islam should be banned from Britain. Further, Godling's statement is like Trump's tweet that chastised the Congresswomen to go back to her corrupt crime infested countries (Allyn NPR, 2019). Both Golding and Trump's racist rhetoric contribute to the spread of Islamophobia, which is a social process of racialization. Because Britain First uses racist discourses, Trump's re-tweet of Britain First's racist video shows how the process of racialization on the macro level influences racial processes on the meso level. This interaction illustrates the relationship in racial processes between the state and anti-Muslim organizations.

When Trump endorsed Britain First by re-tweeting racist videos, it sparked a worldwide controversy in the U.S and the U.K. In the U.K., on November 29, 2017, BBC shared a news story titled "Donald Trump retweets far-right group's anti-Muslim videos" (BBC 2017). In this news story, Labour Member of Parliament Chris Bryant and BBC News Anchor Richard Lister made statements condemning Trump for re-tweeting the videos posted by Britain First. Their statements are as follows,

> Chris Bryant MP: President has been criticized on twitter for spreading hatred. Donald Trump incited religious hatred by retweeting videos. President Trump should be arrested if he comes to the United Kingdom for inciting religious hatred.
>
> Richard Lister: Britain first is a vile hate organization whose views should be condemned not amplified. Brendan Cox whose wife Jo was murdered by a far right said "Trump has legitimized the far-right in his own country, now he is trying to do it in ours, spreading hatred has consequences, and the president should be ashamed of himself"; "He is no ally or friend of ours, Donald Trump you are not welcomed in my country, in my city".

Similarly, in the U.S., On November 29, 2017, CNN News anchor Anderson Cooper had a panel discussion titled "Trump embraced racist bullies' message" (CNN 2017). Cooper had a

discussion with Brendan Cox, and shared responses from May and Trump. Brendan Cox is the widower of the late British Member of Parliament Jo Cox, who was murdered by a member of Britain First (CNN 2017). During this discussion, Cooper shared the following information,

> Trump's tweet to British Prime Minister Theresa May: Don't focus on me, focus on the destructive Radical Islamic Terrorism that is taking place with the United Kingdom. We are doing just fine.
>
> Cooper: President Trump endorsed hatred. Britain First is a far-right extremism similar to the KKK. Extremism of any sort are a threat.
>
> Brendan Cox: Trump re-tweeting British first gives them a microphone and legitimizes these voices which has high impact and has changed our country's discourse for the worst. This president's tweets are not by accident, it is a strategy to fuel hate against Jews, Muslims, Mexicans, Blacks, migrants and that hatred has no place in our society. The president has become a purveyor of hate.
>
> Cooper: Presidents of the United States should not stoke fear and hatred of Muslims. That is what these videos are designed to do, that is what this group Britain first is trying to do, and today the President of the United States thought it will be a good idea to retweet three times hate propaganda from a far right extremist group from a far right country.

The news stories from BBC and CNN share one in common, that Trump is a "purveyor of hate," a phrase coined by Brendan Cox that became popular during Trump's re-tweet debacle (CNN 2017). Cox's claim that Trump is purveyor or source of hate is evident in his dialogue, interviews, and speeches, which incite Islamophobic racial attitudes from Britain First and other anti-Muslim organizations. Further, Cox makes a valid point, that Trump's endorsement of hate for Muslims has legitimized racist propaganda, and racial attacks perpetuated by anti-Muslim organizations (BBC and CNN 2017). Additionally, Cooper points out that Britain First is like the KKK in the U.S., which shows that Trump's endorsement of hate is present within U.S. anti-Muslim organizations (CNN 2017). For instance, the New Jersey Office of Homeland Security and Preparedness Report (NJOHSP) assessed the threat level in 2020 and determined that white

supremacist groups that target Muslims have become the highest terrorist threats in the U.S. (NJOHSP 2020). These anti-Muslim organizations spread Islamophobia, which creates the "us" versus "them" dichotomy, that "others" Muslims as inferior. Therefore, on the meso level, Islamophobia is manifested through fear and hatred of Islam, which is influenced by the state political rhetoric on the macro level.

I argue that the media links terrorism to Islam and Muslims through inaccurate news reporting, which contributes to dominant narratives of Islamophobia. When news stories disseminate inaccurate stories about Islam or Muslims, it shapes perception about Muslims. Western news stories portray Islam as a radical terror and violent religion, and the language and images racializes Muslims as terrorists. News stories that demonize Islam and sensationalize terrorism legitimize the spread of Islamophobia. In this section, inaccurate news stories about Muslims will be examined to show how inaccurate representations of Islam and Muslims contributes to the spread of Islamophobia in the U.S., Britain, and Nigeria.

In Britain, inaccurate news reporting contributes to the spread of Islamophobia, which creates a climate of intimidation for Muslims. In the data, there were concerns about inaccurate news stories in Britain that portrayed Muslims as terrorist. For instance, on January 19, 2017, BBC shared a story titled "Challenging inaccurate stories about Muslims," (BBC 2017). In this story, BBC reporter Catrin Nye, shared the following information about inaccurate news reporting,

> Catrin Nye: There were 13 corrections to articles concerning Muslims in the British media. The most high-profile apology last month was given to a Muslim family falsely accused of being extremists by columnist Katie Hopkins in the Daily Mail Online.
>
> Catrin Nye: Daily Mail Online reporter Katie Hopkins wrongfully characterized the Mahmood family as terrorists because they were not allowed to board a U.S. plane. Hopkins and the newspaper issued a public apology and paid a fine of £100,000.00 to the Mahmood family. Following the Mahmood family, the Mail corrected eight articles that wrongfully characterized Muslims as terrorists.

In his response to being wrongfully accused of being a terrorist by Katie Hopkins, Mr. Mahmood shared his thoughts below,

> Mahmood: It is the mind set of people, they can very easily be led against somebody or in favor of somebody. We haven't overcome the emotional trauma that we went through with the kids in front of their eyes. I feel proud to live in London as a Muslim with people from diverse backgrounds but there are elements destroying these relationships and this unity we have within the community.

This data shows that inaccurate news reporting negatively impacts the lives of Muslims in Britain. Mahmood's response shows how Muslims communicate their emotions when elite racist discourses represent and refer to Muslims as terrorists. Mahmood's speaks of the "mindset" that people have about Muslims as terrorists, which is connected to Dijk's (1993) elite model mental representations. As Dijk (1993) argues, there is a linkage between dominance and discourse, where the "production of discourse depends on the speaker's mindset," and the media represents this mindset because they set the agenda for news stories that portray Muslims as terrorists (Dijk 1993). This mindset of the media becomes the dominant narrative about Muslims, which sometimes proves to be inaccurate information. The implication here is that, when news media disseminates inaccurate information, people will believe that Muslims are terrorists, thus, shaping and influencing the "mindset" of people to perceive Muslims as threats to national security.

Further, Mahmood believes that inaccurate news stories that depict Muslims as terrorists, can turn people "for" or "against" Muslims, which creates opposites. Using Machin and Mayr's (2012) representational CDA strategy, news stories represent minorities in "ways that tend to align us alongside or against them, which creates opposites" (104). That is, news stories will either tum us against Muslims or make us embrace Muslims. Further, Machin and Mayr (2012), argue that referential CDA strategy can be used to examine how news stories "refer" to Muslims as terrorists, which will create opposites between in-groups and out-groups (84). In Mahmood's story, his

family were represented and referred to as terrorists, which may impact their everyday experiences with people and create opposites between his Muslims community and British community.

Additionally, the emotional trauma the Mahmood family experienced shows that inaccurate news reporting impacts Muslim families. Falsely accusing a family of being terrorists in Britain, racially stigmatizes them in their communities, which makes them targets of racism. Inaccurate news stories in Britain contribute to the spread of hatred and Islamophobia. During her interview, Catrin Nye asked both sides of the debate on Islamophobia about inaccurate news reporting. Nye spoke with Miqdaad Versi, a British Muslim Activist and advocate for accurate news reporting about Muslims. The interview is as follows,

> Catrin Nye: What is the problem with the inaccurate news on Muslims?
>
> Miqdaad Versi: The problem is that news about Muslims on social media get picked up by far-right extremists and people who view these images about Muslims and see it as reality. Inaccurate reporting is hostility towards Muslims and that is a problem for Muslim communities and wider society. Inaccurate media reporting about Muslims has led to increased hatred.

In his response, Versi makes a connection between the macro, meso and micro levels. Versi makes this connection by explaining that inaccurate news stories by news media (macro) that depict Muslims as terrorists, influence far-right extremists (meso) and individual actors (micro). Once groups and people believe that Muslims are terrorists, this belief contributes to the spread of Islamophobia, and incites racial attacks against Muslims. On the macro level, the media are responsible for producing inaccurate news; on the meso level, anti-Muslim organizations are influenced by news media; on the micro level, individual actors are influenced by news media and anti-Muslim organizations that spread hatred through Islamophobia.

However, some British journalists have refuted the accusations of inaccurate news reporting. For instance, Nye reported that news critics argue that there is an attempt by Muslim

activists to prevent journalistic criticism of Islam. To elaborate more on this criticism, Nye interviewed Tom Slater, who is the Deputy Editor for Spiked Online. In his interview, Slater gave his opinion below,

> Tom Slater: We want a press that is going to care and report on facts and verify them but I feel like this campaign of complaints we have seen in the past six months is trying to shield Islam from criticism and try and chill discussion about a lot of issues.

Slater language creates a "we" versus "them" dichotomy, where the media are against Muslim activists who complain about inaccurate news reporting. This "we" stance allows Slater to blame Muslims from trying to prevent the press from reporting on Islam or terrorism. Further, Slater is deflecting from the issue at hand by accusing Muslim activists of trying to "chill" the discussion on terrorism and Islam. The "chill" concept echoes through the work of Barendt, Lustgarten, Norrie, and Stephenson (1997), who argue that libel law prevents freedom of speech for the press, and any entity that tries to prevent the press from expressing their opinion is causing a "chill effect," which "chills press freedom" (Barendt, Lustgarten, Norrie, and Stephenson 1997). That is, some journalists argue that if they are accused of libel or defamation by Muslim activists, this accusation can have a "chill effect" on their work, which takes away their freedom from writing their truth. However, in Mahmood's case, Katie Hopkins and Daily Mail Online did defame the Mahmood family by inaccurately misrepresenting them as terrorists. This triggered British Muslim activists to hold the news press accountable for the false narrative, where a financial settlement was reached by both parties to compensate the Mahmood family for wrongful news reporting. Therefore, Slater's "chill effect" argument is a deflective strategy used to remove blame from inaccurate news reporting by the media. The implication for inaccurate news stories about Islam and Muslims is that stereotypes emerge that demonize Muslims, which impacts their daily lives. British Muslim activists are not asking the press to stop reporting about Islam,

terrorism, or Muslims; they are asking the press to report accurately in Britain. For instance, Nye and Versi had a conversation about the "chilling effect" and the discussion is as follows,

> Nye: Do you worry about a chilling effect that your criticism will make people scared of covering these issues?
>
> Versi: Not really because, newspapers report on a range of issues, all I am asking for is responsible reporting.

Here, Versi acknowledges that the press has freedom of speech, but the press should be held accountable for inaccurate news stories. For instance, previously, Benjamin Zand (2015) covered the story on Britain First, which revealed that U.S. elite racist discourses on the macro level influenced the way Britain First vilified Muslims. In the data, Zand's interview revealed that the media influence the way Britain First misrepresent Islam as "evil," and Muslims as terrorists. In Zand's interview with Sharif, the Inman of Luton Central Mosque, Sharif expressed how he felt about the way the media characterized Muslims. The conversation is as follows,

> Zand: Mr. Sharif said that the media is behind Islam's bad image.
>
> Sharif: I feel intimidated, I feel threatened. When has there ever been good news? There is always bad news. As soon as a simpleton switches on his tv there BBC headlines – ISIS, decapitations, suicide bombing in the name of Islam, we have a man in a beard chanting "Allah" beheading people, bombing people. So, when they see that, that is their Islam for them.

Sharif's narration shows how news stories spread hate and fear of Islam and Muslims, thus, reinforcing dominant narratives of Islamophobia. Sharif's frustration with intimidation and threats is like the experiences of the Mahmood family, which shows the impact of inaccurate news stories on the Muslim community in Britain. Therefore, inaccurate news reporting in Britain contributes to the spread of Islamophobia, which creates a climate of fear and intimidation for Muslims.

Similarly, in the U.S., the media have been blamed for spreading Islamophobia, which "others" Muslims and creates a climate of intimidation and fear for Muslims. On June 22, 2014,

CNN shared a story titled "Red news, blue news: Islamophobia," where Linda Sarsour, Director of the Arab American Association of NY, and Brigitte Gabriel had a conversation about how Islamophobia is manifested in the media. Their conversation is as follows,

> Islamophobia is manifested in the media. Think of Islamophobia as anti-Muslim prejudice an exaggerated fear and hostility towards Muslims perpetuated through negative stereotypes.
>
> Fox News perpetuates Islamophobia, "Jihad raging worldwide" is a theme is Fox News. Fox News regularly hands over its megaphones to speakers who are worried about the threats posed by radical Islam.
> Has the media fanned the flame of misunderstanding about Islam?
>
> Linda Sarsour: The media alienates the Muslim community and creates them as the "other" because when an incident happens in this country that includes someone who just happens to be of Arab country origin or Muslim we immediately start talking about terrorism and domestic terrorism. I am more worried about getting killed by a shooter in the U.S. than I am by a terrorist. Terrorism does not equal Islam it does not equal Muslims. When there is talk about radical Islamism in the U.S. is creates fear and fear mongering. There is a lack of representation of peaceful Muslim going on about their day and being surgeons or accountants in the media. Instead we cover ISIS marching through with black flags looking super terrified. What is missing is any semblance of balance.

This discussion highlights several salient points my analysis has covered. First, media conglomerates, such as Fox News, sets the agenda that shapes and frames news stories that characterize Muslims as terrorists. This characterization of Muslims as terrorists are often based on inaccurate news reporting. Second, elite racist discourses on the macro level, influence audience perceptions of Muslims and reactions to Muslims on the meso and micro levels. Third, Islamophobia creates a climate of fear, and anxiety for Muslims. Fourth, racial categorizations of Muslims as terrorists inferiorizes and "others" Muslims, which creates racial and moral boundaries that outcasts them as out-groups. When Muslims are outcasted, they feel excluded and vulnerable to racial threats from anti-Muslim organizations and individual actors. Fifth, the implication of inaccurate news reporting, and the spread of Islamophobia is that it impacts the livelihood of Muslims and creates a culture of fear, anxiety, and intimidation, which can lead to emotional and

psychological trauma. Therefore, inaccurate news reporting can impact the everyday experiences of Muslims on the micro level.

Furthermore, on the micro level, individual actors who believe news stories that Muslims are terrorists, take it upon themselves to commit hate crimes against Muslims. In the data, there are examples of hate crimes against Muslims in the U.S. For instance, on March 17, 2018, CNN shared a story titled "Mom arrested after filming hate-filled tirade at mosque," (CNN 2018). In this story, two Hispanic women with two minor children broke into the Islamic Community Center of Tempe and vandalized the property. The narration is as follows,

> Two women were arrested after allegedly stealing items from a mosque and broadcasting the whole episode on Facebook Live, police say.
>
> Mother: This is the infiltration of Arabic Muslim coming in and destroying America. The Muslims are nothing be satan devil worshippers.
>
> Some of the children were heard echoing after the women saying "they smell like goats"; The mom echoes "Exactly, they smell like goats" (laughing).
>
> The women said they were taking stuff out of the mosque to expose the illegal invasion of Muslims.

Here, the "America" versus "satan devil worshippers," plays into the "good" versus "evil" dichotomy (CNN 2018). This shows the influence of elite racist discourses on the macro level that demonize Islam and depict westerners as benevolent saviors. For instance, the "illegal invasion of Muslims" narrative sounds like Trump's racist political rhetoric and immigration policy that criminalize Muslims. Further, the dehumanization of Muslims as people who "smell like goats," racially categorizes them as inferior "others" who are uncivilized savages. These comments are guided by inaccurate news stories that spread Islamophobia and reinforce elite racist discourses that misrepresent Muslims as terrorists.

The implication of racism on the micro level is that it impacts the everyday experiences of Muslims, which may emotionally damage Muslims who are victims of hate crimes and vandalism. For instance, Ahmad Al-Akoum, the Iman for Islamic Community Center of Tempe, was very emotional when his Center was vandalized as he stated, "it was heartbreaking to see ignorance in play and teaching hatred and bigotry to young children who are innocent" (CNN 2018). Iman Al-Akoum makes a valid point about teaching hatred to children at a young age, but a deeper concern is that the "mindsets" of these children are already shaped and influenced by elite racist discourses. When children are influenced by hate, it is manifested through their actions on the micro level. Therefore, this shows a relationship between discourse and racialization because these news report demonstrate that elite racist discourses contribute to the spread of Islamophobia, which influence ordinary people "mindsets" on the micro level in the U.S.

So far, I have shown a connection between discourse and racialization by demonstrating how that inaccurate news reporting in Britain and the U.S. contribute to the spread of Islamophobia, and social process of racism on the macro, meso and micro levels impacts the lives of Muslims. While the data show that Britain and the U.S. share similarities in how western media covers terrorism, where inaccurate news stories spread Islamophobia that racializes Muslims as terrorists, the data show that news stories about Muslims in Nigeria are disseminated differently by the government and private owned news networks.

In Nigeria, local news stories about terrorism are controlled by the Nigerian government. On the macro level, politics, economics, corruption, and diplomatic strategies are used to shape news stories on terrorism, which minimizes the gravity of terrorist attacks by Boko Haram in Nigeria. The goal is to serve the Nigerian government's political and global economic interests. According to Ering, Omono and Oketa (2013), the emergence of Islamist groups such as Boko

Haram creates problems with global security and economic prosperity for countries plagued by Islamic militancy (Ering, Omono and Oketa 2013, 31). Further, Asogwa, Iyere and Attah (2012), argue that African countries victimized by Islamist militancy have national security issues, and suffer economically due to lack of business opportunities from foreign investors who are afraid to invest in an unstable economy plagued with violence and deaths (Asogwa, Iyere and Attah 2012, 180). That is, if the Nigerian government sensationalizes news stories about terrorist attacks by Boko Haram, this negative news will drive away potential foreign capital from Nigeria. As Taylor (2014) argues, the globalization of terrorism from "an economic perspective impacts global communities by reallocating productive capital across countries to less risky regions" that are not affected by terrorism (Taylor 2014, 13). That is, to maintain global diplomacy, economic stability, and political interests, the Nigerian government avoids news stories that depict Nigeria as a high-risk terrorist country. This is not unusual for a third world country, where corruption is rampant, and the government controls the content of locally and nationally produced news stories.

Though the Nigerian government controls the local and national discourse on terrorism, the data show that private owned television stations such as Channels TV, airs uncensored local news stories that expose Boko Haram terrorist organization and gives Nigerian Muslims a platform to share their experiences with terrorism. This platform allows Nigerian Muslims to share their stories, which are forms of counternarratives to challenge the government, show that not all Nigerian Muslims are terrorists, and share their experiences with Boko Haram. According to Braddock and Horgan (2016), counternarratives are "narratives comprised of content that challenges the themes intrinsic to other narratives" and "contradicts the themes of other narratives" (Braddock and Horgan 2016, 386). The data show that Nigerian Muslims and Christians share their stories as counternarratives to show the positive side of Muslims, and unity between Muslims

and Christians, which contradicts western Christian ideologies that depict Muslims as "radical Islamic terrorists" who detest Christianity and are incapable of living in harmony with Christians. Therefore, in Nigeria, not all locally produced news stories are corrupt, and news stories can serve the purpose for community unity and activism, which are manifested through counter-narratives.

However, the data show that Channels TV shares western news stories about Boko Haram, which depicts Muslims in Nigeria as terrorists. These western news stories broadcasted in Nigeria, impacts the lives of Muslims who identify as non-violent Muslims. For instance, on January 25, 2016, Channels TV shared a news story titled "Terrorism: Muslims Can't Be Held Responsible for The Actions of Criminals—Hakeem Olajuwon" (Channels TV 2016). In this story, a female news reporter interviewed Hakeen Olajuwon, who is a Muslim and former professional basketballer for the Houston Rockets and Toronto Raptors. The interview is as follows,

> News reporter (Nigerian Muslim woman): Sadly, the media narratives about Muslims are negative these days with all the extremism going on in the world. How can Muslims help to turn that around?
>
> Hakeem Olajuwon: I don't think people should hold Muslims responsible for the actions of criminals. We have to exemplify what Islam is, not just by talking but by actions to show that there is no room or space for criminals. Islam teaches Muslims to be a good example and live righteously.

The news reporter's language suggests that negative western news reporting about Muslims have an impact on Muslim communities and she looks to Olajuwon for advice on ways to counter these negative western narratives about Muslims. In his statement, Olajuwon is distancing himself from Muslim extremist groups (Boko Haram, ISIS) who he refers to as "criminals" because he identifies with non-violent Muslims who "exemplifies the good teachings of Islam," unlike extremist Islamic groups. Olajuwon uses the "us" versus "them" dichotomy in a different way compared to how Trump, May and anti-Muslim organizations used this dichotomy to inferiorize and "other" Muslims. Instead, Olajuwon is referring to non-violent Muslims as "us" and Islamic

extremists as "them". Specifically, Olajuwon is making a clear distinction between non-violent Muslims versus violent Muslims, a rhetorical strategy that western news stories have failed to accomplish. Rather, western news stories portray all Muslims as terrorists, which outshines positive news stories about non-violent Muslims. Therefore, western news stories about Muslims, contribute to the spread of Islamophobia, which impacts the lives of non-violent Nigerian Muslims.

Specifically, western news stories about Boko Haram contribute to the spread of Islamophobia. In the data, western news stories about Boko Haram focused on international terrorism. For instance, on May 7, 2014, Channels TV shared a news story titled "We Will Do Everything to Rescue Missing Girls—Obama, May 7, 2014" (Channels 2014). In this story, Boko Haram kidnapped 276 Muslim secondary school girls from Chibok town in Borno State, Nigeria (Channels 2014). In 2014, this abduction was globally publicized as "Missing Chibok Girls," and global campaigns were launched to find the girls. According to Barna's report (2014), the abduction of the Chibok girls gained international attention and support from the UK, France, China, Israel, and the U.S., especially military intelligence from the U.S. dedicated to fighting Boko Haram (Barna 2014, 21). President Obama offered military assistance to help find the missing girls, and he gave a speech stating,

> Boko Haram is a terrorist organization. We have always identified them as one of the worst local or regional terrorist organization out there. We have offered help from our military and law enforcement. We have to deal with the broader problem of organizations like this that can cause havoc in people's lives.

On the macro level, Obama's language invokes the "good" versus "evil" dichotomy by demonizing Boko Haram and celebrating the U.S. as the benevolent saviors dedicated to rescuing the Chibok girls. Obama's speech uses the "us" versus "them" dichotomy to separate the U.S. from Boko Haram, which allows the U.S. to racially categorize "them" as a dangerous terrorist

organization. However, Obama's speech is a contrast to the way Olajuwon used the "us" versus "them" to distinguish between non-violent Muslims versus violent Muslims. Instead, Obama's speech gives little reference to the fact that the Chibok girls were non-violent Muslims victimized by Boko Haram. This information is important to show the distinction between non-violent Nigerian Muslims and Boko Haram terrorists. If Obama's speech informed the world that not all Muslims in Nigeria are terrorists, it would change the way westerners perceive Nigerian Muslims.

Additionally, the data show that former U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron showed his support for the missing Chibok girls. On May 7, 2014, Channels TV shared a news story titled "Abduction of Missing Chibok Girls an Act of Pure Evil—David Cameron" (Channel TV 2014). In this story, Cameron gave a speech offering to help Nigeria to fight against Boko Haram and rescue the missing Chibok girls. In his speech, Cameron states,

> This is an act of pure evil. Britain stands ready to provide any assistance working closely with the U.S. This is not just a Nigerian issue it is a global issue. There are extreme Islamists around our world who are against education, against progress, against equality and we must fight them.

On the macro level, Cameron's language invokes the "us" versus "them" and "good" versus "evil" dichotomies. Cameron refers to Boko Haram as "evil" and "extreme Islamists" who are against western civilization, therefore, the U.K. and the U.S. must fight against Boko Haram terrorists. The data show that elite racist discourses in the U.S., and U.K., shape the way westem new stories produce sensationalized news about terrorism in Nigeria, which contributes to the spread of Islamophobia. The implication here, is that all Nigerian Muslims will be perceived as terrorists, which impacts their global relationships and their migration to western societies.

While western media sensationalizes news stories about Boko Haram, in Nigeria, local news coverage by Channels TV shows intolerance of terrorist attacks by Boko Haram. In the news,

Nigerian Muslims and Christians speak out against the government for failing to reprimand Boko Haram. As I mentioned earlier, the Nigerian government avoids public discourse about Boko Haram because of socio-political and economic interests. In the data, I found an example of how the Nigerian government strategizes political rhetoric about Boko Haram. On August 11, 2019, Channels TV shared a news story titled "Buhari Asks Muslims To Shun Extremism" (Channel TV 2019). This news story was referenced from the government's local news channel "Nigerian Television Authority" (NTA). In this story, the President Muhammadu Buhari gave a speech challenging Muslims in Nigeria to uphold the peaceful values of Islam and reject violent extremism that taint the teachings and practices of Islam. The speech is as follows,

> The indiscriminate killing of innocent people, the kidnapping of female students and forcing them into marriage and conversion is contrary to teachings and personal examples of the Prophet Muhammad.
>
> Violent extremism is the single biggest challenge facing the image of Islam today which has been hijacked by a minority of misguided elements who are using religion to cover up their criminal agenda.
>
> There is the urgent need for increased vigilance by Muslims in order to frustrate and stop the spread of violent ideologies that are causing human havocs and tragedies around the world.
>
> Extremism is like a cancer that needs to be attacked in its early stages before it grows malignantly out of control and harm the society.

Buhari's speech was originally broadcasted through the government's local news channel "Nigerian Television Authority" (NTA). In his speech, Buhari is condemning extremism but he does not mention how Nigeria is under attack by Boko Haram. Instead, Buhari avoids connecting Boko Haram to extremism because he is trying to maintain global political and economic connections. As I stated earlier, the Nigerian economy will suffer if they lose foreign investors due to high-risk terrorist activities in Nigeria, so the government turns a blind eye to Boko Haram. For instance, in Buhari's speech he acknowledges the presence of terrorism, but he does not demonize

terrorists, unlike the tactics of Trump, Obama, May and Cameron, where Muslims were demonized for being terrorists. Instead of condemning Boko Haram, Buhari appeals to the religious morals and values of Nigerian Muslims to focus on the peaceful teachings of Islam, which will discourage them from joining Boko Haram. The problem here is that, when the government does not address terrorist attacks by Boko Haram or launches counter-terrorism campaigns to combat them, the government is complicit by allowing Boko Haram to continue with terrorist acts against Nigerians. Importantly, when the government ignores the violent attacks of Boko Haram, the government silences the voices of victims impacted by Boko Haram terrorist activities. In the data, Nigerians spoke passionately against the Nigerian government for not combating Boko Haram. For instance, on January 22, 2020, Channels TV shared a news story titled "Boko Haram Is Still Active, Stop Fooling Nigerians" (Channels TV 2020). In this news story, Dami Mamza, "Catholic Bishop of Yola Diocese" shared his experiences with Boko Haram and the failure of the government to protect Nigerians from Boko Haram. Bishop Mamza's statement is as follows,

> Boko Haram captured two pastors in Adamawa State and executed them while negotiations were being made to free them. I feel like we are not being protected, the sense of the security is not there, one finds it very difficult to know who is going to be the next target. That is why we have been shouting out for protection and if the president's way of doing things are not working then why can't we think of another way? We as a community tried to negotiate to get our Pastors back from Boko Haram but they were not interested in money, they were interested in killing them. The government needs to tell Nigerians the truth, Boko Haram is not defeated, they are still active and strong, so the government should stop fooling Nigerians. Boko Haram is still in control and in position with some territories in the North East.

Bishop Mamza's story exemplifies one of many experiences of Nigerians who have been killed by Boko Haram. Unfortunately, stories from the victims are not shared on western news stories because victims are not considered sensationalized news compared to terrorist attacks by Boko Haram. Instead, western news stories demonize Muslims as terrorists in Nigeria, which contributes to the spread of Islamophobia. To change this narrative, Channels TV airs news stories

of Nigerians using their voices to rebuke Boko Haram and demand justice from the government. For instance, on December 2, 2014, Channels TV shared a story titled "Boko Haram Are Enemies of Islam, Muslims, Nigerians – Colonel Nyiam (retd)" (Channel TV 2014). In this story, retired army Colonel Tony Nyiam shared his view about the reluctance of the Nigerian government to end terrorism in Nigeria. Colonel Nyiam's (retd) statement is as follows,

> In the national assembly people are simply playing politics with our insurgency terrorist issue. There should be a bi-partisan approach to solve this issue, but the political elite are playing politics with the lives of Nigerian citizens. The politicians don't want to call a state of emergency because corruption has an impact on our war effort.

Colonel Nyiam (retd) speaks on the issue of corruption in Nigeria, which shapes the way the government covers news stories about terrorism. The reluctance of the government to expose Boko Haram is a political strategy used to maintain global economic relationships because if the Nigerian economy is threatened by terrorism, this will impact foreign relationships and economic progress. When political and economic interests influence news stories, the issue of bias may arise, which violates the ethical code of journalism.

However, despite the bias in government news stories, the citizens use their voices to expose Boko Haram, which offers an insight into the experiences of victimized Nigerians. For instance, on March 2, 2014, Channel TV shared a news story titled "YOBE SCHOOL KILLING: Muslim Cleric Describes Attack As Barbaric & Ungodly" (Channel TV 2014). In this story, Boko Haram attacked and killed 29 Muslim high school students in Yobe State, Nigeria. It is important to note that Yobe State is highly populated by Muslims. After the incident, a Yobe resident and devout Muslim Dr. Mashhud Fashola, gave a statement to describe his feelings about the killings. Dr. Fashola's statement is as follows,

> Dr. Mashhud Fashola – The hearts of all human beings should bleed with these killings. Think about yourself, suppose your own child or son was killed. You see women running

> helter skelter to search for their daughters and sons. It is barbaric and ungodly; it has nothing to do with religion. It has nothing to do with civilization.

This story gives an insight into the horrors that Boko Haram inflicts on Nigerian Muslim communities. As a form of empowerment, Nigerian Muslims speak out and expose terrorist incidents with the hope of eliminating Boko Haram. Furthermore, Nigerian Muslims share their stories to protest Boko Haram and mobilize movements to combat terrorism in Nigeria. For instance, on October 18, 2015, Channels TV shared a story titled "Muslims Urged to Resist Boko Haram, ISIS Doctrines" (Channels TV 2015). A Muslim Professor of Islamic Studies at the Department of Islamic Studies at Lagos State University and the Founder of the Muslim Rights Council (MURIC), Dr. Isiaq Akintola, gave a speech challenging Muslims to stand up against Boko Haram, Al Qaeda and ISIS. Dr. Akintola's speech is as follows,

> Members of these terror groups should be treated like common criminals. Soldiers who enter the Boko Haram camp report that they do not see evidence of the Quran there. Enemies of Islam are behind ISIS and they are behind Boko Haram. They are also killing fellow Muslims and they should be treated like the criminals that they are. We reject their message and ISIS is misleading the world.

In Akintola's language, he is using the "us" versus "them" dichotomy to separate non-violent Muslims from Boko Haram and ISIS. When Akintola states that Boko Haram does not practice Islam, this strategy allows Nigerian Muslims to distance themselves from Boko Haram. This is like Olajuwon's "us" versus "them" strategy, where he made the distinction between the non-violent Muslims versus violent Muslims.

Further, by stating that Boko Haram kills Muslims, Akintola is demonstrating that Nigerian Muslims are victims of Boko Haram. This information shows that there are non-violent Muslims because not all Muslims in Nigeria are terrorists. Importantly, rejecting Boko Haram shows that Nigerian Muslims are not supporting their acts of violence. This is a counter-narrative strategy used to dispel dominant western racist ideologies that portray all Muslims as dangerous terrorists.

Akintola is using his counter-narrative to protest Boko Haram, expose terrorist organizations, reject their association with Islam and condemn their actions. There are other ways Nigerians use counter-narratives to dismantle dominant western ideologies about Muslims.

