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The Syrian Refugee Crisis: A Rhetorical Analysis of President Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, and President Donald J. Trump's Political Discourse About Syrian Refugees

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THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS:

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA, HILLARY

CLINTON, AND PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP'S POLITICAL DISCOURSE

ABOUT SYRIAN REFUGEES

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This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a
candidate for the Master of Science in Communication Studies degree and is acceptable
for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not
imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the
major department.

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This thesis is dedicated to my family; Mom, Dad, Drew and Gretchen. Thank you for the

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In this thesis, I introduce the reader to sixteen texts of political discourse about Syrian refugees from three rhetors; President Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton and President Donald J. Trump. As the Syrian refugee crisis continues to grow, political leaders and citizens around the world debate the appropriate way to provide aid to those fleeing Syria. I rhetorically analyze multiple texts from each of these politicians' and their use of framing, ideographs and metaphors within their political discourse. In my research, I suggest that the framing language used by each rhetor about Syrian refugees has varying impacts on the audience. The analysis of this political discourse yielded interesting implications, both positive and negative, on the theories and perspectives used within this study, as well as on the United States' society, Syrian refugees and U.S. and global politics.

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS, PUBLIC POLICY, AND

PRESIDENTIAL AND CAMPAIGN RHETORIC

Since 2011, nearly 12.5 million Syrians have been displaced from their homes, equating to nearly six of every ten Syrians now searching for refuge (Connor & Krogstad, 2016). The number of Syrian refugees continues to escalate, the political discourse surrounding this topic becomes increasingly more salient. During the 2016 U.S. presidential numerous politicians were voicing their opinions on the most effective course of action to aid those seeking refuge while keeping in mind their own campaigning efforts for the Presidency. Currently, the United States ranks 14th in the world for the number of refugees it hosted last year at 267,174, amounting to less than one percent of the nation's population (DeSilver, 2015a). While the world's most powerful politicians continue to discuss the appropriate course of action needed to help those in need, millions of Syrians remain homeless (DeSilver, 2015a). The political rhetoric and public discourse used to frame Syrian refugees continues to have a multitude of effects; U.S. citizens' interpersonal interactions with refugees, the material consequences for the millions of displaced Syrian citizens and the societal implications of presidential rhetoric and the creation of public policy directly impacting both U.S. citizens and incoming refugees.

Ultimately, this study explored presidential and presidential candidates' discourse about the Syrian refugee crisis in the United States, and the consequences of such rhetoric for U.S. citizens, policymakers, and refugees themselves. This first chapter includes an introduction, statement of the problem, background of the problem, justification of this

study and choice of texts for rhetorical analysis, and concludes with research questions. The second chapter identifies the historical context of the research study, including the rhetors, audiences, and the subject and purpose of this study. Chapter three explains the theoretical frameworks and critical perspectives that will be used for analysis, as well as provides a justification for each theoretical lens.

Introduction to Syrian Refugees

Forced from their countries due to war, persecution, or natural disaster, refugees are displaced people, many left with no personal belongings or reference as to where to seek help (Malkki, 1995). As war and terrorism continue to plague much of the Middle East, refugees are searching for a safe, new place to call home. While various communities around the world have pledged to help resettle Syrian refugees, the United States, as well as other countries, continue to have changing political discourse regarding how to help refugees while ensuring the safety of their citizens (Connor & Krogstad, 2016). As for the United States, both politicians and citizens are wary to openly allow refugees into the country at a time when violence seems to be at a high and uncontrollable point (DeSilver, 2015a).

Throughout recent history, U.S. citizens have been less than enthusiastic about the idea of allowing refugees into the country (Fetzer, 2000). Other notable refugee crises within the U.S. included: Hungarian refugees in 1958, Indochinese in 1979, Cubans in 1980, and ethnic Albanians in 1999 (DeSilver, 2015b). In these crises, the public overwhelmingly disapproved of the government's choice to allow refugees into the country (DeSilver, 2015b). Now with the current Syrian refugee crisis, the U.S. public has similar views. According to the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press,

53% of U.S. citizens do not want to accept any Syrian refugees, while 11% would accept only Christian Syrian refugees (DeSilver, 2015b). A look back into the United States' recent history proves that American opposition to admitting large amounts of refugees, even those fleeing war and persecution, remains consistent (Stephan et al., 2005).

The hesitation of allowing Syrian refugees into the United States is due to various factors, such as political discourse and political affiliation. However, the effects that refugees have had thus far in European and other Middle Eastern countries that have permitted refugees to relocate has also been a telling point for the United States government and public. The U.S. has been looking to various countries that have allowed a large influx of refugees, such as Turkey, which has permitted over one million refugees since 2011 (Cagaptay & Menekse, 2014). Among ensuring the safety of its citizens, the United States has been considering the political, social, and economic effects of Syrian refugees in varying countries.

Although relations between Turkey and Syria have only recently been reestablished, Turkey has been committed to helping aid Syrian refugees. As of June 2014, the number of refugees in Turkey had shot to over one million and showed no signs of slowing in the coming years (Cagaptay & Menekse, 2014). Turkey has done more than its fair share of welcoming refugees – spending more than $4 billion setting up entire cities equipped with schools and hospitals dedicated to those fleeing Syria (Cagaptay & Menekse, 2014). However, after the number of unregistered refugees entering Turkey began to heavily increase and the terrorist attacks at the Ataturk airport (Tuysuz, Yan & Almasy, 2016), the government was forced to revisit their generosity (Ihlamur-Öner, 2013).

While a million people may seem insignificant to Turkey's total population of 76 million, the influx of refugees has caused an array of effects. Religious tensions have risen in some communities due to the clash between Sunni, Shiite and Alawite Muslims. Alawite Muslims consider themselves a third sect within Islam, who differ from both Sunni and Shiites in their interpretation of the Quran (Mouzahem, 2016) yet are not recognized by Sunni or Shiite Muslims as an official independent sect, sparking potentially dangerous interactions. The influx of refugees has also caused a spike in protests across the country as some are concerned that the political leanings will alter with the refugees' political and religious beliefs. Additionally, Turkey's economy has slightly decreased in productivity since closing its trade with Syria (Cagaptay & Menekse, 2014). These are some of the social, economic, and political effects that the United States must take into consideration when attempting to create policies surrounding refugees for our nation.

ISIL, ISIS, or Da'esh. In the last five years, Syria has experienced complete destruction. ISIL continues to wage war within Syria and the Middle East, while the Syrian government lead by Bashar al-Assad has also ignited a rebellion of his own citizens. ISIL – better known as ISIS– stands for "Islamic State in Iraq and Syria" (Cockburn, 2014). Many politicians and government officials refer to ISIS as ISIL, as it has transformed its meaning to stand for "Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant" in which "Levant" refers to a larger area that includes Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and Jordan (Terrill, 2014). ISIL is a jihadist militant group that claims to be following an Islamic doctrine of Sunni Islam (Terrill, 2014). And while many leaders around the world continue to legitimize the group by calling them "ISIS" or "ISIL" and recognizing that

they are a 'state,' some political forces are calling for a change to the name "Da'esh," which is an acronym using the group's Arabic name. This name is strongly disliked by the terrorist organization as it is considered derogatory (Khan, 2014).

ISIL has been occupying a large part of the Middle East, ranging from Israel to Syria, with war and destruction in hopes of garnering support and fighters for its ultimate goal – to secure a caliphate through global war (Lister, 2015). And unfortunately for Syria, ISIL is not the only group causing issues as the Syrian rebels continue to fight against al-Assad and his government, which are also fighting ISIL. Although the civil war in Syria started only five years ago, nearly 50% of the Syrian population has been killed or forced out of the country (Hamdan, 2016). As ISIL, the Syrian government, and the Syrian rebels continue to fight, more and more men, women, and children will be displaced with few places to find refuge.

Between the various competing forces within Syria, death has become a common occurrence in the lives of Syrian civilians. ISIL has now claimed 35% of Syria, in which civilians are given the option to join their cause or face death (Hamdan, 2016). As fighting continues between the Syrian rebels and the Syrian government (who are both also fighting ISIL), the citizens left in the middle have few options of places to flee (Hamdan, 2016). Although some U.S. citizens seem to have sympathy for Syrian refugees, an overwhelming amount of the population disapproves of allowing refugees in the country for fear of their own safety (DeSilver, 2015b). And as terrorism continues to strike all over the world, the fear of Islam and Muslims continues to grow (Powell, 2011).

Islamophobia. The innate fear of Islam and Muslims within the United States is not a new notion. Islamophobia is defined as the "dislike of or prejudices against Islam or

Muslims, especially as a political force" (Sheridan, 2006). Since the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York, the media has framed Islam and Muslims in negative ways (Cainkar, 2009). Many media outlets exemplify an ideology that Islam threatens 'our way of life' and feeds the fear of international terrorism on a widespread scale (Powell, 2011). The media's framing of these attacks has created a lasting image and stereotype for Muslims in the U.S. and around the world (Powell, 2011). The onset of multiple terrorist attacks in recent years and months continues to cultivate the fear of Islam and Muslims. This demonstrates that public discourse about refugees, and especially Muslim refugees, is a unique rhetorical and communication problem.

Between mid-November 2015 and mid-June 2016, ISIS has taken credit for multiple terror attacks within the U.S. and the world. The most notable include the following: Paris attack, Nov. 13, 2015, 130 people dead, 368 injured; San Bernardino, CA attack, Dec 2, 2015, 14 people dead, 22 injured; Brussels Airport attack, March 22, 2016, 34 people dead, 340 injured; and most recently, the Orlando nightclub attack on June, 13, 2016, 49 people dead and 53 injured (Kealing, 2016). In the Orlando attack, the gunman called 9-1-1 before his killing rampage and pledged allegiance to ISIS (Measham, 2016). While it is near impossible to prove any viable links to ISIS besides the word of the gunmen, many U.S. citizens are quick to jump to conclusions. And although many U.S. citizens are terrified of the power and reach ISIS has gained throughout the world, it is important to remember that ISIS has killed more Muslims than any other religious affiliates (National Counterterrorism Center, 2015).

Even before the Paris, San Bernardino, Belgium, and Orlando attacks, the U.S. public were hesitant in allowing refugees into the country (DeSilver, 2015b). Since these

recent attacks, the support for allowing the 10,000 refugees Obama has stated the United

States will host has fallen drastically; in fact, the political discourse surrounding Syrian

refugees has turned overwhelmingly negative (Ostrand, 2015). At the time of the

proposal by President Obama, 31 governors initially refused to let refugees settle in their

respective states, which some considered morally unethical and illegal, as states do not

have the power to defy the federal government on matters such as immigration (Fandl,

2016).

   The number of people living as refugees worldwide has grown to over 60 million,

the highest number since World War II (Foulkes, 2014). A recent study conducted by

Oxfam stated that the six wealthiest nations are currently hosting less than 9% of the

world's refugees (Perry, 2016). The United States, China, Germany, Japan, the United

Kingdom, and France make up more than 50% of the world's economy and together have

hosted approximately 2.1 of the 65.3 million refugees throughout the world (Oxfam,

2016). With a huge increase of refugees over the last five years, the poorest countries,

such as Jordan, Pakistan, and Lebanon, are consistently aiding in helping refugees in

various ways, such as helping them relocate, providing clothing, or assisting with jobs

(Perry, 2016).

   As many in the United States and around the world continue to fear for their lives

from terrorists, millions of refugees are being displaced and persecuted (Westcott, 2016).

Syrian refugees continue to seek asylum, as ISIS has now taken over 35% of Syria's land,

leaving very little territory for civilians and little means to survive (DeSilver, 2015b). The

discourse surrounding these refugees continues to expand and diversify within the United

States and its politicians and media outlets.

Statement of Problem

While war and terrorism continue to devastate the world, many citizens of the U.S. maintain a negative mindset when it comes to the topic of refugees (DeSilver, 2015b). According to a survey conducted by World Economic Forum, when U.S. residents were asked what the biggest threats and risks to the United States were in the next ten years, the two most common responses were climate change and the potential influx of refugees (Poushter, 2016). While the destabilization of Syria and rise of ISIS is a major threat to the United States and the world, citizens are hesitant to welcome refugees.

In the United States, politicians are repeatedly asked to state their opinions and potential solutions on this issue, which actively creates and communicates frames about Syrian refugees and the crisis as a whole. While some world leaders continue to push the public to accept Syrian refugees and recognize this crisis as a dire humanitarian issue, others question the ability to safeguard their citizens, framing refugees as potential threats (Abbasi, Patel & Godlee, 2015). As the severity and demand of the Syrian refugee crisis on host countries increases, so does the need for policymaking for their needs, development, and protection in these countries (Yazgan, Utku & Sirkeci, 2015). The political discourse on this topic is widespread and diverse, not only between political parties but also among individual politicians and world leaders.

In general, the United States Republican and Democratic parties frame the issue of Syrian refugees differently. Framing refers to how media, or other public figures, construct messages so that certain aspects of an issue are salient and others are less prominent (Goffman, 1974). While most Democrats, including President Obama and

2016 presidential nominee Hillary Clinton, continue to frame the refugees in similar ways, members of the Republican Party have couched this crisis and its people differently. Although differing in opinion and language, the issue of Syrian refugees remains relevant throughout the political world, especially within the United States as the 2016 presidential election quickly approaches.

In a speech given by President Obama on Thanksgiving Day 2015, he compared the Syrian refugees to Pilgrims:

> "In 1620, a small band of Pilgrims came to this continent, refugees who had fled persecution and violence in their native land," he said. "Nearly 400 years later, we remember their part in the American story – and we honor the men and women who helped them in their time of need." (Obama, 2015)

This quote is relevant because President Obama was attempting to relate this current refugee crisis to a similar one in the past, where refugees were welcomed and ultimately helped create the United States as it exists today. The framing used by President Obama presents the Syrian refugees in a relatable sense, hoping to extract that same sentiment from the U.S public now, as it did 400 years ago.

Similarly, Hillary Clinton has used her discourse to show U.S. citizens that as a country we can fight ISIS while simultaneously helping the refugees of Syria:

> "We cannot allow terrorists to intimidate us into abandoning our values and humanitarian obligations. Turning away orphans, applying a religious test, discriminating against Muslims, slamming the door on every single Syrian refugee—that's just not who we are. We are better than that." (Clinton, 2015)

In this quote, Clinton is attempting to showcase the ideology that while ISIS does cling to the religion of Islam, their actions do not represent the Muslim community. She frames the Syrian refugees as more than just 'people,' but as orphans to invoke a sympathetic ear from the public.

On the other side of the spectrum, 2016 Republican nominee Donald J. Trump has framed this crisis in a different fashion: "I hear we want to take in 200,000 Syrians. And they could be - listen, they could be ISIS [Islamic State]" (Lee, 2015). As the Syrian refugee crisis progresses, the political discourse in the United States continues to evolve and divide the country as to how and when to act. As Islam and Muslims continue to be a stigmatized group, particularly in the United States, the issue of "Islamophobia," as mentioned above, progressively becomes more significant, especially in how our leaders communicate about refugees.

Since September 11th, 2001, the problem and existence of Islamophobia have entangled the citizens of the United States and the world. The discourse and rhetoric of hate towards Islam and Muslims took a drastic jump in the aftermath of the 2001 attacks, which led to an increase in hate crimes towards "anyone who looked Middle Eastern" for the two months after 9/11 (Kaplan, 2006, p. 3). In comparison, the number of hate crimes towards Muslims was nearly 16 times as prevalent in 2001 than 2000. In 2000, there were 33 reported crimes towards Muslims, while in 2001, 546 hate crimes were reported (Sheridan, 2006). Although the FBI's report that these crimes were not provided in chronological order, the ADC's (American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee) estimate of these crimes being committed in the nine weeks post 9/11 was gathered from evidence in newspapers, civil rights groups, and articles (Kaplan, 2006).

Although the initial shock of the September 11th attacks eventually diminished, the fear and hate towards Islam and Muslims continued to evolve, even fifteen years later. The effect of Islamophobia is widespread as many American-Muslims would classify themselves as "second class citizens" as they feel they are not given the same privileges associated with being a citizen of the United States (Ali, 2012, p. 1031). The destruction of Islamophobia has been severe and relentless, as the "anti-Muslim" agenda has garnered powerful backers, such as high-level politicians and celebrities (Imhoff & Recker, 2012). Some citizens have even developed organizations whose sole purpose is to "Stop the Islamization of America" (Imhoff & Recker, 2012, p. 812).

This negative generalization and stereotyping of Islam and Muslim Americans has continued to moderate the United States' willingness to help Syrian refugees for fear of "radical Islam" (Saeed, 2007, p. 445). The rhetoric and discourse surrounding Syrian refugees continue to pose them as potential threats to the safety and wellbeing of the United States and its citizens (Dincer et al., 2013). While President Obama has stated the United States will allow 10,000 refugees into the country, the public continues to show its concern for their safety, as the disdain towards Islam and Muslims begins to re-ignite and the ideology of Islamophobia continues to evolve (McNeely & Morland, 2016). Ultimately, this public discourse, and especially presidential and presidential candidates' discourse about refugees, is a communication problem that has significant consequences for intercultural communication among U.S. citizens and refugees, as well as consequences for the development of U.S. foreign policy.

Background of Problem

Throughout history, presidential rhetoric has helped shape both public opinion and public policy (Asen, 2010a; Cohen, 1995). Considered the most powerful position in the world, the President of the United States has a platform unlike any other person, organization, or social group. Due to the prominent political standing, international reach, and access to information, the president can define a situation in a way to attempt to shape the public's opinion and evoke a specific response from citizens (Zarefsky, 2004). presidential rhetoric can have a vast effect on public opinion. These effects include how the public will handle a specific situation, describing causes as well as identifying solutions, and inviting moral judgment on people, policies and organizations (Zarefsky, 2004). These all illustrate the importance of how presidents frame their discourse in an attempt to shape public opinion.

The relationship between rhetoric and policymaking has been intertwined. While a rhetorical scholar and social science scholar may differ on the way to study the effects of rhetoric on public policy and policymaking, they agree on its importance (Cohen, 1995). Often, rhetoric engages and inspires advocates and audiences alike to do an abundance of public policy work (Asen, 2010b). Rhetoric enables citizens to frame public problems and issues on both local and national levels, as well as identify and recommend policy solutions (Druckman & Holmes, 2004). The importance of rhetoric within public policy and policymaking cannot be overstated, as rhetoric plays a fundamental and often crucial role within shaping public opinion and policymaking (Asen, 2010b).

Although there has been limited research conducted on political discourse about refugees, the research that has been done has proved to be increasingly important as the

number of refugees worldwide continues to grow (Gale, 2004). The discourse surrounding refugees historically, as well as currently, continues to be demeaning to refugees. In an article about Sudanese refugees, the author discusses the various ways in which political discourse is used to frame refugees in a specific light and negative manner (McKinnon, 2008).

Refugees enter political discourse as an objectified problem in need of fixing and repair (Van Dijk, 1997). Although various refugee aid organizations seek to garner support and help for refugees, they also unintentionally personify refugees as objects, as outsiders rarely see refugees speak for themselves and are often spoken for by others (McKinnon, 2008). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a refugee as "someone outside his or her own country and unable to return as a result of a well-founded fear of persecution on grounds of race, religion, nationality, public opinion or membership of a social group" (McKinnon, 2008, p. 398). It is with this definition that refugees enter the political realm as an object – they are spoken for and remain understood by the public as helpless and in need of assistance (Philmore & Goodson, 2006). And while refugees are indeed searching for help, they are also attempting to salvage their culture and way of life.

Another important aspect surrounding the political discourse of refugees is the lack of control given to those who identify as a refugee. While there are a multitude of camps set up around the world to help house, feed, and protect refugees, many often remain in these camps for decades with little to no control over their lives (McKinnon, 2008). Out of desperation, many attempt to escape these camps in any way possible. One example was the formation of the 2016 Rio Olympic refugee team. This refugee team

consisted of 10 athletes from multiple countries, who competed in various sports and marked a historical moment for the Olympics (White, 2016).

While in these camps, refugees are being prepared for potential resettlement through various volunteer agencies or non-governmental organizations, but they have no control over where and when they may be sent (Coutts & Fouad, 2013). This can cause refugees to acquire identity and affiliation issues, as they are being pulled in many different directions regarding culture, language, and lifestyle (McKinnon, 2008). While this refugee crisis continues to worsen, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has posed this issue as the greatest humanitarian disaster of the past two decades (Coutts & Fouad, 2013).

The political discourse surrounding refugees becomes even more complicated when the refugees are assumed to be Muslims fleeing from an Islamic country – a topic that has not yet been extensively researched by many communication or rhetorical scholars. As the number of Syrian refugees continues to grow at a staggering rate (UNHCR, 2015), the political discourse framing this topic becomes much more salient and widespread, and the rhetoric surrounding refugees will continue to shape the public's opinion and U.S. public policy (Asen, 2010b). Political rhetoric defines what many constitute as "political reality," or the idea that social reality is not simply 'given' but is construed by our political actors. This rhetoric is extremely important, as it will help the U.S. government deliberate and create policies on a topic that involves a level of uncertainty, especially given the changing dynamics and numbers of refugees seeking resettlement in the United States (Zarefsky, 2004).

While there have been various studies that research the discourse surrounding immigrants (Cortes, 2004; Stephan, Renfro, Stephan, Esses & Martin, 2005; Van Dijk, 1997), the academic scholarship about refugees and political discourse is limited. A study of this topic could prove immensely valuable in the near future, as the number of refugees worldwide has hit an all-time high (UNHCR, 2015). The rhetoric and public discourse that is used to frame refugees influences the way they are viewed on an international scale. Therefore, it is important to study the link between presidential and political rhetoric, frames, and refugees.

As millions of refugees continue to seek asylum from Syria, the U.S. government and public continue to have differing attitudes towards refugees (Igielnik, 2016). The public's attitudes towards refugees and immigrants are similar, as the public has many concerns for their well-being and safety.

> There has been evidence that both sets of factors, economic and non-economic ones, are important. In a wide range of countries, attitudes toward immigrants appear to be related to labor-market concerns, security and cultural considerations, as well as individual feelings toward political refugees and illegal immigration (Mayda, 2004, p. 33).

As the current refugee crisis continues, politicians have begun to use their platforms and discourse to describe their individual ideologies regarding immigration, as well as potential solutions to the Syrian refugee crisis.

Definitions

Due to the complexity of the issue and for clarity, I define key words and phrases used in this study. The first set of definitions revolves around the bigger picture of

refugees, immigrants, and asylum seekers. Long-term refugees are defined as a person or group that is resettled in a nation because the conflict they fled has no foreseeable resolution, while a short-term refugee is defined as a person or group temporarily resettled due to various potential factors in their home countries (McKinnon, 2008). Conversely, an immigrant is a person who freely and permanently moves to a foreign country (U.S. Department of State, 2016). Some linger between refugee and immigrant status; an asylum seeker, for example, is a person or group of people who have left their home country as a political refugee and are seeking safety in another country (UNHCR, 2015).

Public discourse is another key term frequently used within this study. The term public discourse signifies speeches, publications, and other statements made in public (Sellers, 2003). Within public discourse is where ideologies form; an ideology is defined as a system of ideas and ideals, which form the basis of economic or political theory and policy (McGee, 1980; McKerrow, 1989). Politicians also often use their rhetoric and discourse to frame situations; framing involves selection and salience. To frame is to select certain aspects of a situation and make them more salient, in a way to promote a specific problem, solution, definition, and/or recommendation (Entman, 1993).

There are also two religious identities explicitly mentioned within this study, Sunni Muslims and Alawite Muslims. Within Islam, there is one major divide between Sunni Muslims and Shiite Muslims (Manfreda, 2016). While many Muslims identify as either Sunni or Shiite, Alawites are an independent subsection from both of these sects. While all three follow Islam, the split between these groups is who is believed to be the true successor to the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the identification of Alawites as a

separate sect of Islam (Manfreda, 2016). Alawites also celebrate some Christian holidays that Sunni Muslims do not (Manfreda, 2016).

Three other key definitions important to this study are Islamophobia, terrorism, and the organization known as ISIS or ISIL. Over the years, the definition and use of Islamophobia within a political realm have evolved, as it is now a term used to identify the history, presence, and consequences of anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim sentiments (Bleich, 2011). Although the term Islamophobia has no solidified universal meaning, many use the definition of Islamophobia as "a useful shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam—and, therefore, to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims" (Trust, 1997, p. 7). Terrorism is defined as the use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims (Terrill, 2014). This leads to the final definition of ISIS or ISIL. As noted above, ISIS is an English acronym for "Islamic State of Iraq and Syria" (Cockburn, 2014) while ISIL stands for "Islamic State of Iraq and Levant" (Terrill, 2014). While these two acronyms are used interchangeably by various world leaders and politicians, ISIL is more commonly used by politicians as the word "Levant" includes a wider geographical area that includes Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Jordan (Cockburn, 2014). "Da'esh" is also used in place of ISIS or ISIL, however as none of the texts within this study use this name as an identifier to this organization, ISIS and ISIL will continue to be used (Khan, 2014).

Justification and Research Questions

With war and terrorism continuing to affect numerous countries, cities, and communities around the world, the number of refugees worldwide increases (UNHCR, 2015). Many key political figures within the U.S continue to frame Syrian refugees in vastly different ways, causing the country to be at a standstill on how to provide aid to

those in need. An in-depth analysis of presidential and presidential candidates' discourse could help provide insight on a variety of important issues. For example, this study will look at how language is used to create frames and affect public opinion, as the political discourse surrounding Syrian refugees continues to create various discussions around the world on how to provide aid to those in need while simultaneously ensuring the safety of their own citizens (Dincer et al., 2013). As the number of refugees steadily increases, political and world leaders are using discourse to frame this situation in specific ways to elicit specific responses from their citizens (Carlier, 2016).

This study analyzed the political discourse of three prominent U.S politicians – President Barack Obama, 2016 Democratic Presidential nominee Hillary Rodham Clinton, and 2016 Republican Presidential nominee Donald J. Trump. These rhetors were chosen for their access to power and potential to instill change, as well as their large following from U.S. citizens. Specifically, this study explored their rhetoric about the Syrian refugee crisis and how these three speakers, or rhetors, use differing language to set their individual tones and positions on this issue. I rhetorically analyzed how these specific politicians are using their individual discourses to frame the Syrian refugees, as well as the use of ideographs and metaphors to strengthen those frames.

Each of these rhetors was chosen for various reasons. Ultimately, they were selected due to their contribution to the conversation of Syrian refugees from differing perspectives. These perspectives are based on their political leanings and individual backgrounds within both a personal and political realm. Therefore, the texts that are analyzed in this study were collected between the period of November to December of

2015, when the discourse surrounding this topic was of high concern and priority to the U.S. electorate.

As the current President of the United States, Barack Obama has been at the forefront of the conversation about the Syrian refugee crisis. Of all three politicians and rhetors within this study, President Obama has the most direct contact with the issue. Although he is exiting the Presidency, Obama still has time left as President of the United States. He has spoken in favor of helping those fleeing Syria, as well as initiating a funding program that works towards helping resettle Syrian refugees. Obama has also stated that the United States will allow 10,000 refugees into the country by 2017 (Koran, 2016).

As a minority, Obama often uses a rhetorical style that idealizes the "American Dream" to persuade people that foreigners often come to the United States to attain this dream (Harris, Moffit & Squires, 2010). He has also applied this rhetorical style to Syrian refugees, advocating for their relocation to the United States so they too can 'achieve greatness' and become productive members of society (Beinart, 2015). President Obama was chosen for this study for multiple reasons: his ability to enact change due to his political standing, his identity as a minority within the United States, and his dedication to positive refugee rhetoric, which he uses to elicit the idea that anyone, from anywhere, can come to the United States and have success.

As the President of the United States, Barack Obama had a near constant national and international platform for his discourse to be heard. Between November and December of 2015, Obama made many statements and comments in reference to Syrian

refugees, although only one speech was solely dedicated to the issue. The six speeches/texts by Obama that will be analyzed include the following:

- November 16, 2015: White House Press Conference on Antalya, Turkey

- November 17, 2015: President Obama Remarks on Republican Discourse

- November 19, 2015: President Obama Meets with Canadian Prime Minister

- November 23, 2015: Press Conference: Why Obama Is Standing by the Syrian Refugees

- November 26, 2015: President Obama Weekly Address: This Thanksgiving, Recognizing the Greatness of American Generosity

- December 15, 2015: Remarks by the President at Naturalization Ceremony

      As a rhetor and politician, Hillary Rodham Clinton has had various avenues to present her opinions and ideologies. Clinton was chosen for this study for multiple reasons: the various positions she has held within politics, her minority status as a woman, and as the 2016 Democratic presidential nominee. While Clinton's view on the Syrian refuge crisis is similar to President Obama, her frame and discourse differ due to her individual rhetorical style. As a woman, Clinton can identify and humanize the refugees in different ways, as well as advocate for the United States to help those in need. As former United States Secretary of State, Clinton also has an extensive background working within international relations and conflicts, allowing her a differing perspective and viewpoint. As a minority within the political realm, presidential nominee, and decorated politician, studying Clinton's political rhetoric will enable a deeper understanding of the political discourse and frames surrounding Syrian refugees.

Clinton clinched the Democratic nomination for president on July 26th, 2016, making her the first woman ever to be nominated by a major political party (Healy & Martin, 2016). As Clinton has an extensive political background and major following, her discourse and framing of Syrian refugees have become increasingly important. The five speeches/texts by Clinton that will be analyzed include the following:

- November 17, 2015: Campaign Rally in Dallas, TX

- November 19, 2015: Speech at Council of Foreign Affairs

- November 23, 2015: Nevada Roundtable

- December 6, 2015: "This Week" with *Good Morning America*

- December 19, 2015: Third Democratic Debate by *ABC News*

The third and final rhetor for this study is Donald J. Trump. As the 2016 Republican nominee for President, Trump brings an entirely different ideology and perspective on the Syrian refugee crisis. As a relatively new politician, Trump has garnered a vast following in the recent months, especially since the nominee selection has been narrowed (Wang et al., 2016). Many have characterized Trump's rhetoric as forceful and aggressive and some have characterized his language as not 'politically correct' (Holloway, 2016). As a presidential candidate, Trump has often reiterated the importance of safety, which has lead him to question the intake and aid of Syrian refugees, an idea that has resonated with many U.S. citizens.

Trump's ideology indicates that while he has sympathy for Syrian refugees, as U.S. president he would revoke the invitation for 10,000 refugees to enter the United States, as well as deport any that may have relocated under President Obama (Dinan & Richardson, 2015). This discourse varies heavily from that of Obama and Clinton, who

advocate for the relocation of refugees to the United States. As the Republican

presidential nominee, Trump's discourse and frame of Syrian refugees now become

increasingly important. Trump was chosen for this study as an important and relevant

politician to analyze and study with an opposing ideology in comparison to the first two

rhetors. The five speeches/texts by Trump that will be analyzed include the following:

- November 16, 2015: *CNBC* News Conference with Donald Trump

- November 17, 2016: Radio Interview with Donald Trump, *Laura Ingraham Show*

- November 20, 2015: Interview with *MSNBC*

- November 21, 2015: Campaign Rally in Birmingham, AL

- November 22, 2015: "This Week" with *Good Morning America (ABC)*

The majority of the texts included in this study are from November 2015; this is

due largely in part to the November 13th, 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris that spurred

public discourse on the topic of Syrian refugees worldwide. While this is not an all-

inclusive list of every comment or statement made by each rhetor within the said

timeframe, these are the texts in which the rhetor used his or her discourse in a

descriptive manner to frame Syrian refugees. All 16 of the above texts will be analyzed in

Chapter 4 to analyze how President Obama, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and President

Donald J. Trump have used their presidential or presidential candidate discourse to frame

the issue of the Syrian refugee crisis to communicate to the American electorate. Below

are two research questions to guide this study:

RQ 1: Through presidential rhetoric (Obama) and presidential campaign rhetoric (Clinton and Trump), how are candidates framing political discourse about Syrian refugees?

RQ 2: Within the political discourse of Obama, Clinton, and Trump, how are ideographs and metaphors being used to frame Syrian refugees?