In Nigeria, counter-narratives are used to show that not all Nigerian Muslims are terrorists. The goal of counter-narratives is to change global perceptions about Nigerian Muslims, and challenge inaccurate news misrepresentations of Muslims as terrorists. For instance, on May 22, 2017, Channels TV shared a story titled "Christians, Muslims Unite to End Clashes in Southern Kaduna" (Channels TV 2017). In this story, the Nigerian global peace foundation organized a festival to promote peaceful co-existence amongst Christians and Muslims, because in the past, ethnic and religious between strife Christians and Muslims led to the loss of life and destruction of property in Kaduna State, Nigeria. During this festival, John Oko, "Director of the Nigerian Global Peace Foundation," shared messages from government officials, Nigerian Muslims and Christians who attended the festival to support global peace. The messages are as follows,

> John Oko: We want everyone in this community to see themselves as one and we can come together to live in peace and harmony. We want to partner with the government to carry this event to other parts of the state. The government seems ready to partner with any individual or group hoping to promote peace.
>
> Yahuza Ilu Muslim – Deputy Director, Ministry of Sports and Youths, Kaduna State: Peace is very important, and I am sure when we understand ourselves nobody will divide Nigeria. God created Nigeria and we have to live in peace, to love one another, to know who your neighbor is but we cannot do this without practicing it ourselves.
>
> John Hayab – Northern Co-Coordinator, global peace foundation, Nigeria: Our culture is the reason for our strength so there should not be reason for crisis, so we should celebrate our unity and diversity instead of fighting and killing each other. God has created us to live together and appreciate and love each other.
>
> Halliru Maraya, Northern Co-Coordinator GPFN: The best thing we are expected to do in order to progress is to live harmoniously with one another.

This display of solidarity between Christians and Muslims shows that Muslims in Nigeria are willing to live in peace with Christians, which is contrary to western dominant ideologies that

demonizes Islam as a barbaric religion not compatible with Christianity. A peaceful movement for unity will show that Muslims are peaceful people who are willing to live in harmony. The portrayal of Muslims as peaceful people dismantles dominant racist discourses that misrepresents Muslims as "evil" and "radical Islamic terrors". Therefore, counter-narratives are effective ways for Nigerian Muslims to share their experiences, speak out against terrorist attacks and show that not all Muslims are terrorists because Muslims can lead peaceful and harmonious lives.

Similarly, in the U.S., the data show that counter-narratives are used to portray Muslim Americans as productive members of the American society. For instance, on March 8, 2011, CNN shared a news story titled "Dearborn Mayor: Muslims misrepresented: Outrage over "Radical Islam" Hearing. Dearborn Mayor likens it to McCarthyism" (CNN 2011). In this news story, Dearborn, Michigan, Mayor Jack O'Reilly Jr. shares his opinion on Congressman King's Muslim radicalization hearings. CNN news anchor Karen facilitated the discussion as follows,

> Karen: Is Congressman King exaggerating this radical threat in the name of political correctness?
>
> Mayor O'Reilly: Dearborn Michigan has one of the largest Muslim population. We've lived with Muslims for 80 years as active parts of our community. We've had great experiences, some of our young people are third, fourth and fifth generation Americans. So, we have a clear perspective of what it is that Muslim represents because we see it through the actions of behavior of our neighbors and the thing it represents is that they believe in America and they are fully Americans. They want to be part of our community and that is something that is misrepresented and misunderstood by certain groups all through our country.
>
> Mayor O'Reilly: The law enforcement and Muslim communities get along so well in Michigan. The Muslims have no problem being part of our society, yet the characterization and what people are reporting that represents the fate of Muslims are so false and mis-presentative and we have a great experience. If things go wrong at the radical Islam hearing it will affect our community because we have come together as a community.

Mayor O'Reilly's positive representation of Muslims is rarely seen on news reports on terrorism and Muslims in the U.S. because Trump's dominant elite racist discourses about Muslims

and Islam overshadows the positive stories about Muslims. The data show that counter-narratives are important to show the world that Muslims can be peaceful in Nigeria and the U.S.

The analysis of news stories in Nigeria shows that news stories operate differently across the globe to benefit the state and racialized social structures. In the U.S. and Britain, the news stories on terrorism upholds dominant ideologies that spread hate and fear of Islam, which spreads Islamophobia. In Nigeria, news stories on terrorism are controlled by the government to serve their political and economic interests. However, in Nigeria, private owned news stations use their platform expose terrorism. To combat terrorism, Nigerian Muslims and Christians use counter-narratives to dispel western ideologies by telling their stories, exposing Boko Haram, challenging the government, and showing unified Nigerian Muslim and Christian communities.

So far, I have addressed how anti-Muslim organizations, and inaccuracy in news reports contribute to the spread of Islamophobia. Now, I will address how Islamophobia impacts the lives of Muslim women. The data show that Muslim women in Britain and the U.S. are impacted by hate crimes because they wear veils. I will look at the experiences of Muslim women in Britain.

On February 4, 2017, BBC shared a story titled "British, female and Muslim" (BBC 2017). In this story, BBC reporter Shaimaa Khalil states,

> Is it becoming a challenge to be British while female and Muslim? Charities dealing with religious hate crimes in the UK say that visibly Muslim women are bearing the brunt of most of these attacks. I spoke to women about their experiences as part of the BBC's 100 Women series. Muslim women have become the number one target for hate crimes in today's Britain and as a Muslim woman myself I want to know how others are dealing with the spikes in attacks. Although identities are being questioned, do they need to integrate more, or do they need to be accepted. I will speak to women from different age groups and backgrounds about what it feels to be British while Muslim female.

The interviews show the challenges Muslim women face when wearing their veils or unveiling to protect themselves from hate crimes. As I have discussed extensively in previous sections, the veil symbolizes a threat to westernization because the veil represents Islam and

terrorism. Western politicians and governments view Islam as a radical threat, and when Muslim women wear the veil it becomes a public signifier of a threat to western civilization. This creates a visibility problem because Muslim woman face the dilemma of "veiling" (wearing veils) or "unveiling" (removing veils). According to Mirza (2012), the visibility of the veil creates negative attention that "embodies" Muslim women (Mirza 2012, 129). That is, the veil is part of Muslim women bodies, yet a signifier of Islam, which makes Muslim women dangerous. As Mirza (2012) argues, the veil is connected to the "war on terror" political rhetoric, that portray Muslim women as "barbaric Muslim others" who practice radical Islam (130). Therefore, in western political rhetoric, the veil is depicted as a symbol of hate, which contributes to the spread of Islamophobia.

The data show that Islamophobia impacts the lives of veiled Muslim women. In her story, Khalil interviewed several Muslim to understand how "veiling" or "unveiling" impacted their everyday experiences in Britain. In her interview, Marian El Mofty shared her story to explain why she unveils to protect herself and family from hate crimes. Mofty's story is as follows,

> Marian El Mofty: I struggle internally. For some women a way to avoid potential attacks is appear less Muslim. I have worn the headscarf for 16 years but recently I decided to take it off. I was in a car with my son when a man came so close, he almost crashed into us. He was close enough for me to hear his anti-religious slurs. This car comes up at 50 miles speed, I looked at him and I could see that he was swearing, I was scared naturally, my son was there he was sleeping so he didn't see anything so that was great but it made me rethink that I don't feel safe here wearing it. It was a good decision because I saw the difference and I saw the impact on my kids on the social life. Personally, speaking on me, when I am leaving the house I am not stressed going out. The burden has been lifted.
>
> Shaimaa Khalil: Are you telling me that you can't walk out with a head scarf and feel safe?
>
> Marian El Mofty: I had two choices, I could have kept wearing it and faced the consequences or trying to have a bigger understanding of how things flow so I can have a better day to day experience with my children. I still have my days, I still struggle sometimes internally, I do not show it to my kids. But it has been difficult because I have been wearing it for the past 16 years, it is part of who I am.

Marian El Mofty makes a powerful statement by stating that some Muslim women choose to "appear less Muslim" for their safety, thus, rendering their Muslimness invisible (BBC 2017).

The micro level aggression by the driver is an example of racial hostility, which forces Marian El Mofty to hide her veil for her protection. Stripping herself of the public signifier that identifies her as a Muslim woman, demonstrates the impact Islamophobia has on Muslim women. The choice to be invisible is a sacrifice Marian El Mofty makes to be protected from hate crimes. This story is very similar to Alaa Basatneh's interview with CNN anchor Carol Costello, where she revealed that she is "no longer safe to walk on the streets with a head scarf on" (CNN 2016). Both Marian El Mofty and Alaa Basatneh chose to unveil to avoid micro level aggression, which makes their Muslimness invisible. However, this invisibility comes at a cost to their emotional and psychological well-being because they were raised as devout Muslims, and unveiling impacts their religious beliefs, morals, and values. As Marian El Mofty explained, she struggles internally because she is betraying her upbringing as a Muslim, but to survive, she must unveil. This shows that unveiling is a survival strategy for Muslim women, but when they unveil, they are conflicted morally between religion and safety. Therefore, Islamophobia has an impact on their lives, and the choices Muslim women make to survive and protect their families.

On the other side of the story, some Muslim women choose to wear their veils, which heightens their visibility and hostility they experience on the macro, meso and micro levels. In her interviews, Khali addressed hostility towards "veiled" Muslim women. For instance, Khalil asked Iman Abou Atta of "Tell Mama," the Institute of Race Relations this question: "do you feel in general that the U.K. environment is more hostile towards British Muslim women?" (BBC 2017) According to Iman Abou Atta, Muslims are the most affected by hate crimes after Brexit and most of the attacks target Muslim women who wear veils (BBC 2017). Khalil points out that this hate crime happens during face-to-face interactions and through online harassment. To support Khalil's point, Iman Abou Atta shared her report below,

> The abuse spikes online then transcends into physical abuse within 24 to 48 hours. In Brexit the abuse happened online and in the physical at the same time when the results were out. Whereas in the Paris case the attacks shifted from online to the physical world within 24 hours. These are terms most commonly used in anti-Muslim tweets – Allah, death, rat, women, hate, attack, terrorism, Muslim, Mosque, fire, immigration, white, Quran.
> It impacts the mobility of these women; it impacts the day to day activities of these Muslim women. So, in our 2015 data analysis there are three hot spots where this assault takes places against Muslim women and the Muslim community. It is on public transports, or while they are doing their day-to-day activities like shopping. When they are being attacked, they think about not going out of the house and avoid the public transport and shopping. It is hindering their mobility.

This report shows how racism against Muslim women manifests on the meso and micro levels. Physical and online abuse of Muslim women who wear veils, are characteristics of meso and micro aggressions perpetuated by anti-Muslim organizations and individual actors. As I discussed earlier, Britain First, the anti-Muslim organization, uses the Internet to stalk, abuse, intimidate and threaten Muslims, and spread hate propaganda. Individual actors have physically threatened Muslim women with knives and racial slurs. Based on the data, I argue that political rhetoric about the veil on the macro level, influences the online rhetoric on the meso level, which in turn influences the aggression by individual actors on the micro level. Therefore, racial discourses on the macro, meso and micro levels uphold dominant racist ideologies about the veil being linked to Islam and terrorism, which increases hostility towards Muslim women.

Furthermore, Khalil reports that online and physical abuse can get aggressive, and this impacts how Muslim women negotiate their identities. According to Khalil, Muslim women deal with Islamophobia all the time, and they worry that their identities are being questioned. The question of identity is a complex issue in Britain, especially with Muslim women who want to feel safe in a country they call home. Khalil interviewed several Muslim women about their experiences as British Muslims. Their answers are as follows,

> Nadiya Hussain, celebrity author and first British woman to win the British Bake Off: I am proud to be British. It was a lot of negativity and it was difficult to read most of the stuff

> and we had to have police presence around the house and people around the house. The kids were safe with the security and the people out there were empty threats. There were moments when I thought, what have I done, are my kids safe. As much as I put a smile on my face, I did think – gosh what have I done? For me as a person I did really feel like, would I be accepted, or will it be a big deal that I wear a head scarf? Yes, there is negativity, but I am comfortable in myself, I am comfortable being me and I wouldn't change that for the world. I am so proud of being British and I live in a lovely country, despite the negativity that I have received, those negative people and those negative comments are the minority and I don't let that dictate how I live my life.
>
> Samayya Afzal: I feel like my identity is made up of what other people's perceptions of me which is really difficult and a hostile environment to begin with. Now I feel like people are more bold in their racism and Islamophobia that it has made me really question whether this is my home because I was born here and this is all that I have ever known but I've been made to question that.
>
> Saba Zaman: What irks me the most is that I constantly get asked if I am British and I do not feel I need to answer that.
>
> Hifsa Iqbal: If you look at the 4% of Muslims in this country we are from a diverse background and we are all very different but what we do have in common is that we are British. They need to know that Muslims are ordinary people doing the same jobs as everybody else, having the same struggles as everybody else and until we get that image out there in some way, I think these problems are going to remain.
> Aina Khan: Muslims need to mobilize because they cannot be passive, they are victims but passive members of our community.

These responses share one thing in common, all the Muslim women are afraid to live in Britain. They struggle with their identities because they are not acknowledged as British citizens. They long to be accepted into the British community, but the negative perceptions of Muslims as terrorists hinders their sense of belonging and acceptance. These negative perceptions of Muslims are influenced by dominant racist ideologies that "other" Muslims as inferior compared to white British citizens. For instance, Samayya Afzal's experiences with racism and Islamophobia makes her question her identity as a British citizen. As I discussed previously, Afzal was threatened with a knife by a white man as she walked home with her friends. Afzal's experiences with Islamophobia shapes her identity, which leans more towards her Muslim identity than her British identity. On the other hand, Nadiya Hussain chose to embrace her Muslim and British identities

despite the negativity she experienced after winning the British Bake Off. Hussain wants to be accepted as a British citizen and she professes her love for Britain as a sign of loyalty to her country. Despite the impact of Islamophobia on Muslims, Hussain accepts both her Muslim and British identities as part of her reality. Though Afzal and Hussain navigate their identities in different ways, both women are impacted by Islamophobia, which makes them targets of racism.

Furthermore, Muslim women are forced to authenticate their Britishness by proving themselves to the standards of British citizenship, and this impacts the way they identify themselves. For instance, Saba Zaman is irritated with the fact that her British citizenship is frequently questioned because she is a Muslim. Zaman and Afzal share the same sentiments of not being recognized as British citizens. Similarly, Hifsa Iqbal is frustrated because the perception of Muslims as terrorists is preventing Muslims from being authentic British citizens. Iqbal believes that if people do not change their negative perceptions about Muslims, the issue of racism and Islamophobia will continue to impact Muslim communities. To change the negative perceptions of Muslims in Britain, Aina Khan suggests that Muslims should be less passive and more aggressive in fighting back against online and physical abuse. Khan suggests that Muslims must dismantle dominant ideologies that perceive them as terrorists. If Muslims can change the negative perception of Muslims, they believe their British Muslim identities will be authenticated. But they feel that their fear of hate crimes must be addressed before they can mobilize for change.

The state of fear in the Muslim community often leads Muslim women to hide or unveil, which begs the question, what is the police department doing to protect Muslim women from hate crimes in the U.K.? In her interviews, Khalil addressed this question with Muslim women and the British police department. The interview is as follows,

> Shaimaa Khalil: What do the authority need to do?
>
> Aina Khan: They need to take these issues more seriously because it is a problem.
>
> Shaimaa Khali: Based on hate crimes and threats, many victims are reluctant to go to the police either because they do not want to attract attention to themselves or maybe they feel that the police will not do anything about them. Metropolitan Police reported the since September 2015, the U.K. saw a 60% rise in anti-Muslim abuse, with 1335 cases recorded.
>
> Shaimaa Khalil: Most of the Muslim women I have spoken to have told me that in one way or another they expect to be attacked because of their religion, what do you say to that?
> Commander Mak Chishty, Metropolitan Police: I don't think that they should expect it, they don't need to expect it and I don't want them to expect it. But I do absolutely understand why they fear like that, as I said in the last 12 months Islamophobia has risen by 58% and especially for a female who is expressing her religion through her dress, so she is visibly Islamic in the streets, on the train, on the tube, on her way to school and that makes her a more visible target. We do encourage people to report things to us because we want to catch and bring to justice the people who are offending. Second, by giving us a full report in pattern we can have officers placed in the places of attack to make people feel safer.

Commander Chishty acknowledges that the visibility of the veil makes Muslim women targets of hate crimes. However, on the macro level, Commander Chishty is part of the government and his concern for Muslim women is questionable, especially when the British government created laws to discourage and prevent Muslim women from wearing veils. As a member of the police department, Commander Chishty represents the state and enforces the laws and policies that discriminate against Muslim women. When the state enacts laws that target the veil, it encourages hate crimes on the meso and micro levels. An example of a state law that targets Muslim women is the British multicultural policy. The British government uses multiculturalism to exclude and racialize veiled Muslim women. Historically, Meer, Nasar, and Tariq Modood (2009), argue that,

> Multiculturalism in Britain consists of an approach through which post-war migrants who arrived as Citizens of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth (CUKC),12 and subsequent British-born generations, have been recognized as ethnic and racial minorities requiring state support and differential treatment to overcome distinctive barriers in their exercise of citizenship.

However, Meer, Neer and Modood (2009), argue that though the multiculturalism policy was enacted to recognize ethnic and racial minorities, there is a Muslim exception to this policy because of their religious beliefs. According to Meer, Neer and Modood this exception is,

> Particularly the case when Muslims are currently perceived to be – often uniquely – in contravention of liberal discourses of individual rights and secularism and is exemplified by the way in which visible Muslim practices such as veiling have in public discourses been reduced to and conflated with alleged Muslim practices such as forced marriages, female genital mutilation, a rejection of positive law in favour of criminal sharia law and so on. This suggests a radical 'otherness' about Muslims and an illiberality about multiculturalism, and since the latter is alleged to license these practices, opposition to the practice, it is argued, necessarily invalidates the policy.

This statement shows how the British governments racially targets veiled Muslim women who disobey the laws, which excludes them from benefitting from multicultural policies designed to support ethnic and racial minorities. Importantly, this shows that Muslims are "othered" based on their religious belief, which is not compatible with British morals and values. Furthermore, Meer, Neer and Modood (2009), argue that terrorism plays a role in the exclusion of Muslims from benefitting from the British Multiculturalism policy. According to Meer, Neer and Modood,

> In a post-9/11 and 7/7 climate, the explanatory purchase of Muslim cultural dysfunctionality has generated a profitable discursive economy in accounting for what has been described as 'Islamic terrorism' The net outcome of these two issues is a coupling of diversity and anti-terrorism agendas that has implicated contemporary British multiculturalism as the culprit of Britain's security woes. A good illustration of this can be found in a comment by the Labour MP, Tony Wright, who disapproved of the funding of Muslim schools shortly after 9/11 by stating: before September 11 it looked like a bad idea, it now looks like a mad idea'

This shows that the British multicultural policy targets Muslims because there is a dominant western ideology that all Muslims are terrorists, which impacts the lives of Muslim women in Britain. The politics of multiculturalism discourages the veiling of Muslim women, which creates tension in their Muslim communities.

The data show that Muslim women are tensed but they have coping mechanisms to help them deal with their tension. For instance, some Muslim women use comedy to relieve the tension and struggles with racism. In the data, Khalil interviewed Shazia Mirza, a comedian who uses her comedy to cope with racism. In her interview she states,

> Shazia Mirza: I don't think about it, I just laugh. I don't think we should deny who we are because nothing is going to change. We can't live in fear because what comes out of fear is hatred.

Shazia Mirza uses comedy to share her experiences with racism, which is a form of counternarrative that dismantles dominant western ideologies about Muslims. As I explained previously, counternarratives are used to challenge and contradict dominant narratives that racialize Muslims as terrorists. When Muslim women share their stories in the news, it will show a positive side of Muslims. Their stories will show that they are British citizens living ordinary lives like everyone else, but their association with Islam impacts their lives in negative ways. This counternarrative will help change the negative perceptions of Muslims in general.

This analysis shows that Islamophobia impacts the daily activities of Muslim women in Britain, especially, those who wear veils. The implication of Islamophobia is that it creates an atmosphere of fear for Muslim women, which impacts the way they form identities, maneuver their daily activities, and negotiate the consequences of wearing veils. Another implication of Islamophobia is that it racializes Muslim women. The processes of racism start on the macro level with British multicultural policies that oppress and racialize Muslim women who wear veils. The state influences public perceptions of Muslims as terrorists on the meso and micro levels, where hate crimes intimidate and threaten Muslim women who wear veils. Therefore, the process of racialization happens the macro, meso and micro levels, which is manifested through racist state policies and racist attitudes towards Muslim women and the veil. Despite their experiences with

racism, this analysis shows that the veil is a symbol to empower Muslim women identities rather than keep them oppressed under western laws. The veil symbolizes a sense of belonging in their culture, but Islamophobia threatens the existence of their religious norms and values.

The analysis of the theme "Islamophobia the spread of hate," shows that Islamophobia shapes the way Muslims are racialized as dangerous terrorists. Further, the spread of hate towards Islam and Muslims is produced and reproduced on the macro level and disseminated through the meso and micro levels. Elite racist discourses, political rhetoric and news stories on the macro level creates a model mental representation of Islam as a radical evil religion and refer to Muslims as terrorists, thus, linking terrorism to Islam and Muslims. These negative representations influence the perceptions of anti-Muslim organizations and individual actors about Muslims. These perceptions lead to hate crimes against Muslims, especially Muslim women who visibly wear veils. Public signifiers that symbolize Islam, such as the veil, segregates, excludes and isolates Muslim women from state resources and everyday activities in their communities. The implication of Islamophobia is that it impacts the social status, economic mobility, and identity construction of Muslims. Therefore, elite racist discourses contribute to the spread of Islamophobia that shapes the way transnational racial discourses are constructed about Muslims in an era of global terrorism, which shows a relationship between discourse and racialization.

The third theme is "The invisibility of West Africa". While the data show the visibility of Muslims in western news stories about terrorism and Islamophobia, the data suggests that Africa remains invisible in western news stories about terrorism. In this section, I will examine how West Africa remains invisible despite the visible presence of terrorism in Africa. As I have discussed earlier, Boko Haram is a terrorist organization in Nigeria, and they are responsible for the mass killing of Christians and Muslims in Nigeria. In the data, Boko Haram is highly visible in Nigeria,

yet, western news stories have limited coverage of terrorism in Africa. The data show that on June 22, 2014, CNN shared a news story titled "Red news, blue news: Islamophobia" (CNN 2014). Brigitte Gabriel and Linda Sarsour talk about the representation of Muslims in the news. The discussion is as follows,

> Linda Sarsour: There is a lack of representation of peaceful Muslim going on about their day and being surgeons or accountants in the media. Instead we cover ISIS marching through with black flags looking super terrified.
>
> Brigitte Gabriel: Where are the voices of the moderate Muslims when Boko Haram captured girls and they disappeared, and we do not know where they are?
>
> Linda Sarsour: There are people out there who stood up on Boko Haram, on terrorism on 9/11, there are national Muslim organizations who continue day in and day out to put out statements. Is the media covering it? I don't have control over the media to cover these stories.

This conversation is important because it shows that some Americans are aware of Boko Haram, and they acknowledge that western news media does not cover terrorism in Africa. But why does the media cover terrorist activities on ISIS and not Boko Haram? Though the data does not show the reason why western news stories do not cover terrorism in Africa, the data show that western perceptions of Africa as an inferior continent plays a role in the invisibility of African in news stories on terrorism. For instance, on January 13, 2018, CNN shared a news story titled "CNN anchor brought to tears over Trump remark: Trump slams immigrants from shithole countries" (CNN 2018). In this story CNN anchor Alisyn Camerota had a panel discussion to discuss Trump's racist remark where he called African nations "shithole countries". The news panel guests are, Alisyn Camerota, April Ryan, and David Gregory. The panel discussion is as follows:

> April Ryan: We have to really look at the facts, Presidents from Barrack Obama, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush have really tried to work with Africa. Trump is basically saying that Africa and Haiti do not exist, and Africa is very important, and he needs to focus on Africa and not look at them as a big loser country. Africa has issues of terrorism and countries which are not democratically ruled, but you also have a greatness in Africa, and they are rich in oil and China is working with Africa and building infrastructures. It is

> not just about racism. This President doesn't know what Africa and Haiti brings to the global community.
>
> Alisyn Camerota: We don't want people who ran into a burning building in this country? That's just heart breaking, you don't want people who suffer, you don't want people who come from places where things are bad? You also do not want people who are not blonde hair and blue eyed. You just want Norwegians.
>
> David Gregory: The president's disapproval rate is so high because he has made himself such a narrow thinking and narrow governing political figure who is not expanding his base and he is not really reflective of America, he is reflective of a strain of populism in this country that did result in his election. There is a pattern of hatefulness, ignorance and a record of racist attitudes that he brought into his campaign that pre-dates his time.

The reactions from the panelists captures the sentiments some American had when Trump said that he did not want Africans and Haitians from "shithole countries" migrating to the U.S. As I mentioned earlier in the introduction section of chapter one, Trump said that he preferred blue eye, blonde hair Norwegian immigrants and not African immigrants. Trump's perception of Africa on the macro level shapes the way people perceive Africans on the meso and micro levels. When Trump refers to Africa as a "shithole" continent, he is racially categorizing Africans as poor people, which "others" Africans as inferior compared to blue eye, blonde hair Norwegians. Trump's representation of Africans as poor inferior people heightens their invisibility in global discourses on terrorism. As April Ryan stated, Trump is contributing to the invisibility of Africans by ignoring the issues of terrorism and underestimating the economic capital that Africa commands in the global community (CNN 2018). Furthermore, David Gregory states that Trump's hatefulness, ignorance, and racist attitudes are part of deep-rooted dominant racist ideologies that create racialized social systems to discriminate and exclude people of color (CNN 2018). When Africans are racialized and excluded, it heightens their invisibility, which impacts their possibility of receiving global support to combat terrorism. Therefore, elite racist discourses on the macro

level, play a role in the invisibility of West African immigrants in discourses on global terrorism. In the next section I will begin my discussion of the analysis.

Discussion

This study found a relationship between discourse and racialization because verbal language in news stories produce and reproduce elite racist discourses, that contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about Muslims in Nigeria, Britain, and the U.S. Transnational racial discourses about Muslims are constructed on the macro, meso and micro levels. The discussion on the analysis will be organized according to the research questions.

The first research question is "how does the framing of Muslims by news media in Nigeria, Britain and the U.S. contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourse about Muslims in an era of global terrorism?". Media frames of Muslims as "terrorists" "evil," "radical," and "extremists," in news stories draws negative attention to Muslim identities as dangerous, which contributes to the spread of Islamophobia and the construction of transnational racial discourses. I argue that the media are sites where racialized images of Muslims as terrorists are framed, produced, and reproduced to reinforce dominant racist ideologies about Muslims. According to Reese, Gandy and Grant (2001), media frames can be understood by "identifying frames as pictures, setting the tone on media contents and organizing the structures of messages conveyed through news stories" (Reese, Gandy, Grant 2001). That is, the media selects a picture or frame, and capitalizes on the image of "terrorists" in news stories to draw attention to Muslims. For instance, when news media uses the frame "terrorist" to represent Muslims, they are drawing

attention to Muslims as terrorist. Further, the media sets a tone of fear when Muslims are framed as "terrorists" and "threats" to national security, which contributes to the spread of Islamophobia. Additionally, the media uses frames to organize ideas that create storylines based on terrorism. That is, news media develops stereotypical images (terrorist, radical, evil, Islamist, extremist) of Muslims that support dominant narratives of terrorism. Media frames are biased perceptions of Muslims, which are selected and organized by the media to perpetuate racist stereotypes of Muslims as terrorists. The implication of media frames is that negative depictions of Muslims as terrorists, influence public perceptions and racist discourses on the meso and micro levels, which racializes Muslims. Therefore, media frames of Muslims as terrorists, contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about Muslims in the U.S., Britain, and Nigeria.

Furthermore, the findings show that the media amplifies racism on the state level and reinforces elite racist discourses by linking terrorism to Islam and Muslims, where Muslims are mis-represented as terrorists. The news stories are framed along the lines of Islamophobia, where Islam is portrayed as "evil," "radical," "extremism," and threats to western civilization. In the data, there are substantial information about news media misrepresentation of Muslims as terrorists, that influence the way groups and individual actors perceive Muslims. The spread of Islamophobia, and negative perceptions of Muslims as terrorists in news stories shaped the mindsets of anti-Muslim organizations and individual actors, which led to racial discrimination against Muslims. Therefore, the news media frames Muslims as terrorists, which contributes to the spread of Islamophobia and the construction of transnational racial discourses about Muslims in the U.S., Britain, and Nigeria.

The second research question is "what dominant discourses in news stories emerged about West African Muslims in an era of global terrorism, and how the discourses compare to discourses

about Middle Eastern Muslims?". Dominant discourses that emerged in news stories from CNN and BBC depicted Arab Muslims as terrorists, and dominant discourse that emerged about West Africa on CNN depicted Africans as poor and inferior people. In the news stories, CNN and BBC portrayed Muslims as Arab men with long beards/turbans, and Arab women with veils. When BBC and CNN news stories reported on terrorism, the visual images of Muslims were like Osama Bin Laden. I argue that after the terrorist attack in New York on September 11, 2001, Arab Muslims and people who are presumed to be Muslims have been racialized as terrorists based on their physical characteristics. For instance, in the data, Linda Sarsour shared her opinions on CNN (2014), about media characterizations of Muslims as terrorists, which is as follows,

> Linda Sarsour: Fox News perpetuates Islamophobia and "Jihad raging worldwide" is a theme is Fox News. Fox regularly hands over its megaphones to speakers who are worried about the threats posed by radical Islam. But what is missing is any semblance of balance. There is a lack of representation of peaceful Muslim instead we cover ISIS marching through with black flags looking super terrified. Let's look at the Boston bombing, the first front page came out on the New York Post of two young Algerian boys with book bags calling them the bad men. Immediately when an incident happens in this country that includes someone who just happens to be of Arab country origin or Muslim we immediately start talking about terrorism and domestic terrorism.

Sarsour's concerns reflect on the lived experiences of Arab Muslims who are surveilled, monitored and racially profiled as terrorists. Historically, Edward Said (1981) argues that westem dominant discourses and the media have characterized the "orient" and Middle Eastern Muslims as "barbarians," "terrorists," and "bloodthirsty mobs," who threaten the west (Said 1981, 6). These western depictions of Arab Muslims continue to be part of the dominant racist discourse about Muslims. Specifically, the racial categorization of Arab Muslims as terrorists heightened after the "war on terror" speech by President Bush, where he referred to Muslims as "evil" "enemies" and threats to the U.S. The "war on terror" rhetoric created the terrorist image, which became the face of Arab Muslims, Sikhs, Indians, and brown skin people. During this period, images of Osama Bin

Laden, and members of ISIS dominated news stories about terrorist attacks. The news media framed the way people perceived Muslims, by sensationalizing news stories about terrorism and linking the face and characteristics of Arab Muslims to terrorist acts. In current times, as Sarsour's statement confirms, Arab Muslims and brown skin people continue to be prominent images associated with terrorist acts on western news stories, and they remain targets of U.S. and British national security surveillance, monitoring and racial profiling. I argue that a possible reason why Arab Muslims are talked about more in dominant discourses as terrorists is that their physical characteristics (long beard, turban, veil, hijab) and religious beliefs in Islam are historically and currently linked with terrorism. Therefore, in Britain and the U.S., the dominant discourses that emerged about terrorism depicted Arab Muslims as terrorists.

On the other hand, in Nigeria, majority of the news stories focus on Nigerian Muslims not Arab Muslims because there is a large Nigerian Muslim population and terrorist activities by Boko Haram in Nigeria. News stories that emerge in Nigeria are influenced by extremism and terrorist acts perpetrated by Boko Haram. One interesting observation about news stories in Nigeria is that the news did not show the faces of Boko Haram terrorists. Unlike Arab Muslims who are associated with Osama Bin Laden features, Boko Haram has no face or identity, so we do not know who they are or what they look like in person. But their crimes speak volumes to their capacity to commit mass murders. Since Boko Haram emerged from Northern Nigeria, the general assumption is that they are Nigerian Muslims. Therefore, in Nigeria the dominant discourses that emerged about terrorism portrayed Boko Haram as dangerous terrorists.

However, I found that in western news stories, the dominant discourse about West Africa depicted Africans as poor inferior people. CNN (2018) reported that Trump referred to Africa as a "shithole" continent, which sparked a global controversy about the inferiorization of Africans as

poor subpar people (CNN 2018). Trump's mental representation of Africa as an impovershed continent "others" Africans as inferior. The "othering" and depiction of Africans as inferior poor people influences the way Americans perceive Africans. The inferiorization of Africans as inferior people by racialized social structures excludes and isolates Africans, which contributes to the invisibility of West African Muslims. Therefore, dominant discourses that emerge in the news stories depict West African Muslims as inferior "others," which contributes to their invisibility and contruction of transnational racial discourses about Wester African Muslim immigrants.

The third research question is "how does the dominant discourse about terrorism impact West African Muslim immigrants in the popular discourse?". I found that dominant discourses lumps all Muslims as terrorists and this impacts the lives of non-violent Muslims in Nigeria, who are racially categorized as terrorists because of terrorist activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria. As Hakeem Olajuwon and other Nigerians stated in their stories, western news media lumps all Muslims as terrorists without seperating non-violent Muslims from violent Muslims (Boko Haram, ISIS). The implication here is that non-violent Nigerian Muslims will be racially categorized as terrorists, which will impact their global relationships, and economic mobility. Therefore, dominant racist discourses that depict West African Muslims as terrorists, impacts their upward social mobility and contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African Muslim immigrants.