CHAPTER TWO:

HISTORICAL CONTEXT SURROUNDING OBAMA, CLINTON, AND

TRUMP'S POLITICAL RHETORIC ABOUT SYRIAN REFUGEES

Having established the background and significance of presidential and political rhetoric about Syrian refugees, this chapter describes the historical contexts surrounding these rhetors. While each rhetor is considered a powerful political figure, they have all developed their individual speaking styles in different ways. While Obama and Clinton have extensive political backgrounds, Trump is relatively new in the sense of a political figure himself, rather than a supporter or contributor. I begin by explaining previous scholarship surrounding each politician's rhetorical style, as well as their prior *ethos* and *ethos* to be gained from their discourse surrounding refugees. I then turn to challenges and constraints related to persuading their audiences. I conclude by discussing established scholarship about presidential and political rhetoric, especially regarding this subject and purpose.

Presidential Rhetors: Obama, Clinton, and Trump

Each of the following rhetors used within my study offers uniquely different rhetorical styles to analyze. Both President Obama and Hillary Clinton have extensive political backgrounds in an abundance of diverse roles, enabling the public to study the changes in their rhetorical styles over time. And although Donald Trump is relatively new to the topic of political rhetoric, his discourse thus far has created a substantial amount of conflict between political parties and individuals. Below is a brief introduction to each rhetors past and current rhetorical styles, as well as their specific discourse relating to refugees.

Barack Obama. Serving as the 44th President of the United States, Barack

Obama is the first rhetor in my study. On top of an impressive political resume, Obama is

the first African-American President of the United States, a task that took more than two

centuries to achieve. Although Obama is biracial, he is mostly characterized as an

African-American and identifies himself in a similar manner. This identity creates a

different use of rhetoric and discourse than the U.S public is accustomed to from the

previous 43 Caucasian presidents' (Harris, Moffitt & Squires, 2010). Here, I discuss

Obama's rhetorical styles as a Senator, as a presidential nominee, and finally as the

President of the United States.

Obama graduated from Columbia University, continued his education at Harvard

Law school, and eventually taught Constitutional Law at Harvard; he is no stranger to

politics (Atwater, 2007). Although his political career officially began in 2004 when he

was elected Senator of Illinois, many note his speech, "A More Perfect Union," given at

the 2004 Democratic National Convention as his breakout within the political realm

(Harris, Moffitt, & Squires, 2010). Within this speech, Obama faced many rhetorical

challenges. The most noted was his response to Reverend Wright's controversial

statements about being black in America. While acknowledging that there remains racial

inequality within the United States, Obama gracefully refuted Wright's claims while

simultaneously using his identity as a black man as one of the reasons for his success in

politics (Dilliplane, 2012). Obama also had the rhetorical challenge of garnering support

from the black community by being "black enough" (Dilliplane, 2012, p. 131) to secure

their vote while using the persuasive power of speaking from experience, acting as a

spokesperson for African-American experiences within American culture (Utley & Heyse, 2009).

While he served as Senator, he began his campaign for president in 2007 with the hopes of becoming the first African-American president. Obama worked hard to prove the narrative of the "American Dream;" that with hard-work and dedication anyone can do anything, even become the first black president of the United States (Roland & Jones, 2011). This narrative of hope and the American Dream was a steady part of his rhetoric as a Senator, continued into his presidential campaign, and remains within his discourse as the current President of the United States (Elahi & Cos, 2005).

During his time as Senator and especially as a presidential candidate in 2007, Obama often used the rhetorical ideal of hope to appeal to a wide audience (Atwater, 2007). Although Obama is known for his on-camera and in-person charisma, his character is often mentioned when people speak of his ability to persuade an audience. Since his time as the first black president of the *Harvard Law Review*, people have been defining Obama as a "natural born leader" (Harris, Moffitt, & Squires, 2010). Obama's rhetoric of hope began in his campaign for Senator – he stressed the importance of taking part in the 'American Dream" and often stated his dream of becoming a high-level politician as an African-American would not be possible without the specific history of the American Dream (Darsey, 2009).

His rhetoric as a Senator often included a broad inclusion of all people; he would speak of individuals he met in large cities, smaller cities, and around the world to enable his audience to feel a sense of unity and inclusion to the community; this theme was reminiscent of his speech at the DNC in 2004 in which he emphasized the importance of

unity within the nation (Dilliplane, 2012). Obama used his rhetoric to define the American Dream as including access to good jobs, education, healthcare, safety, and affordable housing – an ideal he hoped he would share with U.S. citizens (Atwater, 2007). Despite his identity as an African-American, Obama often stressed the importance of commonality within his rhetoric, stating that as Americans we all have common hopes, dreams, and goals (Augoustinos & De Garis, 2012). It is this ideology of hope and dreams that Obama commonly used to relate to his audiences near and far and emphasize the importance of unity.

As the first African-American president, Obama faced criticism his predecessors had not. While his rhetoric often spoke to the importance of inclusion of all people, Obama did not deny that the United States had a history of racial inequalities (Utley & Heyse, 2009). He explicitly stated that the African-American community has been severely disadvantaged for centuries due to aspects that were considered normal to the American public, such as segregation and the historical education gap between white and black children (Harris, Moffitt, & Squires, 2010). Obama used this rhetorical strategy to reach out and connect to his African-American audience, reassuring them that their experiences of racial disparities are not imagined, and those barriers are real and identifiable (Darsey, 2009).

While this rhetoric appealed to the black community and more importantly black voters, Obama received harsh criticism for evoking the idea of a racial barrier (Harris, Moffitt, & Squires, 2010). Many stated Obama's willingness to speak critically of his country's past as courageous and honest, while others considered his rhetoric unnecessary and un-presidential (Harris, Moffitt, & Squires, 2010). This gap created a challenge for

Obama as he wanted to be able to relate to the African-American community while continuing to appeal to the other citizens of the U.S. who did not share that characteristic (Atwater, 2007). He had also had similar challenges when it came to policymaking around immigration. Obama needed to be able to relate to those immigrants who he did not share this critical characteristic with while simultaneously creating immigration laws to satisfy U.S. citizens (Layman & Green, 2006).

While he stated that the forefathers who created the Constitution had admirable and honorable promises of equal citizenship, liberty, and justice, Obama acknowledged that the Constitution was not proficient in delivering those promises to men and women of all races (Harris, Moffitt & Squires, 2010) and subsequently, those working towards becoming legal American citizens (Dorsey & Diaz-Barriga, 2007). Obama worked to appeal to all citizens of the U.S., including immigrants and refugees, by stating that regardless of color, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, they all deserved the same protections and rights (Harris, Moffitt & Squires, 2010). Obama continues to work towards this idea of equality, going as far as becoming the first president to openly advocate towards same-sex marriage (Calmes & Baker, 2012).

He has also used a similar discourse tactic in the past when speaking about immigrants and refugees. He stated that these people "…embody the American Dream" (Obama, 2006, p. 261). The Syrian refugee crisis has created a plethora of issues for all politicians, unsure of how to help those in need. But Obama has continued using his rhetoric of the American Dream and hope towards the nearly 12.5 million Syrians who have been forced from their country (Connor & Krogstad, 2016). He has related the Syrian refugees to that of the pilgrims that first came to the United States to create a

relatable identity for U.S. citizens (Ihlamur-Öner, 2013). And while the United States and the rest of the world watch from afar, Obama continues to use his rhetoric to advocate for Syrian refugees and their desperate call for help (Koran, 2016).

Although Obama's Presidency has ended, his rhetorical style continues to remain hopeful and positive for the future of the United States, despite the difficult time he faced as president (Murphy, 2015). He recently endorsed Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton, stating that no man or woman has ever been more prepared to be president than Clinton (Karni, 2016). While Clinton's ideologies lay within the same political lines as Obama, she has her own unique rhetorical style. Obama focused on his identity as an African-American to garner support, while Clinton attempted to downplay her gender as some believe it interferes with her identity as a strong politician.

Hillary Clinton. As one of the most powerful women in politics today, Hillary Clinton sought to be the first woman President of the United States. Clinton has a vast political resume, ranging from serving as First Lady from 1993-2001, the Senator of New York from 2001-2009, Secretary of State under President Obama from 2009-2013, and finally the 2016 Democratic nominee for President (Sheeler & Anderson, 2013). Her rhetoric as a politician has transformed over the years, as she transitioned from one position and role to another, which enabled Clinton to become a well-known political figure (Parry-Giles, 2016).

As a former Senator, Secretary of State, and First Lady, Clinton has had various avenues to present herself and her ideologies. Her rhetoric and discourse are often studied from these sources – and the ways her speaking style has evolved and changed throughout the years (Sharma, 2016). As First Lady, she had an office in the West Wing

of the White House, became the head of the task force that was given the responsibility of reforming healthcare, mingled with Congress, and worked towards becoming a respected political activist, on top of First Lady (Campbell, 1998). However, through much criticism from both the political realm and the public, Clinton began to enact her rhetoric in a way that set her apart from the women who had previously held the role of First Lady (Kalyango & Winfield, 2014). I briefly discuss Clinton's different rhetorical styles she has enacted throughout her various political positions, as well as the style associated with her status as the current Democratic presidential candidate.

As the First Lady of the United States, Clinton entered the White House under hostile terms, as some deemed her as a "corrosive mystery" (Campbell, 1998, p. 2). It was at the Democratic National Convention, advocating for her husband Bill, that Clinton had to set her tone as both a woman and a serious politician (Lockhart, 2016). She broke out of the feminine rhetorical style, which probed women to use their femininity and gender norms in sync with rhetorical norms for governing the public (Parry-Giles, 2016). Instead, she used a speaking style typically used by men. In politics, women enacted their femininity to garner support from the audience, identifying themselves as a mother or wife and using a self-disclosing tone, signifying a nurturing or domestic personality (Campbell, 1998). And while this feminine style of rhetoric enabled some voters to relate, it was also these characteristics that lead the public to believe that women were not yet ready to take on a larger political role within the White House other than First Lady.

Clinton's rhetorical style as a First Lady was unlike those before her as she omitted almost all discursive markers that enacted her femininity (Sharma, 2016). She used an impersonal tone, avoiding exposing personal detail or experiences, and spoke in a

more direct, evidentiary manner. While she noted her identity included those of a "wife, mother, sister, daughter, and a woman," she did not assume those roles while speaking; in fact, she explicitly left those identifiers out (Campbell, 1998, p. 4). Clinton changed public expectations for the First Lady, and how citizens viewed her; she advocated as her own person and politician, rather than a mere extension of her husband (Falk, 2013). She spoke forcibly and effectively, meeting the rhetorical norms of politicians with few of the feminine identifiers that made her seem unfit as a politician (Campbell, 1998).

Clinton continued this use of direct communication and discourse, while now incorporating and pushing her ideologies and policies as the Senator of New York and Secretary of State under Obama. She was often coined for using a rhetorical style that was congruent with her background as a lawyer and law professor (Campbell, 1998). She continued to dismiss any discursively feminine traits within her rhetoric and was often described in an inherently masculine way (Sheeler & Anderson, 2013). Multiple co-workers from her days as an attorney at Rose Law firm described her as combative and aggressive, stating that her rhetoric echoed that of a "politician, but not a female politician, just a politician" (Anderson, 2002, p. 107).

As Senator, Clinton worked tirelessly to transcend political boundaries and gain allies in both the Democratic and Republican parties. She focused on changing her image from the president's wife to a viable candidate for Senate (Scharrer, 2002). She continued her rhetoric as a powerful, intelligent politician while still dismissing most rhetorical uses of her femininity (Anderson, 2002). Clinton was aware that the social expectations of femininity did not gracefully align with competency and leadership, so she was forced to work towards an image via her discourse and use of rhetoric to change that relationship

between gender and leadership (Watson, 2000). As Senator, Clinton continued her use of 'aggressive' discourse to assert herself in what some would call a "man's world" (Anderson, 2002, p. 106). Although not a New York native, Clinton earned the trust of New Yorkers by focusing on hot-topics such as gun control, education, and healthcare.

Now with the Syrian refugee crisis flooding news and media outlets, Clinton's discourse on this topic will continue to be of great importance as she clinched the 2016 Democratic presidential nomination. Although her rhetoric has changed throughout the years, she has progressively increased her ability to express her femininity without compromising her political success (Sheeler & Anderson, 2013). The various positions Clinton has held throughout her life; attorney, First Lady, Senator, Secretary of State, and now presidential nominee, have enabled her to develop her rhetoric as both a woman and serious politician (Parry-Giles, 2016). Now, her discourse surrounding Syrian refugees begins to play an important role alongside her potential to be elected president, especially given the continued national conversation about ISIL, terrorists, and Muslims within the United States (Kaplan, 2015).

In most of her rhetoric surrounding refugees, Clinton has identified those who are fleeing as victims (Fraser-Chanpong, 2015) to potentially generate sympathy for those who are being forced to leave their countries, as opposed to opting to migrate. Clinton has openly stated that she was disappointed in the U.S.'s lack of sympathy for those in Syria, stating that as a nation, we should allow at least 65,000 refugees into the country (Kaplan, 2015). Her discourse surrounding Syrian refugees has been consistently compassionate, stating the nearly 12.5 million Syrians who have been displaced from their country need help, not discrimination (Connor & Krogstad, 2016).

Although she has had both a successful life and political career, it is not without challenges and constraints. A series of personal and public issues have caused audiences and citizens alike to doubt her authenticity, as well her ability to be president (Sheeler & Anderson, 2013). Recently, Clinton has had difficulty persuading audiences of her competency within foreign affairs. Both the public and other politicians frequently cite the 2012 Benghazi attack in which Clinton was serving as Secretary of State as a failure of her international foreign policy (Kaplan, 2015). Another rhetorical challenge for Clinton is the tension between dismissing her gender while at other times embracing it (McGinley, 2009). Through this, the public is often left confused, which affects their ability to fully trust her rhetorical style and discourse, a challenge she faced in the 2016 election.

Unlike President Obama and Clinton, Donald Trump's rhetoric has evolved throughout his life as a business and real estate tycoon. Although he has previously supported Democratic candidates in the past, including Hillary Clinton (Scott, 2016), Trump was named the Republican nominee for president. As such, his discourse and rhetoric differ significantly from both Obama and Clinton.

President Donald Trump. Unlike the previous two rhetors in this study, President Trump has a relatively limited political background and resume. As a billionaire businessman, Trump's political background prior to his presidential campaigning in 2015 consisted of being an outspoken contributor and advocate for various politicians (Diamond, 2015). For example, in 2008, Trump not only supported presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton but donated a sizeable amount to her campaign multiple times (Shabad, 2015). However, since his decision to run for president in the

2016 election, his rhetoric and discourse have started to be studied in a political sense. Although Trump has had a short political career, he has been studied in other aspects, such as his rhetoric surrounding the success of his real estate and casino businesses (Capehart, 2015).

Various scholars, politicians, and political experts have attempted to pinpoint the reasoning behind Donald Trump's successful campaign for president. As a politician, Trump's background is relatively non-existent. Although he has been a prominent contributor to politicians, he had never entered the political realm as a politician himself, until 2015 when he announced he was running for president in 2016 (Capehart, 2015). However, many are stating his political success has been due to two major factors: he is not the typical politician and many are wary of voting for a family that has already inhabited the White House (Larson, 2016).

For nearly 40 years, Trump has remained a steady and powerful businessman in America (D'Antonio, 2015). Throughout his success as a businessman, mostly within real estate and casinos, his rhetoric and discourse have been studied by various scholars to understand how and why he has remained powerful for so long (D'Antonio, 2015). Trump has defined himself as an expert deal maker, noting that he believes the instincts to enable a deal to be made are something you are born with (Capehart, 2016). Trump has even gone as far as to state that deal-making is a form of art; therefore, he is an artist. His rhetorical style within his business model mimics that of his deal-making artistry; he focuses on using discourse to relate to the audience, create a common goal, and ultimately work towards a solution that profits both or all parties (Trump & Schwartz, 1987).

Although his rhetorical style within his business models has made him an enormous amount of money, his discourse tactics as a politician have already caused a rift not only with Democrats but within the Republican party (Wise & Morgan, 2016). At a net worth of approximately $4.5 billion, Trump's business tactics and models have been studied and analyzed for decades. His self-written book, *The Art of the Deal*, sold over a million hard copies in the late 1980s, but a recent conflict with the 'ghost-writer' of the book, Tony Schwartz, has caused the business realm to reconsider Trump's tactics (Bellware, 2016).

Trump announced his candidacy for president on June 16th, 2015, but many political leaders assumed he would not make it through the primaries (D'Antonio, 2015); however, he secured the GOP nomination. He continues to use a rhetorical style unlike his fellow Republican candidates and Democratic opponents; a style that many have deemed polarizing (Roberts, 2015; Wise & Morgan, 2016). While those who agree with Trump continue to defend his rhetorical choices, many are unaccustomed to a politician who voices his opinion in a rash and aggressive manner.

As a politician, Trump is considered by some as a 'phenomenon' due to his rhetorical style (Holloway, 2016). Many would argue that his popularity has less to do with his success as a businessman or net-worth, and more for the argument that he is not a 'Washington politician' (Roberts, 2015). Trump has a fierce, aggressive, and unapologetic discourse tactic that has proven effective. He often makes strong and somewhat daring statements, which leads to a plethora of criticism from both sides of the political spectrum, while simultaneously garnering more support from the public (Roberts, 2015). Typically, politicians are well-versed in politically correct discourse,

ensuring their words are carefully chosen to avoid isolating any voters. However, Trump's tactic of forceful and direct rhetoric has proven to be both his strength and weakness (D'Antonio, 2015).

Like most politicians, Trump has a firm set of beliefs and opinions. He uses a rhetorical style that many are interpreting as strength and leadership – qualities most believe the President of the United States should have (Roberts, 2015). He makes bold statements on a regular basis and never apologizes regardless of if he is correct or incorrect. Although some view this as a negative aspect, Trump has managed to garner a huge following and support system (Roberts, 2015). Many have jumped on the Trump bandwagon for this reason, stating that the United States needs a president who says what is on his mind and is not afraid of anything (de Brujin, 2016).

Another common theme within his political rhetoric is the ideology that he is a 'winner.' He commonly states that in every aspect of his life he has 'won;' as a businessman, he turned a million-dollar loan into a billion-dollar empire, he had a popular selling book and had a very successful TV show and career (Roberts, 2015). He used this rhetoric, defining himself as a winner, to persuade the U.S. public that as president, he will continue winning. The idea that Trump will do anything to win is a trait towards which the American people have gravitated. He reiterates the idea that America is the greatest country and it is the job of the president to ensure that America keeps winning (Ross, 2015). His discourse on the topic of immigrants and refugees echoes this identity as a winner, in that he will make America great and safe again, by enforcing stricter immigration laws (Kopan, 2015).

Within the topic of immigrants and refugees, Trump continues his brash discourse, proposing strict policy changes such as banning all Muslims from entering the United States or developing a 'database' that essentially keeps track of all Muslims (and refugees) within the United States (Carroll, 2015). While some view this rhetoric in an extremely polarizing way, portions of the public agree with his proposed immigration policies (Roberts, 2015). While many in the Democratic Party have voiced their opinion in helping the refugees flee Syria, Trump has expressed a different opinion that puts the needs of Syrian refugees far behind the needs of U.S. citizens (Kopan, 2015).

Obama and Clinton have both posed the Syrian refugees in positive ways, using adjectives to make refugees relatable to the people of the United States and attempting to invoke compassion and sympathy (Toosi, 2016). Meanwhile, Trump is at the other end of the spectrum by discussing the refugees as potential threats to the United States and emphasizing the banning of all Muslims from entering the United States at this time (Carroll, 2015). Although the idea of banning Muslims may seem extreme to some, Trump continues to gain supporters who are keen to his bold and aggressive statements. His rhetoric remains unwavering in that he is focused on "Making America Great Again" (Trump Campaign Slogan, 2015), and will do so by becoming the 45th President of the United States.

Audience: Primary Voters and U.S. Citizens

While the audience for each of these rhetors varies, Obama, Clinton, and Trump all ultimately have the same goal of persuading U.S. citizens' opinions on the issue of the Syrian refugee crisis. There are four categories of audience; immediate, target, created, and agents of change (Campbell, Huxman, & Burkholder, 2014). Each rhetor uses their

rhetoric and discourse in varying ways to adapt to the needs and demands of their audiences, as well as to hopefully appeal to those who may be unsure to garner their support (Foss & Griffin, 1995). As politicians, Obama, Clinton, and Trump all face both similar and differing audience constraints that can potentially affect their future rhetorical choices about this issue.

In a rhetorical sense, the immediate audience consists of those who are exposed to the rhetorical act, whether it be face to face, through print, or electronically (Campbell, Huxman, & Burkholder, 2014). Although technology inevitably widens the scale as to who the rhetoric can reach, the different channels as to where it is presented affects who encounters the discourse (Foss & Griffin, 1995). For Clinton and Trump, their immediate audiences changed daily as they continued their campaigning efforts for president all over the country, while President Obama has a relatively consistent national platform and audience. Each rhetor had audience constraints they were attempting to address and overcome within every speech, rally, or address. In what follows, I outline the different ideologies connected to the Democrat and Republican party platforms, and their corresponding immediate audiences of primary voters. Obama, Clinton, and Trump must all appeal to their political party's base while adapting their message to the general electorate given the context of the 2016 presidential campaign.

Democratic and Republican party ideologies. The primary voter audiences of Democrats and Republicans are motivated by different political goals and have fundamentally different views on partisanship and party conflict. In recent decades, Democrat and Republican elitists have become increasingly more polarized in the three main policy agendas; social, racial, and cultural issues (Layman & Carsey, 2002). While

there are always exceptions to the rule, below are the generally accepted beliefs and differences between the Democratic and Republican political parties and their primary voters who tend to support these party platforms.

The Democratic political party can be understood as a coalition of social groups whose interests focus on the differing forms of government interaction and activity in relation to citizens and the public (Grossmann & Hopkins, 2015). In general, Democrats are less committed to specific policies, and more interested in certain ideologies that will affect particular and individual social groups. The Democratic party is often viewed as the party for the 'common man' and focuses on helping those in the lower and middle classes on a wide variety of social, racial, and cultural issues (Layman & Carsey, 2002). Although these ideologies allow elected Democratic officials to have more pragmatic freedom, it can also cause a rift within the political party with a lack of common philosophy. However, the Democratic party is dedicated to a pluralistic ideology, stating that every citizen, no matter their religious, ethnic, racial, or political affiliation, should be able to thrive in a single society (Freeman, 1986).

The Democrats' platform typically consists of a set of standards and ideals for the how the U.S. government should interact with its patrons. An ideal economy for this political party consists of a high minimum wage and progressive taxation, or higher taxes for the wealthy (Layman & Carsey, 2002). The platform also addresses social issues, such as abortion and gay marriage, should remain legal and up to the individual to decide (Jelen, 2016). When it comes to immigration, the Democrats are much more favorable in allowing an easier path to citizenship given they meet the standards, such as no criminal

history and have lived in the United States for more than five years (Grossmann and &
Hopkins, 2015).

In contrast, the Republican party is viewed as a vehicle for ideological movement,
whose members are unified on the idea of limited government (Layman & Carsey, 2002).
Members of the Republican party remain uncertain about the use of government action
on social issues (Grossmann & Hopkins, 2015), and tend to rely on previous party
member's ideologies to help pave current and future ideas and movements, such as
Reagan's trickle-down economics (Hannaford & Allen, 2015). The Republican party also
evaluates its candidates and policies on their 'ideological congeniality,' or their ability to
appeal to young voters and Republican primary voters (Smith, 2016). Although
Republicans have a strong platform and sense of unity, the Republican Party also has its
challenges (Freeman, 1986). The party has a strict dedication and faithfulness to doctrine,
which sometimes presents issues due to the uncertainty that comes with governing
(Grossmann & Hopkins, 2015) and can ultimately lead to the bending of the party's
platforms and ideologies. A prime example of this shift in Republican party platform was
the formation of the Tea Party and its derivation from the Republican Party. At the core,
members of the Tea Party formed after many believed that the Republican Party was
becoming increasingly less conservative in recent decades (Skocpol & Williamson,
2012). The Tea Party targeted disgruntled white middle-class conservatives and garnered
widespread support and interest, despite their effects within Congress to slow progress, as
Tea Party members refused to vote with either Republicans or Democrats (Bailey,
Mummolo & Noel, 2012).

Republicans have their own ideals on government activity within the daily life of Americans. They strongly believe that wages for workers should be set by the free market and that everyone should be taxed equally regardless of their income (Layman & Carsey, 2002). When it comes to healthcare, most believe that while private companies can offer healthcare and benefits, most Republican voters oppose the idea that healthcare should be required by law, and citizens should not be penalized if they do not have health insurance (Scott, Blendon, & Benson, 2016). When it comes to the topic of immigration, conservatives are against the idea of amnesty for any undocumented citizen within the borders of the United States while also being in favor of funding stronger enforcement at the border (Grossmann and & Hopkins, 2015). With an understanding of the different primary voters' ideological backgrounds associated with Democratic and Republican party platforms, I now turn to each rhetors specific audiences and constraints.

President Obama's audience. President Obama's immediate audience consisted of the most diverse group among the three rhetors, due to his national platform. As President, Obama can reach a wide-scale of those who would be considered the immediate audience. This is done through his weekly White House press conferences and addresses, speeches given at ceremonies and events, as well as the multiple press conferences done outside the White House. Major news network such as *CNN*, *Fox*, and *MSNBC* publish multiple articles weekly on President Obama's discourse on varying topics.

Although his immediate audience remains relatively stable, his created and target audiences change often. The created audience is defined as the role the audience is invited to take on while listening to the rhetorical act (Campbell, Huxman, & Burkholder,

2014). As a rhetor, Obama is actively creating an audience that is focused on the historical events that helped create the United States (Wall Street Journal Staff, 2015). The created audience is invited to view this situation in a manner consistent with the historical traditions of immigration within the United States.

President Obama's target audience is the most consistent of the three rhetors, speaking to the people of the United States and more specifically to the Democratic voters supporting Clinton. The target audience is defined as the ideal audience to which the rhetorical act is aimed (Campbell, Huxman, & Burkholder, 2014). Depending on the specific platform or event, Obama used his discourse about refugees to sway the audience's opinion or strengthen the audience's view of the situation at hand (Beinart, 2015). Although Obama reached a higher number of Democratic citizens due to his political affiliation, as president he had the greatest opportunity to reach a mixed group of U.S. citizens. Even at the end of his presidency, President Obama remained consistent in advocating for the resettlement of at least 10,000 Syrian refugees by 2017 (Koran, 2016).

Hillary Clinton's audience. The immediate audience for Clinton remained consistent and stable through her campaign efforts for the Presidency. As she is the Democratic nominee, her immediate audience mostly consisted of Democratic primary voters. Through her campaigning efforts, press conferences, and speeches, Clinton's immediate audience was mostly citizens that have similar views. However, that immediate audience did have the potential to change due to different circumstances, such as the presidential debates, which were a mix of Democratic, Republican, and independent voters (Benoit, Hansen, & Verser, 2003).

For her created audience, Clinton is attempted to create an audience of sympathetic yet informed members, using loaded language when referring to refugees. Through various efforts, Clinton tried to create a historical frame for Syrian refugees—such as in her presidential campaign in Dallas (Fraser-Chanpong, 2015). Here, Clinton spoke on the importance of immigration throughout U.S. history as well as condemned Republican rhetoric surrounding this topic (Goldin, 2015). Although her discourse of refugees included identifiers such as orphans and victims, she also used the U.S. Constitution to show the American people that their values align with helping those in need regardless of race, nationality, or religion (Kaplan, 2015). Like Obama, Clinton pointed out historical attributes of the United States that reference the importance of helping those in need and working towards immigration laws that will benefit both immigrants and U.S. citizens (Chanpong, 2015).

Although Clinton's target audience was the U.S. voters of the general election, her rhetorical style did change in an effort to direct her discourse towards a specific group of people. While speaking at a campaign rally full of constituents and Democratic voters, she is aware that their values most likely align with hers, so her discourse about refugees is uplifting and positive. At a more neutral and national base, she uses her discourse to create relatability, as well as shaming those who are using the Syrian refugee crisis to instill fear in the American people (Gale, 2004). The news coverage of her discourse was mixed between her sympathy and compassion for refugees and her disdain for the people opposing the resettlement of Syrian refugees (Goldin, 2015; Mohamed, 2016).

Donald Trump's audience. As the only Republican within this study, Trump's immediate audience consisted of Republican voters of the upcoming general election.

Although Trump and Clinton align with different political parties, their immediate audiences were alike in that both are vying for support from the general public of the United States. Therefore, his immediate audience consisted of Republican voters, as he was the Republican nominee for president. Although the presidential debates against Clinton reached a wider audience, his face-to-face interactions tend to be with those who attended his campaigns and rallies.

Trump's created audience was one founded in fear: fear of the unknown, as well as the uncertain potential that any refugee could be a member of ISIS (Engel, 2016). Trump used his discourse to create an audience that is more focused on their own safety and less concerned with the wellbeing of other people and countries (Gale, 2004). With his discourse, Trump created an audience that is fiercely against the resettlement of Syrian refugees based on the potential of a threat (Cadei, 2016).

As for his target audience, Trump used a direct and sometimes aggressive discourse that sometimes hindered his reach to multiple audiences (Beinart, 2016). However, his target audience was notably the U.S. general electorate. Many have noted Trump's discourse as being politically incorrect, which enabled him to say what he wants without concern for consequences (Hanchett, 2016). Although this type of rhetorical style helped him gain support from those who appreciate his directness, it also isolated others who believe this is not the rhetorical style of a future president (Beinart, 2016). The news coverage surrounding Trump was consistently mixed – some praised and appreciated his rhetorical style while others showed concern for his lack of appropriateness (Sheffieldis, 2016).

Subject: Presidential Rhetoric and Immigration and Refugee Rhetoric

As the number of Syrian refugees and refugees worldwide continue to increase rapidly, the rhetoric surrounding this faction of people becomes increasingly important and relevant. Political rhetoric can heavily influence public policy making and public opinion, especially on critical and complex issues such as refugees. While there are numerous components to take into consideration regarding the resettlement of refugees, the cost, control, and complexity of the issue are also of extreme importance (Loescher, 1996).

Presidential rhetoric. It is no surprise that the rhetoric of previous, current, and future presidents can, does, and will shape public policy and opinion. Presidential rhetoric has been studied in various ways and manners by a plethora of different scholars. In a simplistic sense, presidents use their office as a medium to convey their message, both through writing and speeches (Medhurst, 1996), which in turn helps shape public policy and public opinion. An important aspect of presidential rhetoric is the president's character; the president's power relies on both the ability to command as well as the ability to persuade (Edwards, 2006). Aristotle, considered a founder of rhetoric, considered the moral character of the speaker to be one of the most important and effective factors in a person's ability to persuade an audience (Garver, 1994).

Another important aspect of presidential rhetoric is the idea and use of the "bully pulpit." The bully pulpit is defined as a public office or authorial position that provides a valuable opportunity to speak out on any issue (Edwards, 2006). It was President Roosevelt who unknowingly created the concept of the bully pulpit by allowing the

American press into the White House during his presidency (Kuehl, 2012). This gave the American citizens something they had not had before; a direct line to the most powerful political leader in the world. However, the bully pulpit has a multitude of uses within presidential rhetoric (Edwards, 2006).

While previous research has indicated that the bully pulpit can affect public opinion and policymaking, others have indicated that presidential rhetoric also uses the bully pulpit to create particular roles for citizens, enable citizens to become agents of change and to alter the direction and rhetoric surrounding specific policies (Kuehl, 2012). While there is a complex relationship between the president, the public, and the power of persuasion, the president uses the bully pulpit to influence the public's opinion regarding themselves, their success while in office, and policy making (Edwards, 2006). As the president is the only elected official whose constituency is the entire nation, they must appeal to a diverse audience of citizens and voters to obtain and retain the office (Vought, 2004).

The president is also enabled to shape public opinion and policy on immigration in two unique ways. The first is the use of the bully pulpit to help shape, define, and communicate the nature and responsibilities of being an American citizen; the second is by creating laws and policies on immigration (Vought, 2004). As the U.S. Presidency is the only office that an immigrant cannot hold, the president is in a particularly difficult situation to appeal to immigrants and garner their support while simultaneously appeasing the citizens of the U.S. and administrating laws on immigration (Layman & Green, 2006).

All presidents have used their platform at a national level to invoke change. Due to their position, presidents can uniquely and actively promote communication and conversation directly with the public – attempting to cultivate support for their specific policies and initiatives (Hoffman, 2015). Presidents actively use specific language to create frames surrounding the various aspects of U.S culture in an attempt to persuade the public's opinion (Conger, 1991). This study will analyze Obama, Clinton, and Trump's varied rhetorical styles, their ability to persuade an audience by use of *ethos*, and the challenges they have and will face in the months to come, especially surrounding the Syrian refugee crisis.