Furthermore, I found that Trump's elite racist discourses "other," and inferiorize Africa as a "shithole" continent, which impacts migration aspirations for West African Muslims. The "othering" of West Africans is of type of racial categorization based on cultural, ethnic, and religious differences between the inferior "other" and western superior. As Omi and Winant (1994) argue, the "determination of racial categories is an intense political process" where the "concept

of race and one's identity" influences the "allocation of resources" that "frame diverse political issues and conflicts" (3). That is, racial categorization of the "other," and the inferiorization of West African Muslims influence how state resources, such as immigration visas are issued to them. When the state racially categorizes West African Muslims as inferior, the state is maintaining a racial hierarchy that excludes the "other". Therefore, dominant discourses that depict West African Muslims as poor inferior people, impacts their lives through immigration, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses.

In this study, I have shown that elite racist discourses racialize Muslims at the macro, meso and micro levels, which impacts their lives and contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about Muslims. However, Muslims are not silent about their oppression, and they are fighting back against western ideologies that depict them as terrorists and inferior "others". To gain agency, Muslims produce counter narratives to contest stereotypes depicted in news stories and political rhetoric. For instance, in Britain, Shazia Mirza uses her platform as a comedian to change dominant narratives of Islamophobia, by celebrating her identity as a Muslim woman. Further, Nadiya Hussain, a celebrity chef, and author, is the first British woman and Muslim to win the British Bake Off. Hussain uses her platform to celebrate her Muslim and British identities, which shows a positive representation of Muslims. In the U.S., Linda Sarsour, "Director of the Arab American Association of NY," uses her platform to counter negative news stories portrayals of Muslims as radicalized terrorists. Sarsour is a popular speaker on news networks, where she promotes positive representations of Muslims as professionals because there is a lack of positive representation of peaceful Muslims in the media. In Nigeria, Basketball Hall of Fame inductee, Hakeem Abdul Olajuwon uses his celebrity platform to denounce terrorist organizations and promote a positive image of Islam and non-violent Muslims. Therefore, it is important that

Muslims continue to use counter narratives to dismantle racialized social structures and change the negative narrative into positive narratives about Muslims. Positive representations about Muslims will influence public perception and contribute to the construction of transnational positive discourses about Muslims globally.

In conclusion, this study shows a relationship between discourse and racialization because Trump's elite racist discourses creates a climate of fear and anxiety for Muslims, especially veiled Muslim women. Elite racist discourses shape and influence the way racial categories and racialization are processed on the macro, meso and micro levels. In Britain, I found that Trump's racist ideologies created an atmosphere of anger amongst BBC news journalists, and the House of Commons Speaker John Bercow, but Britain shares the same morals and values as the U.S. The British government racializes Muslims as terrorists, inferior "others" and evil enemies who threaten British national security. Therefore, the evilification of Muslims as evil enemies in state rhetoric moves across racist discourses in the U.S. and Britain because Muslims are perceived to be terrorists who are radicalized by Islam.

Furthermore, I found that the media, state, anti-Muslim organizations, and individual actors, contribute to the spread of Islamophobia. Specifically, I found that Trump's racist political rhetoric about Islam, contributes to the spread of Islamophobia in the U.S and in Britain. On the macro level, Trump's political rhetoric "radical Islamic terror," incites fear, hate and Islamophobia, which influence the meso and micro levels. I argue that Islamophobia is a contemporary form of racism, and racialization of Muslims in the U.S. and Britain because Islamophobia "other" Muslims, which incites racial hostility towards Muslims. Further, I found that inaccurate news stories about Muslims, and terrorism in the U.S. and Britain upholds dominant western ideologies that spread hate and fear of Islam, which spreads Islamophobia. In Nigeria,

news stories on terrorism are controlled by the government to serve their political and economic interests. However, private owned television stations use their platform to tell the truth about Boko Haram, give Nigerian victims a voice to tell their stories, and combat terrorism. To combat terrorism, Nigerian Muslims and Christians use news stories to share counter narratives about their experiences with terrorist attacks, expose the Boko Haram terrorist organization, challenge the government to arrest Boko Haram extremists and show religious harmony and unity amongst Nigerian Muslims and Christian communities.

Additionally, I found that Islamophobia impacts the lives of Muslim women, especially those who wear veils in public. In elite racist discourses, the veil is a symbol of Islam and terrorism, which creates a hostile environment for veiled Muslim women. Because of veiling, Muslim women are racially attacked, excluded, and oppressed within racialized social structures, which heightens their invisibility. Further, I found that Black/African Muslim women immigrants are segregated and oppressed based on race, religion, and immigrant status, which makes them "triple minorities". I argue that race, religion, and immigrant status are categories of differences, that intersect simultaneously to oppress, discriminate, and marginalize Muslim women. The oppression, marginalization and discrimination of Black/African Muslim women immigrants are located at the intersection of race, religion, and immigrant status, where inequality is visible through their experiences. The implication of marginalization is that Muslim women are excluded from political participation, where they can engage in political action to change their underprivileged circumstances. If Muslim women cannot engage in political debates or activities to stop discrimination, their voices will be silenced, which renders them invisible. Therefore, on the macro level, Islamophobia is manifested through state elite racist discourses about Muslims.

On the meso level, Islamophobia is manifested through anti-Muslim organizations such as British First, who instill the fear and hatred of Islam into its followers. Anti-Muslim organizations engage in the production and reproduction of racism, which is visible through hate speeches influenced by elite racist discourses on the macro level.

On the micro level, individual actors are influenced by Islamophobic rhetoric by both the macro and meso levels. In everyday experiences, ordinary people use verbal/nonverbal hostility, hate slurs/crimes to intimidate and threaten Muslim women who visibly wear veils. When Muslim women are racially attacked, they become isolated, paranoid, afraid to wear their veils and socialize in public. Importantly, racial tensions between Muslim women and British/American citizens, influence the way Muslim women construct their Muslim and British/American identities. Muslim women try to negotiate what identities based on safety, moral beliefs, and citizenship. Some Muslim women unveil to protect their families, but some question their Muslim and westem identities, while others embrace both identities as part of their dual citizenships. This dilemma about identity construction, is part of the impact of Islamophobia because when Muslim women are racially categorized as terrorists, and excluded from white American/British communities, they are forced to negotiate their identities between Islam and western citizenship. Therefore, Islamophobia is manifested through the process of racialization, which happens on the macro, meso and micro levels, and activated through racist rhetoric and attitudes towards Muslim women. The implication of Islamophobia is that it impacts social, political, economic mobility and the way Muslim women construct their identities.

Subsequently, I found that West Africa was not acknowledged on BBC and CNN news because Africans are "othered" as inferior people. Trump's comments about Africa being a "shit hole" is rooted in dominant racist ideologies that create racialized social systems to discriminate

and exclude Black people, especially African Muslim immigrants from third world countries. When Africans are "othered" and inferiorized based on their racial, ethnic, cultural differences, it heightens their invisibility. The invisibility of West African Muslim immigrants is at the intersection of their race, religion, and immigrant status, which makes them "triple minorities". The implication of invisibility is that West African immigrants will be isolated and excluded from state immigration resources.

The themes revealed that race is a social construct, where racialized social structures organize Muslims into racial categories as terrorists. The state plays a role in racializing and discriminating against Muslims and African Muslim immigrants. Essentially, state discourses shapes how individual actors, and groups classify Muslims and African Muslim immigrants along racial lines. Muslims are racially categorized as terrorists, enemies, and threats to western national security. Therefore, racist discourses on the macro, meso and micro levels contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about Muslims in the U.S., Britain, and Nigeria.

Further, I found that news stories from CNN and BBC reported more on Arab Muslims and less on West African Muslims. On the other hand, Nigerian Muslims dominate news stories because Muslims are the largest population in Nigeria. Western news media cover limited stories on West African Muslims because dominant raicst discourses "other" and inferiorizes Africans, which heightens their invisitbility. When news media depicts West African Muslim immigrants as inferior, these dominant discourses contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African Muslim immigrants. This this study will add to existing literature on transnational Black immigration and African Muslim immigration by showing that the racialization of Black/African Muslim immigrants heightens their invisibility and impacts their social, political, economic mobility.

CHAPTER III

THE INVISIBILITY OF WEST AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AND TRANSNATIONAL RACIAL DISCOURES IN GLOBAL DISCOURSES ON TERRORISM IN THE U.S.: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

This article seeks to find how the transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims) contribute to their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism in the U.S. While these studies have provided important insights into the experiences of Muslims in the U.S. since 9/11, they have not adequately explored the relationship between discourse and racialization that is embedded in elite racist discourses. In this study, I argue that the relationship between discourse and racialization are manifested through elite racist discourses that emerge in U.S. immigration policies influenced by global terrorism that racialize West African immigrants as terrorists, criminals, and fraudsters, which shapes transnational racial discourses about them and heightens their invisibility.

For this study, I define invisibility as a circumstance, by which West African immigrants are not seen, acknowledged, or valued in the U.S. In earlier studies on Black immigration, Byrce-Laporte (1972), argues that Black immigrants in the U.S. suffer "double invisibility as immigrants and black immigrants" (Byrce-Laporte 1972, 54). That is, Black immigrants are invisible on two levels, first as immigrants and second as "Black" immigrants. Similarly, I argue that West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims) are invisible because they are Black, African, Muslim and immigrants, which makes them "quadruple minorities" who experience "quadruple

invisibility". The term "quadruple minority" is inspired by Congresswoman Ilhan Omar's "triple minority" concept, where she argues that being a Black Muslim immigrant is a disadvantage in Trump's era. Similarly, I argue that being a quadruple minority is a disadvantage in Trump's era because race, ethnicity, religion, and immigrant status, intersect to marginalize West African immigrants through immigration policies, which heightens their quadruple invisibility. West African immigrants are invisible because there is a dominant racial discourse that depicts them as poor, fraudulent criminals, which contributes to their invisibility in global discourses on terrorism.

Utilizing critical discourse analysis as a methodology to analyze news releases from the White House and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcements (ICE), this article explores the rhetorical discourse about West African immigrants in the U.S. (Dijk 2000; Yusha'u 2012, Machin and Mayr 2012). I examined written texts about West African immigrants produced by U.S. government agencies namely, the White House and ICE to explore the extent to which West African immigrants are talked about and linked to terrorism and national security. I examined 16 press news releases published on the White House website that contained root words "immigration" and "West African immigrants". I examined 4 press news releases published on the ICE website that contained roots words "immigration" and "West African immigrants". I sourced my data directly from the White House and ICE websites because both websites provided updates on U.S. immigration policies about West African immigrants. The data were coded for themes that represent the ongoing research questions that drive the social inquiry for this study. This article provides a synopsis of the dominant racist discourses about West African immigrants.

The theoretical frameworks racial formation and intersectionality theories argue that the state is central in the racialization of immigrants of color because it facilitates racial tension at the policy level (Miles and Brown 2003; Omi and Winant 1994). The role of the state racial

domination is important because the state racializes West African immigrants based on the western ideologies about Africans and Black people. Miles and Brown (2003) refer to this practice as racialization, which is a social process where people express and imitate already known racist ideologies that lead to racial discrimination. In support, Omi and Winant (1994), argue that state upholds dominant racist ideologies that discriminate, and exclude non-whites in state policies. A combination of racial formation and intersectionality theories serve as theoretical frameworks to understand how the state forms racial categories and how race, ethnicity, religion, and immigration intersect to explain inequality and discrimination. This theoretical framework provides an ideal context to examine elite racist discourses about West African immigrants, and how these discourses are influenced by race, ethnicity, religion, and immigrant status.

The importance of this article is to show that U.S. immigration policies, and political rhetoric racially categorize West African immigrants as poor, fraudulent, and violent criminals, which influence public perception, contributes to the transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants and heightens their invisibility. This article compliments existing literature that focus on Black immigration, and sheds light on the ways that West African immigrants are discussed through U.S. immigration policies. This article was limited because it focused on only 20 press releases from the U.S., so it is impossible to generalize the findings. Therefore, this study is not representative of all the dominant discourses and perceptions that emerge in immigration policies about West African immigrants in the U.S. However, this study will add to the existing literature on transnational racial discourses by showing how elite racist discourses about West African immigrants emerge in U.S. immigration policies and political rhetoric that influence the transnational racial discourse about them, which heightens their invisibility.

Methodology

The following section describes the data collection procedures used in this study. First, I will discuss critical discourse analysis methodology. Second, research design will be discussed to understand why a qualitative method was utilized. Third, the setting for the data collection will be established. Fourth, data collection protocol is discussed. Fifth, the coding procedure for analyzing the data collected is explained.

Adapting critical discourse analysis (CDA), this study is a textual and thematically arranged inquiry into the rhetoric, and policy discourse surrounding the representation of West African immigrants in the U.S immigration policies. To answer my research questions, I conducted a critical discourse analysis on text and language produced by U.S. immigration policies and state officials. The method of analysis used in this study is critical discourse analysis because it allowed me to examine text and language used in elite racist discourses about West African immigrants. Before I dive into CDA, I will define discourse because it is the fundamental part of language and communication.

Dijk (1997) defines discourse as a "form of language, communication of beliefs (cognition) and interaction in social situations" (Dijk 1997). Further, Willig (2013), defines discourse as "research that focuses on the role of language in the construction of social and psychological phenomena" (Willig 2013, 6). According to Willig, discourse analysis allows studies to understand "how the use of language is implicated in the construction of particular events" which center around "social, institutional and psychological effects of discourse and not about the thoughts and feelings within individual speakers" (4). In contrast, Parker (1992) argues that texts and language used to analyze discourse must consider the "speech, writing and non-verbal behavior" (Parker

1992, 7). Thoughts and feelings matter in language because racist thoughts of individual speakers conveyed through rhetorical speeches are discourses that portray specific power strategies used to control the dominant narratives. Discourse incorporates the examination of languages, and feelings of social discourses that are personal and institutional.

Discourse analysis is important because it will analyze transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants through text, language, political rhetoric, and power structures. I will adapt Dijk's model of critical discourse analysis, which critically looks at the "role of discourse in the reproduction and challenge of dominance" (249). Dijk defines dominance as "the exercise of social power by elites, institutions that result in social inequality" (250). Further, Dijk argues that "power and dominance of groups are measured by control over access to discourse" (257). In this study, the U.S. state is considered a powerful institution that uses dominance, and control to produce and reproduce dominant racial discourses about West African immigrants. White House and ICE news releases will be analyzed to show how power and dominance are used to construct transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants, which heightens their invisibility.

The concept of discourse analysis has become popular as a methodology in social sciences. However, scholarly claims have been made that discourse analysis methodology across disciplines is vague and lacks clarification and rigor in engaging the analysis of discourse (Muller 2011, Antaki, Billig, Edwards, and Potter 2003). To resolve this issue, Dijk (1990) stresses the need for "explicit and systematic analyses on serious methods and theories" (14). Further, despite the limitations of discourse analysis, Muller (2011) argues that though discourse analysis does not have a "how-to-do-a-discourse-analysis scheme," it is important that "different forms of discourse analysis" are "tailored to the goals of the study and to the respective concept of discourse in order to fully harness their analytical power" (6). To achieve this goal, Torfing (1999) argues that

discourse analysts should not develop an "all-purpose technique for discourse analysis" because methodologies change based on different theories and empirical findings (292). Therefore, the goal of this study is not to create a new method of discourse analysis but maintain a level of transparency as I utilize critical discourse analysis as a methodology.

To achieve this goal, this study provides a systematic way in which critical discourse analysis plays out in transnational racial discourse scholarship. This systematic discourse analysis approach required the "complex balancing act between the aims and scope of such an analysis, the topic of the research and the type of data" collected (Wetherell 2001, 380). Since this study is interested in how the state frames dominant racist discourses about West African immigrants, the issue of power and dominance come into question in relation to the production and reproduction of transnational racial discourses. The systematic approach that will be used in this study will focus on the state and the political position of dominant racist discourses about West African immigrants.

Furthermore, critical discourse analysis as a methodology serves as a tool to interrogate issues pertaining to the rhetorical production of marginality, racism, discrimination, political/economic oppression and power relations (Dijk 1987, Dijk 1991, Dijk 1993; Wodak and Reisigl 1999). That is, according to Dijk, a critical political approach to discourse analysis must seek to understand how "dominance, hegemony and unequal power relationships or social inequality" take place in political and capitalist driven social structures (Dijk 1993). Therefore, a critical discourse analysis must use a social and political approach to hold "those responsible for the perversion in the reproduction of dominance and inequality" (Dijk 1993, 253).

Subsequently, using a sociopolitical analytical approach in CDA has an advantage because this methodology keeps a division between discourse and social/power relationships, culture, and economy (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, 28-29). Further, Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter

(2000) argue that this division between discourse and social, power, culture and economy allows critical discourse analysis to develop the concept of analysis that facilitates the connection between language or discourse and social/power/cultural structures (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter 2000). That is, critical discourse analysis creates a relationship between language, discourse, and social structures, where dominant ideologies are produced in attempts to create dominant political rhetoric that governs society. The creation of this relationship between language, discourse, and social structures, allows for a critical discourse analytical approach to interrogate institutions that use social power to control and influence public opinion about marginalized groups (Dijk 2001).

In addition to Dijk's CDA method, this study used Machin and Mayr's (2012), CDA strategy to analyze texts and language in the data. First, Machin and Mayr agree with Dijk's (1993), argument that "social relations of power are present in texts both explicitly and implicitly (249). Second, similar to Dijk's stance on power and domination, Machin and Mayr (2012), argue that CDA is a method used to understand the "interrelationship" between power and ideology in texts, and language because "power relations are transmitted and practiced through discourse" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 4). CDA can be used to examine how power relationships are operationalized and conveyed in dominant racist discourses. Therefore, Machin and Mayr argue that we must look at how language, power and ideology interrelate in the production of racist discourses.

According to Machin and Mayr, language can produce and "reproduce social life" because language is a "vehicle of communication, persuasion and the social construction of power and domination" by social structures (24). Machin and Mayr argue that the power of language is produced by people in power, and ordinary people who believe that social structures legitimately govern society. For instance, when Trump was elected, people who voted for him believed that he would govern in their best interest, but his racist political rhetoric negatively influenced the

mindsets of white supremacists who perceived Muslims, Blacks and immigrants to be threats to U.S. national security. Therefore, critical discourse analysis looks at how hegemony operates within dominant groups who "succeed in persuading subordinate groups to accept the moral, political, cultural values and institutions" of dominant groups (Machin and Mayr 2012, 24).

Further, Machin and Mayr argue that when we analyze power, we must also look at how ideologies are formed because ideologies are "important means by which dominant forces in society can exercise power subordinate and subjugated groups" (25). According to Machin and Mayr, ideologies are opinions or views that people as a whole have about the world and critical discourse analysis can be used to "describe the way that the ideas and values that comprise these ideas reflect particular interests on the part of the powerful" (25). For instance, when U.S. immigration policies and Trump's political rhetoric depict West African immigrants as poor inferior, fraudulent, and violent criminals, this ideology is serving Trump's interest because he wants to influence public perception about West African immigrants and restrict them from migrating or benefitting from state resources. Therefore, this study is focused on how U.S. immigration policies and political rhetoric influence the public and contribute to the transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants, which heightens their invisibility.

To understand dominant discourses about West African immigrants, we must look at how language is represented in U.S. immigration policies and political rhetoric. To examine how language is represented, I used Machin and Mayr's "representational strategies in language" CDA method to analyze the themes found in the data. Machin and Mayr define representational strategies in language as a method used to describe how the "communicator's choice of language is used to represent individuals and groups of people, which draws attention to their identity that is associated with certain kinds of discourses" (77). For instance, when U.S. immigration policies

refer to West African immigrants, specifically Nigerians as credit card fraud criminals, the attention is drawn to their "West African identity," which reinforces U.S. immigration political discourses that West African immigrants are fraudulent immigrants who should be banned from migrating to the U.S. According to Machin and Mayr, specifying the West African identity "locates the story in a news frame emphasizing" their "otherness," which makes them part of the immigration problem in the U.S. (78). Therefore, representational strategy in language is a useful method used in CDA to examine immigration policies and racist political rhetoric.

While critical discourse analysis is useful in connecting language and discourse with social power, the researcher must develop a personal and political distance approach to prevent the analyst from making personal judgement and political implications that might jeopardize the analysis and findings. Importantly, Muller (2011) suggests that analysts must maintain a "technical discipline with rules and regularities of the construction of texts, syntactic and sematic schemata interaction" with the data to avoid analytic bias (Muller 2011, 24). I have organized my platform to engage and develop a critical discourse analysis methodology. My goal is to provoke thoughts on transnational racist discourses, encourage discussion and improve methodological transparency in the way critical discourse analysis is utilized in race discourse scholarship.

Regarding the research design, I chose to use qualitative methods because qualitative research will help me to understand how West African immigrants are talked about in the U.S. immigration policies and racist political rhetoric, and how this racial discourse impacts their migration opportunities and heightens their invisibility in an era of global terrorism. Qualitative research allows us to study what we are interested in while keeping an open mind to new understandings. According to Tracy (2013), qualitative methods allow the researcher to concentrate on understanding relationships between cultures, organizations, and mediated settings

(Tracy 2013, 6-7). According to Tracy, the process of understanding relationships requires patience and time, where the researcher must commit to extensive time in collecting extensive data and engaging in the complex, time-consuming process of data analysis through the ambitious task of sorting through large amounts of data and reducing them to a few themes or categories. This period for most researchers can be lonely and isolating while struggling and pondering on the data. The task is challenging, especially because the database consists of complex texts and images. To help mitigate the challenge of a complex database, Tracy (2013) suggests that the researcher must initiate the research question; select the data; collect the data; conduct the data analysis and write the conclusion (Tracy 2013).

Regarding the setting, the data for this study was obtained from publicly available news releases from the White House and ICE. The rationale for choosing these sites is based on the relevance of the contents.

Regarding the data collection, I examined news releases from the White House website. I used the electronic database on the White House website to search for news releases. On the White House website "www.whitehouse.gov," I used the search tool to identify all relevant news releases that related to my root words "immigration" and "West African Immigrants". The search generated a total of 16 relevant press releases. All news releases generated by the term "immigration" and "West African immigrants" were downloaded and printed out for analysis. Further, I examined news releases from ICE website. I used the electronic database on the ICE website to search for news releases. On the ICE website "www.ice.gov," I used the search tool to identify all relevant news releases that related to my root words "immigration" and "West African immigrants". The search generated a total of four relevant press releases. All news releases generated by the term "immigration" and "West African immigrants" were downloaded and printed out for analysis.

These news releases from the White House and ICE are relevant because they provide pertinent information on U.S. immigration policies. The justification for analyzing news from the White House and ICE websites is that these agencies enforce immigration policies that relate to West African immigrants.

The limitation in my data collection is that 20 sources of data is not enough to generalize that the findings speak to all aspects of U.S. immigration policies and racist political rhetoric concerning West African immigrants. However, the data I collected is enough to provoke thought on racialization processes on the macro level and push for further studies to explore in detail how immigration policies heighten the invisibility of immigrants of color, especially West African immigrants. Another limitation of using online news is the issue of "selection bias" from the White House and ICE newsrooms. According to Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule (2004), selection bias is when "news agencies do not report on all events that actually occur" and the news reports are not "representative but structured by various factors such as reporting norms and editorial concerns" based on the news agency's discretion and decision to select the news they want to share with the public (Earl, Martin, McCarthy and Soule 2004, 68-69). However, Earl, Martin, McCarthy and Soule (2004), argue that selection bias does not overshadow that fact that the content of news releases are pertinent to the researcher's interest topic; therefore, "researchers must approach news data with a humble understanding that although not without its flaws, it remains a useful data source" (77). In this study, news on the White House and ICE websites are relevant information that show how immigration policies and racist political rhetoric contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants that heighten their invisibility.

I chose these data sources to address my research questions that seek to understand the issue of the invisibility of West African Muslim immigrants in global terrorism discourses. In the data collection process, I used the following research questions to guide the selection of my data.

- How does the transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims) contribute to their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism and immigration?

- How are dominant immigration ideas incorporated in the processes of racialization and racial categorization of West African immigrants?

Regarding coding, because I relied on a textual, thematic critical discourse analysis method, I developed a coding system based on the research questions to categorize the themes and record the frequency of the themes. According to Barron and Engle (2007), it is beneficial to develop a coding scheme from the research questions because the study "benefits from iterative cycles of work, distributed expertise, and moving across different levels of analysis" (Barron and Eagle 2007, 34). First, I download the data on my computer, and printed the data to enable me to code directly on the documents. Second, I used different color markers to highlight new themes as I manually wrote them down on the right margins of the documents. Third, after the coding process was completed and the themes emerged, I selected a table from the word document with two columns to write the research question on the left side and code the themes on the right side. I repeated this process for all two research questions. After the coding was completed and themes were recorded, I proceeded to outline the findings, which I will discuss in the next section.

Regarding the findings, when the coding process was completed, two core themes emerged: "Protect American citizens from foreign nationals," and "Suspicion of threat to national security". The themes that emerged were linked back to the research questions: how does the transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims)

contribute to their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism and immigration? How are dominant immigration ideas incorporated in the processes of racialization and racial categorization of West African immigrants? These research questions guided the data collection. The questions will be answered by analysing the core themes. In the following section, the analysis will focus on the interpreting the first core theme "protect American citizens from foreign nationals" using CDA.

Analysis

Protect American citizens from foreign nationals. Post 9/11, there have been negative portrayals of Muslims as terrorists in news stories, and West Africans have been portrayed as impoverished subpar people who are fraudulent criminals. This core theme demonstrates a relationship between discourse and racialization through elite racist discourses embedded in U.S. immigration policies that were enacted by Trump's administration to protect American citizens from foreign nationals. Further, this theme shows how Trump's immigration policies demonizes foreign nationals from impoverished and high-risk terrorist countries. In this study, "foreign nationals" refers to immigrants who threaten U.S. national security. Under this core theme, sub-themes emerged, and they are: (1) Protect American citizenship from exploitation. (2) Protect U.S. welfare system. (3) Protect American national security. These themes show how U.S. immigration policies are constructed to protect American citizens from foreign nationals.

For instance, on March 6, 2017, Trump signed an Execute Order titled "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States" (White House 2017). Under the policy and purpose section, Trump made the following statements:

> It is the policy of the United States to protect its citizens from terrorist attacks, including those committed by foreign nationals. The screening and vetting protocols and procedures associated with the visa-issuance process and the United States Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) play a crucial role in detecting foreign nationals who may commit, aid, or support acts of terrorism and in preventing those individuals from entering the United States. The entry into the United States of foreign nationals who may commit, aid, or support acts of terrorism remains a matter of grave concern.

The language in Trump's statements in 2017, set precedents for the construction of the "us" versus "them" dichotomy that separates foreign nationals from American citizens. In Trump's policy, foreign nationals are referred to as "them" and Americans represents "us". As Dijk (1993) argued, elite racist discourses are prominent in political rhetoric that are used to legitimize the "us" versus "them" dichotomy set up by the elite to racialize and exclude people of color. This executive order was created to implement vetting procedures that racially profile and scrutinize foreign nationals who are culturally and ethnically different and pose as threats to the U.S. The vetting process is Trump's way of weeding out foreign nationals and maintaining a racial hierarchy.

There are different vetting processes for various immigration policies, which are based on the 2017 executive order. Under the Executive Order Trump makes the following statements:

> Implementing Uniform Screening and Vetting Standards for All Immigration Programs. The Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence shall implement a program, as part of the process for adjudications, to identify individuals who seek to enter the United States on a fraudulent basis, who support terrorism, violent extremism, acts of violence toward any group or class of people within the United States, or who present a risk of causing harm subsequent to their entry. This program shall include a mechanism to assess whether applicants may commit, aid, or support any kind of violent, criminal, or terrorist acts after entering the United States; and any other appropriate means for ensuring the proper collection of all information necessary for a rigorous evaluation of all grounds of inadmissibility or grounds for the denial of other immigration benefits.

The language used in Trump's executive order is an example of an elite racist discourse. As Dijk argues, elite racist discourses are "production of the speaker's mindset" linked by power and dominance (Dijk 1993). In this case, Trump represents this dominant mindset and mental representation of "foreign nationals" because he is the producer of racist immigration policies that

frame foreign nationals as threats to the U.S. Here, Trump frames foreign nationals as a "violent," "terrorists," "fraudulent," "extremists," and "criminals" who attempt to migrate to the U.S. (White House 2017). These negative characterizations of foreign nationals are represented through language that targets immigrants who are Muslims. Utilizing Machin and Mayr's (2012) "referential strategies," in this executive order, Trump "refers" to the foreign nationals as criminals, which "others" them and creates an "us" versus "them" dichotomy that separates foreigners from Americans. By referring to foreigners as terrorists, Trump is using a rhetorical referential strategy to "other" Muslims who migrate from terrorist countries.

Furthermore, Trump's language represents foreign nationals as "criminals," "extremists," "terrorists," and "frauds" who may "cause harm" to U.S. national security, is a rhetorical representational strategy used to turn Americans against foreign nationals. According to Machin and Mayr's CDA "representational strategies," the "communicator's choice of language is used to represent individuals and groups of people which draws attention to their identity" (77). For instance, Trump "mindset" and mental representation of foreign nationals as violent terrorists, draws attention to their Muslim identities, which influence the way Americans perceive them as terrorists. Eventually, Machin and Mayr argue that this "us" versus "them" dichotomy will create opposites, which can lead to oppositions between foreign nationals and Americans. Therefore, both the referential and representation rhetorical strategies show that Trump produces elite racist discourses based on his "mindset" and mental representations of "foreign nationals" as terrorists and violent criminals. I have demonstrated that elite racist discourses are produced through power and dominance, which shape and influence the way Americans perceive Muslims as terrorists. In the next section I will address the sub-theme "protecting American citizenship from exploitation."

In the sub-theme "protecting American citizenship from exploitation," one way Trump's administration tries to protect Americans from foreign nationals is by protecting Americans from exploitation. Based on U.S. immigration policies, foreign nationals exploit American citizenship through birth tourism. On January 23, 2020, the White House news released a briefing titled "President Donald J. Trump is Taking Action to End Birth Tourism, Protect National Security, and Curb the Abuse of Public Resources" (White House 2020). In this briefing, Trump addressed birth tourism as a fraudulent method by which foreign nationals obtain American citizenship. In his briefing, Trump states,

> The Administration is taking action to end "birth tourism" – a practice in which aliens travel to the United States with the purpose of giving birth to gain citizenship for their children. Organizations bring in large numbers of aliens to systematically exploit this loophole and unfairly provide citizenship for their children. Most birth tourism groups charge tens of thousands of dollars, which often doesn't include coverage for medical care. Groups are flown to the United States and often brought to motels; whose owners are also often complicit in the scheme. The State Department will stop issuing temporary visitor visas to applicants who are traveling to the United States to engage in birth tourism. Citizenship is the crown jewel of the American immigration system and must be vigorously protected from exploitation. Together, we will create an immigration system to make America safer, and stronger, and greater than ever before.

The language in this statement shows how Trump uses his presidential power and dominance to control the narrative of birth tourism by using the "us" versus "them" dichotomy to separate foreign nationals from American citizens. Here, American citizens are represented and referred to as victims of exploitation from foreign "others" who threaten their public safety. Meanwhile, foreign nationals are represented and referred to as "aliens" who exploit American citizenship, which is the precious "crown jewel".

In the data, Trump's immigration policies target Muslim countries primarily populated by people of color. To protect the crown jewel and American citizens from exploitation, Trump created immigration policies to prevent foreign nationals of color from traveling to the U.S. to give

birth. One group of foreign nationals that Trump's immigration policy targets are Nigerians because Nigerians are commonly known to engage in birth tourism. However, Nigerians are not the only foreign nationals that engage in birth tourism. According to the Associated Press (2019), "the Russians are part of a wave of "birth tourists" that includes sizable numbers of women from China and Nigeria" (Associated Press 2019). Based on the report from the Associate Press, we can see that Russia and China participate in birth tourism, but Nigerians are targeted because the U.S. has identified Nigeria as a high-risk terrorist country. For instance, on January 31, 2020, the White House issued a news release titled "Proclamation on Improving Enhanced Vetting Capabilities and Processes for Detecting Attempted Entry" (White House 2020). In this proclamation, Trump speaks about restricting entry for foreign countries that threaten the safety of Americans.