Political discourse about immigrants and refugees. Political discourse about refugees is often negative, whether intentional or otherwise. Van Dijk (1997) studied the differing ways that politicians' discourse about race and ethnic relations, immigrants, refugees, and other minorities often presented these groups in a negative, almost criminal manner. Immigrants are often categorized through criminal activity as posing a threat to security (DeChaine, 2012). Scholars have also identified a link between immigration rhetoric and the representations of human and societal issues, such as crime and war (Cisneros, 2008). Refugees and immigrants alike are commonly presented to the public as a problem in need of a solution (McKinnon, 2008), rather than people with rights (Cisneros, 2008). This research, although not solely on political discourse of refugees, found that politicians tend to speak about refugees, immigrants, and minorities in a negative way.

In my study, I researched presidential and presidential candidates' discourse about refugees as it is a relatively understudied area within rhetorical studies and the larger

discipline of communication studies. Although there are various studies within rhetoric that research immigration (Cisneros, 2008; DeChaine, 2012), there is less scholarship about how public discourse frames refugees. This study will seek to enhance and explore the connections across presidential rhetoric, immigration rhetoric, and public policy as well as expand the literature on rhetoric about refugees.

Previous rhetoric has participated in the ideology of elite forms of subtle racism, where immigrants, refugees, and migrants are presented as problematic and threatening (Vought, 2004). Often, refugees, immigrants and minorities are often pointed to as societal problems that need fixing (Cisneros, 2008; McKinnon, 2008). An especially interesting finding in this research expressed the relationship between politicians and the use of "Negative Other" presentation (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 37). The negative-other presentation equated to using words such as 'threatening' and 'illegal' commonly when describing both immigrants and refugees.

As media and rhetoric continue to portray Islam and Muslims in a negative light, Syrian refugees who are majority Muslim continue to struggle with various challenges while attempting to relocate (Byman, 2015). A study conducted in Britain searched "how the notion of fear and threat has influenced and shaped British political discourse about Muslims and Islam" (Allen, 2010, p. 221). While not specifically related to politicians in the United States, this study showed that the U.S is not the only nation fighting the 'fear' of Islam and Muslims. This study found that the British National Party has not only maintained a steady stream of supporters but also actually gained more electoral success after using anti-Muslim and Islamic language and campaigns. Not only did the political

discourse use negative language about Islam and Muslims, but it increased this nationalist party's popularity and support on a national scale (Allen, 2010).

Although this study centered around the United Kingdom, this ideology of fear of Islam and Muslims has been widespread for years. Both France and Germany have also struggled with this issue, stating that the public has become progressively more apprehensive about allowing the "Muslim other" into their country (Boukhars, 2009). While the German and French public has noted their apprehension comes from a fear of losing their sense of national identity and culture, many believe the resistance to Muslim immigrants and refugees comes from an innate fear of Islam (Tibi, 2010). Throughout the years, Islam has become increasingly seen as posing a direct threat to Western liberal democracies, causing hesitation to allow Muslim refugees and immigrants into a wide variety of countries (DeSilver, 2015b).

With the current refugee crisis, the United States and other countries remain uncertain regarding an efficient public policy to aid refugees while ensuring the safety of their citizens. World leaders have been turning to various government official's rhetoric from countries that have had an influx of refugees to monitor the political, social, and economic effects of bringing in refugees (İçduygu & Keyman, 2000). For example, since the Syrian refugee crisis has begun, Turkey has spent more than $4 billion collectively to provide aid, shelter, and safety to the more than one million refugees that have entered Turkey (Cagaptay & Menekse, 2014). This rhetoric about refugees has an impact on public opinion and policy-making concerning the future resettlement of refugees in the United States.

On top of a steep financial responsibility for admitting refugees into the United States, the lack of control and complexity of the Syrian refugee crisis continues to create hesitation for U.S. citizens and their leaders concerning the resettlement of refugees (DeSilver, 2015b). Regarding control, there are various aspects that are left uncertain with refugees entering the United States. Many are concerned about the lack of vaccinations foreigners may have had, which could create a lack of control in a medical sense (Cookson et al., 2015). Many U.S. citizens are also weary of refugees' ability to be productive members of society, as well as ensuring they are not a threat to the public (Berman, 2016), even given the United States' vetting process for refugees that can be seen in Figure 1 below.
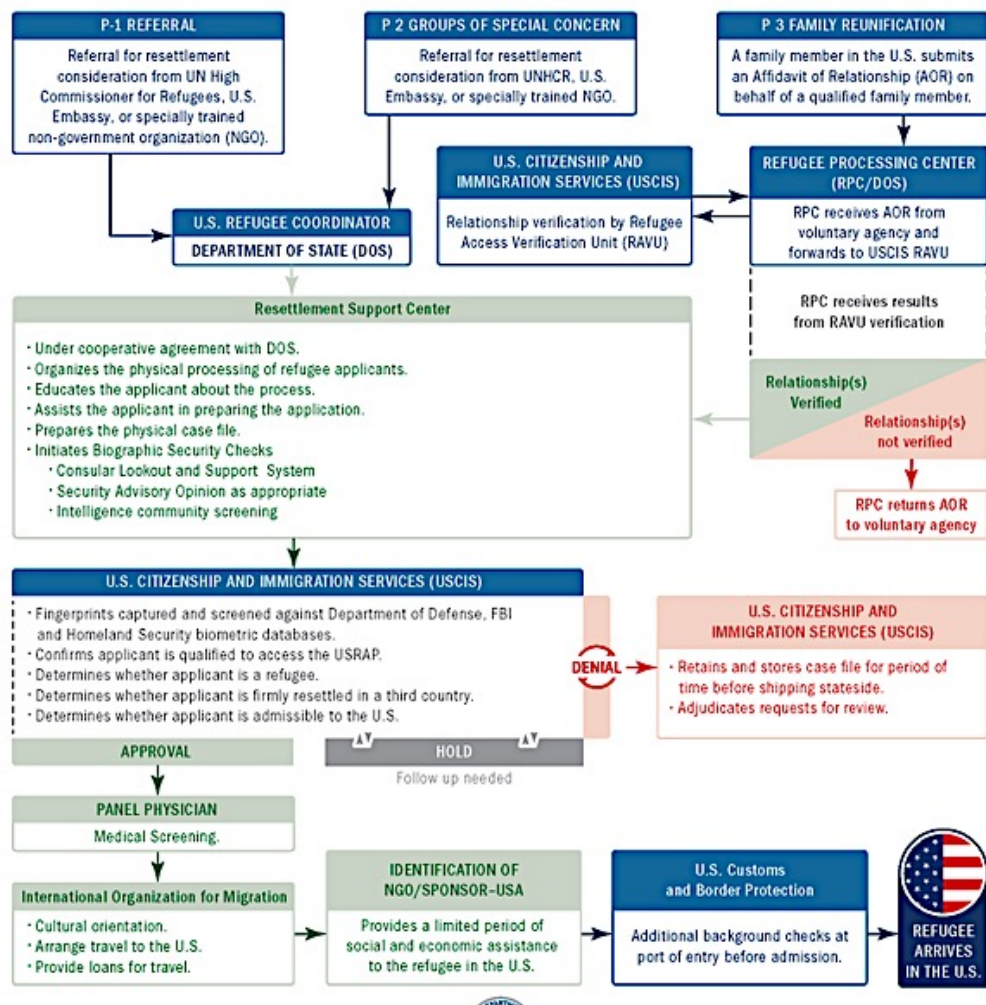
Figure 1: Vetting process for any refugee wishing to relocate to the United States.

Adapted from U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015, retrieved from

https://twitter.com/dhsgov/status/669285655420100608. Copyright by U.S. 2015

Department of Homeland Security.

In sum, previous research has found that political discourse about refugees, Islam,

and Muslims is consistently negative. This is an important finding to note, as the problem

of Islamophobia is widespread across the United States as well as the world, particularly

after the onset of numerous terrorist attacks by those claiming to follow Islam

(Bartholomew, 2016). Additionally, these studies demonstrate the subtle use of racism by

politicians, whether intentional or otherwise, surrounding refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants (Van Dijk 1997; McKinnon, 2008). This study seeks to expand the research on immigration, refugees, and asylum seekers into the realm of presidential and presidential candidates' rhetoric about the Syrian refugee crisis. Although rhetorical scholars have now begun to research immigration and public discourse about immigration reform (Cisneros, 2008; DeChaine, 2009; Brader, Valentino & Suhay, 2009), few scholars have analyzed public discourse about refugees, specifically. Therefore, this study will bring these areas of research together, to explore how presidential and presidential candidates' rhetoric about refugees, and specifically, the Syrian refugee crisis, have framed public discourse and the possibilities for public policy.

CHAPTER THREE:

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF FRAMING, IDEOLOGICAL CRITICISM, AND

METAPHORIC CRITICISM

The 'art of persuasion' is a common phrase when referencing rhetoric (Garver, 1994). However, new methods, lenses, and perspectives continue to blossom within rhetoric, enabling authors to use rhetorical analysis to understand a wide variety of public discourses. Although originally designed to analyze the symbolism within discourse such as speeches and texts, the use of rhetoric has evolved to include a wide variety of discourses, including political satire, comedic routines, TV shows, and movies (Brock & Scott, 1989). As the ideology and application of rhetoric has evolved, so have the various definitions, such as presidential rhetoric – defined as the rhetoric that creates political reality (Zarefsky, 2004).

I will use a rhetorical approach to analyze the political discourse of President Barack Obama and 2016 Presidential nominees Hillary Clinton (D) and Donald Trump (R). After thorough consideration of different research methods and approaches, I decided upon rhetorical analysis for multiple reasons. First, after researching the specific politicians' discourse on this topic, I realized that the media's construal of their discourse versus the actual text-based discourse was often at odds. Therefore, I decided upon analyzing their discourse from various events as texts, rather than the media's portrayal of the discourse. Rhetorical research is based on the assumption that reality is constructed through history and is commonly linked to power (McKerrow, 1989). As all the rhetors within this study are well-known and powerful players in the political realm, their link to power is exponential. Obama, Clinton, and Trump's discourse and framing of Syrian

refugees is diverse and sets different tones and expectations of how to aid refugees in the public conversation about this issue.

To conduct a rhetorical analysis of Obama, Clinton and Trump's discourses on this issue, this study will use the theoretical perspective of framing, as well as combine two different types of rhetorical criticism: ideological and metaphoric. Framing theory will be used to analyze the political discourse surrounding Syrian refugees by each rhetor. First, I provide a brief explanation of agenda-setting theory and how framing analysis relates back to this theory. Next, I explain and provide the background for framing analysis, and the way it has been applied in past rhetorical studies. Then, I justify my critical perspectives for rhetorical analysis, using ideological and metaphorical rhetorical criticism and how language strengthens frames.

Agenda-Setting and Framing Theory

Framing theory was originally derived from agenda-setting theory; while both theories have a similar concept, they vary in specificities (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). In general terms, agenda-setting theory is what the media talks about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) and framing theory is how that topic is talked about more generally (Goffman, 1974). I will use framing analysis within the context of political discourse and the different ways politicians are using language to frame the topic of Syrian refugees. As Obama, Clinton, and Trump all have vast followings and public support, the ways in which they are using their discourses to frame refugees has become increasingly important in framing public discourse about this issue.

The definition of agenda-setting theory states that news and media have the ability to influence the public's opinion on what topics are important or salient (Walgrave &

Van Aelst, 2006). McCombs and Shaw (1972) formally developed this theory in their study about the 1968 American presidential election. In this study, McCombs and Shaw found a strong link between what 100 residents of Chapel Hill, NC thought were important about the upcoming election when compared to what both the local and national news outlets were reporting. After the study, had concluded, McCombs and Shaw (1972) reported that mass media can effectively influence the public into viewing certain topics as more important than other topics.

Framing theory, as mentioned earlier, is closely related to agenda-setting theory. The definition of framing theory goes a step further than the agenda-setting theory and suggests that how something is presented to the public will affect the way the information is internalized and processed by that individual (Goffman, 1986). Goffman (1986) stated that there are two main aspects of this theory, the idea of the 'frame' and the 'how' (p. 3). The idea of the 'frame' is essential as it shows how people or media can differently frame the same issues or topics (Hertog & McLeod, 2008). The 'how' is the other vital aspect – as it is dedicated to the idea that it is not necessarily what the story is about, but how the story is told (Chong & Druckman, 2007; De Vreese, 2005).

Framing theory was developed to analyze how people or the public understand situations, activities, or ideologies (Goffman, 1974). Although Goffman originally developed framing theory, other theorists have advanced this theory. One important theorist is Scheufele (1999), who first studied framing and its relation to media effects. Schuefele used framing theory to look at two different main aspects; the type of frame researched, either media or audience frames, and the ways in which those frames are

operationalized. Simply put, this looks at who is using the language to build a frame and how are they using that frame to create imagery and meaning.

Another important aspect of the framing theory are the various ways a topic can be framed: building or setting (Vreese & Lecheler, 2016). Frame-building refers to the outside factors that influence the quality of the frames, and frame-setting is the interactions between media, frames, and individuals' previous knowledge (Borah, 2011). Since political language is typically loaded with descriptive words and imagery, this theory can easily be applied to political discourse. Although framing theory was traditionally developed within the context of media and media representations, I will use framing theory to rhetorically analyze specific political discourse pertaining to refugees. This approach is similar to the method used by other rhetorical scholars (Cisneros, 2008; Kuehl, 2012; DeChaine, 2009).

This theoretical perspective will help exhibit the link between power and authority to language (Kuehl, 2012), and especially the use of certain phrases and concepts that go unquestioned in society and often reinforce dominant ideologies. Also, I will also look at the use of commonly understood language in ways that the audience can attach new meaning (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010), and the use of metaphors within this particular political discourse that attempt to use language in a comparative manner when referencing Syrian refugees. In some cases, this discourse is heavy with symbolism and descriptive language, and in some cases, it includes stigmatizing communication and comparisons. Framing theory will help exemplify how politicians use their discourse in various ways: to persuade, define, and construct the audience's views on the issue of the Syrian refugee crisis (De Vreese, 2005). Although I will not research the effects of these

frames on the audience, I will analyze how the language used by Obama, Clinton, and Trump has rhetorical consequences regarding public discourse about this issue, as well as how it might influence public policy.

Ideological Criticism

Ideological criticism has three main pillars: language is ideological and conveys power, symbolism is rooted in political consciousness, and ideographs heavily influence the public's ideas of how politics/society functions (McGee, 1980). Ideology is defined as the body of doctrine, myth, or belief that guides an individual, social movement, institution, class, or large group, while ideograph is defined as an abstract concept to develop support for political positions (Eagleton, 2006). Many rhetorical scholars have used ideological criticism to identify the use of ideographs within political rhetoric due to their compatibility and relevance within political discourse (Ball, Dagger, & O'Neill, 2015).

One of the biggest contributions of ideological criticism is the ability to unpack, uncover, or thoroughly explain large meta-narratives that are found within specific cultural and societal contexts (Lucaites & Condit, 1999). The phrase <American Dream> is an ideology that many are familiar with. This two-word phrase represents multiple cultural and social definitions for U.S. citizens as well as has rhetorical consequences on a global scale. The <American Dream> as an ideograph has lured people from all over the world into the United States with the ideology that because of the freedom that comes with living in the United States, anything and everything is possible, even to those who are in terrible conditions and against impossible odds (Hochschild, 1996).

Essentially, ideological criticism focuses on analyzing rhetorical aspects that express the dominant ideology, while simultaneously silencing opposing ideologies (Lucaites & Condit, 1999). Ideological criticism is often used within political discourse to identify the greater meaning and symbolism of the artifact, often beyond the inherent or obvious meaning of the word or language (Wander, 1983). Ideographs link the importance among communication, power, and symbolism, as many phrases have varying definitions depending on cultural and social structure (Lucaites & Condit, 1999). Ideology and ideographs are often researched within political discourse as many use ideology and ideographs as instruments to communicate "political consciousness" (Burgchardt, 1995, p. 497).

Social, political, and cultural values, along with ideologies, would not exist without the role of rhetoric in addressing these topics (Berlin, 1988). As noted above, political rhetoric shapes political reality (Zarefsky, 2004). As ideologies about social, political, and cultural values are deciphered and created within public discourse, ideological criticism is an important lens to critically examine political and presidential rhetoric. Ideologies are a determining factor in mass belief and therefore restrict the free emergence of diverse public and political opinions (McGee, 1980). As both ideographs and metaphor are often used within political discourse, using this lens to analyze the discourse about Syrian refugees is fitting and relevant.

The use of ideographs is a compelling choice within political discourse to affect and engage the audience (Musolff, 2004). The use of powerful and symbolic language in relation to the audience is a unique way to enhance and encourage social change (Lucaites & Condit, 1999). Specifically, for my research, the use of ideographs

encourages the audience to look beyond the surface of the language used and dive into deeper meanings and feelings associated with the ideograph of <refugee>. Ideological criticism encourages the audience to look at the potential meanings and definitions of specific words used in varying contexts. In this study, the lens of ideological criticism allows for the unpacking and explanation of presidential and presidential candidates' discourse about refugees considering larger historical contexts, power, and cultural values associated with the United States. I will research the ideograph of <refugee> within U.S. culture, but the ideograph itself transcends national and cultural boundaries, especially when applied to this issue of the Syrian refugee crisis since refugees are individuals who are located beyond confined national or cultural boundaries.

Metaphoric Criticism

Metaphoric criticism analyzes texts by finding and evaluating metaphors within the discourse to understand the ways in which the author (or rhetor in this case) is using these metaphors to appeal to their audiences (Foss, 1989). The term 'metaphor' can be defined as "an implied comparison between two things of unlike nature" (Leathers, 1969 p. 48). In a general sense, metaphoric criticism aims to discover the use of reoccurring metaphors and metaphoric language that function as an art of persuasion (Booth, 1978). The uses of metaphoric criticism largely reside within political discourse, as well as in presidential addresses to the public. Many addresses and speeches given by U.S. Presidents have been analyzed by metaphoric criticism – for example, George W. Bush's usage of the word "war" in the post 9/11 era (Lakoff & Frisch, 2006). When metaphors representing the same ideologies and comparisons are used consistently, they can

function in a rhetorical sense and create a powerful link between two seemingly dissimilar concepts or ideas (Musloff, 2004).

Metaphors are used on a daily basis for abstract concepts such as time, states, change, causation, and purpose (Favell, 2001). Therefore, metaphors become a staple in normal, everyday language and semantics (Lakoff, 1993). Metaphors are often used to describe complex issues with simple language to create understanding (Lakoff, 1993). As the Syrian refugee crisis is an extremely complicated issue with various moving parts, many politicians use metaphors to make the issue more concrete for their audiences. Obama, Clinton, and Trump have all used various metaphors within their discourse about Syrian refugees to highlight their specific ideologies on the issue. As such, metaphoric criticism was selected to enable an in-depth look into the specific language being used to frame Syrian refugees, especially since metaphor is an important resource not only to political discourse, but especially presidential rhetoric (Butterworth, 2005).

Although rhetorical criticism requires researchers to do an in-depth analysis of texts, metaphoric criticism allows for an even more in-depth analysis of the precise and calculated language used by the rhetor. Focusing specifically on metaphors within a text or speech can help produce a fresh and useful perspective (Osborn, 1967; Lucaites & Condit, 1999). With metaphoric criticism, a researcher can observe different findings compared to other criticisms, such as word patterns of imagery or trace the evolutionary pattern of an image (Osborn, 1967). This use of criticism can also help yield different questions a study could attempt to answer, such as whether the quantity of imagery varies between topics, such as crisis or culture (Keysar, Shen, Glucksberg & Horton, 2000). As

politicians often use metaphors to create imagery within their rhetoric, this critical lens is especially important to recognize and analyze.

Metaphoric criticism is used in a wide variety of studies to exemplify the link between language and meaning. Gronnvoll and Landau (2010) analyzed metaphors used by a lay audience when talking about the role of genetics and contracting and preventing diseases. They found three metaphoric themes: genes or disease as a problem, genes as a fire or a bomb, and genes in relation to gambling (Gronnvoll & Landau, 2010). Audiences, as well as rhetors or speakers, rely on metaphors to make challenging topics, such as genes and health issues, more concrete and understandable (Glucksberg, 2001).

Politicians often use metaphors while speaking of complex issues. In their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stated, "metaphors play a central role in the construction of social and political reality" (p. 159). Although Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work on metaphors within rhetoric was decades ago, their findings and research are still relevant. Politicians regularly use metaphors within their rhetoric and discourse to simplify complex issues, create imagery, and frame topics with specific language. For example, a common metaphor within politics is the use of the word 'family.' Many politicians use the word family in a metaphoric state when attempting to create unison or togetherness (Lakoff, 2010). "A community is a family" is the specific metaphor found in politicians' language within speeches and texts (Lakoff, 1997).

As the Syrian refugee crisis continues to grow and worsen, the discourse and specific language strategies, such as metaphors, about this topic will become more important to both politicians and citizens alike. Although Obama and Clinton have similar views about Syrian refugees, their discourse highlights the various ways they use

language when speaking to their various audiences. In contrast, Trump uses a completely different set of metaphors to frame the refugees for his respective audiences. As such, metaphoric criticism is one critical lens within this study that enables an in-depth analysis of texts and language surrounding Syrian refugees and the growing crisis, from multiple presidential and presidential candidates' perspectives.

Justification for Choice of Rhetorical Acts

For this study, I will analyze the rhetoric of Obama, Clinton, and Trump within 16 different texts. Although these texts will not include entire speeches (with the one exception being Obama's 2015 Thanksgiving Day speech), they all use language and discourse in different ways to describe and explain the issue of Syrian refugees. Most the texts will be fragments of a larger text to create a cohesive text surrounding the topic of Syrian refugees. While not a traditional method of rhetorical criticism, if the texts are not taken out of context and the researcher has read historical documents regarding the issue, the texts can be put together in a cohesive manner (McKerrow, 1989). In fact, all rhetorical "texts" or artifacts are, to a certain extent, fragments of a larger public discourse about a specific social, political, or economic issue, in which the rhetorical critic must assemble these textual fragments to be able to analyze the larger public discourse (McKerrow, 1989). Although the topic of Syrian refugees is widespread and common within political discourse, few texts associated with these three rhetors dedicated their entirety to the topic; therefore, I compiled a variety of texts to analyze for this study in assembling fragments of presidential and presidential candidates' rhetoric to explore the consequences of public discourse and public policy about the Syrian refugee crisis.

I decided to collect fragments of political rhetoric about the Syrian refugee crisis from these rhetors during the timeframe of November to December, 2015 for multiple reasons. After the November 13, 2015, Paris terrorist attacks, public discourse about the Syrian refugees spiked. Some media outlets speculated the involvement of some Syrian refugees in the attacks (Tharoor, 2015); people became weary of the idea of allowing refugees into their country and communities (Amanpour & Patterson, 2015). Political discourse about refugees became daily news, and many began to consider the serious and potentially negative effects of refugees entering their countries and homes. This timeframe was also chosen as the presidential debates for both the Republicans and Democrats were conducted in November and December 2015, in which Syrian refugees and international and foreign relations became key topics for both political parties. Although the discourse on this topic continues to change and is still extremely relevant, this timeframe was deemed a critical period for refugees and the public's building opinion of and discourse about them.

For a text to be involved in my research, there were various requirements that needed to be met. First and foremost, I required the text to be directly related to the topic of Syrian refugees, rather than refugees in general, or immigrants. I searched each politician's name along with phrases such as "Syrian refugee speech," "Syrian refugee crisis," and "Syrian refugees" via Google, Google Scholar, and Lexis Nexis. While this method returned a wide selection of potential speeches, interviews, and addresses that were in some way related or involved with the Syrian refugee crisis, I was very particular in the texts I selected for the study, as I wanted to analyze texts that created a frame on refugees.

I started with nearly 50 potential texts and narrowed it to 16 based on the language used in each of the texts to be analyzed. I searched for language that not only had ideographs and metaphors but accurately described the rhetors perspectives and opinions on the topic of Syrian refugees. I also used various resources to find the text-based discourse of the fragments to be able to analyze the rhetors direct language and avoid the media's interaction or construal of the discourse. The final requirement for the text used within my research was within the aforementioned timeline. Since it was difficult to find a large amount of discourse on this topic in a single speech or interview by each rhetor, I chose to analyze multiple texts within the set timeframe.

The texts that were used within my research will only include the excerpts that are related to Syrian refugees and the Syrian refugee crisis. Therefore, I did not use the entirety of the texts, but rather the specific segments that include discourse on or around this topic. Since I will be using texts from within a certain timeframe, there may be a different amount of texts per rhetor. However, using texts from within a set time frame will ensure adequate representation on this topic from each politician. I specifically analyzed the sentences within the discourse that relate back to Syrian refugees, as well as the context in which they are being used or related to.

As briefly noted in Chapter 1, I chose these three politicians for reasons of diversity, reputation, and importance. Although two of the rhetors have similar views on this topic, I chose Obama not only because he is the current president, but also because he could be considered the 'vehicle' towards potential change and transformation in terms of public policy, especially in his role as the current U.S. President. Although nearing the end of his second four-year term, Obama remained vocal about how the U.S. should

handle the Syrian refugee crisis. Next, I chose Clinton for multiple reasons, but largely for gender diversity, as the world of politics is mainly male-dominated (Campbell, 1998). As a seasoned politician, former First Lady, Senator, Secretary of State, and now the Democratic nominee for president, Clinton has a diverse and impressive political résumé. Lastly, I chose Donald Trump for a multitude of reasons, with the first being he is the 2016 Republican presidential nominee. Trump brings an opposing set of ideologies and opinions regarding Syrian refugees. Another reason to include Trump within this study is that his rhetoric reflects a common and widespread mentality about Syrian refugees; public opinion indicates a fear of letting any of them into the United States (DeSilver, 2015b). Although Trump has a relatively limited political résumé and background, he has garnered a large following through his campaigning efforts and combative discourse tactics (Roberts, 2015). Unlike the other two rhetors in this research, Trump exhibits an aggressive rhetorical style and is known for using extreme language to convey his messages and opinions.

The texts I chose to use within this study helped represent each politician's current frame and opinion on the Syrian refugee crisis, as well as the ways in which the U.S. should provide aid. I will use this critical analysis to enlighten people on the use and influence of presidential candidates' rhetoric. Specifically, I will analyze how and why these rhetors' use of language is related to issues of power, especially using rhetorical strategies such as metaphor, ideograph, and ideology. This presidential and presidential candidates' rhetoric can shape the public's views and opinions, and ultimately, influence U.S. public policy on this issue of the Syrian refugee crisis. With an analysis of the political discourse of Syrian refugees, I seek to provide insight into the different ways

that this specific group of people is being framed within the United States, and the implications of that frame for presidential rhetoric, immigration, and refugee rhetoric, and public policy about this issue in the larger discipline of communication studies.

Limitations

As with any research, limitations exist. For my research, there are limitations on the vast amount of discourse to analyze, as well as in my choice to limit the number of politicians' discourse through my selection of texts. Although this issue was and continues to be a topic of concern, there is limited academic writing on the specific issue of Syrian refugees, due to its current and ever-evolving current historical context. While politicians commonly comment on this issue, there have been few designated speeches or interviews that revolve solely around this topic, which is why multiple texts will be used for analysis. It is also important to note that the selected texts are fragments of potentially larger texts. Due to the time and space constraints and to ensure a well-rounded representation of the rhetors discourse about Syrian refugees, fragments of texts were used within this study.

Another limitation was narrowing down the discourse surrounding this topic to three main rhetors. Although Obama, Trump, and Clinton are extremely relevant in terms of political discourse, there are various other politicians who have large followings and different views on this topic, which I could have studied for this analysis. However, due to the scope of the study and my research questions, I chose to focus on presidential rhetoric and presidential candidates' rhetoric about this issue.

While there are a plethora of methods and perspectives I could have used within this context, I decided upon framing analysis along with ideological and metaphoric

criticism for multiple reasons. Their cohesiveness, when used together, will enable an in-depth analysis of the chosen texts, especially due to the widespread use of these perspectives and lenses within political discourse. Charteris-Black (2005) wrote: "In political contexts metaphor can be, and often is, used for ideological purposes because it activates unconscious emotional associations and thereby contributes to myth creation: politicians use metaphor to tell the right story" (p. 31). I wanted to ensure my method of analysis and theoretical perspectives could seamlessly intertwine to enable an in-depth and robust rhetorical analysis. In the next chapter, I present the rhetorical analysis and specific ideologies, ideographs, and metaphors that Obama, Clinton, and Trump use to frame their political discourses about Syrian refugees.

CHAPTER FOUR:

RHETORICAL ANALYSIS; APPLYING FRAMING THEORY AND

IDEOLOGICAL AND METAPHORICAL CRITICISM TO POLITICAL

DISCOURSE ABOUT SYRIAN REFUGEES

Framing theory, along with ideological and metaphorical criticism, are commonly used within the communication discipline to analyze political discourse. Scholars are often interested in the approach in which politicians use specific language to frame issues and topics, as well as the ways that ideographs and metaphors are used to persuade and influence public opinion and policymaking (Asen, 2010b; Ball, Dagger & O'Neill, 2015; Musloff, 2004; Vreese & Lecheler, 2016). In this chapter, I apply framing theory as well as these two critical perspectives to analyze President Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton and President Donald Trump's political discourse about Syrian refugees. I analyze each politician's unique discourse framing Syrian refugees, identify the use of ideographs and metaphors, as well as illustrate the benefits and limitations of these rhetorical choices.

Identifying the differences between ideographs and metaphors is an important aspect before reading the analysis. An ideograph is defined as an abstract concept to develop support for political positions (Eagleton, 2006) and has varying definitions depending on cultural and social structures (Lucaites & Condit, 1999). A key aspect of an ideograph is that it is connected to and expresses a larger ideology within society (Lucaites & Condit, 1999). In the simplest form, a metaphor can be defined as a comparison between two unlike or dissimilar concepts or ideas (Leathers, 1969). Further, metaphors are often used to describe complex issues with simple language to create understanding (Lakoff, 1993). While ideographs and metaphors are similar, the variances

between these concepts are important to note as they yielded different results within the analysis.

It is important to note the use of a central ideograph within this study used by President Obama, Hillary Clinton, and President Trump. While all three rhetors used the term <refugee> as an ideograph, it was used in differing ways by each rhetor in constructing a definition for the term and in developing support for a specific political position and the larger ideology connected to the ideograph. Both Obama and Clinton used the term to create an audience sympathetic to the refugees' cause that would hopefully encourage the public to welcome them into the United States. Trump used the term to create an audience founded in fear, by reiterating and emphasizing the potential threats that Syrian refugees may bring to the country and citizens. While the term <refugee> was the central ideograph for Obama, Clinton, and Trump, all supported said ideograph with different framing metaphors and other ideographs. Obama used <American values,> Clinton emphasized the crisis from a <human rights> perspective and redefined the <American dream,> while Trump used rhetoric consistent with equating <refugee> to <terrorist> as well as using other gendered and religious terms that focused on the identity of Syrian refugees.

President Barack Obama

Throughout Obama's two terms as president, he remained steady in advocating for immigrants and refugees, consistently identifying Syrian refugees in a positive manner in his speeches and addresses. As a Democratic president, Obama used the political platform of his party to help guide his policymaking, such as the request to double the amount of Syrian refugees the United States vowed to help relocate after the

eruption of terrorism in Syria and allowing illegal immigrants citizenship, given they

meet specific requirements (Toosi, 2016). He advocated for the relocation of Syrian

refugees into the U.S. with open arms, referencing the inflow of immigrants that initially

helped create America, as well as their positive impacts throughout history (Wall Street

Journal Staff, 2015).

However, Obama's rhetoric about Syrian refugees is unique in that he emphasized

<American values> as a main ideology, which differed from his previous rhetoric of

immigrants and refugees rooted in the concept of the <American dream> (Beinart, 2015;

Harris, Moffit, & Squires, 2010). Obama's rhetorical style and discourse about Syrian

refugees reflected these beliefs, which will be highlighted here from seven different

speeches, addresses and statements between November to December of 2015. Here, I

analyze the various discourse tactics used by Obama to frame Syrian refugees, as well as

the common themes and patterns within that discourse that are created by using

ideographs and metaphors.