> On September 13, 2019, the Acting Secretary of Homeland Security, after consulting with the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Director of National Intelligence, and the heads of other appropriate agencies, submitted a fourth report to me recommending the suspension of, or limitation on, the entry of certain classes of nationals from certain countries in order to protect United States national security. Based on these engagements, those senior officials recommended that I maintain the entry restrictions adopted in Proclamation 9645 (as modified by Proclamation 9723), and that I exercise my authority under section 212(f) of the INA to suspend entry into the United States for nationals of six new countries — Burma (Myanmar), Eritrea, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Sudan, and Tanzania. As President, I must continue to act to protect the security and interests of the United States and its people and to address both terrorism-related and public-safety risks.

Trump's proclamation shows that the countries that are banned from entering the U.S. are foreign nations populated by Muslims of color like Nigeria. For instance, according to Gramlich from the Pew Research Center (2020), "Nigeria has the world's fifth-largest Muslim population (90 million) and the world's sixth-largest Christian population (87 million)" (Gramlich, Pew Research Center 2020). Since Muslims are the largest population in Nigeria, then foreign nationals migrating to the U.S. from Nigeria will be considered high risks to American public safety. Nigeria is the only African country on the ban list, which suggests that Nigerians are targeted on purpose

by Trump's immigration policies. Therefore, the U.S. administration is using birth tourism to target Nigerians because the U.S. has framed Nigeria as a high-risk terrorist country.

Subsequently, the U.S. is linking birth tourism to terrorism, which criminalizes Nigerians. For instance, on January 23, 2020, White House Press Secretary Sarah Sanders issued the statement regarding birth tourism and visa regulation rule change (White House 2020).

> Beginning January 24, 2020, the State Department will no longer issue temporary visitor (B-1/B-2) visas to aliens seeking to enter the United States for "birth tourism". This rule change is necessary to enhance public safety, national security, and the integrity of our immigration system. The birth tourism industry threatens to overburden valuable hospital resources and is rife with criminal activity, as reflected in Federal prosecutions. Closing this glaring immigration loophole will combat these endemic abuses and ultimately protect the United States from the national security risks created by this practice. It will also defend American taxpayers from having their hard-earned dollars siphoned away to finance the direct and downstream costs associated with birth tourism. The integrity of American citizenship must be protected.

The language in this statement shows that Sanders is using the same power and dominance tone as Trump, where the unlawful act of birth tourism by "aliens" is associated with criminal activity that threatens the safety and financial security of Americans. In this case, "aliens" represent foreign nationals, and the U.S. is represented as the savior who protects Americans from criminals. Since I argue that Nigerians are targeted for birth tourism exploitation, this "us" versus "them" dichotomy depicts Nigerians as criminals who do not deserve to become American citizens. Further, Nigeria is considered a high-risk terrorist country, which makes them a threat to American public safety and justifies U.S. immigration visa bans. The implications of framing Nigerians as frauds, criminals and threats to the U.S. are that it demonizes them and negatively influences American perceptions of them, which prevents them from migrating to the U.S. and impedes on their global economic mobility. The implication of demonizing Nigerians is that they are excluded from receiving immigration benefits, which heightens their invisibility.

In addition to birth tourism, the data show that ICE frames Nigerians as fraudulent foreign nationals who exploit American citizenship through sham marriages with American citizens. For instance, on March 28, 2014, ICE issued a news release about marriage fraud in the U.S. titled "ICE outreach campaign warns Angelenos don't say 'I do' to marriage fraud" (ICE 2014).

> Claude Arnold, special agent in charge for ICE Homeland Security Investigations Los Angeles: Marriage fraud is not a storyline for a Hollywood rom-com, it's a federal crime, and unfortunately one that is all too common. Schemes like this not only undermine the integrity of America's legal immigration system, they also pose a significant security vulnerability. Nigerian national Alake "Terry" Ilegbameh, 46, of Baldwin Hills, was sentenced for 26 months by U.S. District Judge Michael W. Fitzgerald after an HSI probe revealed he arranged sham marriages for Nigerian nationals so they could obtain legal permanent residency in the U.S. The Nigerian national actively participated in schemes to make the resulting marriages appear legitimate to immigration officials. Upon completion of prison sentence, Ilegbameh will face deportation. According to HSI special agents, at the time of his arrest, Ilegbameh was in the U.S. illegally and seeking to adjust his status based upon a fraudulent marriage.

This federal crime occurred in 2014, which shows that before the birth tourism narrative in 2020, there was a dominant narrative of Nigerians being fraudulent criminals who exploit American citizenship through fraudulent "schemes". In this case, the scheme is marriage fraud, where a foreign national can marry an American citizen to obtain American citizenship, which ICE deems illegal and punishable by prison sentence and deportation. The report from ICE represents Nigerians as "illegal," "unlawful," "frauds," "criminal" foreign nationals who lack integrity and pose as threats to the U.S. national security. This type of racial categorization of Nigerians as fraudulent criminals by ICE justifies prison sentences and the deportation of Nigerians, which serves the purpose of U.S. immigration policies that seek to prevent imprisoned immigrants of color from obtaining American citizenship. I argue that birth tourism and fraudulent marriages and immigration strategies used by Trump's administration demonizes and prevents Nigerians from becoming American citizens. In the next section, I will address the core theme "protect U.S. welfare system".

In addition to protecting American citizenship by ending birth tourism and marriage shams, the data show that the Trump administration enacted new immigration policies to protect the U.S. welfare system from fraudulent foreign national criminals. For instance, on January 23, 2020, Trump spoke about his efforts to preserve the American welfare system.

> PRESERVING OUR PUBLIC RESOURCES: Addressing birth tourism continues President Trump's efforts to safeguard our Nation's public benefits from abuse. The Administration's action will protect our social welfare system from abuse by foreign nationals using our welfare system to pay for the births of their children. Last year, the Administration took action to ensure that if aliens want to enter or remain in the United States, they must support themselves and not rely on public benefits. The President issued a proclamation suspending the entry of aliens who financially burden the American healthcare system. The Administration proposed a rule to require the verification of immigration status for anyone seeking to access public housing benefits.

In this briefing, the rhetorical referential strategy used is the "us" versus "them" dichotomy that refers to foreign nationals/aliens as "they," and refers to America as "our". Here, the "our" represents those who own America, and "they" represents foreign nationals who are intruders in America. The preservation of "our" state resources serves the interests of racialized social structures that seek to dominate, control, and maintain racial hierarchies that "other" and place "aliens" and "foreign nationals" at the bottom of the hierarchy.

I argue that the goal of Trump's immigration policies is not to protect the American welfare system, but to demonize immigrants and prevent impoverished immigrants from benefitting from state resources. For instance, Trump imposes financial eligibility requirements on foreign nationals to make it difficult for poor immigrants to qualify for state resources or American citizenship. This financial eligibility requires foreign nationals to be financially sustainable to gain access to American visas, citizenship, and state resources. On August 12, 2019, the White House released a briefing titled, "President Donald J. Trump is Ensuring Non-Citizens Do Not Abuse Our Nation's Public Benefit" (White House 2019). This briefing suggests that for the state to "protect benefits

for American citizens, immigrants must be financially self-sufficient" (White House 2019). In the 2019 briefing, Trump proposed to reinforce the public charge law that will prevent poor foreign nationals from depending on public benefit programs. The 2019 White House briefing states:

> The Trump Administration is releasing a final rule that will protect American taxpayers, preserve our social safety net for vulnerable Americans, and uphold the rule of law. This action will help ensure that if aliens want to enter or remain in the United States, they must support themselves, and not rely on public benefits. An alien who receives public benefits above a certain threshold is known as a "public charge." Aliens will be barred from entering the United States if they are found likely to become public charges. Aliens in the United States who are found likely to become public charges will also be barred from adjusting their immigration status. President Trump is enforcing this longstanding law to prevent aliens from depending on public benefit programs. Public charge has been a part of United States immigration law for more than 100 years as a ground of inadmissibility. Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed two bipartisan bills in 1996 to help stop aliens from exploiting public benefits. As Congress made clear at the time, it is our national policy that aliens should "not depend on public resources to meet their needs." Americans widely agree that individuals coming to our country should be self-sufficient, with 73 percent in favor of requiring immigrants to be able to support themselves financially.

In 2019, Trump's administration planned to reboot and enforce the public charge law to prevent impoverished foreign nationals from migrating to the U.S. and obtaining American citizenship. This public charge law targets foreign nationals considered to be from "shithole" continent like Africa. Immigrants from Africa and third world countries are impoverished, and not "self-sufficient" financially. Subsequently, in 2020, Trump banned Nigerians from entering the U.S. These related events align with the sudden push to implement the public charge law, which will keep Africans away from America. On February 24, 2020, U.S. Citizenship, and Immigration Services (USCIS) officially implemented the Inadmissibility on Public Charge Grounds Final Rule (USCIS 2020). According to USCIS,

> Under the Final Rule, USCIS will look at the factors required under the law by Congress, like an alien's age, health, income, education and skills, among others, in order to determine whether the alien is likely at any time to become a public charge. The Final Rule, would determine whether an alien is inadmissible to the United States based on the alien's likelihood of becoming a public charge at any time in the future, as set forth in the Immigration and Nationality Act. The Final Rule includes a requirement that aliens seeking an extension or stay of change of status demonstrate that they have not received public

> benefits over the designated threshold since obtaining the nonimmigrant status they seek to extend or change. According to Ken Cuccinelli, the Senior Official Performing the Duties of the Deputy Secretary for DHS, self-sufficiency is a core American value and has been part of immigration law for centuries. President Trump has called for long-standing immigration law to be enforced, and U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services is delivering on this promise to the American people. By requiring those seeking to come or stay in the United States to rely on their own resources, families and communities, we will encourage self-sufficiency, promote immigrant success and protect American taxpayers.

The language used in the White House and USCIS statements on public charge law draws on the "us" versus "them" dichotomy because impoverished foreign nationals are deemed unfit to benefit from U.S. public resources. Essentially, the demand for "self-sufficiency" impacts the lives of impoverished immigrants of color who migrate to the U.S. on Asylum or refugee status because they cannot meet the financial requirements of the public charge law.

Amongst the Asylum and refugee seekers are Africans who flee their countries for safety to the U.S., and the public charge law will deny them access to state benefits and paths to American citizenship. To make matters worse, on July 31, 2020, USCIS changed the Asylum law and policy to start charging Asylees a hefty application and processing fee. In the past, Asylees were not required to pay application fees, but after Trump's strict immigration reform and the implementation of the public charge law, USCIS proceeded to make amendments to their laws and policies. According to Joseph Edlow, the USCIS deputy director of policy:

> USCIS is required to examine incoming and outgoing expenditures and make adjustments based on that analysis. These overdue adjustments in fees are necessary to efficiently and fairly administer our nation's lawful immigration system, secure the homeland and protect Americans. The rule accounts for increased costs to adjudicate immigration benefit requests, detect and deter immigration fraud, and thoroughly vet applicants, petitioners and beneficiaries.

This is a revisit of Trump's rhetoric to protect Americans from immigration fraud perpetrated by foreign nationals. The framing of foreign nationals, especially immigrants of color from Africa as culprits of immigration fraud justifies steep punishments and excludes them from

benefitting from immigration resources. The strategy of using income to restrict foreign nationals is a way to weed out poor immigrants of color from the U.S. To justify this type of eradication of immigrants of color, the Trump administration frames the abuse of birth tourism, marriage shams and welfare fraud as national threats to American public and financial safety. When America is threatened by "aliens" and "foreign nationals," this legitimizes U.S. administration policies that aim to stop the migration of foreign nationals who are deemed threats to the U.S. national security. Hence, the final sub-theme, protecting American national security.

The sub-theme protecting American national security, is connected to the core theme "protect Americans from foreign nationals" because Trump's administration believes that the exploitation of American citizenship through birth tourism, sham marriages and the abuse of the welfare system, threaten the security of the United States (White House 2020). For instance, on January 23, 2020, the White House news released a briefing titled "President Donald J. Trump is Taking Action to End Birth Tourism, Protect National Security, and Curb the Abuse of Public Resources" (White House 2020). In this briefing, Trump's administration addresses national security risks associated with birth tourism.

> Birth tourism could allow foreign governments to exploit birth tourism in manners that threaten the security of the United States. Foreign governments could exploit this vulnerability to recruit individuals who were born as the result of birth tourism and raised overseas, without attachment to the United States. Organized criminal networks have taken advantage of the birth tourism loophole at the expense of American citizens. Businesses in the birth tourism industry have engaged in widespread immigration fraud and money laundering.

The language in this statement frames birth tourism as a national security risk to target specific foreign nationals associated with fraudulent crimes. However, the bigger picture is to control "who" migrates to the U.S. and "how" they obtain American citizenship. The data show

that U.S. controls migration by ending "chain migration, eliminating the Visa Lottery, and moving the country to a merit-based entry system" (White House 2020).

For instance, on February 1, 2018, the White House published an article titled, "National Security Threats—Chain Migration and the Visa Lottery System" (White House 2018). In this article, Trump's administration address how chain migration and the visa lottery system expose Americans to foreign threats. In the beginning of the article, the White House opened with the quote "our current immigration system jeopardizes our national security and puts American communities at risk. That's why President Donald J. Trump has repeatedly called for common sense, mainstream immigration reforms such as ending chain migration and eliminating the visa lottery" (White House 2018). Ending chain migration and visa lotter is a way for Trump's administration to control who migrates to the U.S. and protect U.S. national security.

First, I will address chain migration as a threat to national security, then follow up with the merit-based system, point-based system and conclude with the visa lottery system. The article addresses chain migration as follows,

> Chain migration is the process by which foreign nationals permanently resettle within the U.S. and subsequently bring over their foreign relatives, who then have the opportunity to bring over their foreign relatives, and so on, until entire extended families are resettled within the country. Under our current immigration system, around 70 percent of legal immigrants admitted to the United States every year do so based on family ties rather than merit. Because most immigrants are selected on the basis of their family connections—rather than real selection criteria, like the skills they bring to our economy or their likelihood of assimilation into our society—our current family-based immigration system does not meet the needs of the modern United States economy and is incompatible with preserving our national security. A recent joint report from the Department of Justice and the Department of Homeland Security found that roughly three in four individuals convicted of international terrorism-related charges since September 11, 2001, were foreign-born. As the report outlines, a number of these terrorists were able to enter the United States on the basis of family ties and extended-family chain migration.

The rhetorical language used in this White House article links chain migration to terrorism by framing foreign nationals who resettle in the U.S. with their families as terrorists. The process

of chain migration is very common amongst most immigrants, especially Africans who have large families in the U.S. However, the idea of building immigrant communities of color is not conducive for Trump's administration. Rather, the expansion of immigrant communities of color in the U.S. poses as a threat to national security, especially if they are Muslim communities.

Further, this article suggests that the U.S. administration prefers foreign nationals to migrate to the U.S. based on their financial and education merit and not based on their family ties because merit-based migration will boost the American economy. For instance, on January 30, 2018, the White House released a briefing on merit-based immigration titled "President Donald J. Trump Wants Immigration That Makes America Stronger and Safer" (White House 2018). In this briefing, Trump addresses how merit-based immigration reform will benefit American workers by weeding out uneducated, poor, low-wage and low-skilled immigrants, which will stop them from competing with Americans for high skilled jobs in the U.S. The briefing is as follows,

> For decades, open borders have allowed drugs and gangs to pour into our most vulnerable communities. They have allowed millions of low-wage workers to compete for jobs and wages against the poorest Americans. Years of mass low-skilled immigration has led to suppressed wages and has strained Federal resources. Most immigrants who receive green cards every year are low-skilled or unskilled workers. Almost one-third of all adult immigrants in the United States have not graduated high school. Our current immigration system strains the resources of our Nation's welfare programs. More than half of all immigrant households use one or more welfare programs. Establish reforms that protect American workers and promote financial success. End extended-family chain migration by limiting family-based green cards to include spouses and minor children. Establish a points-based system for green cards to protect U.S. workers and taxpayers.

The authoritative language used in this vetting process exudes power and domination, which allows for social processes of racism against immigrants of color. When Trump criminalizes the process of chain migration, he paints a picture of an unsafe and unstable immigration system that needs to be reformed and structured to conform with the norms and values of America. In this briefing, Trump links chain migration with the admission of dangerous immigrants (drug gangs)

into the U.S., which poses a threat to national security. By racially categorizing immigrants of color as dangerous, Trump is implying that when immigrants are admitted solely based on family ties, this chain migration will allow dangerous immigrants of color to enter the U.S., which threatens the lives of Americans.

Additionally, Trump "others" and inferiorizes immigrants of color by depicting them as poor and unskilled, by implying that chain migration admits low-skilled immigrants who are unable to contribute to the American economy. The Trump administration targets immigrants from high-risk terrorist countries who are poor, uneducated, unskilled, and illegally benefitting from the welfare system. This racial categorization of immigrants of color as undesirable foreign nationals, justifies Trump's need for a merit-based system that will be selective in the types of immigrants allowed to migrate to the U.S. This merit-based system is based on the quality of immigrants at the discretion of Trump's administration. This opens the door for Trump's administration to racialize, exclude and discriminate against immigrants of color. Therefore, the merit-based system is a strategy used by Trump's administration to end chain migration, racialize and scrutinize immigrants of color, which heightens their invisibility.

Essentially, the merit-based system is part of the U.S. immigration reform proposal that will reboot the U.S. economy and end chain migration by establishing a points-based system for granting green cards. This U.S. immigration reform proposal has specific details on the requirements for immigrants on the merit-based system. On May 16, 2019, the White House released a briefing titled "President Donald J. Trump Wants to Fully Secure Our Border and Reform Our Immigration System to Put America First" (White House 2019). In this briefing, Trump shares his immigration proposal that will move the U.S. towards a merit and point-based system. The goal is to protect American workers from fraud and unskilled immigrant workers.

> It is time to begin moving towards a merit-based immigration system—one that admits people who are skilled, who want to work, who will contribute to our society, and who will love and respect our country. We will replace the existing green card categories with a new visa, the Build America visa — which is what we all want to hear. The President's proposed "Build America Visa," will select immigrants based on a point system and features three high-skill categories: Extraordinary talent, Professional and specialized vocations and Exceptional academic track records. Like Canada and so many other modern countries, we create an easy-to-navigate points-based selection system. You will get more points for being a younger worker, meaning you will contribute more to our social safety net. You will get more points for having a valuable skill, an offer of employment, an advanced education, or a plan to create jobs. The President's proposal will increase American competitiveness in attracting and retaining the best and brightest by moving the United States in line with the effective point systems used by other countries, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. President Trump's proposal will move America to a more competitive and fair position of 57 percent employment and skill, 33 percent family, and 10 percent humanitarian. The President's proposal will protect all workers from exploitation, fraud, and unlawful displacement. The President's proposal promotes our common language and strengthens our national unity.

The language used in Trump's speech lays emphasis on the word "our," which wields power and dominance over the state's ownership of America, which excludes immigrants who are poor and low-skilled. In this rhetoric, Trump is using the point-based system to distinguish between wealthy immigrants and poor immigrants, which is a production of racism. As Dijk (2000) argues, elite racist discourses that "express negative beliefs about immigrants and minorities contribute to racism," which racializes immigrants of color (Dijk 2000, 36). This racialized U.S. social structure seeks to maintain a racial hierarchy, where only immigrants of a certain racial and financial caliber can share ownership of America. That is, you can become an American citizen if you migrate from "modern countries" such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Japan because these foreign nationals are regarded as high-skilled immigrants. According to Trump, these immigrants from modern countries are high-skilled because they have "exceptional" financial, professional, academic and socio-political backgrounds. That is, immigrants from modern countries meet the requirements to successfully pass the point-based system, which creates a legal and direct path for them to become American citizens. This shows that the point-based system is

based on race and class because it targets immigrants of color, who are poor and low-skilled, which is like the merit-based system, where immigrants of color are targeted in chain migration.

Trump's speech shows his preference for immigrants from modern countries because he does not mention immigrants from the Africa, the Caribbean, Middle East, or South Asia. Does this omission mean that Trump's administration does not perceive immigrants from Africa, the Caribbean, Middle East and South Asian to be high-skilled educated professionals who can contribute to "our" American economy? Though the data does not answer this question, the mere omission of immigrants of color in Trump's speech speaks volumes to their invisibility in Trump's plans to "promote a common language and strengthen our national unity" (White House 2019). In this case, I argue that the "common language" applies to immigrants from modern countries that share Trump's idea of a point-based system of immigration. This common language shared amongst modern countries is connected to power and domination that is based on a racial hierarchy that places superior immigrants at the top and the inferior immigrants at the bottom.

Importantly, this common language is part of a racial discourse about immigrants of color who are racialized through the point-based system racial hierarchy in the U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. As Dijk (1993) argues racial discourse is "the most effective way to share general attitudes and ethnic prejudices" (41). In this speech, Trump's common language is a form of racial discourse that is prejudice against poor immigrants of color, which racializes them based on race and class differences. This shows a relationship between discourse and racialization because Trump's common language racializes immigrants of color. Additionally, based racial and class groupings, Trump's speech insinuates that immigrants from modern countries will strengthen "our" American unity. This suggests that immigrants who do not come from modern countries create disunity, which justifies the need for a point-based system.

Furthermore, Trump's speech uses the word "we" as a collective agreement, which suggests that all Americans support the point-based system and the need for the new "Build America Visa". Trump believes that this new Build America Visa is "what we all want to hear," thus, suggesting that all Americans support his immigration visa reform that prevents immigrants of color from "non-modern" countries from migrating to the U.S. This is a classic use of power and domination in rhetorical speeches because Trump is using his position as "The President" of the United States to speak for Americans and make reform policies that benefit the state.

In addition to race and class inequalities, Trump's speech discriminates against elderly immigrants of color from impoverished countries. I argue that agism is a form of discrimination because the point-based system is designed to give high scores to younger immigrants compared to older immigrants, which discriminates against elderly immigrants. According to Trump's speech, in the point-based selection system, immigrant points increase if they are young with valuable skills and an advanced education (White House 2019). This suggests that Trump's administration does not want aging immigrant workers migrating to the U.S. because unlike younger workers, aging immigrants cannot contribute to "our" social safety net (White House 2019). The idea that agism is a hinderance to becoming an American citizen is an interesting discovery for this study, which creates a new a form of discrimination based on age. Another interesting point about agism is that it is connected to chain migration because elderly immigrants can gain American citizenship through family ties, which Trump finds unacceptable. This form of migration ushers in elderly immigrants, who are less productive workers compared to younger immigrants. Therefore, a point-based selection system weeds out aging immigrant workers and prevents them from obtaining green cards under the new "Build America Visa" policy.

This process of weeding out poor, aging, low-skill and low-wage immigrants through the merit and point-based system, influence immigration reforms on the visa lottery system. In the U.S., the visa lottery system awards green cards to random individuals in selected countries globally. If the state determines that there is a need for the merit and point-based systems to vet immigrants, then the state is justified to change the visa lottery system and end the system completely. For instance, on February 1, 2018, the White House published an article titled, "National Security Threats—Chain Migration and the Visa Lottery System" (White House 2018). Trump shares his concerns about the visa lottery system, and how it threatens U.S. security.

> Each year, the diversity visa lottery program randomly selects up to 50,000 foreign nationals to apply for permanent residence (green cards) in the United States. Many of them have absolutely no ties to the United States and are not required to have special skills or much education. Randomly selecting foreign nationals from around the globe, including from state sponsors of terrorism, and admitting them into the United States invites large amounts of fraud and does not serve the national interest. In 2004, the State Department's Deputy Inspector General warned that the visa lottery "contains significant threats to national security as hostile intelligence officers, criminals, and terrorists attempt to use it to enter the United States as permanent residents." In 2013, the Inspector General recorded with alarm that the visa lottery was subject to "pervasive and sophisticated fraud" perpetrated by "organized fraud rings."

In this speech, Trump's language frames the visa lottery system as a magnet for fraud, terrorism, and criminal activities, which threatens U.S. national security. On the same day, Trump gave a different speech where he expressed his frustrations with the visa lottery system and his desire to end the system. On February 1, 2018, the White House published Trump's remark titled "Randomness Cannot Have a Place in our Immigration System" (White House 2018). In his remarks, Trump proposes to end the visa lottery system. Trump's statement is as follows,

> I'm calling on Congress to immediately terminate the diversity visa lottery program. It's a disaster for our country. The visa lottery system has long been susceptible to national security risk and rampant fraud and abuse. A report published by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) in 2007 found that the visa lottery program was vulnerable to fraud. In 2003, the State Department Office of Inspector General (OIG) authored a report that found the program was subject to widespread abuse. The visa lottery program poses a

> potential national security threat by admitting new residents from countries designated as "State Sponsors of Terrorism" and putting them on a path to citizenship through naturalization. From 2007 to 2016, the United States granted nearly 30,000 permanent residence visas through the visa lottery program to individuals from countries designated as "State Sponsors of Terrorism."

Trump's rhetorical tone is authoritative and aggressive because he is using the power of the state and Congress to call for the termination of the visa lottery system. Again, Trump is using "our" to represent the collective voices of Americans to outcast "supposedly" dangerous immigrants who migrate to the U.S. through the visa lottery system. The targeted Muslim immigrants hail from high-risk terrorist countries, which deems them dangerous. Trump uses words such as "disaster," "fraud," "abuse," "terrorism," and "threats" to represent Muslim immigrants that potentially utilize the visa lottery system. The racial categorization of Muslim immigrants is linked with the visa lottery system, which legitimatizes immigration policies that seek to end the visa lottery system. These immigration policies empower Trump's administration to control the visa eligibility process, and entry restrictions designed to stop Muslim immigrants from using the visa lottery system as a path to American citizenship. For instance, according to the White House (2020), under Section 212(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act:

> Suspension of entry or imposition of restrictions by President - Whenever the President finds that the entry of any aliens or of any class of aliens into the United States would be detrimental to the interests of the United States, he may by proclamation, and for such period as he shall deem necessary, suspend the entry of all aliens or any class of aliens as immigrants or nonimmigrants, or impose on the entry of aliens any restrictions he may deem to be appropriate.

Since the Trump administration already established that the visa lottery system exposes the U.S. to fraud, abuse and terrorist threats, then the Immigration and Nationality Act legitimizes and justifies Trump's proclamation to restrict entry to any country that he deems as a threat to the U.S. Subsequently, on January 31, 2020, the White House Press Secretary Sanders, gave a statement about U.S. entry restrictions. The statement is as follows:

> Trump issued a proclamation maintaining entry restrictions on certain nationals of Iran, Libya, North Korea, Syria, Venezuela, Yemen, and Somalia and suspending the overseas issuance of immigrant visas for certain nationals of Burma (Myanmar), Eritrea, Kyrgyzstan, and Nigeria. President Trump's security and travel proclamations have immeasurably improved our national security, substantially raised the global standard for information-sharing, and dramatically strengthened the integrity of the United States' immigration system. The orders have been a tremendous and vital success.

This statement suggests that the Trump administration intentionally chose these listed countries because they threaten the U.S. national security. While there is no explanation in the data for selecting these countries, it is clear to see that the residents of these countries are brown skin people, African/Black and Muslims. As I mentioned earlier, Trump's immigration policies are based on race and class, which targets immigrants of color and Muslims because they are not immigrants from "modern countries" with high-skills, education, and affluence. Importantly, in his past speeches Trump has racially categorized Africa as a "shithole" continent, Muslims as terrorists and immigrants of color as fraudulent criminals who do not deserve to become American citizens. The racialization and "othering" of Muslims and immigrants of color as undesirable people who threaten the "crown jewel" justifies Trump's decision to stop impoverished and Muslims countries from participating in the visa lottery system. For instance, before Trump's restriction proclamation on January 31, 2020, the U.S. Department of State released the 2021 list of countries that qualified to participate in the visa lottery system. On October 2, 2019, the U.S. Department of State, Travel, Bureau of Consular Affairs, published instructions for the 2021 diversity immigrant visa program (DV-2021), which is as follows:

> For DV-2021, natives of the following countries are not eligible to apply, because more than 50,000 natives of these countries immigrated to the United States in the previous five years: Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, China (mainland-born), Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Jamaica, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, South Korea, United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland) and its dependent territories, and Vietnam. In Africa, natives of Nigeria are not eligible for this year's Diversity Visa program.

The first striking observation is that out of 54 African countries, Nigeria is the only African country that is not eligible to participate in the 2021 visa lottery system. Why is Nigeria the only African country banned from the U.S. and considered ineligible to participate in the visa lottery system? The explanation the Department of State offers is that "50,000 Nigerian natives already occupy the U.S., which restricts the entry of more immigrants from Nigeria" (U.S. Department of State 2019). However, the question lingers, if Nigerians were already ineligible to participate in the visa lottery system in 2019, why would Trump's administration take it further and officially ban Nigerians in 2020 from obtaining any type of immigrant visa that will allow them to enter the U.S.? Though the data does not provide any answers, I argue that subliminal messages within Trump's language, speeches and immigration policies suggests that Nigerians are targeted as foreign nationals from a high-risk terrorist country who exploit the U.S. through chain migration, birth tourism and marriage shams. It is obvious in the data, that Trump's administration has gone through great lengths to make sure that Nigerians do not have any legal immigration opportunities to enter the U.S. or obtain American citizenship. Perhaps, the deep-rooted reason for the abolishment of Nigerians could be that the U.S. feels threatened by terrorism in Nigeria, which demonizes Nigerians as dangerous terrorists.

For instance, under Trump's orders, on August 6, 2020, the U.S. Department of State, Travel, Bureau of Consular Affairs, published the Nigeria travel advisory, which is as follows:

> Nigeria – Level 3 - reconsider travel to Nigeria due to crime, terrorism, civil unrest, kidnapping, and maritime crime. Do Not Travel to: Northern Adamawa state due to terrorism. Yobe state due to kidnapping. Coastal areas of Rivers state due to crime, civil unrest, kidnapping, and maritime crime. Violent crime – such as armed robbery, assault, carjacking, kidnapping, and rape – is common throughout the country. Terrorists continue plotting and carrying out attacks in Nigeria, especially in the Northeast. Terrorists may attack with little or no warning, targeting shopping centers, malls, markets, hotels, places of worship, restaurants, bars, schools, government installations, transportation hubs, and other places where crowds gather. Sporadic violence occurs between communities of

> farmers and herders in rural areas. There is maritime crime in the Gulf of Guinea. The U.S. government has limited ability to provide emergency services to U.S. citizens in many areas of Nigeria due to security conditions.

In this data, the dominant language demonizes Nigeria by representing it as a dangerous country. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), language can produce and "reproduce social life" because language is a "vehicle of communication, persuasion and the social construction of power and domination" by social structures (24). Importantly, Machin and Mayr argue that the power of language is produced by people in power who believe that social structures legitimately govern society. I will use Machin and Mayr's "representational strategies in language" CDA approach, the U.S. Department of State represents a powerful social structure, and their choice of language represents Nigerians as terrorists, rapists, kidnappers, armed robbers, carjackers, and violent criminals (U.S. Dept. of State, 2020). By racial categorizing Nigeria as a dangerous country, the Department of State is drawing attention to their "African/Black identity," where Blackness is stereotyped as dangerous and criminalized. The representation of Nigerians as terrorists demonizes and emphasize their "otherness," which makes them part of the immigration problem in the U.S. When Nigeria becomes an immigration problem, then foreign nationals from Nigeria are considered threats to the U.S. national security. This justifies and legitimizes the removal of Nigeria from the visa lottery system and banning of Nigerians from migrating to the U.S. The implication of preventing Nigerians from migrating to the U.S. is that it heightens their invisibility.

Furthermore, Machin and Mayr argue that the way individuals and groups are represented through political discourse shapes the way they are perceived, and the choice of language portrays "othered" groups "in ways that tend to align us alongside or against them" (104). That is, political rhetoric will either turn us against people or make us like them, so we must look at how languages "create opposites to make events and issues appear simplified in order to control their meaning"

(Machin and Mayr 2012, 78). In this case, the Department of State uses fear as a tactic to prevent Americans from travelling to Nigeria, which racially categorizes Nigerians as the dangerous "other". When the Department of State uses fear to turn nations against each other, it will create opposites between Nigerians and Americans. This opposition will create negative perceptions about Nigerians that will be manifested through hostile racial attitudes towards Nigerians. These negative perceptions will lead Americans to "refer" to Nigerians as dangerous terrorists.

According to Machin and Mayr (2012), the rhetorical strategy "refer" is called the process of "referential strategies," which are ways "we perceive people and their actions" (79). For instance, in this data, the Department of State "refers" to Nigerians as criminals who commit acts of violence, which will influence American perceptions of Nigerians as violent criminals. When Americans perceive Nigerians to be threats, they will discriminate against Nigerians, which aligns with U.S. immigration policies that discriminate against Nigerians overseas and in the U.S. Therefore, the strategic representation and referral to Nigerian as dangerous criminals, legitimizes U.S. immigration reform policies that ban and restrict Nigerians, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses and heightens their invisibility.

In this data, the Department of State represents and refers to Nigeria as a dangerous country and focuses more on criminal terrorist activities and less on the good aspects of Nigeria. The Department of State paints Nigeria as a war zone, without clarifying who is responsible for all the chaos happening in Nigeria. Boko Haram is responsible for the kidnapping and killing of Muslims and Christians, but they are not mentioned as the perpetrators of terrorism in Nigeria. Rather, there is a generalization that all Nigerians from Northern Adamawa state, Yobe state, Coastal areas of Rivers state, and Gulf of Guinea are committing acts of violence and terrorism. According to

reports from the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Washington D.C. (2020), Nigeria has a "36 State Government," with a "land mass of 923,768 sq.km" (Embassy of Nigeria, 2020).

I am curious, since there are 36 states in Nigeria, how does the U.S. Department of State account for the other states besides Northern Adamawa state, Yobe state, Coastal areas of Rivers state, and Gulf of Guinea, that are not impacted by violence and terrorism? In this data, there is no mention of the non-violent states or non-violent Nigerians, why didn't the U.S. Department of State give advisory on the safer sates to visit in Nigeria? Could it be that the U.S. Department of State perceives all Nigerians as one racial or ethnic group? If Nigerians are perceived as one racial and ethnic group, then the entire country will be racialized and demonized as dangerous people. Omi and Winant (1994) refer to this process as "lumping" all Blacks together without special consideration for the differences in cultural, ethnic diversity and backgrounds. In this case, Nigerians are lumped into one cultural and ethnic category because the U.S. State Department does not see them as individuals but as one ethnic category of dangerous and violent criminals. The lumping of all Nigerians as dangerous criminals demonizes them, which legitimizes and justifies travel restrictions and visa bans enforced by Trump's administration.

Furthermore, there is a history of civil unrest between Muslims in the North and Christians, which is connected to ethnic and religious conflict between both groups. This history is not reflected in this travel advisory; instead, the dominant narrative here is that Nigeria is a dangerous country that Americans should avoid. According to Dijk (1993), dominant narratives are created by "those responsible for the perversion in the reproduction of dominance and inequality" (Dijk 1993, 253). In this case, the U.S. Department of State, under the rule of Trump, uses its power and dominance to produce and reproduce dominant narratives of Nigeria as a dangerous country, which criminalizes Nigerians. The criminalization of Nigerians allows the U.S. Department of State to

racially categorize them as "terrorists," "frauds," and "violent criminals, which makes them threats to national security. When Nigerians are considered threats to U.S. national security, immigration policies are enacted to end all paths for Nigerians to gain American citizens through birth tourism, chain migration, marriage, and the Diversity visa lottery. The implication for strategically preventing Nigerians from migrating to the U.S. is that it impacts their lives, especially for those who have family ties in the U.S. When Nigerians are banned and restricted entry into the U.S., these actions heighten their invisibility.

When Nigerians are invisible, their struggles go unnoticed because they are excluded from participating in political debates to voice their struggles and concerns. Further, their invisibility prevents them from benefitting from U.S. state resources and getting support to combat terrorism in Nigeria. Instead of helping Nigeria combat terrorism, the U.S. administration is using the fear of terrorism to target Nigerians as threats to U.S. national security. The use of "the fear of terrorism" is a tactic, that justifies and legitimizes bans and entry restrictions for Nigerians, who are racially categorized as dangerous criminals and terrorists. This fear of terrorism in Nigeria, prompts the need for the U.S. administration to protect American citizens from foreign nationals.

This analysis of the core theme "protect American citizens from foreign nationals," shows that elite racist discourses on the macro level are embedded in U.S. immigration policies that demonize and target foreign nationals who are Muslims and people of color. There is a relationship between discourse and racialization because the text and language in the immigration policies racially categorizes Muslims and immigrants of color as dangerous terrorists and criminals, who exploit American citizenship through birth tourism, chain migration, sham marriages and diversity visa lotteries. In the data, Trump's administration views exploitation by Muslims and immigrants of color as threats to the U.S. welfare system and national security, which makes the U.S.

suspicious of foreign nationals who migrate from countries that have a large population of Muslims and people of color. This suspicion makes the U.S. feel threatened, which leads to my analysis of the second core theme, "suspicion of threat and national security".

This theme "suspicion of threat and national security" emerged from data on the vetting strategies, which are based on Trump's suspicion of foreign nationals. These vetting strategies are used to surveil and racially profile foreign nationals that are suspected to be threats to U.S. national security. I will analyze the vetting strategies to show how racial categories are formed based on the suspicion of the inferior "other".

According to the White House press, on March 6, 2017, Trump announced his "Executive Order Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry Into The United States" (White House 2017). In this executive order, Trump stated that "the entry into the United States of foreign nationals who may commit, aid, or support acts of terrorism remains a matter of grave concern" (White House 2017). This concern led to the banning of foreign nationals from countries with a predominantly Muslim population. According to the White House press, Trump "suspended for 90 days the entry of certain aliens from seven countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. These are countries that had already been identified as presenting heightened concerns about terrorism and travel to the United States" (White House 2017). Trump's administration perceives foreign nationals from these seven countries as terrorists, which heightens U.S. suspicion of immigrants from these countries. According to the "Executive Order," foreign nationals that are threats to the U.S.,

> warrant additional scrutiny in connection with our immigration policies because the conditions in these countries present heightened threats. Each of these countries is a state sponsor of terrorism, has been significantly compromised by terrorist organizations, or contains active conflict zones. Recent history shows that some of those who have entered the United States through our immigration system have

> proved to be threats to our national security. Since 2001, hundreds of persons born abroad have been convicted of terrorism-related crimes in the United States. They have included not just persons who came here legally on visas but also, individuals who first entered the country as refugees.

In this executive order, Trump's language frames Muslim immigrants as suspicious threats by using the "us" versus "them" dichotomy to separate Americans from suspicious Muslim terrorists. The use of "our" represents "our America," in a collective voice that suggests that all Americans are against "these countries" that breed terrorists. The racial categorization of Muslim immigrants as terrorists' "others" them as inferior, which allows the U.S. administration to scrutinize them through the vetting standards outlined in the executive order.

According to Trump (2017), the vetting standards are used to monitor suspicious foreign nationals migrating to the U.S. The outlined vetting standards are as follows,

> The Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Homeland Security, and the Director of National Intelligence shall implement a program, as part of the process for adjudications, to identify individuals who seek to enter the United States on a fraudulent basis, who support terrorism, violent extremism, acts of violence toward any group or class of people within the United States, or who present a risk of causing harm subsequent to their entry. This program shall include screening and vetting standards and procedures, such as in-person interviews; a database of identity documents proffered by applicants to ensure that duplicate documents are not used by multiple applicants; amended application forms that include questions aimed at identifying fraudulent answers and malicious intent; mechanism to ensure that applicants are who they claim to be; a mechanism to assess whether applicants may commit, aid, or support any kind of violent, criminal, or terrorist acts after entering the United States.

The language used in the vetting standards is authoritative and exudes power and dominance because it is part of an elite racist discourse that produces racial categories such as "terrorist," "extremism," "violent," and "criminal," that target immigrants from highly populated Muslim countries. The vetting standards are racially motivated because the primary focus of suspicion is on Muslim immigrants. When Muslims are racially categorized as terrorists, they are

"othered" as inferior immigrants, who do not meet the requirements of the vetting standards. Further, the racial categorization of Muslim immigrants as terrorists justifies and legitimizes vetting standards that are strategically designed to prevent Muslims from migrating to the U.S.

Furthermore, on January 31, 2020, Trump amended his Executive Order. According to the White House press, on January 31, 2020, Trump gave a proclamation titled "Proclamation on Improving Enhanced Vetting Capabilities and Processes for Detecting Attempted Entry" (White House 2020). In this proclamation, Trump detailed the new vetting standards and announced the restriction of additional countries. The proclamation is as follows,

> In Executive Order 13780 of March 6, 2017 (Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States), I temporarily suspended entry of nationals of certain specified countries. The Secretary of Homeland Security, pursuant to Executive Order 13780 and in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence, developed an assessment model using three categories of criteria to assess national security and public-safety threats: whether a foreign government engages in reliable identity-management practices and shares relevant information; whether a foreign government shares national security and public-safety information; and whether a country otherwise poses a national security or public-safety risk. Based on these engagements, in January 2020, those senior officials recommended that I maintain the entry to suspend entry into the United States for nationals of six new countries — Burma (Myanmar), Eritrea, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Sudan, and Tanzania.

This amended vetting standards is racially motivated because Trump banned foreign nationals from Burma (Myanmar), Eritrea, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Sudan, and Tanzania because they "pose a national security or public-safety risk" (White House 2020). All six countries were selected because they are highly populated by Muslims of color, which makes this a racially motivated process of "othering" Muslims of color. For instance, the data show that Nigeria is the only African country under suspicion of terrorism, which racially categorizes Nigerians as terrorists. As I mentioned previously in my analysis, Trump's immigration policies demonize and target Nigerians for exploiting American state resources because Trump's administration suspects

Nigerians to be frauds, terrorists, and dangerous criminals. Nigerians are under the suspicion of threat, which makes this country a public safety risk to the U.S.

Based on this suspicion of threat, Trump's administration continues to place visa restrictions on Nigerians. For instance, on September 14, 2020, Morgan Ortagus, the spokeswoman for the U.S. Department of State, gave her press statement titled, "Imposing Visa Restrictions on Nigerians Responsible for Undermining the Democratic Process". (Ortagus, U.S. Department of State 2020). According to the Department of State, this statement announced additional visa restrictions on certain Nigerians, who engaged in violent activities during the election in 2019.

> We condemn the acts of violence, intimidation, or corruption that harmed Nigerians and undermined the democratic process. In July 2019, we announced the imposition of visa restrictions on Nigerians who undermined the February and March 2019 elections. Today, the Secretary of State is imposing additional visa restrictions on individuals for their actions surrounding the November 2019 Kogi and Bayelsa State elections and in the run up to the September and October 2020 Edo and Ondo State elections. These individuals have so far operated with impunity at the expense of the Nigerian people and have undermined democratic principles. The Department of State emphasizes that the actions announced today are specific to certain individuals and not directed at the Nigerian people. This decision reflects the Department of State's commitment to working with the Nigerian government to realize its expressed commitment to end corruption and strengthen democracy, accountability, and respect for human rights.

On one hand, the U.S. Department of State is condemning "acts of violence, intimidation or corruption that harm Nigerians," but on the other hand, the U.S. Department of State is imposing visa restrictions to the same Nigerians they are fighting to protect from violence. This contradiction is alarming because on August 6, 2020, the U.S. Department of State issued a travel advisory, warning Americans not to travel to Nigeria because of terrorism, violence, rapists, kidnappers, and criminal activities in Nigeria. How did the narrative change from August 6, 2020 to September 14, 2020? How did the Department of State morph from demonizing Nigeria to supporting and protecting Nigerians from the same criminality they accused Nigerians of committing, while at the

same time imposing visa restrictions on Nigerians simultaneously? Interestingly, why is the U.S. Department of State penalizing Nigerians for crimes that happened in 2019? Though the data does not offer answers to my questions, I argue that the U.S. Department of State is using the guise of saving Nigerian democracy as a ploy to enforce more visa restrictions on Nigerians. The expulsion of Nigerians from the U.S. is racially driven because they are "othered" as inferior and they do not meet the vetting standards, which makes them suspects and threats to U.S. national security.

The analysis of the core theme "suspicion of threat and national security," shows that U.S. immigration vetting standards are racially motivated because race, ethnicity and religion play roles in the way U.S. immigration policies are implemented. Muslims and immigrants of color are racially targeted based on the suspicion of terrorism. The "othering" of Muslims and immigrants of color as terrorists, legitimizes vetting standards that ban and restrict them from the U.S.

The analysis of both core themes "protect American citizens from foreign nationals," and "suspicion of threat and national security," share one thing in common, Trump's administration links terrorism to Muslims and immigrants of color, where Trump's speeches frame and demonize Muslims and Nigerians as dangerous threats to the U.S. national security. Trump represents the macro level because he uses power and domination to enforce Executive Orders, and immigration policies that ban Muslims and Nigerians from the U.S. The data show that the language used in Trump's immigration policies, uphold dominant racial ideologies that represent and refer to Muslims and Nigerians as terrorists and violent criminals. The racial categorization of Nigerians as terrorists and violent criminals in elite racist discourses show a relationship between discourse and racialization, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African Muslim immigrants in the U.S. Further, the rhetorical strategy in the data uses the "us" versus "them" dichotomy to separate suspicious Muslims and Nigerians from Americans. The

representation of Nigerians as exploiters of state resources, justifies, and legitimizes U.S. bans and visa restrictions imposed on Nigeria. Both themes show processes of racialization, where Nigerians/Muslims are "othered" based on their race, ethnicity, religion, and immigration.

Discussion

I used critical discourse analysis to show a relationship between discourse and racialization by examining elite racist discourses that emerge in immigration policies, that racialize and demonize West African immigrants. I found that on the macro level, Trump's U.S. immigration policies constructs elite racist discourses about Muslims and Nigerians. Trump's elite racist discourses are manifested through Executive Orders, proclamations, and immigration policies, that frame and demonize Muslims and Nigerians as dangerous terrorists, who exploit state resources that threaten public safety and national security.

Further, I found that U.S. immigration policies reinforce dominant racist ideologies that depict Muslims and Nigerians as "dangerous" threats to the U.S. Trump's Executive Order and immigration policies produce elite racist discourses that frame Muslim and immigrants of color as "frauds," "criminals," "dangerous," "threats," and "terrorists" who threaten U.S. national security (White House 2017, 2020). In press releases from ICE and the U.S. Department of State, Nigerians are framed as "fraudsters," "kidnappers," "criminals," "rapists," "terrorists," "kidnapper," "violent," and "dangerous" foreign nationals, who threaten U.S. national security (ICE, U.S. Department of State 2011, 2014, 2020). These racial categories of Muslims and Nigerians are part of elite racist discourses that shape American perceptions about Muslim and Nigerian immigrants.

Omi and Winant (1994) argue that racial categories are created because race is a social construct, where racial categories are formed based on social, economic, and political influence on the macro level. According to Omi and Winant (1994), macro level refers to "state activities and policy in a racialized social structure" (Omi and Winant 1994, 57). In the findings, I show that racial categories and social processes of racialization happens on the macro level, where policies are created by the U.S. administration to shape the way racial identities are understood along racial lines. I will use the racial formation theoretical framework, to discuss how Trump's immigration policies on the macro level are racial projects that racialize Muslims and Nigerian immigrants.

According to Omi and Winant (1994), racial formation is a process that occurs through a linkage between social structures and representation and racial projects do a good job of linking structure and representation (56). Omi and Winant argue that a racial project is a simultaneous interpretation, "representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines" (p. 56). That is, when social, economic, political policies or agendas are connected to racial groups, it forms a racial project. Further, Omi and Winant argue that racial projects can be used on the macro level for "racial policy-making, state activity and collective action" (58). I will use racial projects to show how race is structured and organized through U.S. immigration policies, where the state plays a role in the creation of racial ethnic groups. I will organize the discussion according the posed research questions for this study.

The first research question is "how does the transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants (Muslims and non-Muslims), contribute to their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism and immigration?". I found that Trump's immigration policies produced and reproduced elite racist discourses that contribute to transnational racial discourses that demonize and frame West African Muslim immigrants as inferior and high-risk dangerous

terrorists, which heightens their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism and immigration. I define invisibility as the state, by which Black immigrants are not seen or acknowledged in the U.S., which means that they are excluded from state resources. I argue that West African immigrants are invisible because of their differences based on their race, ethnicity, religion and immigrant status. The invisibility of West African immigrants in the U.S. is problematic because they are outcast from in-groups and placed in out-groups. This creation of racial boundaries makes West African immigrants invisible, which isolates and excludes them from benefitting from U.S. state resources. These racial boundaries are formed when dominant discourses about West African immigrants are controlled and produced by the state on the macro level, which shapes public perceptions about West African immigrants. These discourses are manifested through U.S. immigration policies that are designed to racialize West African Muslim immigrants as dangerous terrorists, frauds, and violent criminals. The social process of racialization happens through dominant social structures on the macro level.

On the macro level, U.S. immigration policies are considered racial projects, that engage in racialization processes that racially categorize Muslims and Nigerians as dangerous terrorists, which justifies and legitimizes bans and restrictions imposed on these groups. Omi and Winant (1994), argue that on the macro level racial projects are established through "racial policy-making, state activity and collective action" (58). In the U.S., Trump's immigration policies are forms of racial projects used by racialized social structures to maintain racial hierarchies. According to Omi and Winant, racial projects connect race to racialized social structures, where racialized social processes create racial inequality in the distribution of resources through legal systems, government policies and political systems (Omi and Winant 1994).

Examples of racial projects are the merit and point-based systems. According to Trump's administration, the goal of merit and point-based systems is to admit foreign nationals who will boost the American economy and not threaten U.S. national security. The underlying truth is that the point-based system is designed to weed out immigrants of color and Muslims from impoverished countries who are poor, uneducated, and elderly because Trump believes that they are financially incapable of boosting the American economy. Further, the merit-based system is designed to end chain migration and weed out Muslims and Nigerians because Trump believes that they are dangerous violent criminals and terrorists, who threaten U.S. national security. Therefore, the merit and point-based systems are racial projects because they covertly marginalize the poor, uneducated, unskilled, elderly, Muslims, and West African Muslim immigrants.

Instead, Trump designed the merit and point-based systems to benefit immigrants from "modern countries" such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, which suggests that Trump approves of foreign nationals from modern countries and disapproves of foreign nationals from non-modern countries (White House 2019). These immigration policies are racial projects because they maintain a racial social hierarchy, where foreign nationals from modern countries are preferred over foreign nationals from poor and high-risk terrorist countries. Importantly, the merit and point-based systems are racial projects because they covertly racialize and "other" Muslim immigrants such as West African Muslim immigrants from "non-modern countries" as inferior. Therefore, I argue that on the macro level, U.S. immigration policies are forms of racial projects, that produce and reproduce transnational racial discourses that frame West African Muslim immigrants as inferior and dangerous terrorists, which contributes to their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism and immigration.

The second research question is "the second research question is, how are dominant immigration ideas incorporated in the processes of racialization and racial categorization of West African immigrants?". In the data, I found that dominant immigration ideas are incorporated through immigration policies that racially categorize West African Muslim immigrants as terrorists, kidnappers, rapists, criminals, fraudsters, violent and dangerous. For instance, Trump uses his power and domination to reform immigration policies, that enforce strict visa protocols to restrict travel entries for Nigerians. The U.S. Department of State's travel advisory, frames Nigeria as a high-risk terrorist country, which justifies and legitimizes immigration bans and restrictions on Nigeria. On August 6, 2020, the U.S. Department of State issued a travel advisory warning Americans not to travel to Nigeria. In this travel advisory, the U.S. Department referred to Nigerians as terrorists, kidnappers, rapists, criminals, fraudsters, violent and threats to Americans living in Nigeria (U.S. Department of State 2020). These racial categorizations of Nigerians as dangerous terrorist are part of dominant immigration ideas about West African immigrants, which are incorporated into immigration policies, that racially categorize Nigerians as dangerous terrorists, that justifies and legitimizes travel bans and entry restrictions for Nigerians.

Furthermore, the racialization of Nigerians as dangerous terrorists, allows the U.S. administration to demonize, exclude and marginalize Nigerians in immigration visa application processes. For instance, in 2019, the U.S. Department of State announced that out of 54 African countries, Nigeria is the only country that is not participating in the 2020 – 2021 Diversity Visa Lottery system, because Nigeria has reached its 50,000 quotas (U.S. Department of States 2019). Further, on January 23, 2020, Trump's administration announced that the U.S. Department of State will stop issuing "temporary visitor (B-1/B-2) visas to aliens seeking to enter the United States for birth tourism" because the "birth tourism industry threatens U.S. national security" (White House

2020). According to the Associated Press (2019), "Russians are part of a wave of "birth tourists" that includes sizable numbers of women from China and Nigeria" (AP 2019). However, Nigerians appear to be the targeted regarding fraudulent practices, compared to Russians and the Chinese. Further, in news releases, ICE reported that Nigerians are criminals who smuggle drugs into the U.S., and Nigerians participate in fraudulent marriages for American citizenship (ICE 2011, 2014).

These immigration policies show that the U.S. administration creates racial categories, that depict Nigerians as undesirable immigrants, which demonizes, "others" them and prevents them from becoming American citizens. This process of racialization of Nigerians, are based on dominant immigration ideas that portray Nigerians as threats to U.S. national security. The implication of racializing Nigerians as threats to U.S. national security is that dominant immigration ideas about Nigerians influences public perceptions of them, which produces racist discourses that misrepresents Nigerians as frauds and dangerous terrorists. Therefore, I argue that dominant immigration ideas about West African immigrants are incorporated into U.S. immigration policies that racially categorize them as terrorists. These dominant immigration ideas contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants, which heightens their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism and immigration.

Furthermore, dominant immigration ideas about Africa as a "shithole" continent, influence immigration policies that impede on their pursuit to seek higher education in the U.S. As I discussed earlier, in the data, Trump's merit and point-based systems favor immigrants from "modern countries," and disfavors impoverished immigrants of color from impoverished from high-risk terrorist countries. In current affairs, Trump's administration has found a new way to limit the number of years that African immigrants can stay in the U.S. For instance, on March 30, 2020, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) released the 2019 Fiscal Year report on

Entry/Exit Overstay. This report presented statistical data on overstay rates for immigrants who travel to the U.S. with F, J and I visas; the "(F) stands for academic student, the (J) stands for exchange visitor, and the (I) stands for representatives of foreign information media nonimmigrant categories" (DHS 2020). The U.S. Department of Homeland Security targeted 59 countries with visa overstay rates "greater than 10 percent," and according to the report, "identifying aliens who overstay their authorized periods of stay is important for national security, public safety, immigration enforcement, and processing applications for immigration benefits" (DHS 2020, 32). Nigeria is one of the 59 countries identified for F and J visa overstays.

For instance, in the DHS 2018 Fiscal Year report, "the total overstay rate for Nigeria is 21.68%, and the suspected in-country overstay rate is 18.56%" (DHS 2020, 46). Further, in the 2019 fiscal year report, "the total overstay rate for Nigeria is 13.43%, and the suspected in-country overstay rate is 11.12%" (DHS 2020, 23). The data show that Nigerians who travelled to the U.S. with F and J visas between 2018 and 2019 exceeded 10%, which justifies and legitimizes DHS's action for reducing a 4-year visa, to a 2-year visa. The penalties for violating the F and J visa rules, are detailed in the September 25, 2020, "new rule" proclamation from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), titled "Establishing a Fixed Time Period of Admission and an Extension of Stay Procedure for Nonimmigrant Academic Students, Exchange Visitors, and Representatives of Foreign Information Media" (ICE, DHS 2020). The new rule states that,

> The Department is concerned about the integrity of the F, J, I program and a potential for increased risk to national security. The "greater than 10%" overstay rate threshold is more than double the general overstay rate for nonimmigrant student and exchange visitors. DHS proposes to issue FRNs listing countries with overstay rates triggering the 2-year admission period. DHS proposes to include a factor to limit the maximum period of admission to 2 years if it serves the U.S. national interest. DHS believes a shorter admission period, up to 2 years, would be appropriate for a subset of the F and J population due to heightened concerns related to fraud, abuse, and national security. DHS believes this proposed rule

> could result in reduced fraud, abuse, and national security risks for these nonimmigrant programs. This change would provide the Department with additional protections and mechanisms to exercise the oversight necessary to vigorously enforce our nation's immigration laws, protect the integrity of these nonimmigrant programs, and promptly detect national security concerns.

According to DHS, the goals of this new rule are to serve the U.S. national interests and protect the U.S. from visa fraud, which threatens U.S. national security. This new rule asserts, that foreign nationals with F and J visas from countries with an overstay greater than 10%, will be penalized with a 2-year visa instead of a 4-year visa. In the DHS's 2019 fiscal year report, 59 countries have a total overstay rate greater than 10% (DHS 2020). The countries are as follows,

> Afghanistan, Benin, Bhutan, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Iraq, Kenya, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Moldova, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Togo, Tonga, Turkmenistan, Tuvalu, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Yemen and Zambia.

One keen observation is that some immigrants from these countries are banned from coming to the U.S. As I reported earlier, on March 6, 2017 and January 31, 2020, the White House news releases announced that "Nigeria, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Burma (Myanmar), Eritrea, Kyrgyzstan, and Iran" are banned and "visa lottery is suspended for Nigeria, Sudan and Tanzania" (White House 2020). These 12 countries also have an overstay greater than 10%. This suggests that immigrants from these countries are targeted as terrorists, which makes them threats to the U.S. To protect the U.S., immigrants who travel from these 59 countries on F, and J visas will be given visas for 2 years, which is renewable if they apply for an "extension of stay," which is a requirement for DHS to monitor and track their movements (DHS 2020).

Based on this evidence, DHS is racially targeting immigrants from impoverished and high-risk terrorist countries. There is a mixture of immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, Caribbean,

South America, Oceania and Europe and Africa. The one thing these countries have in common is that they are all impoverished people, that is, 59 countries on this list live in poverty and majority of them are Africans. For instance, out of 59 countries, 36 are African countries, where there is a high rate of poverty. Out of the 36 African countries, 14 countries are West African namely, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Liberia, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Niger, Senegal, Benin, Mali, Togo, Mauritania, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde (DHS 2020). Amongst the 14 West African countries is Nigeria, which the U.S. considers to be a fraudulent and dangerous high-risk terrorist country.

Based on the data, I argue that U.S. immigration policies link poverty and high-risk terrorism to racially target Nigerians. For instance, Trump's racial categorization of Africa as a "shithole" continent, suggests that Trump does not want poor African immigrants migrating to the U.S. because poverty is a threat to the American economy, which threatens the economic progress of Americans. Further, ICE racial categorizations of Nigerians as frauds and criminals, suggests that Nigerians pose a threat to American citizenship and national security. Additionally, the U.S. Department of State racial categorizations of Nigeria as a dangerous, violent high-risk terrorist country, suggests that Nigerians are threats to U.S. national security. All three levels of U.S. government agencies link Nigerians to poverty and high-risk terrorism, which makes Nigerians threats to U.S. national security. This shows that dominant immigration ideas about poverty and high-risk terrorism plays a role in the production of discriminatory immigration policies that racialize and marginalize Nigerians. Therefore, I argue that dominant immigration ideas about West African immigrants, are incorporated into immigration policies that link poverty and high-risk terrorism to racialize them, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants and heightens their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism and immigration.

In conclusion, this study shows a relationship between discourse and racialization through Trump's U.S. immigration policies that are racially motivated and demonize immigrants from impoverished high-risk terrorist countries. Trump's immigration policies use public safety and national security as a strategy to justify and legitimatize visa restrictions, which prevents Muslims and Nigerians from becoming American citizens. These immigration policies produce elite racist discourses that racially categorizes Nigerians as dangerous terrorists, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West Africans and heightens their invisibility.

Furthermore, I found that there is a dominant racial discourse, that represents West African (Muslim and non-Muslim) immigrants as poor, fraudulent criminals and dangerous violent terrorists. These negative representations of West African immigrants contribute to the transnational racial discourse about them, which heightens their invisibility. I argue that West African immigrants are "othered" as inferior immigrants compared to immigrants from modern countries, such as Canada or Australia. As Black, ethnic, Muslim and immigrants, they are not considered top tier of the racial hierarchy because they are racially, ethnically, and culturally different from white America and European immigrants, which makes them targets for racism, discrimination, marginalization, and oppression. The marginalization and oppression of West African immigrants through immigration policies heightens their invisibility because in the U.S., their race, ethnicity, religion (Islam) and immigrant status threatens national security, which renders them "invisible". The implication of invisibility is that West Africa will not have the protection they need or access to international resources to help combat terrorism in their countries. Therefore, dominant racial discourses about West African immigrants contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about them, which heightens their invisibility.

Additionally, I found that dominant immigration ideas uphold dominant racist ideologies about West African immigrants, which are incorporated into immigration policies that use poverty and high-risk terrorism to demonize and racially categorize West African immigrants as dangerous terrorists. I argue that the process of racialization is used by the state to maintain a social racial hierarchy. This social racial hierarchy is maintained through the merit and point-based systems, which are designed to weed out poor, uneducated and elderly immigrants. Further, immigration policy reforms on birth tourism, public charge, chain migration, visa lottery, F and J visas, bans and travel restrictions, are strategies used to maintain a social racial hierarchy by systematically demonizing and weeding out Nigerians who are under suspicion of terrorism. Therefore, dominant immigration ideas racialize West African immigrants, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about them and heightens their invisibility.

Importantly, I found that on the macro level, U.S. immigration policies are racial projects created by racialized social structures to demonize, racialize, ban and restrict West African immigrants from migrating to the U.S. Trump's racial projects are manifested through immigration policies that uphold dominant racist ideologies, that represent and refer to West African immigrants as poor and dangerous terrorists. Through these racial projects, the U.S. administration, ICE and the U.S. Department of State construct the elite racist discourses to portray Nigerians as frauds, criminals, kidnappers, rapists and dangerous violent terrorists. These racial categorizations of Nigerians demonize, justify and legitimizes national security measures that impose bans and restrictions on Nigeria. Therefore, racial projects support dominant immigration ideas about West African immigrants, which contributes the construction of transnational racial discourses about them and heightens their invisibility in the global discourse on terrorism and immigration.

This study shows a relationship between discourse and racialization by shedding light on the ways that dominant immigration ideas use elite racist discourses to racialize West African immigrants through U.S. immigration policies. This study contributes to race and Black immigration scholarship by showing that West African immigrants are marginalized at the intersection of their race, ethnicity, religion, and immigrant status, which heightens their invisibility. This study contributes to transnational discourses and scholarship by showing that dominant elite racist discourses emerge in U.S. immigration policies that influence transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants. This study was limited with only 20 news releases, thus, making it impossible to generalize the findings. Therefore, this study is not representative of all the dominant discourses and perceptions of West African immigrants in the U.S. This study was conducted during the presidency of Trump, so further research is encouraged to explore how current U.S. immigration policies construct transnational racial discourses about Muslims, Black immigrants, and immigrants of color in the U.S.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL/ETHNIC DIVERSITY ON BLACK/AFRICAN IDENTITIES AND THE TRANSNATIONAL RACIAL DISCOURSES ABOUT WEST AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE U.S.: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

This article seeks to show the relationship between discourse and racialization by examining how cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity amongst Blacks in the U.S. shape Black discourses that influence the way West African immigrant construct Black and African identities, which contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants. This study defines Black discourses as discourses that express and communicate Black ideas and experiences. Since Black identity is part of a discourse about Black immigrants in this study, I define Black identity discourse as Black discourses that express how members of Black communities negotiate and construct their identities. Studies on Black immigrants in the U.S. have argued that race, ethnicity, and class create boundaries amongst Black communities, which plays a role in shaping Black immigrant identities (Waters (1999), (Alex-Assensoh (2009), Waters, Kasinitz, and Asad (2014), Imoagene (2017), Nsangou and Dundes (2018)). While these studies have provided important insights into the experiences of Black immigrants, they have not adequately explored the relationship between discourse and racialization that influence how cultural and ethnic diversity shape Black discourses and the way West African immigrants create Black and African identities, which influence the construction of transnational racial discourses. I contribute to the literature by arguing that dominant western racist ideologies about Africa produce

and reproduce stereotypes of Africa as an impoverished, barbaric, savage continent that are manifested through elite racist discourses, which influence the way West African immigrants are racialized, ethnicized and inferorized and shapes the way Black discourses and transnational racial discourses are constructed about West African immigrants

The historical movement of West African immigrants to the U.S. began after President John Fitzgerald Kennedy fought for the legislation of the Immigration Act of 1965 (Martin, 2011). Prior to the Immigration Act of 1965, in his book, *"A Nation of Immigrants",* Kennedy (1964) defines immigration as

> A gesture of faith in social mobility. It is the expression in action of a positive belief in the possibility of a better life. It has thus contributed greatly to developing the spirit of personal betterment in American society and to strengthening the national confidence in change and the future. Such confidence, when widely shared, sets the national tone.

In this book, Kennedy celebrates the contributions immigrants have made to America, but discloses the pain, struggle and triumphs of immigrant assimilation into the American system. During his presidency, Kennedy advocated for a new law that would allow immigrants from different races and ethnicities to migrate to America. As he prepared his immigration reform policies, Kennedy tackled the urgency for Congress to reform the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. According to Kennedy, the Immigration Nationality Act of 1952 discriminated against immigrants by using the national origin system, which restricted migration for immigrants especially from Southern – Eastern Europe, Western Hemisphere, Asian Pacific Triangle, refugees seeking asylum and immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon ancestry (Kennedy 1964). Kennedy argued that the national origin quota system violated equal rights and goes against *The Declaration of Independence* creed that "all men are created equal" (Kennedy 1964). Importantly, the national origin quota system, prevented American citizens from reuniting with their families overseas.

Therefore, Kennedy made it a priority to reunite families and open U.S. immigration boarders to admit immigrants of all races and ethnicities.