Framing. President Obama's overarching frame about Syrian refugees maintained

an uplifting tone. His discourse reflected multiple themes that highlighted the positive

contributions of refugees within America's past and the potential for the future. Within

the texts analyzed for this study, Obama framed Syrian refugees in multiple ways:

through creating relatable identities, reiterating and re-defining American values, using

historical aspects and events to advocate for refugees, and reassuring the American

people that the vetting process for refugees was secure and ensured the safety of the

country. The analysis of Obama's frame of Syrian refugees' remains consistent within

these four themes.

Creating relatable identities. One of the strongest and most consistent themes within Obama's discourse about Syrian refugees is his use of language to create relatability. He repeatedly referenced Syrian refugees with identities to which the American public could relate. He stresses the similarities between the American public and refugees by highlighting shared identities. Obama (2015b) stated: "They are parents, they are children, they are orphans" and "They [Republicans] are scared of widows and orphans…" (Roberts & McCarthy, 2015, p. 1). Here, Obama used familial identities to create a relatability to the American public. This language allows the public to view Syrian refugees in a different way than the media's representation, reminding the audience that regardless of their religion, ethnicity, or country of origin, these refugees could be their family members. With this discourse, he aims to remind the American people of refugees' humanity and relational status as siblings, parents, or grandparents. Obama (2015d) stated: "We see our own American stories – our parents, our grandparents, our aunts, our uncles, our cousins…" He created empathy by reminding the world that these people are all family to someone and have most likely lost family members from the violence in Syria. Obama used these terms to highlight the similarities between Syrian refugees and the American public and to reiterate that while they may look different or speak a different language, they are all family to someone. This framing tactic allows the public to view refugees as more than just a societal problem in need of a solution and in more of a humanizing manner.

Another rhetorical choice Obama used was highlighting that Syrian refugees are victims of and attempting to escape the same terrorists and terrorism that the rest of the world fears. Obama (2015b) stated: "[Refugees are] … themselves victims of terrorism"

and, "…we [should] not close our hearts to these victims of such violence." Here, Obama reiterates that Syrian refugees are being forced to relocate due to war and violence from terrorists. He used this language to emphasize to the public that while our fears of terrorism are rational, it is important to recognize that the rest of the world has similar fears and that some parts of the world are directly suffering from the violence and brutality of terrorism daily. Framing Syrian refugees as victims of terrorism is another way to create empathy and relatability.

American values. Another framing technique Obama used was to reiterate our unique values as a country; to remain a moral leader within the international community. Obama stated: "…but they are scared of widows and orphans coming into the United States of America as part of our tradition of compassion" (Roberts & McCarthy, 2015). Obama (2015a) noted: "On this uniquely American holiday, we also remember that so much of our greatness comes from our generosity." Within these texts, he emphasizes America's dedication to helping those in need, especially through compassion and generosity, as a traditional American value. By framing our country's value system as a uniquely American trait, he hopes to open the publics' eyes to these aspects, as well as the valuable impacts immigrants and refugees have had in building this nation. Obama (2015c) stated: "The fact is that America has always been open to allowing people from war-torn countries." One of the key aspects of this speech is relating America's greatness to our country's past generosity, such as allowing refugees and immigrants into our country to have better and safer futures. He highlights compassion as a tradition of America; as a nation, we are willing to help those in need to the best of our abilities. He also often used this term "war-torn" throughout these texts (Beinart, 2015; Obama,

2015c; Roberts & McCarthy, 2015) to remind his audience that Syrian refugees are relocating out of necessity and not free will. By using historical events, Obama is attempting to use his discourse to emphasize our tradition of helping those in need and the greatness that has developed from those choices centuries ago, a prime example being WWII.

However, this also unintentionally creates the ideology that the U.S. and the American people are the necessary saviors of the world. Identified as the "white savior complex," this concept has been linked to condescending sympathy, in that white, western people feel as though they need to 'save' others (Denzin, 2014). Although the intentions are positive, scholars have studied this complex regarding serving a self-perpetuating and self-serving manner. This issue will be analyzed in more depth as an implication in Chapter Five.

Historical aspects and events. Another framing technique used by Obama is using language to reference historical events from America's past that involve refugees. Obama dedicated his entire 2015 Thanksgiving Day speech to the issue of Syrian refugees. As this speech is multiple pages long, I highlighted key sentences from the speech:

> In 1620 a small band of Pilgrims came to this continent, refugees who had fled persecution and violence in their native land. Nearly 400 years later, we remember their part in the American story -- and we honor the men and women who helped them in their time of need. (Obama, 2015a)

Here, Obama frames Syrian refugees to the likeness of the pilgrims that originally settled in America. He emphasizes that these pilgrims were fleeing persecution and violence,

much like the Syrian refugees today. He equates the creation of America to the influx of pilgrims in the 1600s to allow the American people to recognize the importance and valuable role refugees and immigrants have played in America's history. He continues along this theme by stating, "Nearly four centuries after the Mayflower set sail, the world is still full of pilgrims -- men and women who want nothing more than the chance for a safer, better future for themselves and their families" (Obama, 2015a). He used this aspect to reiterate that the world is still full of pilgrims 300+ years later and that these men and women looking to relocate to the U.S. are simply looking for a better future.

In addition to referencing the pilgrims as the creators of America, he also notes the importance of equality, specifically stating that America is a country historically founded on the belief that everyone is created equally and should be treated so. Obama (2015a) stated: "Of course, every American can be thankful for the chance to live in a country founded on the belief that all of us are created equal." Obama does this to remind citizens that while America has evolved and progressed since the 1620s and its eventual founding in 1776, we must rely on the founding beliefs of our country to maintain dignity today. He relates the Syrian refugees to the pilgrims, in that like them, they are escaping persecution and violence in hopes of finding a place to continue their lives and futures, along with their families, in a place that has a history of valuing human dignity and equality.

Vetting process. In contrast to framing refugees within American history, Obama also referenced processes that are important to American policy, such as the vetting process for refugees. He used this argument for two main reasons; to assure the American people that their safety is a top priority, and to counter the argument by other politicians

that our vetting process is insufficient and could potentially be allowing terrorists posing

as refugees to enter the country (Obama 2015c). He used this rhetorical tactic to deflect

attention away from this argument, exposing it as illogical and unethical as well as

comparing refugees to tourists. Obama (2015c) noted: "And the idea that somehow they

pose a more significant threat than all the tourists who pour into the United States every

single day just doesn't jive with reality… They are already under much more scrutiny."

Here, Obama referenced refugees in direct comparison to the thousands of tourists that

visit the country yearly to highlight the similarities. He used this discourse to boost the

public's confidence in the vetting process and reiterates that those wishing to relocate to

the U.S. undergo extreme scrutiny.

All the framing techniques used by Obama are a way to advocate for the

relocation of Syrian refugees in the United States. By creating identities for the public to

relate to, his goal is to create empathy and compassion. He referenced our values and

American history to help advocate for the continued aid to Syrian refugees, as well as

their relocation to the United States. And, he assures the American people that the current

vetting process is vigorous and secure to ensure safety and to combat discourse from

other political leaders that say otherwise.

Ideograph. Ideographs are commonly used within political discourse to develop

support for an abstract concept or ideology, especially for political support (Eagleton,

2006). Ideographs link the importance among communication, power, and symbolism, as

many phrases have varying definitions depending on cultural and social contexts

(Lucaites & Condit, 1999) and often influence the public's idea of how politics and

societies function (McGee, 1980). As Chapter 3 demonstrated, Obama often used this

concept of the <American dream> in relation to refugees (Roland & Jones, 2011).

However, within this study and his use of the ideograph <refugee,> he grounds the

definition in <American values> and our history of accepting those seeking refuge. He

used the term <American values> to redefine our obligations as a country to help those in

need, especially as it pertains to <refugees> (Beinart, 2015; Obama, 2015c). He also used

historical aspects that highlight our country's dependence on <refugees> and immigrants

both past and present. He ultimately used the term <refugee> to identify and emphasize a

particular political ideology grounded in helping Syrian refugees resettle in the United

States.

 <Refugee> ideograph. Obama used <refugee> as an ideograph, reaffirming that

this word must not become synonymous with terror, terrorism, or fear. He also redefines

<refugee> to encompass our history of compassion and empathy in which he also

redefines the responsibilities of the American government and people on humanitarian

issues such as these, while often reminding the public of our values as a country that

differentiates us from the rest of the world. His use of the ideograph <refugee> can be

further separated into three subsections; victims who the U.S. are compelled to help

based on our values as a country, as distinctly *not* terrorists, to counter the rhetoric from

other political leaders and organizations, and as human beings who have families and

who we, therefore, must empathize with as American citizens who are upholding

<American values>.

 Obama referenced the <refugee> as a victim multiple times within his discourse.

Obama (2015c) explained: "The overwhelming numbers who have been applying are

children, women, families -- themselves victims of terrorism." Here, Obama used two

main rhetorical strategies; using relatable identities to define Syrian refugees and identifying them as victims. Whereas, as noted above, he identifies the refugees as women, children, and families to attempt to create a feeling of empathy, he used the victim language to create feelings of sympathy for the U.S. public. Obama (2015b) stated: "The people who are fleeing Syria are the most harmed by terrorism, they are the most vulnerable as a consequence of civil war and strife." Obama seeks to invoke a sense of compassion and sympathy by reminding the audience that Syrian refugees are the people most harmed by terrorists, that they are victims, and that there is a civil war currently erupting in Syria and across the Middle East due to ISIS.

Beyond using the language of victim, Obama clearly indicated that a <refugee> is *not* a terrorist. Obama (2015b) stated: "…that we do not close our hearts to these victims of such violence and somehow start equating the issue of refugees with the issue of terrorism" (p. 1). Within this text, Obama seeks to expand upon the public's definition of the word refugee and directly counter the proposed theory that Syrian refugees are or could be terrorists. In these texts, Obama used language to actively refute the narrative that the terms <refugee> and <terrorist> are related. He does this by reiterating that the refugees fleeing Syria are in fact the people that have been most harmed and affected by ISIS.

Finally, another rhetorical tactic Obama used to expand upon the meaning of the word <refugee> is to use language that reminds the world that although they are refugees, they are still human beings with basic needs. "[Refugees are] -- men and women who want nothing more than the chance for a safer, better future for themselves and their families. What makes America America is that we offer that chance" (Obama, 2015a).

Here, Obama referenced Syrian refugees as people who are searching to continue their lives in a safe and 'better' place. This rhetorical choice reminds the American people that these refugees are being forced from their countries – everything they know about their life has changed. And, again he referenced the <American values> that make our country great. This is a tactic often used within Obama's rhetoric and discourse about Syrian refugees to create relatability and empathy, as well as reminding the public of our dedication to the ideology that providing aid to those in need is a part of our country's values.

      <American values> ideograph. Another ideograph that complements Obama's use of <refugee> is the term <American values,> which have been defined and redefined throughout our nation's history. Although our written values and obligations can be found within the Constitution, politicians often use this term to expand upon and redefine the concept. Obama used the ideograph <American values> in relation to Syrian refugees to alter the way the public not only views Syrian refugees but the way in which our country should provide aid in terms of policy toward refugees.

      One <American value> that Obama emphasized in his rhetoric is that of American leadership. "American leadership is us caring about people who have been forgotten or who have been discriminated against or who've been tortured or who've been subject to unspeakable violence or who've been separated from families at very young ages" (Beinart, 2015). In this text, Obama defines "American leadership" to include those who are not citizens but in need of help, and continues by noting the hardships many have been subjected to. He highlights that as a country, caring for those who may have been forgotten is a key aspect of <American values.> Our willingness as a country to

accept people, such as refugees, is a core value of American life. Specifically, Obama used this language to invoke a sense of compassion for the American people and the world by referring to the incredible hardships and tragedies these refugees have and continue to live through.

Using the negative as a rhetorical strategy, Obama stated that *refusing* to allow refugees within the U.S. was a betrayal of our values as a country; forbidding their relocation would be against the precedent we have set as a nation. "Slamming the door in the face of refugees would betray our deepest values. That's not who we are. And it's not what we're going to do" (Beinart, 2015). Obama used language to define our values as a free country, citing America's history of helping those in need and again redefining 'who' we are as a country, as well as the actions we must take as a leading world power. The aspect of our values that Obama is focusing on here is acceptance; combining that with the push for compassion above, he can define our <American values> to include the specific traits of compassion, generosity, and acceptance.

Finally, Obama related the current refugee crisis to <American values> that include our acceptance of refugees in the past. Obama (2015c) explained: "The fact is that America has always been open to allowing people from war-torn countries, who are subject to incredible hardship and repression and violence, to find refuge in our country.". Like the excerpts above, he leaned on the history of our country in providing aid to those in need and used powerful language with 'war-torn countries,' in which he is reiterating to the public that refugees are relocating out of necessity. He used the term 'war-torn' various times throughout the seven texts within this study, emphasizing the terror and violence Syrian refugees are experiencing daily (Beinart, 2015; Obama, 2015c; Roberts

& McCarthy, 2015). These texts highlight the different ways in which Obama used multiple definitions and aspects to define those values and to showcase why as a country, and because of our <American values,> we should come to the aid of Syrian refugees. This ideology reinforces action on the part of the American people and the U.S. government, due to our <American values> and history of helping those who are most in need.

Obama's use of the ideographs <refugee> and <American values> seek to redefine and expand the known definitions. Within these texts, he focuses on identifying the larger ideologies surrounding our country's values, beliefs, and actions regarding helping and accepting refugees. He used these ideographs to expand upon and clarify our role as a world power in helping those in need, often referencing Syrian refugees in ways to enact compassion and acceptance. In doing so, Obama expands upon and often redefines our standards and values as a country. His rhetorical style and discourse both advocate for the relocation of Syrian refugees within the U.S., and for the acceptance of these refugees by American citizens. He used language that projects and reinforces the ideology that helping <refugees> is part of our <American values> that include compassion, generosity, and acceptance.

Metaphor. As stated previously, metaphors are commonly used within political discourse for various reasons. Of these, one the most important uses of metaphor is for persuasion (Booth, 1978); by comparing two dissimilar concepts, a politician can create a way for people to better understand their position or ideology (Lakoff, 1993). Metaphors used in a consistent manner can also function in a rhetorical sense and create a link between two different concepts, as well as allow the rhetor to use precise and calculated

language to simplify complex concepts into easily understood terms (Lucaites & Condit, 1999; Osborn, 1967).

In addition to the use of ideographs, President Obama used a variety of metaphors within his discourse about Syrian refugees. The metaphors analyzed within this study address the issues of the ISIL (Islamic State in Levant) narrative, the ideologies of America as a country, and the important role that refugees and immigrants played within the American lifestyle. Obama stated that hateful discourse and rhetoric is strengthening ISIL's global reach; in "…suggesting [that] Christians are more worthy of protection than Muslims are in a war-torn land, that *feeds the ISIL narrative*. It's counter-productive" (Roberts & McCarthy, 2015). Here, Obama used the word 'feed' to simplify and link the impact of negative discourse about Syrian refugees to the relationship it has on supplying and motivating the narrative of ISIL. He used this metaphor in two ways; to exemplify the link between negative discourse and the real-life consequences of that discourse, and to emphasize the negative rhetoric surrounding Syrian refugees that stem from their religion.

Within this same text, Obama used the term "war" as a second metaphor to explain the large narrative currently consuming the U.S. and western world in relation to the Middle East and ISIL. "ISIL seeks to exploit the idea that *there's war between Islam and the west…*" (Roberts & McCarthy, 2015, p. 1). Obama's main use of this metaphor is to emphasize that as a nation, we are not at odds with the religion of Islam or equating Muslims to terrorists. Similarly, he used <refugee> to promote a disconnect between the terms refugee and terrorism or terrorist. The use of the war metaphor can be directly linked to the larger ideology surrounding his definition of the term <refugee.> He seeks

to use this metaphor to give a broader and more comprehensive definition of the term 'war,' to aid his argument that we are not against a specific person, organization, or country because of their religious beliefs. Obama used the *war* metaphor in a slightly different manner than Clinton; he used the term in a relational manner between the U.S. and terrorism, while Clinton's use of the *war* metaphor emphasizes freedom of religion, specifically the freedom of Muslims to practice their religion. (Washington Post Staff, 2015).

Obama used the *feed* and *war* metaphors to make the ISIS/ISIL narrative more concrete for the American public. This allows the public to become more aware of ISIS's tactics and the ways in which they use negative discourse about Islam and Muslim's to their advantage. Obama used these metaphors to bridge the issues of ISIS and terrorism in the Middle East to make them more easily understood by the American public.