In 1963, Kennedy wrote a letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House to amend the Immigration Nationality Act of 1952. In Kennedy's (1963) recommendation to amend the national origin quota system, he argues that a new law will ensure that,

> Those with the greatest ability to add to the national welfare, no matter where they are born, are granted the highest priority. The next priority should go to those who seek to be reunited with their relatives. Parents of American citizens, who now have a preferred quota status, should be accorded non-quota status. Parents of alien's resident in the United States, who now have no preference, should be accorded a preference, after skilled specialists and other relatives of citizens and alien residents

Kennedy believed that a new law would give immigrants freedom to migrate and work in America. Unfortunately, Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, and he did not live to witness the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1965. According to Edward M. Kennedy's (1966), article titled *"The Immigration Act of 1965",* in support of his predecessor, President Lyndon B. Johnson spearheaded the battle to abolish the Immigration Nationality Act of 1952, and the national origin quota systems, by upholding Kennedy's recommendations. Subsequently, Kennedy (1966) reported that "on October 3, 1965, President Johnson signed into law the Immigration Act of 1965and it abolished the national origin quota system, (Kennedy, 1966). The success of the Immigration Act of 1965 opened U.S. immigration borders to immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon heritage. For instance, my husband was born in Massachusetts, Boston in 1975, just ten years after the Immigration Act of 1965 was passed. The significance of my husband's story is that prior to the Immigration Act of 1965, West Africans were not allowed to migrate to the U.S., instead, white Anglo Europeans were the preferred immigrants. After the Immigration Act of 1965 was legislated, West Africans began their migration journey to the U.S. According to Susuan F. Martin's (2011) book *"A Nation of Immigrants,"* "total immigration gradually increased

in the aftermath of the 1965 Amendments, growing from almost 2.5 million in the 1950s to 3.2 million in the transitional decade of the 1960s" (Martin, 2011).

In recent data, Monica Anderson, and Gustavo López (2018), researchers at the Pew Research Center report that,

> Between 2000 and 2016, the black African immigrant population more than doubled, from 574,000 to 1.6 million. Africans now make up 39% of the overall foreign-born black population, up from 24% in 2000. Still, roughly half of all foreign-born blacks living in the U.S. in 2016 (49%) were from the Caribbean, with Jamaica, Haiti and Nigeria being the largest source countries.

This data shows a growth in Black migration to the U.S. since the Immigration Act of 1965, which shows an increase in the Black immigrant population in the U.S. This presence of West Africans in the U.S. inspired me to examine Black discourses to find out how elite racist discourses shape cultural and ethnic diversity amongst Black communities, which influence the construction of identities and transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants in the U.S.

Existing studies on Black immigration argue that Black immigrants create their identities based on conflict, boundary construction and cultural ethnic differences. According to Alex-Assensoh (2009), Black conflict between African immigrants and African Americans is inspired by racism and boundary construction. In relation to boundary construction, Imoagene (2017) argues that second generation Nigerian immigrants in the U.S. choose to identify as Africans, which creates boundaries between Nigerians and African Americans. In another study, Waters (2009) argues that West Indians use their immigrant identities to create boundaries with African Americans, but racial barriers affect West Indians in the same way as African Americans because of the stigma of being Black in America.

In terms of cultural ethnic difference, on one hand, Abdullah (2009), argues that African Muslim immigrants use their culture and ethnicity to maintain their African identities, which

creates boundaries with African Americans. On the other hand, Abdullah argues that African Americans create their identities based on their "experience with Blackness through the prism of an imagined Africa and as diasporic populations living in the West", and "African immigrants locate their Blackness through feelings of exile and against the backdrop of a postcolonial Africa" (11). Abdullah argues that though African Americans and West African Muslim immigrants share "a common link to Blackness," both groups have different experiences of Blackness, which creates ethnic and cultural boundaries and conflicts between both groups (11).

These studies show that conflict, boundary construction and cultural ethnic differences, influence the way African immigrants and African Americans create their identities. However, there is a missing link that explains how dominant western ideologies and elite racist discourses shape cultural and ethnic diversity that influence the construction of Black identities and transnational racial discourses about West Africans immigrants. This study fills this gap by showing how elite racist discourses shape Black discourses, which contribute to the construction of Black and African identities and transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants.

Using critical discourse analysis to analyze news stories and Oral Histories, this study explores Black discourses about West African immigrants in the U.S. I examined written texts and themes about West African immigrants produced by American Black newspapers and Historical Archives. My goal is to explore the extent to which West African immigrants are talked about in Black discourses. I examined 10 online African American newspapers produced in the U.S., three West African immigrant transcribed text oral histories and seven archived news releases in the online library of *"The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Extended Lives: The African Immigrant Experience in Philadelphia"*. I sourced my data directly from the African American newspaper websites and The Balch Institute website. The data were

coded for themes, that represents my ongoing research questions that drive the academic social inquiry for this study. This study provides a synopsis of Black discourses about West African immigrants. This study provides an overview of the theoretical framework made up of racial formation and intersectionality theories. Further, this study utilizes direct quotes from African American newspapers and oral histories, to illustrate the themes that emerge from the analysis, which will give the readers a deeper understanding of the rhetoric used in Black discourses.

In this study, I used racial formation theory and intersectionality as my theoretical framework. This theoretical framework provides an ideal context to analyze Black discourses about West African immigrants, and to find out how Black discourses are influenced by westem racist ideologies about Africa. It is important to understand how racial identities are assigned to West African immigrants within racial dynamics. Omi and Winant (1994) argue that "race is an autonomous field of social conflict, political organization, and cultural/ideological meaning;" and "race will always be at the center of the American experience" (Omi and Winant 1994, 5). Since race plays a center role in human experiences, transnational immigration scholars have used the racial formation theoretical framework to study, and examine how immigrant identities emerge from immigrant experiences in the U.S.

For this study, I modeled Yuching Julia Cheng's (2014) work that combines racial formation theory with transnational immigration research to examine how macro level politics influence the way Asian immigrant families construct their identities. According to Cheng (2014), racial formation theory "acknowledges the autonomous power of race," which can be used to understand the way immigrants form their identities (Cheng 2014, 750). Further, Cheng argues that, based on "lived experiences of immigrants, racial formation theory can adopt a transnational perspective because of the impact of national origin on immigrant integration. From transnational

standpoint, immigrant experiences in the U.S., link immigration research and racial formation theory" (745-746). That is, Cheng argues that racial formation theory connects with transnational research on immigration to determine "whether immigrant families reproduce or deconstruct racial projects created by the state; ways that immigrant parents and their children rearticulate meanings of race; and how immigrant families balance conflicts in racial concepts between their home and host countries" (746). Cheng's work shows that racial formation is a valuable theory to combine with transnational immigration research because racial formation theory allows us to understand the processes of racism through racial projects on the macro level. Though Cheng's work on immigration focused on racial projects on the macro level, Cheng argues that, it is possible to examine how racial projects influence immigrant identities on the "non-macro level" (751). That is, we can examine everyday experiences of immigrants on the micro level, to understand how they form identities. I am connecting these approaches to my examination of Black discourses and Oral histories about West African immigrants in the U.S.

Using Cheng's (2014) approach, my study combined racial formation theory and transnational immigration research, to examine how racial projects on the micro level influence the ways West African immigrants construct their Black and African identities in the U.S. According to Omi and Winant (1994) a racial project is "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics," that connects "what race means in a particular discursive practice in both social structures and everyday experiences that are racially organized, based upon racial meaning" (56). That is, racial projects can be examined on the macro level through racialized social structures, and on the micro level through individual everyday experiences of immigrants. As Omi and Winant (1994) argue, "at the micro-social level, racial projects are applications of common sense," that operate at the "level of everyday life," where we

can "examine the many ways in which, often unconsciously, we notice race" (59). For instance, Omi and Winant argue that when we meet people "of an ethnic/racial group we are not familiar with, such an encounter becomes a source of discomfort and momentarily a crisis of racial meaning" (59). That is, on the micro level, racial projects can be examined by looking at the way people perceive immigrants based on their racial and ethnic appearances, which are influenced by dominant racist ideologies on the macro level.

Omi and Winant refer to this macro level influence as "preconceived notions of a racialized social structure," where the state perceives Nigerian as fraudulent criminals, which shapes public perceptions about Nigerians (59). Basically, Omi and Winant argue that "racialized social structures shapes racial experience and conditions meaning," which influences the way people form racial meanings about immigrants (59). That is, the macro level influences American perspectives of immigrants, where "racial judgements and practices are carried out at the level of individual experience" (Omi and Winant 1994, 61). This individual experience happens on the micro level between West African immigrants and African Americans, which is a form of racial project where racial meanings are formed through everyday experiences. Therefore, racial formation theory is an important framework for this study because it will allow me to examine processes of racialization against West African immigrants on the macro and micro levels.

The importance of this study is to demonstrate that there is a relationship between discourse and racialization through elite racist discourses produced and reproduced by racialized social structures on the macro level, which shape and influence Black discourses on the micro level through everyday experiences of West African immigrants. This article compliments existing literature that focus on transnational Black immigration, and sheds light on the ways that West African immigrants create identities amidst cultural and ethnic diversity in Black communities.

This article was limited because it focused on 21 articles, which makes it impossible to generalize the findings. Therefore, this study is not representative of all Black discourses and perceptions of West African immigrants in the U.S. Further research is encouraged, to explore how the transnational perspectives can expand our knowledge and understanding of how discourse and racialization shape the way other immigrants of color create their identities globally.

Methodology

The following section describes the data collection procedures used in this study. First, I will discuss critical discourse analysis methodology, that was used to determine the various transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants. Second, the research design will be discussed, to understand why a qualitative method was utilized. Third, the setting for the data collection will be established. Fourth, the data collection protocol will be discussed. Fifth, the coding procedure for analyzing the data collected will be explained.

Adapting critical discourse analysis (CDA), this study is a textual and thematically arranged inquiry, into the rhetoric of Black discourse about West African immigrants in the U.S. To answer my research questions, I conducted a critical discourse analysis on the written text, language and rhetoric produced by Black newspapers and Oral Histories of African immigrants. Critical discourse analysis allows researchers to examine text and language used in general discourse about groups of people. Before we understand critical discourse analysis, we must understand discourse because it is the fundamental part of language and communication.

Dijk (1997) defines discourse as a "form of language, communication of beliefs (cognition) and interaction in social situations" (Dijk 1997). Further, Willig (2013) defines discourse analysis as "research that focuses on the role of language in the construction of social and psychological phenomena" (Willig 2013, 6). According to Willig, discourse analysis allows studies to understand "how the use of language is implicated in the construction of particular events" which center around "social, institutional and psychological effects of discourse and not about the thoughts and feelings within individual speakers" (4). In contrast, Parker (1992) argues that texts and language used to analyze discourse must consider the "speech, writing and non-verbal behavior" (Parker 1992, 7). That is, thoughts and feelings matter in language, because racist, bias, prejudicial thoughts and feelings of speakers conveyed through rhetorical speeches are discourses that portray specific power strategies used to control the dominant narrative. Therefore, I argue that discourse analysis incorporates the examination of languages and feelings of social discourses that are personal and institutional. Discourse analysis is important, because it will analyze transnational racial discourses about West African Muslim immigrants through written text, and language.

I will adapt Dijk's model of critical discourse analysis, which critically looks at the "role of discourse in the reproduction and challenge of dominance" (249). Dijk defines dominance as "the exercise of social power by elites, institutions that result in social inequality" (250). Further, Dijk argues that "power and dominance of groups are measured by control over access to discourse" (257). Dijk defines the elite as "white dominant groups that have power and control over the means of public communication, such as official propaganda, information campaigns, the mass media, advertising and potential influence of elite discourses on ethnic affairs" (Dijk 1993, 102). In this study, I argue that the elite emerge from dominant racial social structures that use power, dominance and control to produce and reproduce dominant racial discourses about West

African immigrants, that shape and influence the way African Americans perceive West African immigrants. Therefore, Black newspapers and African Oral Histories will be analyzed, to find out if dominant racial social structures influence the way Black discourses construct transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants.

To support Dijk's CDA approach, this study employed Machin and Mayr's (2012) CDA strategy to analyze texts and language in Black discourses. Similarly, Machin and Mayr (2012) agree with Dijk's (1993) argument that "social relations of power are present in texts both explicitly and implicitly (Dijk 1993, 249). Further, in support of Dijk's stance on power and domination, Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that CDA is a method used to understand the "interrelationship" between power and ideology in texts and language because "power relations are transmitted and practiced through discourse" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 4). That is, CDA can be used to examine how power relationships are operationalized and conveyed in dominant discourses. Therefore, Machin and Mayr argue that we must look at how language, power and ideology interrelate in the production of Black discourses.

Further, I used Machin and Mayr's "representational strategies in language" CDA method to analyze the themes found in the data. Machin and Mayr define representational strategies in language as a method used to describe how the "communicator's choice of language is used to represent individuals and groups of people, which draws attention to their identity that is associated with certain kinds of discourses," and with CDA we can analyze the choice of language by placing "people in the social world to highlight certain aspects of identity we wish to draw attention to" (77). Representational strategy in language is a useful CDA method that can be used to examine texts and language produced and reproduced by dominant structures.

Furthermore, Machin and Mayr argue that the way individuals and groups are represented through discourse shapes the way they are perceived, and the choice of language portrays "othered" groups "in ways that tend to align us alongside or against them" (104). That is, political rhetoric will either turn us against people or make us like them, so we must look at how texts and languages "create opposites to make events and issues appear simplified in order to control their meaning" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 78). Essentially, texts and language used to "other" West African immigrants are controlled by the state, which may create opposites between West African immigrants and Americans. Therefore, it important to look at how West African immigrants are being "referred" to through text and language. Machin and Mayr (2012) refers to this process as "referential strategies," which are ways "we perceive people and their actions" (79). For instance, in the U.S., when Nigerians are found guilty of criminal fraud by the law or by popular opinion, news stories "refer" to them as criminals, because they endanger the financial safety of Americans. This referential strategy demonstrates how language and text are used to position West African immigrants as dangerous "others," which influences the way African Americans perceive them and talk about them in Black discourses.

One critic of CDA is that there is a possibility of analytical bias if the analyst interprets the data based on their concerns and personal political points of view. Schegloff (1997) argues, that researchers who use political analysis run the risk of using their authority to analyze the data based on their views on politics and power relations, which can lead to bias in the findings (Schegloff 1997). As a solution, the researcher must develop a personal and political distance approach, to prevent the analyst from making personal judgement and political implications that might jeopardize the analysis and findings. Importantly, Muller (2011) suggests that analysts must maintain a "technical discipline with rules and regularities of the construction of texts, syntactic

and sematic schemata interaction" with the data to avoid analytic bias (Muller 2011, 24). I have organized the platform to engage and develop a critical discourse analysis methodology. This study seeks to provoke thoughts on transnational racist discourses, encourage discussion and improve methodological transparency in the way CDA is utilized in race discourse scholarship.

Regarding the research design, I chose to use qualitative methods because qualitative research will help me to understand how West African immigrants are talked about in U.S. Black discourses, and how cultural, ethnic and religious diversity in Black communities may influence the way West African immigrants construct identities and boundaries. Importantly, I seek to find out how Black discourses, influence transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants. Qualitative research allows us study what we are interested in, while keeping an open mind to new understandings. According to Tracy (2013) qualitative methods allows the researcher to concentrate on understanding relationships between cultures, organizations, and mediated settings (Tracy 2013, 6-7). The process of understanding relationships requires patience and time, where the research must commit to extensive time in collecting extensive data and engaging in the complex, time-consuming process of data analysis through the ambitious task of sorting through large amounts of data and reducing them to a few themes or categories. This period for most researchers can be lonely and isolating while struggling and pondering on the data. The task is challenging, especially because the database consists of complex texts and images. To successfully overcome this challenge, Tracy suggests that the researcher must initiate the research question: select the data; collect the data; conduct the data analysis and write the conclusion (Tracy 2013).

Regarding the setting, the data for this study were obtained from publicly available news stories from websites owned by African American newspapers and Historical archives dedicated to ethnic studies. The rationale for choosing these sites is based on the relevance of the news.

Regarding the data collection, first, I collected my data from 10 online African American newspapers produced in the U.S., three West African immigrant transcribed text oral histories and seven archived news releases in the online library of *"The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Extended Lives: The African Immigrant Experience in Philadelphia".* The 10 U.S. African American newspapers that will be analyzed in this study are - Houston Forward Times (1); The AFRO American Newspaper (2); Amsterdam News New York (1); New Pittsburg Courier (2); The Philadelphia Tribune (1); The Bay State Banner (1); Chicago Defender (1). According to Black News (2019), these newspapers are among the "top Black African American newspapers and oldest most prestigious Black newspapers established in 1907 in the U.S." (Black News 2019). The justification for collecting my data, is based on my interest to know how West African immigrants are discussed. I am interested to know if Black discourses are influenced by dominant racist ideologies about West African immigrants. I seek to understand how Black discourses influence the ways West African immigrant create their identities and negotiate ethnic/cultural conflicts with African Americans.

Second, I obtained my oral history data, from "*The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies library*". The data identified on this website, are transcribed text oral histories from first generation West African immigrants in Philadelphia, and archived news releases on African immigrants. The relevant news releases were downloaded, and hard copies was printed for the analysis. I analyzed news releases pertaining to West African immigrants (Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone). These news releases are relevant, because they provide pertinent information about how West African immigrants create their identities, and navigate through the terrain of American racial, cultural and ethnic conflict. The justification for analyzing news releases from this website, is because the *The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies* publishes historical

Black documents and interprets the ethnic and cultural experiences of African immigrant in the U.S., which is very important to this study of West African immigrants.

The limitation here is that I have 21 sources of data, which is not enough to generalize that the findings speak to all aspects of Black discourses concerning West African immigrants. However, the data I collected is enough to provoke thoughts on the implications of cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity in Black communities, which may push for further studies to explore in detail how Black conflict may impact identity and boundary construction. Another limitation of using newspapers, is the issue of "selection bias" by news agencies. According to Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule (2004) selection bias, is when "news agencies do not report on all events that actually occur" and the news reports are not "representative but structured by various factors such as reporting norms and editorial concerns," based on the news agency's discretion and decision to select the news they want to share with the public (Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule 2004, 68-69). However, Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule (2004) argue that, selection bias does not overshadow that fact that the content of news releases are pertinent to the researcher's interest topic; therefore, "researchers must approach news data with a humble understanding that although not without its flaws, it remains a useful data source" (77). In this study, the data from the African American newspapers and archives are relevant information, that demonstrate how Black discourses influence identity and boundary construction, which contributes to the transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants.

I chose these data sources to address my research questions. In the data collection process, I used the following research questions to guide the selection of my data.

- How does cultural/ethnic diversity amongst Blacks in the U.S. shape West African immigrant identities and influence the transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants in an era of global terrorism?

- How are ideas about Blackness/Africanness incorporated or challenged in the processes of racialization and racial categorization of West African immigrants?

Regarding the coding process, since I relied on a textual, thematic CDA method, I developed a coding system based on the research questions to categorize the themes and record the frequency of the themes. According to Barron and Engle (2007) it is beneficial to develop a coding scheme from the research questions because the study "benefits from iterative cycles of work, distributed expertise, and moving across different levels of analysis" (Barron and Eagle 2007, 34). First, I downloaded the data on my computer and printed the data out to enable me to code directly on the documents. Second, I used different color markers to highlight new themes, as I manually wrote them down on the right margins of the documents. Third, after the coding process was completed and the themes emerged, I selected a table from the word document with two columns to write the research question on the left side and code the themes on the right side. I repeated this process for all three research questions. After the coding was completed and themes were recorded, I proceeded to outline the findings, which I will discuss in the next section.

When the coding process was completed, I found that two core themes emerged: Conflict at the center of identity construction and Culture shapes identity. The themes that emerged were linked back to the research questions: how does cultural/ethnic diversity amongst Blacks in the U.S., shape West African immigrant identities and influence the transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants in an era of global terrorism? How are ideas about Blackness/Africanness incorporated or challenged in the processes of racialization, ethnicization and racial categorization of West African Muslim immigrants? In the next section, I will examine the first core theme examine how western ideologies influence Black discourses and Black/African identity construction, and how language is used to represent West Africans in discourses.

Analysis

The theme "conflict at the center of identity construction," emerged based on the conflict between West African immigrants and African Americans. This core theme is supported by sub-themes: (1) African immigrants avoid the Black labels (2) Stereotypes of Africans shape social interactions and the way West African immigrants construct their identities in the U.S. (3) Ethnic differences between West African immigrants and African Americans influences the way Africans construct their identities. These sub-themes offer an understanding as to how conflict may arise when West African immigrants construct their identities within Black communities in the U.S.

Studies argue that identity construction creates conflicts in Black communities because African Americans and African immigrants choose their identities differently, where African immigrants distance themselves from the stigma of being called a Black American. As Imoagene (2017) argues, second generation Nigerian immigrants in the U.S. are hesitant to identify as Black because they are a "different kind of black" compared to African Americans, which creates tension and forces African immigrants to define their "blackness and distance themselves ethnically from African Americans" (Imoagene 2017, 7). This tension creates cultural, economic, and political division, and conflicts between West African immigrants and African Americans, which influences the way African immigrants creates their identities (Ogbu and Simons 1998, Alex-Assensoh 2009, Waters, Kasinitz, and Asad 2014, Imoagene 2017). In addition to cultural, economic, and political division, the data show that racial identity plays a role in creating conflict between West African immigrants and African Americans because Africans do not identify as "Black" for fear of being mistaken as a Black American.

First, it is important to understand what racial identity means to African immigrants who migrate to the U.S. because it will shed light on why they choose to identify more with their homeland and less with African Americans. As Omi and Winant (2004) argue, our identity is very important to our race and "without a racial identity one is in danger of having no identity" (16). Therefore, race is an important factor in the construction of identities. In the matters regarding race, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP) (2020) states that,

> Many Africans are unused to living in a society where race is a defining factor. In fact, many immigrants may never have thought of themselves as "Black" before arriving in the United States. This identity may sometimes lead to conflict with African Americans who expect Africans to identify with their group and participate in its struggle against discrimination. The perceptions of African immigrants toward racism often depend upon their prior experiences, either at home or while living in other foreign countries.

Here, HSP is establishing that African immigrants have a different perception of the Black identity, which depends on their lived experiences with racism and cultural background that differs from African Americans. To support this statement, HSP shared a testimony from a Nigerian immigrant as follows,

> I wish race relations were farther along in the U.S. than they are. People perceive you as an African American person and treat you accordingly. Maybe if I had tried in the last 25 years, I could have lost my Nigerian accent, but I don't want to because that's me. But then Americans treat you differently because either you look different or speak different. We are a little bit worried about my son. He is now driving, and you hear about African American males and profiling. - a Nigerian on race relations in the U.S.

In this statement, the Nigerian perceives the African American identity to be negative yet talks about his or her rejection as a Nigerian based on foreign accents and physical attributes. On one hand, the Nigerian does not want to be mistaken for an African American because of existing racial discrimination against African Americans in the U.S. On the other hand, the Nigerian does not feel accepted by Americans because of cultural and ethnic differences. Though his or her accent is a barrier to assimilating into the American culture, the Nigerian is hesitant to get rid of the accent

because it is part of his or her identity and it separates him/her from African Americans. Therefore, racial identity for this Nigerian means embracing the African identity regardless of rejection.

The statement from HSP and the testimony from the Nigerian sets the tone for this analysis, because it shows both sides of the narrative on identity construction in the Black community. There is conflict between West African immigrants and African Americans because Africans do not consider themselves to be Black or the same as African Americans. However, distancing themselves from the stigma of the "Black" identity, does not absolve West African immigrants from racism because they are immigrants of color. Despite their cultural and ethnic differences, West African immigrants choose to identify with their homeland and not with African Americans. In the next section, I will examine the sub-theme – "African immigrants avoid the Black label".

In the data, I found that African immigrants avoid the Black label. On June 5, 2019, Stacy M. Brown from the *Houston Forward Times*, gave a report titled "Black or African American?". In this report, Dr. Tapo Chimbganda shares her thoughts:

> Many Africans who live in North America but were born and raised in Africa do not like to be labelled as Black. Growing up in Africa, where almost everyone is Black makes it difficult for people who grow up in that environment to understand, grasp and identify with Black as a signifier the same way that people born and raised in the West do.

In her statement, Dr. Chimbganda sheds light on African identities in America. Dr. Chimbganda argues that, African immigrants are born with their cultural and ethnic identities, which they bring to America and due to the negative misrepresentation of Blackness in America, they perceive the Black identity to be a stigma. This confirms the sentiments of the Nigerian who chose to identify with his or her African culture and ethnicity and not as an African American.

Furthermore, in this report, Dr. Hisla Bates shares her thoughts on Black identity:

> Race is a social construct and shouldn't define anyone. I don't like to be called Black or African American because it doesn't define me and is dismissive of my heritage and ethnic makeup. I am from the Caribbean and prefer Caribbean American rather than African

> American. There are so many ways to be 'Black' and so many mixtures and countries that when we define people by a single color, we miss multiple parts of who they are.

In her statement, Dr. Bates uses Omi and Winant's (1994), racial formation theory approach, by describing how race is a social construct that changes constantly based on the way racial or ethnic identities evolve as new racial identities emerge. As Dr. Bates argues, Caribbean immigrants have multiple identities and they do not succumb to just being "Black" or African American because of their diverse cultural and ethnic heritage. While Caribbean immigrants distance themselves from the Black identity, some African Americans believe that the Black identity applies to all Blacks in the U.S. and globally.

For instance, in this report, Dr. Gail L. Thompson shares her thoughts on Black identity:

> Black is a general term that includes anyone of African descent, including indigenous Africans, African Americans, Caribbean Blacks, and immigrants. A Black person can live anywhere in the world. I am an African American who can trace my ancestry in the U.S. for five generations. According to my DNA test results, my ancestry is 92 percent African, primarily from the Congo/Cameroon region and Benin and Togo. Further, the term "People of Color" refers to all non-White ethnic/racial groups.

Dr. Thompson is identifying as an African American who acknowledges and accepts her African ancestry lineage. Further, Dr. Thompson is lumping all people of African ancestry together as Blacks, which can be problematic for those who choose to distance themselves from the African or Black identity. While Dr. Thompson identifies as an African American with African ancestry, other African Americans distance themselves from the African identity.

For instance, on February 5, 2012, Jesse Washington from *Associated Press*, wrote an article titled, "Some Blacks insist: 'I'm not African-American". Shawn Smith, states that,

> I prefer to be called black. How I really feel is, I'm American. I don't like African American. It denotes something else to me than who I am. I can't recall my parents telling me anything about Africa. They told me a whole lot about where they grew up in Macomb County and Shelby, N.C.

Smith distances himself from Africa because he does not feel connected to Africa. Instead, Smith chooses to be called a Black American, an identity that resonates with his citizenship and race. Unlike Dr. Thompson, who welcomes her African lineage and identifies as both African and American, Smith does not feel a connection to Africa because he was not raised to appreciate his African ancestry. This shows that, parents and family can influence the way African American children construct their identities when they become adults.

Like Smith, Gibre George, who is from Miami, does not see himself as an African nor does he identify himself as a Black man. In his conversation, George states that,

> We respect our African heritage, but that term is not really us. We're several generations down the line. If anyone were to ship us back to Africa, we'd be like fish out of water. It just doesn't sit well with a younger generation of black people. Africa was a long time ago. Are we always going to be tethered to Africa? Spiritually I'm American. When the war starts, I'm fighting for America.

George feels more connected to his American identity and less with his African identity because of the generation gap. George does not identify as Black either, which suggests that he is constructing his identity based on his American nationality and not his race as a Black man. This is like the way Africans construct their identities based on their nation of origin. This shows that identities are constructed based on nationality.

Further, the data show that African immigrants and African Americans are not the only groups who construct their identities based on race, ethnicity and nationality. For instance, according to Washington's (2012) news report, Joan Morgan who was born in Jamaica and raised in New York City identifies with being Black, Caribbean and an American. In her report Washington narrated Morgan's story as follows,

> Joan Morgan remembers the first time she publicly corrected someone about the term: at a book signing, when she was introduced as African American and her family members in the front rows were appalled and hurt. "That act of calling me African-American completely erased their history and the sacrifice and contributions it took to make me an

> author," said Morgan, a longtime U.S. citizen who calls herself Black-Caribbean American. She said people struggle with the fact that black people have multiple ethnicities because it challenges America's original black-white classifications. In her view, forcing everyone into a name meant for descendants of American slaves distorts the nature of the contributions of immigrants like her black countrymen Marcus Garvey and Claude McKay. Morgan acknowledges that her homeland of Jamaica is populated by the descendants of African slaves. "But I am not African, and Africans are not African-American," she said.

Though Caribbean immigrants do not identify as African immigrants, their experiences as Black immigrants are important to examine because they are part of the Black community in the U.S. In this statement, Morgan identifies herself as a Black Caribbean American, where her race, ethnicity and dual nationality make up her identity. Though, Morgan identifies as an American of color, she distances herself from the African American identity because of her ancestral connections to Jamaica. By tracing her lineage to her homeland, Morgan retains her cultural and ethnic identity, which are different from African American identities. As Morgan argues, Black people have multiple ethnicities, but it is difficult for Black identities to be acknowledged because "it challenges America's original black-white classifications" (Washington 2012). According to Omi and Winant (1994), this original black and white classification is part of the ethnic history in the U.S., which dates to "1920s and 1930s, where racial inferiority was part of the natural order of humankind, and whites were considered a superior race compared to colored people" (Omi and Winant 1994, 14). In the 1920s and 2930s, Blacks were lumped together as one racial ethnic category. As Omi and Winant argue, Black people are lumped together because there is a "white ethnic history," where "whites are variegated in terms of group identities, but blacks "all look alike" (22). According to Omi and Winant, whites could have different identities, but blacks were "aggregated and racially defined as black" (22). Further, Omi and Winant argue, there is a "subtle racist element" here, when whites have multiple identities and Blacks are lumped together because "they all look alike" (22). Omi and Winant argue that, when we assume that all Blacks look alike,

we do not consider the possibility that "national origin, religion, language, or cultural differences" might be part of their identities (22). According to Morgan, the problem with the assumption that Blacks all look alike is that ethnic identities and contributions of Black immigrants become invisible because they are lumped with African Americans. As Morgan stated, she is not an African, and Africans are not African American because Black people have multiple identities.

While some data have shown that Black immigrants construct their identities based on their culture, ethnicity and nationality, other parts of the data show that African immigrants often extend their identities to fit in or adapt in the U.S. For instance, according to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Black Institute for Ethnic Studies (2020):

> While ethnic or national identity may retain central importance in African immigrants' lives, their adaptation to U.S. society often leads them to extend their identities. Thus, a member of the Mende ethnic group in Sierra Leone may identify himself simply as "African" when interacting with Americans unfamiliar with the diversity of the African continent. He may identify as "Black," following the expectations of American society. Or he may identify himself as a "refugee" when contacting social service agencies. None of these identities would necessarily be pertinent had he stayed in his home country.

According to HSP, African immigrants in Philadelphia "extend" their identities to fit in or adapt to different social environments that will improve their livelihood in America. On one hand, the African identity sets West African immigrants apart from other Black immigrants, and African Americans. On the other hand, the Black identity allows West African immigrants to have a sense of ethnic belonging in the Black community. Further, identifying as refugees allows West African immigrants to seek resources that will help them acclimate in the U.S. Extending their identities is a survival strategy, that can help West African immigrants overcome the challenges they encounter in the U.S. One challenge West African immigrants encounter is overcoming western ideologies of Africa as a primitive savage continent, which impacts the way they construct their identities and interact in African Americans. These stereotypes of Africa create conflicts between West African

immigrants and African Americans and shape the way Africans see themselves. In the next section, I will analyze the second sub-theme: Stereotypes of Africans shape social interactions, and the way West African immigrants construct their identities in the U.S.

This sub-theme "stereotypes of Africans shape social interactions, and the way West African immigrants construct their identities in the U.S." emerged in the oral histories collected from HSP. The oral histories from West African immigrants show that western ideologies and stereotypes about Africa being a poor and savage continent shape the way Africans construct their identities and perceive African Americans. This shows a relationship between discourse and racialization because stereotypes of Africa are part of elite racist discourses that racially categorize Africans as impoverished people from a savage continent. For instance, in 2001, the African Immigrant Project was conducted by Leigh Swigart from HSP, where Swigart interviewed Dr. Suzette Osei from Ghana, West Africa. Dr. Osei is a first-generation West African immigrant, who migrated to the U.S. in 1989. During this interview, Swigart asked Dr. Osei several questions about her experiences in the U.S. The questions were tailored towards Dr. Osei's upbringing in Ghana, her education, her medical practice, her family and her daily interactions with African Americans in Philadelphia. One of the questions was, *"Do you feel that the mainstream society lumps you with African Americans? Or people tend to make a distinction? Or does it depend?"*. In her response, Dr. Osei states,

> Oh, I think that there is a distinction and it's good and bad. The good thing is that they recognize that Africans are much more, um, positive about the US than African Americans. We are not encumbered by the same perceived oppressions that African Americans have growing up. And so we are more positive about things. It is easier for someone to reach us. But I think that on the other hand there is a lot of ignorance about Africa here, and so that when you get questions like "do you have houses?" or "do you have cars?" it's offensive. But in a way you can't blame them because what they see are apes on trees, and tigers running around. When they see an African the first thing they think about is there's a monkey or there's a lion in the jungle. There are very nice places in Africa in urban areas, too, but unfortunately, it's not newsworthy.

This question is problematic because it is about "lumping" Africans with African Americans. As Omi and Winant (1994) argue, the lumping of all Blacks or the notion that "they all look alike," is a racist assumption linked to white ethnic history, where Blacks are racially defined as one ethnic group and not groups with multiple ethnic backgrounds (22). Therefore, "lumping" is problematic because it is set up to pit Dr. Osei against African Americans, especially when African immigrants are known to distance themselves from the "Black" American identity.

Naturally, it is not a surprise that in her statement, Dr. Osei distances herself from being "lumped" with African Americans. In her statement, Dr. Osei uses the "good" versus "bad" dichotomy to distance herself from African Americans. Dr. Osei implies that mainstream society sees Africans as "good" and African Americans as "bad" because Africans are more "positive" compared to African Americans. I argue that Dr. Osei's beliefs that mainstream society views Africans as good is influenced by western domination and the colonized mindset of the "good" African. It is important to note that Dr. Osei was born and raised in Ghana, West Africa, which was colonized by the British empire in the 1800s. Therefore, it is imperative that I examine how Dr. Osei's mindset may be influenced by western domination and colonization of Africa by the British. For instance, Kevin Dunn (1996) argues that during the era of colonization in Africa, western images of Africa represented Africans as wild, untamed savages, who needed to be saved and civilized by white colonizers. As Dunn argues,

> Western representations of Africans helped to confirm the dangers of Africa for western audience. The au naturel savage and the colonized servants were the "before" and "after" example of the effects of colonization and civilization. The colonized Africans, tended to be untrustworthy and shiftless, reflecting and reinforcing racial attitudes that existed both at home. If there was a portrayal of a "good" African, he was defined by the characteristics admired in servants: honesty, courage, submission and unflagging loyalty. This "good" African cleans and despite being kicked, pushed and verbally abused, he follows his "master" like an obedient dog. The good, loyal, obedient African, i.e. the "colonized

> African" is not a "noble savage," but rather an obedient servant. These images reinforce the British relationships of superiority and servitude with regard to the Africans.

Dunn's (1996) statement shows that the British dominated Africa and the western notion of the "good" African is not based on personal characteristics, but on Africans who are "conditioned" by white colonizers to be loyal and obedient servants to their masters (Dunn 1996, 161). As Dunn argues, a conditioned African is referred to as the "colonized African," who has learned or internalized how to be submissive and non-threatening to mainstream society, which makes them "good" Africans (161). This conditioning is part of the African psyche because Africa was colonized to abide by British norms and values, and this western domination still connects former colonies with their colonizers. Therefore, I argue that Dr. Osei has a "colonized African" mindset because her notion of the "good" African is influenced by western domination and colonization that continues to exist in African colonies that uphold British norms and values.

Furthermore, this colonized African mindset flows into other parts of her statement. For instance, Dr. Osei's portrayal of Africans as the "recognized" Blacks by mainstream society, suggests that African Americans are not acknowledged or seen or visible to mainstream society, which "others" African Americans. I argue that the reason Africans are more recognized by mainstream society is based on the history of western domination and colonization, where Africans are presumed to be more obedient and submissive to westerners compared to African Americans who were enslaved, emasculated, degraded, and treated worse than animals by slave masters. Further, I argue that African Americans are not recognized by mainstream society because slavery stripped them off their humanity, castrated their men, raped their women, stole their children, and made them believe that their lives were worthless. In 2020, African Americans are still not recognized by mainstream society because all Black lives are still worthless and do not matter.

In currents affairs in the U.S., we are witnessing a rise in the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, in response to the senseless killings of Black people by police officers. For instance, on March 31, 2020, NPR published an article titled, *"A Decade Of Watching Black People Die*" (NPR 2020). Following the BLM #SayTheirName movement, organized to recognize Black people killed in the U.S., NPR published the names of all the Black people killed by the police in the U.S., starting with Dr. Andrew C. Jackson in 1921 to more recently, George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Ezell Ford, Walter Wallace Jr., Dijion Kizzee, Jonathan Price, Damian Daniels et al. According to NPR (2020), this list continues to grow as U.S. police brutality continues to claim more Black lives in the U.S. These events offer an insight into the reason why mainstream society may not recognize African Americans, which is historically linked to dominant western racist ideologies about African Americans during slavery.

Considering this analysis, I argue that both Africans and African Americans come from oppressive backgrounds, where racialized social structures control public perception about both groups. Therefore, I argue that both Africans and African Americans suffer the same type of subjugation, where oppressive racialized social structures use power and domination to control their Black history and narrative. Their narratives are portrayed through western stereotypes that "other" and inferiorize Africa and descendants of Africa. Importantly, these stereotypes are manifested through elite racist discourses that racialize Africans.

In her statement, Dr. Osei's talks about popular stereotypes of Africans that contribute to the "othering" of Africans as inferior people. Historically, the portrayals of Africa as a jungle and Africans as apes and monkeys originated from white European imagery of the Dark continent. According to Kevin Dunn (1996), stereotypes of Africa as a jungle emerged in the 1930s during the Depression era in Great Britain and the U.S. (Dunn 1996, 149). Dunn (1996) argues that,

> During the Depression era, the economic importance of the West's African colonies greatly increased. The images were used by cultural colonialists to reinforce and legitimize Western political practices in Africa. These images contributed to the viewing audiences' misperception of Africa and Africans and helped to perpetuate and strengthen racist and colonialist modes of thinking. Africa is presented as a terrible, untrained wilderness that requires taming by whites, especially white men. The images of Africa is often populated by savage natives, which further illustrates the need for the colonization and civilization of the continent. Centuries of constructed images of Africa and Africans, during the 1930s contributed further to their viewing audiences' misperception of Africa and Africans and helped to perpetuate and reinforce racist and colonialist modes of thinking. This misperception contributes to the viewers' mental images of Africa.

Here, Dunn's statement shows that early perceptions of Africa and Africans are based on dominant western ideologies that depict Africans as savages, who are uncivilized and need to be colonized, civilized, and saved by benevolent white saviors. Dunn's statement shows that dominant western ideologies can influence the everyday experiences of West African immigrants and Americans on the micro level. That is, these stereotypes represent Africa as a savage continent, which influence the way Americans refer to Africans as monkeys and apes.

In Dr. Osei's case, when Americans ask Africans if they have houses and cars in their countries, it suggests that Africans are not civilized people, which contributes to the "othering" of Africans. These questions are based on the American mindset that Africans live on trees like monkeys or apes, but where did Americans get these ideas from? These ideas are grounded in dominant western racist ideologies about Africa disseminated through western television, westerns news, western films, western political rhetoric, and western immigration policies that misrepresent Africans as impoverished people from a "shithole" continent. This shows a relationship between discourse and racialization because western racist ideologies about African produce and reproduce racialized discourses that depict Africans as poor people from a savage continent. Western ideologies and stereotypes about Africa influence the way Americans perceive Africans, which impacts social interactions between West African immigrants and African Americans.

The data show that stereotypes of Africa as a primitive savage continent brings a sense of shame to some West African immigrants in the U.S. This sense of shame leads them to create "extended identities," that allows them to fit in or adapt in African American communities. For instance, on September 30, 2015, Stephanie Cornish from The AFRO American Newspaper, wrote an article titled *"Africans Seek Deeper Cultural Exchange with Black Americans"*. In this article, Cornish (2015) interviewed Mei Turay, a first-generation African immigrant from Sierra Leone, West Africa. In her article, Cornish reports that,

> Mei Turay emigrated to the United States from Sierra Leone as a young boy. His cultural identification quickly took on that of many native Africans who moved to D.C. in the 1970s – Black American popular culture when among friends, and a strict adherence to Sierra Leonian values at home. "There were certain stereotypes of Africans that I wanted to separate myself from growing up – especially since most often they were negative things like starving kids on television, civil unrest, and later, HIV infections," said Turay, who did not readily admit he was African until the release of Eddie Murphy's 1988 film "Coming to America". "I learned to hide my accent as much as possible and do the things my friend did so they wouldn't associate me with those images." Turay said he believes Black Americans would continue to view African nations as backwards, primitive, impoverished, and desolate."

In my earlier analysis, the data showed how West African immigrants from Nigeria and Ghana identified with their culture, ethnicity, and nationality, and distanced themselves from the Black identity and African American identity. In this case, Turay, who is a West African immigrant from Sierra Leone, is distancing himself from his African identity and associating more with the African American identity. According to Turay, Africa is depicted as a continent plagued with "poverty, hunger, war and HIV", which makes him ashamed to be associated with Africa (Cornish 2015). Turay points out that African Americans perceive Africans to be uncivilized people from impoverished countries, which influence the way he constructs his extended identity to fit into the African American community (Cornish 2015). Again, we can see how dominant westem

ideologies and stereotypes about Africa influence the way African Americans perceive Africans and how Africans see themselves.

These stereotypes of Africa made Turay ashamed to be African because he admits to hiding his African accent, which is a survival strategy for Turay to adapt in the African American community. According to the data, this survival was crucial for Turay because in the 1970s there were no positive images of Africans, and Africans were discriminated against by African Americans. However, that data shows that after 1988 things changed for Turay because Eddie Murphy's movie "Coming to America" depicted positive images of Africa as a wealthy continent with Kings, Queens, Princes and Princesses (Cornish 2015). These positive images of Africa dismantled western ideologies about Africa and depicted Africa as a rich continent with affluent Africans. This positive counter narrative gave Turay the courage to overcome his shame of Africa and identify with his African identity. Turay's experiences show that dominant western ideologies and stereotypes of Africa influence the way Africans construct their identities.

The data show that fist-generation and second-generation West African immigrants have different approaches to negotiating western ideologies and stereotypes. Though stereotypes and shame might have been responsible for the way first-generation West African immigrants constructed their identities in the 1970s, younger second-generation West African immigrants argue that Africans can combat a colonized history of shame by dismantling western racist ideologies about Africa. In the data, second-generation West African immigrants argue that stereotypes of Africa are based on western ideologies, and dominant social structures control how stereotypes are disseminated about Africa. Therefore, it is important for Africans to reconnect with their roots to dismantle and change dominant narratives of Africa.

For instance, on July 21, 2017, The AFRO American Newspaper covered an African conference titled, *"Young African ConneXions Summit: Changing Perceptions and Strengthening Links"*. This summit was organized for young Black students, and it was held at Howard University School of Business, and sponsored by the Washington, D.C. Mayor's Office on African Affairs (AFRO American Newspaper 2017). In this conference, second-generation West African immigrants shared their thoughts on stereotypes of Africa, and they talked about how western ideologies about Africa negatively impacts business relationships with Africa, which hinders the economic progress of Africa. Importantly, they encouraged Africans to dismantle western narratives of Africa. During the summit, Obert Masaraue from Senegal, West Africa and Flora Ahmadu from Sierra Leone, West Africa, shared their thoughts in the statements below,

> Obert Masararue: For Senegal, I think we need to start to understand our own country, where we come from because so much of even what we know is based upon a Western ideology. Dismantling the idea of Africa existing in real-time and outside of the imaginations of Western logic and stereotype, was the first step to embracing Africa and its mass resources as a place of tremendous business and social possibilities.

> Flora Ahmadu: My parents are from Sierra Leone, and though I grew up here in the States, I believed the homeland was a place of poverty and corruption. My vision of what could come out of Africa was always about going back and teaching them how to do things the American way. The arrogance it takes to believe that the people there could not manage themselves or more importantly, show Americans how to do things a different and in a better way, collapsed my whole sense of reality. It is a wake-up call that any person, company, or nation doing business on the continent needs before even making out a business plan.

Masararue argues that Africans do not understand their authentic history because their history was written by western colonizers, whose ideologies about Africa are stereotypes of primitive savages. Masararue states that the knowledge that Africans have about their countries are based on western ideologies and stereotypes of Africa, which conditions Africans to accept western ideologies that portray Africa as an uncivilized continent that needs help from westerners

to succeed. This is a "colonized African" mindset, where the British used power and domination to make Africans dependent on them for resources, which is a form of controlling Africans.

As Dunn (1994) argued, the colonization of Africa was based on western domination and control of African resources, both human labor and natural resources. This control and domination allowed the British empire to dictate what Africans learned in school, produced on their lands, and exported for trading purposes. Eventually, Africans became conditioned to what they learned from the British, and this became their mantra even after they gained their independence. Therefore, to hear a West African immigrant in 2017, say that western ideologies control the narrative and images of Africa reinforces Omi and Winant's (1994) argument that "racialized social structures shape racial experience and conditions meaning," where "our ongoing interpretation of our experience in racial terms shapes our relations to the institutions and organizations through which we are imbedded in social structure," thus, Africans are conditioned to expect stereotypes of them as savage primitives to be the characteristics that define who they are based on westem expectations and representations of Africa (Omi and Winant 1994, 59-60). To combat stereotypes and dismantle western ideologies about Africa, Masararue urges Africans to re-educate themselves about their history and reconnect with their African roots. Masararue's statement shows that some West Africans have emancipated themselves from the "colonized African" mindset, by embracing their African identities and rejecting western ideologies that perpetuate stereotypes of Africa.

In support, Ahmadu argues, that stereotypes of Africa undermine innovative possibilities of Africans succeeding on their own without the intervention of western dominance and control. In her statement, Ahmadu shares that she grew up in the U.S. with the belief that Africa is a poor and corrupt continent, which reaffirms dominant racist stereotypes about Africa in the U.S. When U.S. racialized social structures portray Africa as a poor and corrupt continent, it informs the

opinions of second-generation West African immigrants like Ahmadu who seems to be impacted by stereotypes of Africa. When Africa is depicted as an impoverished continent, it undermines the abilities of Africans to succeed on their own without western support or influence. Again, this shows how colonization plays a role in the conditioning of Africans to rely on western support or their benevolent saviors. As Ahmadu states, Africa does not need American intervention because Africans can improve their countries by being resourceful with their natural resources. Ahmadu's statement shows that some West Africans have moved away from the "colonized African" mindset because they reject the idea that Africa needs to be saved by westerners.

I have analyzed the data that supports the sub-themes, "African immigrants avoid the Black label" and "stereotypes of Africans shape social interactions, and the way West African immigrants construct their identities in the U.S.," which show how West African identities are constructed under the influence of western ideologies and negative western stereotypes of Africa. Stereotypes about Africa are disseminated through elite racist discourses that racialize Africa as a poor and savage continent, which shows a relationship between discourse and racialization. In the next section, I will analyze the third sub-theme: Ethnic differences between West African immigrants and African Americans influences the way Africans construct their identities.

The theme "ethnic differences between West African immigrants and African Americans influences the way Africans construct their identities," emerged in the data, which shows that conflict arises based on ethnic differences and hostility between West African immigrants and African Americans. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, African Immigrants Projects conducted several interviews with West African immigrants, and I will share the interviews in my analysis. For instance, on July 17, 2000, HSP - African Immigrants Project interviewer Swigart, interviewed Dr. Cyprian Anyanwu who is from Nigeria, West Africa. During their interview,

Swigart asked Dr. Anyanwu questions about his experiences in Philadelphia. Some of the questions are as follows,

> Swigart: How do Nigerians view themselves here? Where do they see that they fit into Philadelphia or America society? Do they think they're part of it? Do they still feel like they are on the outside? How would they like to be seen?
>
> Dr. Anyanwu: They would like to play active roles, but they are afraid and timid. Up until 1970, no African would go to cut their hair in a black barber shop. No African woman will ever have anything to do with a black American. And the worst thing is that the black people are very antagonistic to all of us now than they used to be. Because they feel that we are demanding too much, we are getting too much. They really wish that we were not here to begin with. They would say, "Brother, how is it over there? When are you going back?" They think that we are taking their jobs and we are diminishing what they would get.
>
> Swigart: I see. And so it's competition for scarce resources?
>
> Dr. Anyanwu: Absolutely, Absolutely.

Additionally, on December 11, 2000, Swigart interviewed Reverend Alfred Kanga from Sierra Leone, West Africa. During their interview, Swigart asked Kanga questions about his experiences as an African prison chaplain in Philadelphia. Some of the questions are as follows,

> Swigart: How do people respond to you as an African pastor, not an American? I imagine that you deal with a lot of Christians who are African American.
> Reverend Kanga: Yes, I have that. But you'll be surprised to find out that most of my problem are coming from my own, the African Americans, my own black people.
>
> Swigart: They are the ones who question you the most?
> Reverend Kanga: Sure.
>
> Swigart: More than white Americans?
>
> Reverend Kanga: Sure. The reason is curiosity. "What do you know that we don't know?" That's one thing. "How come you are an African?" And this question comes mostly from the Muslim brothers in jail.

Furthermore, on January 26, 2001, Swigart interviewed Dr. Suzette Osei from Ghana, West Africa. During their interview, Swigart asked Dr. Osei questions about her experiences as an African doctor in Philadelphia. Some of the questions are as follows,

> Swigart: What about African American patients? Do they react differently in any way? Or is it the same as a white American?
>
> Dr. Osei: I think probably, in Philadelphia, I get a better reception because I think the Philadelphia African American population are much more open minded, I think, about African than others.
>
> Swigart: With your African American patients, do people ever talk openly about the connection between them as African American and you as an African, or is it sort of implied?
>
> Dr. Osei: I think it's sort of implied. I think for some of them, the distinction is a problem no doubt. But I think that some of them feel comfortable with someone who looks like them than the other, and so sometimes that overshadows it. So I think I see both, and I can't really tell which is more. But for some people, it's not enough that you are the same colour. For some people, they are uncomfortable with the fact that you are African. I give them the best I can offer, and then people will open their heart usually do well with me, and people who feel that they can't get over that barrier, usually walk away.

The main observation here is that all three West Africans immigrants experienced hostility from African Americans. While Dr. Osei confirms that some of her African American patients are comfortable with her as a Black doctor, her conversation implies that African Americans are uncomfortable in the company of Africans. This aligns with the experiences of Dr. Anyanwu and Reverend Kanga, who express their frustrations with hostile interactions with African Americans. According to Swigart (2000), Dr. Anyanwu owns and operates a drug and alcohol rehabilitation center, which is a lucrative business for his community (Swigart 2000). Dr. Anyanwu's financial success might be a threat to African Americans in his community who feel like he is competing with them for economic resources. Therefore, it is logical for him to associate the resentment he feels from African Americans to both groups competing for scarce economic resources.

In Dr. Anyanwu's story, the issue of competing for scarce economic resources with African Americans is a contributing factor to the division in the Black community. For instance, Dr. Anyanwu reveals that Africans are afraid to interact with African Americans because of the resentment they receive from African Americans. This fear impacts the way Africans create their

identities because they distance themselves from African Americans and identify with their African identities. Similarly, in Reverend Kanga's story, he reveals that compared to White Americans, African Americans have a problem with him being an authority in Christianity. African Americans question the authenticity of his leadership as a Reverend because he is African, which undermines his education and experiences in his field. Kanga's struggle to prove himself to African Americans, shows the hostility he experiences when interacting with them, which impacts the way he builds relationships with African Americans. This shows that Dr. Anyanwu and Reverend Kanga's experiences with African Americans, influence the way they distance themselves from African Americans and identify more with their African identities.

These stories show that ethnic differences between West Africans and African Americans creates conflicts between both groups because West African immigrants distance themselves and choose to identify with their African identities. Therefore, conflict in the Black community influences the way West African immigrants construct their African identities.

The analysis of the core theme "conflict at the center of identity construction," has demonstrated that several aspects create conflict within the Black community. On one hand, West African immigrants avoid the "Black" label, which creates conflicts between them and African Americans because they do not want to be identified as African Americans. On the other hand, Africans Americans distance themselves from Africa because they do not feel any ancestral connections with Africa, which creates conflicts with West African immigrants. However, the data show that some African Americans embrace both their African heritage and American nationality.

Furthermore, stereotypes of Africa can influence the way African Americans perceive and interact with West African immigrants, which can create conflicts that shape the way Africans create their identities. Lastly, ethnic differences between West African immigrants and African

Americans create conflict and hostility, which influences the way Africans construct their identities. This conflict shapes the way West African immigrants identify with the African identity and extend identities. Though the data show that conflict between West African immigrants and African Americans influence identity construction, the data show that culture helps to resolve this conflict by uniting both groups through shared cultural experiences. That is, cultural connections build coalitions between West African immigrants and African Americans, which has a positive influence in the way both groups interact with each other and construct their identities. The emergence of cultural connections leads to the second core theme, "culture shapes identity". In the next section, I will analyze the data that supports the second core theme: "Culture Shapes Identity".

The core theme, "culture shapes identity" emerged because the data show that cultural connections can unite West African immigrants and African Americans, which can prevent conflict and division between both groups. In this case, culture refers to shared experiences between African Americans and West African immigrants. The data show that these shared experiences range from cultural similarities as per family-oriented communities, to shared experiences with racism in the U.S. The data show that once both groups recognize their cultural similarities, it will open doors to the possibility of West African immigrants and African Americans bridging the gap that divides the Black community. This suggests that there is hope of unifying West African immigrants and African Americans in a diasporic effort to live in cultural harmony, while they fight a common enemy known as racism. In the next section, I will analyze the data that supports my observation that a culture of racism in the U.S. produces shared experiences between African Americans and West African immigrants.

The data show that West African immigrants are impacted by racism, which is similar to racialized experiences of African Americans in the U.S. Based on these similarities, some African Americans advocate for unity between African Americans and Black immigrants, to encourage social movements that will fight against racist immigration policies that impact the lives of Black immigrants. For instance, on January 18, 2018, Mary Datcher with the Chicago Defender published an article titled "Coming to America: The Stories of Chicago Black Immigrants" (Datcher 2018). In this article, Datcher (2018), argues that African Americans are not supportive or actively involved in changing immigration policies that impact the lives of Black immigrants because they do not "understand the perplexities of immigration" within the Black community, where "there is a diverse mix of cultures within Chicago Black communities that includes immigrants from Africa, Haiti, and the Caribbean" (Datcher 2018). Further, Datcher argues that African Americans should be supportive of Black immigrants based on their similar experiences with racism, which should be a cause for unity and not division. For instance, Datcher argues that Black immigrants are targets of racism in Trump's administration because "according to Senator Dick Durbin, behind a closed-door meeting in discussing a resolution to save the DACA program, President Trump repeatedly referred to Africa and Haiti as shithole countries and he did not want to welcome its natives" (Datcher 2018). In this situation, Datcher argues that Trump represents a racialized social structure, built on systemic racism that has historically impacted the lives of Blacks in America, and if African Americans do not support Black immigrants, they are being complicit by "co-signing Trump's policies and reversing decades of Civil Rights legislation put in place to protect everyone" (Datcher 2018). Therefore, Datcher advocates for the unification of African Americans and Black immigrants because they are both marginalized and disenfranchised groups who are targets of racism and discrimination.

To shed light on their experiences with racism, Datcher shared interviews that detailed the experiences of Black immigrants who live in Chicago. One of the interviewees is Dr. Olasupo Laosebikan, a first-generation Nigerian immigrant who lives in Chicago. Part of Datcher's interview was to find out how Dr. Laosebikan felt about Trump's comment, where he referred to Africa as a "shithole" continent. In his response, Dr. Laosebikan made the following statement,

> First and foremost, he and his people have contributed to the place Africa is now. They traumatized Africa with slavery. Centuries of colonialism from other countries have raped Africa of its beauty, identity and tradition. When the anti-independence movement drove the White colonists away, Africans were back in power to change the nature of the government that was established by White supremacy. But, we're continuing the same kind of government, we have not really liberated our party. The American oil companies are dirtying Nigeria as we speak.
>
> I am planning my return now. I want to go back. I'm tired of the racism especially from this President. To be a Black person, Trump is creating an atmosphere which in society there have always been racism but it's creating an atmosphere that being Black or a minority feels more dangerous. Before, racism was hiding, now it seems to be quite glaring.

Dr. Laosebikan reaffirms what I discussed earlier about how western domination and colonization of Africa continue to control natural resources in Africa, which maintains control of the "colonized African" mindset that continues to allow westerners to devalue Africa. Judging by his language and tone Dr. Laosebikan does not have a "colonized African" mindset because he is vocal about western domination in Africa, and he identifies racialized social structures as oppressors of Africa and Black people. Dr. Laosebikan connects Trump's administration to the era of colonialism because western domination on Africa still exists, especially in countries like Nigeria that have a high production of crude oil and petroleum. By blaming Trump and "his people" for the demise of Africa, Dr. Laosebikan is letting Americans know that Africa is a "shithole" continent because of white colonists and western industrialization, thus, taking the blame away from Africans and redirecting the blame to Trump and "his people," other westem

dominant structures. Importantly, Dr. Laosebikan argues that Africa is still governed under colonial laws, which implies that Africans are not free of western domination and control. Therefore, Dr. Laosebikan is implying that if Africa is a "shithole" continent, it is the result of pilfering of its natural resources (crude oil, cocoa, goods) by western countries like the U.S.

On another note, it is interesting that Dr. Laosebikan expresses his frustration with racism by identifying as a Black man instead of an African. He refers to himself as a "Black person" and a "minority," which suggests that he realizes that his race plays a role in his experiences with racism. This is a breakthrough in my analysis to see an African consider himself to be "Black" because the data show that Africans construct their identities based on their ethnic and national identities, which separates them from African Americans. Dr. Laosebikan's experiences show that West African immigrants share the same experiences with racism as African Americans because they are Blacks in the U.S. In conjunction with Dr. Laosebikan's experiences with racism, the data show that other Black immigrants share the same experiences with racism in the era of Trump's administration. For instance, on November 17, 2016, Felicia Persaud with the Amsterdam News New York, wrote an article titled, "As an immigrant woman, I now have tremendous trepidation about staying in America". Persaud (2016) shared her experiences as a Black Caribbean immigrant living in fear of Trump's presidency. In this article, Persaud (2016) expressed how she felt when Trump won the election on November 9, 2016. Her statement is as follows,

> As an immigrant woman who has lived in America for the past 20 years, the fear and trepidation I have felt throughout this election at the thought of Donald Drumph—I mean Trump—becoming president, became a harsh reality for me. In the days since Nov. 9, I've experienced a range of emotions, from disappointment, to anger, to fear, anxiety, trepidation and most of all, deep sadness—sadness for all my immigrant brothers and sisters now worried that they will be rounded up like animals, ripped apart from their families and deported; sadness for African-Americans, Black Caribbean immigrants and Africans who are being heckled because of their skin color or having racist signs posted on their businesses that their "Black Lives don't matter and neither does their vote".

> But most of all, I feel great sadness for my own well-being because I fear the racial slurs such as "black bitch" that could be thrown at me because of my black skin or the anti-immigrant sting of words such as "Why don't you go back where you came from?" because of the way I look.
>
> This fear is not just imagined. This fear is real because Donald Trump talked openly about doing terrible things to immigrants and Blacks and Muslims and gays and women and people with disabilities. And that talk has incited the crazies among us who have always been unhinged but now are unleashed.

It is monumental that what she predicted in 2016 manifested during Trump's presidency through series of racism, immigration bullying of Black, Muslim, Asian, Mexican immigrants and overall detest for Black people. Importantly, Persaud's fears and projections of Trump's terror became a reality because during his regime Trump banned Muslims and Nigerians from migrating to the U.S. and change state policies that impacted Black communities. Though Persaud is a Black Caribbean immigrant, her sentiments about Trump and racism resonate with Dr. Laosebikan's frustration with being a "Black person" in the era of Trump. Persaud fears the persecution of all Blacks in the U.S. because people of color are targets of racism by Trump's administration. Like Dr. Laosebikan, Persaud identifies as "Black" because of her skin color, but she also points out that her immigrant status contributes to the experiences she has with racism. This shows that Black immigrants (West African immigrants and Caribbean immigrants) in the U.S., share the same experiences with racism as African Americans because they are all seen as Black people. Therefore, a culture of racism plays a role in shaping the way West African immigrants construct their identities along the lines of Blackness. Importantly, a culture of racism connects Black immigrants and Africans Americans through shared experiences, which can help bring both groups together to fight racism, social injustice and dismantle oppressive racialized social structures.

For African Americans and Black immigrants to form a coalition, both groups need to understand the cultural ties that connect them in the diaspora sphere. For instance, in Datcher's

(2018) article she interviewed Mr. David LeRoy, a second-generation Haitian immigrant who identifies as an American with Haitian roots. LeRoy shared his opinions about bridging the gap between African Americans and Black immigrants. In his talk, LeRoy states the following,

> It is our responsibility to understand our history better to build a solid bridge between our cultures. I think the problem goes back to what has been taught—the history that has been taught. Because America's deliberate exclusion of not only Black American history but world history, it's just not understood. Once the history is learned, then I think that would invoke more respect and it wouldn't be this division.

Though LeRoy does not identify as a second-generation Haitian immigrant, he acknowledges his Black immigrant roots and understands the power of learning the authentic history of Black people in America and overseas. As I discussed earlier with second-generation West African immigrants, the history of Black people in Africa and America was written by white institutions, where western ideologies of Black people continue to control the narratives through stereotypes. The same applies with LeRoy's statement because he talks about the inaccuracy of Black narratives and the exclusion of Black history locally and globally, which hinders the unification of African Americans with Black immigrants. This shows that learning about Black/African history and culture is important for the Black community to connect with one another because the lack of knowledge can divide the Black community.

When knowledge about African history is a shared bond between Africans and African Americans, this connection will bring them closer together. For instance, on June 5, 2019, Stacy M. Brown with the Houston Forward Times, wrote an article titled, "Black" or "African American?". In her article, Brown interviewed Sean XLG Mitchell, who states that:

> There's a significant difference between the labels of 'Black,' 'African American,' and 'People of Color.' If we use the term Black, we are doing ourselves a disservice. Black only identifies with the color of our skin but it has no cultural connections to who we are as a people. As a result of our slave experience, we don't understand the power and purpose of culture and we seem to be naive in how we regard and respect the unifying principles of culture. Other races of people benefit from employing a language, education, religion,

> names and customs that are centered around their historical experience and we're the only people who fail to do so. We would have a better insight and understanding of culture.

An important point Mitchell makes is that culture is a unifying factor for the Black community but based on their experiences with slavery African Americans are not connected to Africa. This disconnection prevents African American from unifying with Black immigrants. Further, Mitchell talks about the power of culture and its ability to bring Black people together, which suggests that African Americans are willing to connect their African roots and Africans.

Additionally, the data show that African immigrants see cultural similarities between them and African Americans. These cultural similarities are manifested through family orientation and communal relationships. For instance, in the HSP African Immigrants Project conducted by Leigh Swigart, she interviewed Reverend Kanga about his cultural experiences within Black communities in Philadelphia. In his response, Reverend Kanga shared that during his ministry fellowships, he observed that though African Americans distanced themselves from Africa, they had similar cultural characteristics with African immigrants:

> Just as I go around in neighborhoods and see African Americans and they've been isolated from Africa for so many years. They would think that there is nothing African in them. An that's a big lie. Until I started visiting homes, then started to see that some African in them had been trickled down. For example, the way the black Americans take care of their old people, they don't go and abandon them in nursing homes. They take their own parents in their homes and take care of them until their demise. That's an African tradition. The way the older people have influenced and controlled the younger minds and molded the kids. Boys, the juveniles that I worked with revered their grandmothers, because grandma was tough, no-nonsense woman. And that's my grandmother, she stepped to the plate when my mother died because she knew I needed a mother. She raised me and never spared the rod and she made me conform.

Reverend Kanga's observation shows that African Americans and Africans share similarities in the way they care for their elders and families. For instance, in the African culture the grandmother is the backbone of the family, and she is highly respected. In Kanga's statement, the same applies to African American grandmothers, who take on the role of the caregiver when

parents are not around to raise their children. This cultural similarity suggests that Africans immigrants and African Americans have something in common that can unite their communities. However, this is one aspect of evidence of cultural ties, t cannot be generalized as an entire cultural similarity because the data does not show any other similarities in culture. Despite this limitation, I argue that this evidence of cultural ties shows that West African immigrants and African Americans have something in common. Therefore, cultural ties can be a unifying factor for African Americans and Africans, which can shape the way both groups construct their identities.

In this analysis, the core theme, "culture shapes identity," shows that culture plays a role in shaping the identities of Blacks in America. There are different ways by which culture shapes Black identities, mainly through shared cultural experiences ranging from cultural similarities, to shared experiences with racism in the U.S. This shows that culture is an important component to the creation of Black identities. In addition, while African immigrants and African Americans may feel like they are different based on their ethnic backgrounds and nationality, I argue that that both groups are similar because of inherent African cultural ties. When Africans were forced into slavery in the U.S., they brought their culture and passed it on to their descendants. We see these cultural ties in the way elders are revered in African and African American communities. These cultural similarities can unite both groups and shape the way they create their identities. Therefore, culture shapes identities and cultural ties can unite West Africans and African Americans.

Discussion

In my discussion, I will answer my research questions by incorporating the findings in the analysis section with critical discourse analysis and my theoretical framework. The first research question is "how cultural/ethnic diversity amongst Blacks in the U.S., shape West African immigrant identities and influence the transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants?". I found that cultural and ethnic diversity amongst West African immigrants and African Americans creates conflict and division, which shapes the way West African immigrants create their identities. Further, cultural, and ethnic conflict amongst West Africans and African Americans generates negative perceptions and discourses about both groups, which contributes to the constructions of transnational racial discourses. However, dominant western ideologies about West Africans and African Americans produce and reproduce stereotypes, that influence the way both groups create their identities, perceive, and talk about each other, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants. I found that stereotypes about Africans and African Americans produce and reproduce elite racist discourses that racialize both groups and pits them against each other, which shows a relationship between discourse and racialization. Western ideologies stereotype Africans as impoverished, savages, and African Americans are "othered" as descendants of slaves who are placed at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. These western perceptions of Blacks as inferior shapes the way West African identities are formed and influence transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants.

Importantly, I found that western domination on Africa plays a role in the way Africans see themselves and perceive African Americans. For instance, I found that the colonization of Africa created a "colonized African" mindset, which conditioned Africans to believe that they are

better than African Americans. This colonized mindset makes some Africans believe that mainstream or westerners see them as "good," as opposed to African Americans who have been stereotyped as "bad" Blacks in the U.S. I argue that this "good" versus "bad" dichotomy is used by racialized social structures to pit Africans against African Americans, to control economic commerce in Africa, exploit African labor and control the narrative about Africans and African Americans. Dominant western narrative is rooted in racist western ideologies historically linked to slavery in the U.S. and disseminated globally through visual mediums, which influence the way Africans and African Americans perceive each other. Therefore, I argue that dominant westem ideologies about West African immigrants and African Americans produce and reproduce elite racist discourses, that influence the way both groups perceive and talk about each other, which creates cultural and ethnic conflict in Black communities in the U.S. These elite racist discourses influence the way West Africans construct their identities and contribute to the construction of transnational racial discourses about them.

Furthermore, I found that stereotypes of Africa and African Americans contribute to cultural and ethnic conflicts between both groups, which influenced the way they constructed their identities. The data show that Black discourses about West African immigrants and African Americans are influenced by western ideologies, which produces and reproduces stereotypes about Black people. In the data, I found that Africans were stereotyped as "monkey," "apes," "tigers in the forest," "poor," "uncivilized," and "corrupt." African Americans were stereotyped as "bad" and "difficult" people compared to "easy going" African immigrants. These are productions and reproductions of elite racist discourses about West African immigrants and African Americans. Dijk argues that elite racist discourses that racialize people of color legitimize the "us" versus "them" dichotomy because it vilifies people of color and turns people against them. In this study,

I found that stereotypes about Africans and African Americans impacted the way they perceived each other, which created cultural and ethnic conflict and division in Black communities. This division and conflict are motivated by elite racist discourses and used as a strategy by racialized social structures to pit African immigrants against African Americans. The goal of creating division is to prevent coalition between both groups because if Blacks come together in solidarity, they can create a powerful movement against oppressive racialized social structures. Therefore, Machin and Mayr argue that elite racist discourses are language produced by dominant powerful elite used to turn people against each other, which "creates opposites" amongst groups (78). I argue that racialized social structures use cultural and ethnic diversity amongst Blacks in the U.S. to create conflict and division, which shapes the way West African immigrant create their identities and contributes to construction of transnational racial discourses.

I have established that racialized social structures use elite racist discourses in the form of stereotypes to represent Africa and Black negatively, which shows a relationship between discourse and racialization. In the next section, I will answer my second research question.

The second research question is "how are ideas about Blackness/Africanness incorporated or challenged in the processes of racialization and racial categorization of West African immigrants?". I found that ideas about Blackness are incorporated through hurtful and painful experiences that West African immigrants encounter with racism, which forces them to identify with their Black Identity. The idea of Blackness is challenged through cultural and ethnic conflicts with African Americans, which allows West Africans to identify with their African identity. Collectively, I found that ideas about Blackness and Africanness are incorporated and challenged by both West Africans and African Americans because they struggle with Black and African identity construction. For some African Americans, I found that they challenged their Africanness

because they did not feel connected to their African ancestry. But other African Americans incorporated their Africanness to their identities because they embrace both their African ancestry and their American nationality. Other African Americans challenged their Blackness because they identify as Americans with no attachment to their Black identity.

Furthermore, I found that ideas about Blackness and Africanness are challenged and incorporated based on racialization by oppressive racialized social structures on the macro level. To aid in this discussion about social processes of racialization on the macro level, I will model Cheng's (2014), work that combines racial formation theory with transnational immigration research. Cheng argues that racial formation theory connects with transnational research on immigration to determine "whether immigrant families reproduce or deconstruct racial projects created by the state; ways that immigrant parents and their children rearticulate meanings of race; and how immigrant families balance conflicts in racial concepts between their home and host countries" (746). The combination of racial formation and transnational immigration research will help explain the social processes of racial categorization and racialization through racial projects.

I will follow Cheng's (2014) three strategic questions to conceptualize the theoretical framework that will explain how ideas about Blackness/Africanness are incorporated or challenged through racial categories and racialization on the macro and micro levels. The first question is, *"whether immigrant families reproduce or deconstruct racial projects created by the state"* (Cheng 2014, 746). According to Omi and Winant (1994) a racial project is "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics," that connects "what race means in a particular discursive practice in both social structures and everyday experiences that are racially organized, based upon racial meaning" (Omi and Winant 1994, 56). That is, racial projects are created when racial categories are formed based on how social structures (macro) and

individual actors (micro), interpret the meaning of race. In the data, I found that dominant western ideologies and stereotypes about Africa on the macro level are racial projects that racially categorize Africans as poor, and primitive savages, which influence the way West African immigrants see themselves and interact with African Americans on the micro level. That is, the "discursive practices" and language of racialized social structures on the macro level, create racial categories that influence public opinion and transnational racial discourses about West Africans. Omi and Winant refer to this macro level influence as "preconceived notions of a racialized social structure," where the state perceives Africans as primitive, savage, poor and corrupt criminals, which shapes public perceptions about West African immigrants (59). In this study, Omi and Winant would argue that "racialized social structures shape racial experience and conditions meaning," which influences the way African Americans form racial meanings about West Africans (59). That is, when African Americans are influenced by racialized social structures on the macro level, they will adopt the same western ideologies that depict West Africans as primitive savages.

In the data, Trump's rhetoric is an example of how western ideologies of Africa shapes the way African Americans perceive West African immigrants. For instance, on January 18, 2018, Mary Datcher shared that "according to Senator Dick Durbin, behind a closed-door meeting in discussing a resolution to save the DACA program, President Trump repeatedly referred to Africa and Haiti as shithole countries and he did not want to welcome its natives" (Datcher 2018). Trump represents a racialized social structure that uses elite racist discourses to racially categorize Africans as poor people from a "shithole" continent, which informs public opinion about West African immigrants. Trump's state rhetoric is a racial project on the macro level, that shows the relationship between discourse and racialization, which shapes the way African Americans perceive West African immigrants as poor people from impoverished countries. When African

Americans and West Africans engage in everyday interaction, these stereotypes emerge, which creates conflict between both groups on the micro level.

On the micro level, I found that everyday experiences between West African immigrants and African Americans produce discourses centered around stereotypes, that created conflicts, and these discourses can be forms of racial projects. Basically, racial projects can be examined through individual everyday experiences of immigrants. As Omi and Winant (1994) argue, "at the micro-social level, racial projects are applications of common sense," that operate at the "level of everyday life," where we can "examine the many ways in which, often unconsciously, we notice race" (59). That is, Omi and Winant argue that when we meet people "of an ethnic/racial group we are not familiar with, such an encounter becomes a source of discomfort and momentarily a crisis of racial meaning" (59). That is, on the micro level, racial projects can be examined by looking at the way African Americans perceive West African immigrants based on their ethnic appearances, which are influenced by western ideologies on the macro level. Omi and Winant argue that, racial projects on the micro level reveal "racial judgements and practices we carry out at the level of individual experience" (61). The data show that ethnic judgements emerged when western stereotypes of Africans as "apes" and "monkeys," which influence African American perceptions of West Africans. In the data, I found that stereotypes of Africans made West African immigrants like Mei Turay feel ashamed of his African heritage, which resulted in him creating extended identities to adapt and fit in with African Americans. However, I found that other West Africans like Obert Masaraue and Flora Ahmadu rejected western ideologies about Africa and challenged Africans to gain their independence by dismantling western stereotypes about Africa.

One-way West African immigrants can dismantle western ideologies is by re-educating themselves about their African origin and histories, which have been concocted and distorted by western domination and colonization. The re-education of the "colonized African" mindset is a way for Africans to redefine their African identities and deconstruct western ideologies about Africa. To answer Cheng's question, I argue that West African immigrants do not reproduce elite racist discourses; instead, they deconstruct elite racist discourses by rejecting western ideologies about Africa and reaffirming their authentic African self by gaining independence of their African history. Here, West Africans embrace their Africanness to solidify their identity. Therefore, in the process of racialization and racial categorization, West Africans incorporate their Africanness through their African identities and challenge western ideas about Africa through their independence by dismantling the master narrative.

I have addressed how racial categories are formed on the macro and micro levels and how West African immigrants deconstruct western ideologies by breaking free of western domination and gaining their independence. In this section, I will use Cheng's (2014) second strategic question, *"ways that immigrant parents and their children rearticulate meanings of race,"* to examine how West Africans rearticulate the meaning of race and ethnicity amidst processes of racialization, ethnicization and inferiorization on the macro and micro levels (Cheng 2014, 746).

Over the years, the term "racialization" has been defined by race scholars in different ways. The term racialization has been defined and associated with the study of racial groups with emphasis on race, class, culture, ethnicity, and inferiority (Miles 1988, Miles 1989, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992Bonilla-Silva 1997, Miles & Brown, 2003, Murji & Solomos 2005, Omi and Winant 2014). Omi and Winant (1994) describe racialization as a social process of racism where minority groups are placed in racial categories based on how social structures and people assign

racial meanings to that group (Omi and Winant 1994). These different definitions of racialization focus on how social structures and individual actors assign racial meaning to racial groups, which is the foundation of the racial formation theory. Omi and Winant (2014) define racialization as "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group," where there is emphasis on "how the phenomics, the corporeal dimension of human bodies, acquires meaning in social life" (Omi and Winant 2014, 109-111). That is, the process of racialization focuses on racial meaning, which operates within the terrain of racialized social structures and racial projects. Furthermore, Omi and Winant (1994) argue that the process of racialization highlights relevant structures of racial relations, where politics, laws, and discourse construct racial categories, which define the social meanings of racial inequality, racism, and ethnicity (Omi and Winant 1994). This shows that our social meanings of race are influenced by social structures, which influences how groups are placed in racial categories. Using the Omi and Winant's theoretical approach, I argue that West African immigrants are racially categorized as inferior based on their cultural and ethnic differences. In addition to racialization, I am introducing the concept of ethnicization and inferiorization because these concepts relate to the experiences of West African immigrants.

Some race studies have argued that the process of racialization is limited in our understanding of how immigrants of color are categorized based on ethnic and cultural differences. In addition to the concept of racialization, I believe that the concept of ethnicization is important to understand the "othering" of West African immigrants based on their ethnic differences. Miles and Brown (2003) argue that ethnicization is a social process of placing ethnic groups in categories based on ethnic, culture, politics, and economic and national differences (Miles and Brown 2003, 99). Further, Miles and Brown argue that ethnicization cannot be separated from racialization

because ethnicization means that ethnic groups are placed in categories based on their "biological, cultural or political" differences and when "biological features are signified we speak of racialization as a specific modality of ethnicization" (Miles and Brown 2003, 99). That is, ethnicization is a process of ethnic categorization based on cultural and ethnic differences.

In addition to ethnicization, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) argue that inferiority plays a role in how immigrants of color are categorized through the process of inferiorization, which is the process of exploitation, exclusion and the "othering" of immigrants as inferior (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, 2). Therefore, the examination of racialization should include the ethnic and inferior component of racial groups, who experience racism based on their ethnic and cultural differences. I argue that the processes of racialization, ethnicization and inferiorization allows for a broader understanding of how cultural and ethnic differences influence racial categorization of ethnic groups. Importantly, examining how these processes impact racial experiences of West African immigrants will show how West African immigrants rearticulate the meaning of race.

I argue that West African immigrants rearticulate the meaning of race when they are discriminated against based their race and ethnicity, which others them as inferior immigrants. That is, the processes of ethnicization and inferiorization apply to West African immigrants because they are "othered" for their ethnicity, which is inferior compared to Americans. In the data, I found that West African immigrants reshaped or rearticulated the meaning of ethnicity through their individual experiences with African Americans. For instance, ethnic differences created a barrier between West African immigrants and African Americans because Africa is perceived to be an impoverished primitive continent. African Americans ethnically categorized African immigrants as inferior and looked down on them because they had accents, dressed differently, and were not as modernized as Americans. African Americans referred to them as

apes/monkey, which created cultural boundaries with West African immigrants. According to Miles and Brown, this is a process of ethnicization, because African Americans placed West African immigrants in categories based on their "cultural" differences, which differs from the norms and values of Americans. Further, referring to West African immigrants as apes/monkeys inferiorizes and "others" them. These processes of inferiorization and ethnicization distance West African immigrants from African Americans, which forces them to embrace their African identities. Embracing their African identities is a way of rearticulating who they are as Africans, which sets them apart from African Americans. West African immigrants rearticulate the meaning of ethnicity by creating African identities to reaffirm their Africanness. Therefore, when the processes of ethnicization and inferiorization occur, African incorporate their Africanness through African identities and challenge African American ideas by reaffirming their Africanness.

I have discussed how West African immigrants rearticulate the meaning of ethnicity on the micro level based on their everyday experiences with African Americans. In this section, I will discuss how West African immigrants rearticulate the meaning of race when their Blackness is challenged by racialized social structures. In the data, I found that when West African immigrants were racially categorized based on their race, they identified more with their Black identity. Based on the evidence, when Trump refers to Africa as a "shithole" continent, he is racially categorizing Africans as poor and inferior immigrants who do not belong in America. In response, West African immigrants spoke out against racism and identified more with their Blackness. By identifying as Blacks, they acknowledge the burden of being Black in America, thus, rearticulating the meaning of their race as Black people. Therefore, we faced with racism West African immigrants incorporate and challenge their ideas about Blackness by reaffirming their Black identities.

I have discussed how West African immigrants rearticulate the meaning of ethnicity and race on the micro and macro levels. Now I will address Cheng's (2014) final strategic question, *"how immigrant families balance conflicts in racial concepts between their home and host countries,"* to discuss how West African immigrants incorporate or challenge their ideas about Blackness in the processes of racialization and racial categorization. (Cheng 2014, 746). In the data, I found that West African immigrants balanced both ethnic and racial conflicts by creating extended identities to avoid conflict and adapt into the American way of life. At the same time, they retained their African identities when they were amongst their African communities. This balance between their homeland and host country America, is necessary for their adaptation into U.S. society. For instance, Mei Turay, a first-generation West African immigrant from Sierra-Leone, was ashamed to be an African because of the stereotypes of Africa. To avoid conflict in the Black community, he identified as an African when he was with his African family and adapted to African American pop culture, which made him blend into their communities. This shows that Turay used multiple identities to balance conflicts between African and African American communities. Therefore, West African immigrants create extended identities to balance conflicts between their native homeland and host countries. When faced with racism, racialization, ethnicization and inferiorization, West African immigrants incorporate and challenge their ideas about Blackness and Africanness by identifying with both their African and Black identities.

My discussion shows that identity construction between West African immigrants and African Americans creates conflicts, which leads to boundary construction. In the data, I found that boundary making between West African immigrants and African Americans is a way to distance themselves from each other, which creates conflict and ethnic boundaries. This type of boundary construction continues to happen today on the micro level because some African

Americans use racial projects to create boundaries with Africans and other Black immigrants. In current times, this conflict between West African immigrants and African Americans exists through racial projects such as ADOS (American Descendants of Slavery), which shape and influence everyday experiences between West African immigrants and African Americans on the micro level. Though ADOS is not part of my data, I argue that this organization is an example of a racial project in the U.S. that operates on the micro level, where Black discourses and social movements exclude and discriminate against West African immigrants in the U.S.

According to the founders of ADOS Yvette Carnell and Antonio Moore, the acronym ADOS stands for "African Descendants of Slaves" (Carnell and Moore 2020). According to Carnell and Moore, the goal of ADOS is "to reclaim/restore the critical national character of the African American identity and experience, one grounded in our group's unique lineage, and which is central to our continuing struggle for social and economic justice in the United States" (ADOS 2020). The key phrase here is "our group's unique lineage," as in, the African American lineage, which is separate from the African lineage. This suggests that ADOS members construct their Black American identities based on being direct descendants of enslaved Africans. This "us" versus "them" dichotomy, suggests that ADOS seeks to create an ethnic hierarchy based on lineage, where members of ADOS are superior Black Americans and Black immigrants are considered inferior "Blacks" on this ethnic hierarchy. I argue that this is a form of ethnicism, where Black immigrants are discriminated against based on their ethnic origin, thus, creating ethnic and cultural boundaries with Africans and other Black immigrants. Emmanuel Ejike (2014) defines ethnicism as a term used when there are "ethnic differences between two or more parties who are competing for the same economic and political resource but with entirely different ethnic backgrounds" (Ejike 2014, 2). In this case, ADOS believes that Black immigrants are ethnically

different from direct descendants of slaves, and Black immigrants are competing with ADOS for social, economic, and political resources, and that is why they are advocating for the separation of Black immigrants from the ADOS community.

For instance, ADOS (2020) published their political agenda titled "New Deal for Black America which includes but is not limited to" (ADOS 2020). This political agenda outlines ADOS's mandate on building a new "Black America," separate from Black immigrants. The agenda is as follows:

> We need set asides for American descendants of slavery, not "minorities", a throw-away category which includes all groups except white men. That categorization has allowed Democrats to use programs like affirmative actions as "giveaways" to all groups in exchange for votes. The bribery must end. That begins with a new designation on the Census with ADOS and another for Black immigrants. Black immigrants should be barred from accessing affirmative action and other set asides intended for ADOS, as should Asians, Latinos, white women, and other "minority" groups.

The language used in this agenda shows that ADOS is a racial project on micro level because it seeks to ethnically categorize West African immigrants as "other" "Blacks," which excludes them from partaking in affirmative action and reparation benefits reserved for "African Descendants of Slaves". I argue that this is a form of ethnicism because ADOS is discriminating against Black immigrants. In addition to ADOS's agenda for Black America, on January 19, 2020, Samara Lynn, an African American journalist with ABC news, wrote an article titled "Controversial group ADOS divides black Americans in fight for economic equality American Descendants of Slavery advocates are stirring debate and anger online" (Lynn 2020). In this article, Lynn cites ADOS's criteria for the Black community to receive reparations. According to one of the founders of ADOS, Antonio Moore, ADOS's criteria for reparations insists that "you must suffer both the cost of slavery and Jim Crow through your black lineage to receive reparations" and "reparations would exclude black immigrant populations that voluntarily migrated to

America" (Lynn 2020). That is, unlike enslaved Africans who were forced involuntarily to the U.S., Black immigrants voluntarily migrated to the U.S. According to Ogbu and Simons (1998) the term "voluntary immigrants" refers to Black immigrants who migrate on their own will, and "involuntary non-immigrants" were forced to migrate to the U.S. (Ogbu and Simons 1998, 164). Essentially, ADOS believes that voluntary Black immigrants should not benefit from resources built on the blood and sweat of involuntary enslaved Africans. Again, I argue that ADOS's "Black" agenda is discriminatory against Black immigrants because it excludes West African immigrants from benefitting from resources assigned to the African American community, which creates ethnic boundaries and divides the Black community. ADOS is one kind of racial project that purposely distances itself from the African identity, which is like the way West African immigrants' distance themselves from the African American identity. Therefore, both West African immigrants and African Americans use boundary construction as a way of constructing their identities and creating division within the Black community.

While boundary construction is inevitable in Black communities, I want to clarify that not all African Americans endorse the "Black" agenda of ADOS. Some African Americans have spoken out against ADOS, and called their "Black" political rhetoric divisive and discriminatory against African, Caribbean, Haitian and all Black immigrants in the U.S. For instance, on February 24, 2020, Dr. Kevin Cokley, an African American professor of African diaspora studies and a racial identity scholar from University of Texas Austin, issued a news statement about ADOS:

> It is not the advocacy for reparations that has thrust ADOS into the national spotlight. Instead, it is the emphasis on distinguishing black American descendants of slavery from black immigrants, a focus that essentially pits black Americans against black immigrants. A closer examination of its rhetoric and agenda suggests an anti-African, anti-black-immigrant stance. Critics characterize ADOS as having harmful anti-black policies and contend that its leaders do not believe that black Americans can or should have any connection with Africa.

> In a thoughtful yet provocative piece, ADOS co-founder Antonio Moore argues that recent immigrants from Africa seek a "solidarity of sameness," yet do not have the history or lived experience to be considered in any claims for reparations. But more problematic is the dismissal of any desire to seek solidarity among all people of African descent.
>
> Whatever the differences, the fact still remains that racism does not discriminate based on being ADOS or a black immigrant. As recently noted by Jessica Aiwuyor, "When Amadou Diallo was shot down by the NYPD, no one asked him if he was the descendant of U.S. slaves first. Remember that Black Lives Matter embraced the differences and diversity that have always characterized the black experience, while intervening in violence inflicted on all black communities.

Dr. Cokley's remarks show that not all African Americans support ADOS, and some African Americans believe that Black experiences with discrimination and racism in America impacts all Black communities because they are people of color. Importantly, Dr. Cokley's remarks support my argument that as a racial project, ADOS is divisive and discriminatory against Black immigrants, which creates ethnic boundaries.

Further, ADOS's "Black" agenda and political rhetoric influences and shapes the way members of ADOS perceive and talk about Black immigrants, which contributes to the construction of transnational ethnic and racial discourses about West African immigrants. The existence of ADOS as a racial project, shows that there is a Black discourse about Black inclusion, Black exclusion and Black identity in the Black community, and not everyone is welcoming of Black immigrants, which makes it very important for West African immigrants to create extended identities that will protect them from racism, ethnicism and inferiorism.

In conclusion, this study found a relationship between discourse and racialization through the production and reproduction of stereotypes of Africa as a poor and savage continent, shaped and influenced on the macro level by racialized social structures. These stereotypes emerge in elite racist discourses about Africa that contribute to the construction of Black/African identities, and transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants. Stereotypes about Africa influence

the way West African immigrants perceive Africa and shapes the way African Americans perceive African immigrants. When West African immigrants are talked about in negative ways, it becomes part of the transnational racial discourse about African immigrants. Importantly, negative perceptions about West African immigrants instigate conflict within Black communities, where ethnic boundaries are drawn to exclude and discriminate against Black groups, which influences the way Black people create their identities.

Identity construction for West African immigrants depends on how ideas about their Africanness, and Blackness are incorporated and challenged within racialized social structures, and everyday experiences with African Americans. When challenged with racism, West Africans identify as "Black" because they are racialized as people of color. West Africans rearticulate the meaning of race by incorporating their Blackness into their Black identity. When challenged with ethnicism, West Africans identify as "African" to affirm their Africanness and distance themselves from African Americans. West African identities are challenged on the macro and micro levels because they are racialized, ethnicized and inferiorized based on their racial and ethnic differences.

The processes of racism, racialization and racial categorization happen on macro level through western ideologies perpetuated by racist social structures, which plays a huge role in how transnational racial discourses about West Africans are constructed. West Africans deconstruct western ideologies about Africa by rejecting them and re-educating themselves about their African history and embracing their African identity. West Africans incorporate their Africanness through their identities, and challenge western ideas about Africa through their independence by dismantling dominant narratives about Africa.

The processes of ethnicism or ethnicization, and inferiorization happens on the micro level through everyday experiences between West African and African Americans. The "othering" of West Africans by African Americans creates conflicts, where West Africans distance themselves from African Americans, which forces them to embrace their African identities.

The implication of racializing, ethnicizing and inferiorizing West African immigrants at the intersection of their race and ethnicity is that it creates discriminatory practices against them, which influences the way people talk about them through transnational racial discourses. To avoid conflict, West Africans create extended identities to adapt and fit into American communities.

My study is limited because I could not have face to face interviews with West African immigrants and African Americans to understand more about how cultural and ethnic diversity shape their identities and relationships. Further, the data is limited because the data is not enough to make a generalized assumption about West African immigrants and African American identity construction. Therefore, the findings cannot be generalized for all West Africans and African Americans. Future studies on race and transnational immigration are encouraged to explore Black identity construction and transnational racial discourses about other Black immigrants in the U.S.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusion

The analysis of the articles shows that there is a relationship between discourse and racialization because elite racist discourses produce and reproduce stereotypes and negative representations of West African immigrants that racialize them, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses and heightens their invisibility. The articles are connected because they show multiple ways that West African immigrants are talked about and racialized through discourses, which compliments existing literature that focus on racial discourses. These articles show that transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants are racially constructed on the macro level, which shapes and influences the perceptions of groups on the meso level and individual actors on the micro level. Importantly, the articles show that transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants, shape identity construction.

In the first article, I found that in the U.S., Trump's elite racist discourses create a climate of fear and anxiety for Muslims, especially Muslim women who visibly wear veils. In Britain, I found that Trump's racist ideologies created an atmosphere of anger amongst BBC news journalists and the House of Commons Speaker John Bercow. However, the data show that Britain shares the same morals and values as the U.S. pertaining to the racialization of Muslims as inferior "others," terrorists and evil enemies who threaten the national security of the U.S. and U.K. That is, the evilification of Muslims as evil enemies in state rhetoric moves across the U.S. and Britain because Muslims are perceived to be terrorists who are radicalized by Islam.

Further, I found that state political rhetoric, anti-Muslim organizations, and individual actors spread propaganda about Islam and Muslims being evil and radical terrorists, which contributes to the spread of Islamophobia. On the macro level, Trump's catchphrase "radical Islamic terror" incites fear, hate and Islamophobia, which influences the meso and micro levels. Further, on the macro level, inaccurate news stories about Muslims and terrorism in the U.S. and Britain uphold dominant western ideologies that spread hate and fear of Islam, which spreads Islamophobia. In Nigeria, news stories on terrorism are controlled by the government to serve their political and economic interests. But Channels TV use their platform to combat terrorism by exposing Boko Haram, allowing Muslims and Christians to share counter narratives that show that not all Nigerian Muslims are terrorists, and showing unity amongst Muslims and Christians.

Last, I found that Trump's comment about Africa being a "shithole" continent is rooted in dominant racist ideologies that create racialized social systems that "other" Africans as inferior people. When Africans are "othered" and inferiorized based on their racial and cultural/ethnic differences, it heightens their invisibility. The implication of being invisible is that West African Muslim immigrants are excluded from U.S. state resources. This article shows a relationship between discourse and racialization though elite racist discourses that demonstrate that race is a social construct, where the state, news media, anti-Muslim organizations and everyday people place West Africans Muslim immigrants into racial categories as terrorists and dangerous people.

In the second article, I found a relationship between discourse and racialization where Trump's immigration policies link immigrants of color from impoverished countries to poverty and high-risk terrorism, like Nigeria. In the U.S., Nigerians are racially categorized as frauds, dangerous terrorists, and criminals, who exploit American citizenship through birth tourism, chain

migration, sham marriages, and diversity visa lotteries, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourse about West African immigrants and heightens their invisibility.

Furthermore, I found that dominant immigration ideas uphold dominant racist ideologies about West African immigrants that are used by the state to maintain a social racial hierarchy. This social racial hierarchy is maintained through immigration policies, such as the merit and point-based systems, which are designed to weed out poor, uneducated and elderly immigrants and admit immigrants from "modern countries." Further, Trump's immigration policy reforms are strategies used to maintain a social racial hierarchy by demonizing Nigerians who are under suspicion of terrorism. When Nigerians are demonized as terrorist threats this influence and shape the way Americans talk about them, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants in an era of global terrorism and immigration.

In the third article, I found a relationship between discourse and racialization because elite racist discourses emerge in western ideologies about Africa that link poverty with savagery, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants. These western ideologies racially categorize Africans as inferior barbaric savages, which influence the way African Americans perceive African immigrants. These negative perceptions about Africa creates boundaries and conflict within Black communities, which influence the way they create their identities. Additionally, cultural, and ethnic diversity creates conflicts between West Africans and African Americans, which influences the way West Africans create their identities. This identity construction for West Africans depends on how ideas about their Africanness, and Blackness are incorporated and challenged within racialized social structures, and everyday experiences with African Americans. When challenged with racism, West Africans identify as

"Black" because they are racialized as people of color. When challenged with ethnicism, West Africans identify as "Africans" to affirm their Africanness.

However, the data show that cultural similarities can unite West African immigrants with African Americans because both groups have similar cultural practices that are linked to African ancestry and both groups have shared experiences with racism in the U.S. This article shows that discourse and racialization are related because dominant western ideologies create stereotypes that are manifested through elite racist discourses about Africa as an impoverished savage continent, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants and influence the way they construct Black and African identities.

Summary

This study demonstrates that there is a relationship between discourse and racialization through written texts and verbal language used in news stories, immigration policies and Black discourses that are influenced by dominant western ideologies. These ideologies are disseminated by racialized social structures that produce and reproduce elite racist discourses about West African immigrants, which contributes to the construction of transnational racial discourses about them and heightens their invisibility. My study was limited due insufficient data because of time constraints that did not allow for a comprehensive collection of data. Therefore, my findings cannot be generalized to account for all West African Muslim immigrant experiences in the U.S, Britain, and Nigeria. My study was conducted during the presidential regime of Donald J. Trump; therefore, my data and analysis reflect on events that occurred during his presidency. Future studies are encouraged to explore how transnational racial discourses about West African immigrants have evolved in current political debates about Africa. Importantly, future studies are encouraged to bring visibility to the plight of immigrants of color who struggle with invisibility.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A GLOSSORY OF TERMS

Discourse

Any communication that is written through texts and spoken through verbal language that is shared during speeches, interviews, news storytelling and everyday conversations/interactions.

Racial discourse

A form of discourse that expresses issues of race, racism, and racialization.

Transnational racial discourse

Racial discourses about West African immigrants (Muslims/non-Muslims) that travel from one nation to another nation, across national boundaries.

Elite

"White dominant groups that have power and control over the means of public communication, such as official propaganda, information campaigns, the mass media, advertising and potential influence of elite discourses on ethnic affairs" (Dijk 1993, 102).

Elite racist discourse

A form of racial discourse where elite in power such as presidents, prime ministers, leading politicians, and news editors use racial bias through written texts and verbal language to "speak and write about ethnic minorities" which contributes to the production and reproduction of racism (Dijk 1993, 48).

Global terrorism

Acts of terrorist incidents or events that occur all over the world, which makes "terrorism global" (Lutz and Lutz 2013).

Narrative

A form of storytelling about events or people that is presented through written texts or verbal language.

Racialization

The social process of racism where minority groups are placed in racial categories based on how social structures and people assign racial meanings to that group (Omi and Winant 1994).

Ethnicization

The social process of placing ethnic groups in categories based on ethnic, culture, politics, and economic and national differences (Miles and Brown 2003, 99).

Black discourse

Discourses that express and communicate Black ideas and experiences.

Black identity discourse

Black discourses that express how members of Black communities negotiate and construct their identities.

Ideology

"Systems of ideas shared by members of a social group that will influence their interpretation of social events and control their discourse and social practices as group members" (Dijk 2011, 380).

Western ideology

The projection of dominant western racist and political values, ideas, and beliefs on the world that "justify, legitimize, and serves the interests of dominant groups" (Giddens 1997, 583).

Racial formation

The social construction of racial identity where racial categories are determined by social, political, and economic influences (Omi and Winant 1994).

Racial projects

"They are part of the racial formation process that demonstrate how racial categorizations are hierarchically organized to benefit the dominant group over the minority other (Omi and Winant 2014).

Racialized social structures

Social structures that are linked to white privilege based on social, economic, and political ideologies founded on racial hierarchies (Bonilla-Silva 2012).

Patriarchal structures

Social structures in society that are male dominated, where men have more power and privilege than women.

Boundaries

A concept that shows "how social actors construct groups as similar and different and how it shapes their understanding of their responsibilities toward such groups," while formed by groups during identity construction when their "conceptions of self-worth are shaped by institutionalized definitions of cultural membership (Lamont 2000, Lamont and Molnár 2002, 171)