While Obama used multiple metaphors to combat the discourse of ISIL, he also used them as a tool of persuasion. Obama (2015c) said: "And ultimately [refugees] have become part of the fabric of American life." Here, he highlights the impact and roles of refugees in America from the past. By using the word 'fabric' he emphasizes that and refugees have become a stable and necessary part of American life, interwoven with other Americans' experiences and identity through an assimilationist approach. This metaphor invites the audience to view refugees in two main aspects: as a positive and intertwined addition to both U.S. society and culture, as America's history has often relied on the contributions of immigrants and refugees, and secondly, to connect and reinforce the ideograph of <American values> that pushes for the assimilation and acceptance of refugees into our society and culture.

Similar to his previous rhetoric surrounding immigrants and refugees, Obama used a final metaphor to emphasize the significance of America as an idea. Obama (2015d) asserted: "And they set out for a place that was more than just a piece of land, but an idea." Obama compares the physical geography of America to the concept and ideologies that encompass the idea of what America represents to those around the world. Within this metaphor, Obama creates a link between Syrian refugees' necessity to relocate and the 'idea' of America as a country. Within this rhetoric and past rhetoric, Obama connects this idea of America to the concept of the <American dream>. This is an important distinction, as this is a common theme in Obama's previous rhetoric about refugees and immigrants, but is relatively scarce in his discourse about Syrian refugees. Although he focuses more on <American values> in terms of accepting refugees, his subtle use of the concept of the <American dream> here is important to note in assessing his rhetorical style and strategies as a U.S. president over time.

As the 44th president of the United States, President Obama's rhetoric and discourse about Syrian refugees were largely influential. He advocated for the continued aid to Syrian refugees, as well as the relocation of 10,000 refugees before his term ended in January 2017 (Ostrand, 2015). His use of discourse actively reminded the American people of our country's dedication to humanitarian issues such as refugee crises, and our commitment to maintaining a standard of generosity, compassion, and acceptance that helped develop America into the nation it is today.

Hillary Clinton

Through her extensive political career and campaigning for president, Hillary Clinton has remained a powerful voice within the political realm. As a fellow Democrat,

Clinton shares similar views about immigration and refugees as President Obama; however, she used different rhetorical choices and styles to portray her perspectives. As a career politician and throughout her campaigns for president, Clinton has remained an advocate for immigrants and refugees. She has pushed for the U.S. to accept 65,000 Syrian refugees into the country - 55,000 more than President Obama had originally proposed (Kaplan, 2015). She used various tactics to frame Syrian refugees in a positive manner, as well as using ideographs and metaphors to further advocate for their relocation to the U.S.

Clinton used multiple identifiers to humanize the refugees; rather than identifying them as a problem in need of a solution, she poses them as people in need of help. The main themes within her framing discourse about Syrian refugees include freedom of religion, reinforcing our values as a country. Like Obama, she referenced distinctly American values, such as freedom of religion, to remind the public that we are not a nation that discriminates against others due to differences. However, she used different rhetorical styles and discourse tactics than Obama, attempting to create sympathy and solidify America's dedication to humanitarian issues (Fraser-Chanpong, 2015).

Framing. Clinton used two distinct framing techniques about Syrian refugees. The first is the use of a positive frame; she cites America's dedication to freedom of religion, uses relatable identifiers to emphasize American identity, and reminds the public that this is a humanitarian issue. However, she also used a negative frame to advocate for the aid of Syrian refugees by using her discourse to refute and counter-argue the negative and detrimental rhetoric about Syrian refugees, through arguing that the refugees are a peaceful people and through asserting that Republican rhetoric about refugees as

terrorists is serving as a recruitment tool for ISIS. Both the positive and negative framing

techniques are analyzed to fully explain Clinton's rhetoric surrounding Syrian refugees.

Freedom of religion. Within the five texts analyzed for this study, three speak

directly to America's dedication to freedom of religion (ABC News Staff, 2015; Alba,

2015; Beckwith, 2015) thus this frame is the most used. This is a key aspect to highlight,

as many would consider this a logical argument for the relocation of Syrian refugees.

Unlike Obama, Clinton heavily emphasizes this attribute of our country as one of the

main arguments for her continued support for Syrian refugees. Throughout Obama's

discourse as a Senator and president, he has long been known for being *logos*-heavy in

his rhetoric; however, he rarely referenced logic and reasoning within his discourse about

Syrian refugees (Ghazani, 2016). Thus, the rhetorical choices by Clinton are a distinctive

feature of her discourse.

Clinton used freedom of religion to reference America's dedication to the belief

that everyone can practice a religion of their choice. Clinton stated: "But the idea that

we'd turn away refugees because of religion is a new low" (Alba, 2015). Clinton used this

discourse to highlight a common reason as to why many politicians are against the

relocation of Syrian refugees in hopes of bringing light to this rhetorical tactic. By

emphasizing these rhetorical tactics, Clinton simultaneously rejects this policy through

emphasizing the nation's First Amendment and freedom of religion.

Additionally, Clinton speaks about American's dedication to freedom of religion

and emphasizes that it is an aspect that strengthens us as a country.

> And we can get this right. America's open, free, tolerant society is described by
>
> some as a vulnerability in the struggle against terrorism, but I believe it's one of

our strengths. It reduces the appeal of radicalism and enhances the richness and

resilience of our communities. (Beckwith, 2015)

Clinton reinforces the ideology that our dedication to remaining an open and tolerant

society is an aspect that strengthens the U.S. in a multitude of ways. She refutes the

claims that allowing refugees from various countries negatively impacts our country, by

showing the world that we do not associate terrorism with any single religion, and our

communities and nation are stronger with the refugees and immigrants have come to the

United States.

Often within Clinton's rhetoric, she comes to the defense of Syrian refugees by

refuting the general claims made about Islam and Muslims: "We are at war with violent

extremism. We are at war with people who use their religion for purposes of power and

oppression" (Washington Post Staff, 2015). Like the above text, Clinton reiterates that as

a nation we are fighting against the violence and oppression of terrorism, rather than a

specific religion. Both Clinton and Obama are staunchly against using the term "radical

Islamic terrorist" as this portrays the ideology that Islam, in some manner, condones this

behavior (Ali & Shamimah, 2016).

American identity. Within her rhetoric, Clinton highlights American identity as a

key aspect of our obligation to help Syrian refugees, but through the specific ideology of

the <American dream.> Clinton used the phrase "who we are" which is italicized to

highlight that she is using this term to create American identity. "We can't act as though

we're shutting the doors to people in need without undermining *who we are* as

Americans. We have always welcomed immigrants and refugees" (Aba, 2015). Clinton

also stated: "…slamming the door on every Syrian refugee, that is just not *who we are*.

We are better than that" (Beckwith, 2015). Clinton's frame of American identity advocates for the acceptance of Syrian refugees to maintain our identity as a country. She advocates for Syrian refugees by citing historical and traditional evidence of the United States allowing immigrants and refugees into the country, as well reiterating the importance of maintaining this identity. She used language to define 'who we are' as Americans in hopes of persuading the audience of the importance of continuing to allow foreigners to come to America and be productive members of society.

Clinton used a variety of language to create an identity that the American public can grasp onto. "Turning away orphans, applying a religious test, discriminating against Muslims, slamming the door on every Syrian refugee that is just not *who we are*. We are better than that" (Beckwith, 2015). She used this language to create her own definition of American identity; an identity that is dedicated to helping those in need and who may be less fortunate, as well as putting religion aside. Clinton used a plethora of tactics to create an audience of sympathy; using identifiers such as 'orphans', explicitly citing the past discrimination against Muslim's, and stating that rejecting all Syrian refugees because of these factors would be unethical and un-American in terms of who we are as Americans.

Humanitarian issue. As part of our American identity, Clinton used powerful language to remind the American public of our humanitarian duties as a country. Regardless of past tragedies, Americans cannot be forced into discriminating against others based on certain characteristics such as religious, national, or racial identity. Clinton (2015a) explained: "And we should be taking a close look at the safeguards in the visa programs as well, but we cannot allow terrorists to intimidate us into abandoning our values and our humanitarian obligations." Clinton used her discourse to highlight the

Syrian refugee crisis as at humanitarian issue and obligation while simultaneously citing our values as a country as the impetus for action. By using the phrase 'abandoning our values,' she stresses the importance of the United States' dedication to humanitarian obligations, as well as maintaining these historical standards of accepting immigrants and refugees.

Clinton asks her audience to view this as a humanitarian issue, to support her ideology for U.S. action on the Syrian immigration crisis. "We should be doing more to ease this humanitarian crisis, not less. We should lead the international community in organizing a donor conference and supporting countries like Jordan who are sheltering the majority of refugees fleeing Syria" (Beckwith, 2015). Clinton praises other countries that have been lending a helpful hand to the refugees fleeing Syria, as well as again reiterates that this is a humanitarian issue. This frame invites the audience to view this issue through a perspective that invokes a sense of duty and compassion for other human beings. As Clinton has been an advocate towards humanitarian issues in the past, especially in her rhetoric about human rights, this discourse is a common theme within her rhetoric about refugees (Fraser-Chanpong, 2015).

Refugees are peaceful people. In contrast to Clinton's positive rhetorical frames, she also engaged in rhetorical frames to counteract negative discourse surrounding Islam. As Syria is a predominantly Islamic country (Khazan, 2012) and is the focus of numerous attacks by an acclaimed Islamic terrorist organization, the public has become fearful of refugees wishing to relocate to the United States. Clinton used her discourse to actively advocate for the aid and relocation of Syrian refugees through framing them as a peaceful people. Clinton separates the issue of terrorism from Islam. She referenced the 'vast

majority' of Muslims, a group of approximately 1.6 billion, as peaceful people (DeSilver, 2013c). "Sounds like we are declaring war against a religion. It doesn't do justice to the vast number of Muslims in our country and around the world who are peaceful people" (ABC News Staff, 2015). Her language aims to frame the Syrian refugees as peaceful people simply in search of a safe, new place to call home. She reiterates the importance of separating these refugees from their religion and viewing them with a sympathetic eye. This rhetorical frame is a refutation of fear-based appeals that attempt to equate Syrian refugees with terrorism.

   Recruitment tool for ISIS. A second frame that Clinton used to refute negative discourse about refugees is that such discourse contributes to supplying ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) with continued material for recruiting terrorists. Like Obama, she acknowledges the rhetoric that proposes the harmful ideology that the West is at war with a religion, rather than the radical extremists. She stated: "…that is actually a recruiting tool for ISIS and other radical jihadists who use this as a way of saying, 'We are in a war against the West -- you must join us'" (ABC News Staff, 2015). She explained that the continued use of negative discourse about Syrian refugees and their religion (primarily Islam) fuels ISIS's narrative that as a country, the United States dislikes and is prejudicial toward Islam and Muslims. She stated that that this type of hateful rhetoric is used not only by ISIS but other radical jihadists to garner support and new terrorist recruits from around the world.

   She also referenced the 'clash of civilizations', an ideology developed by Samuel Huntington in the 1990s. Clinton (ABC News Staff, 2015) stated: "[It] helps to create this clash of civilizations that is actually a recruiting tool for ISIS." Within this argument,

Huntington suggests that culture and cultural identities shape the ways in which the world is cohesive (Huntington, 1993). Clinton used this 'clash of civilizations' ideology to contextualize to accomplish two main goals: identify and refute the negative discourse and rhetoric about Islam and Muslim's that is causing conflict and note that this use of negative discourse creates more material for ISIS to use as a recruiting measure.

Clinton used a variety of positive and negative frames to accomplish one goal, to advocate for the assistance and relocation of Syrian refugees. Like Obama, she used language that frames them in a relatable manner, as human beings, as well as defines America's identity in terms of accepting and helping refugees. She also advocates for Syrian refugees by framing them in a manner that directly refutes the negative claims and discourse being made from various Republican politicians and leaders.

Ideograph. Clinton used a variety of ideographs within her discourse about Syrian refugees to accomplish a multitude of rhetorical goals. She continues to advocate for the relocation of refugees within the United States while reiterating the importance of maintaining a strong presence within humanitarian rights and obligations as a world power. She used the ideograph <refugee> in relation to <human rights,> emphasizing that the Syrian refugee crisis is an international humanitarian issue, while simultaneously ensuring the safety of American citizens as a priority. She also used the term <refugee> within a <human rights> tradition that uses the <American dream> narrative to redefine these terms for the inclusion of refugees.

<Refugee> ideograph. Within her rhetoric, Clinton focused on defining <refugee> to create an audience sympathetic to their cause. She did this by first identifying and describing Syrian refugees as families, and second by labeling refugees as

not terrorists. She separates the issue of refugees from the issue of terrorism, reinforcing a political ideology grounded in developing U.S. policies that would accept and support Syrian refugees settling in the United States.

Similar to Obama, Clinton describes Syrian <refugees> as families, to create a feeling of relatability. She does this by using descriptive words, such as women or orphan, as well as reminding the public that these refugees are family to someone. "It would be a cruel irony indeed if ISIS can force families from their homes and then also prevent them from ever finding new ones" (Beckwith, 2015). Here, Clinton referenced the current struggle that Syrian refugees are facing; losing their homes and lives in Syria due to the ongoing violence and subsequently being denied refuge in other countries. Within this text, Clinton is attempting to appeal to a sympathetic and compassionate audience, to help the public realize that refugees are composed of entire families that are being forced from their homes and left with few options as to where to relocate.

She used this context of a 'family' again during the third Democratic national debate in December 2015, stating: "I would prioritize widows, and orphans, and the elderly, people who may have relatives, families, or have nowhere else to go. And that would I think give the American public a bit more of a sense of security…" (*Washington Post Staff*, 2015). Clinton aims to again redefine the term <refugee> by using relatable terms, such as orphans and the elderly, and again referencing that these refugees have families. This discourse helps redefine the perspective of <refugees> and America's dedication to helping those in need. It simultaneously tries to dampen Americans' fear of refugees by emphasizing that the American public needs "a bit more of a sense of security" when considering a policy to increase the number of Syrian refugees settling in

the United States.

Similar to Obama's discourse, Clinton secondly describes refugees as *not* terrorists, to directly combat the discourse suggesting that refugees 'could be' or are terrorists. She does this in multiple ways, first by reminding the pubic that these refugees are escaping the same terrorists the rest of the world fears. "And remember, many of these refugees are fleeing the same terrorists who threaten us" (Beckwith, 2015). In this text, Clinton used her discourse to differentiate between <refugees> and terrorists, reminding her audience that these refugees are being forced from their homes due to terrorism and violence. She also used the inclusive language of "us" to unite the American people with the Syrian refugees, to create a sense of identification between Americans and refugees.

Clinton seeks to further separate refugees from terrorists, by explicitly stating that as a country, we are at war with those who use religion as a tool of oppression. As a country, we are not at war with a specific religion, rather an ideology. "We are not at war with Islam or Muslims. We are at war with violent extremism. We are at war with people who use their religion for purposes of power and oppression" (*Washington Post Staff*, 2015). Clinton speaks directly to ISIS, a terrorist organization that proclaims to be following Islam with extremism and violence. Like Obama, she used her discourse to define the term <refugee> in identifiable and relatable terms as well as in a manner to separate the term <refugee> from becoming synonymous with terrorist or terrorism. She used parallelism as a rhetorical strategy to emphasize to her audience those with whom "we are at war", and to create further rhetorical distance between <refugees> and the "people who use their religion for purposes of power and oppression" or ISIS

(*Washington Post Staff*, 2015). Within the use of this ideograph, Clinton reinforces the freedom of religion ideology that America was founded upon, and specifically applies it to the Islamic faith.

<Human rights> ideograph. Similar to her previous rhetoric surrounding the topic of refugees, Clinton poses this as an international humanitarian issue (Beinart, 2015; Clinton, 1995; Harris, Moffit, & Squires, 2010). She used this as a catapult to further her argument that the U.S. has a moral obligation to help Syrian refugees as it is a <human rights> issue. She reinforces the positive frame for helping refugees due to humanitarianism and used discourse to remind the public that America is unique in its dedication to humanitarian issues on a global scale. She referenced the Syrian refugee crisis as a <human rights> and humanitarian issue several times within one of the texts analyzed for this study.

Clinton focuses on defining this as a humanitarian issue by reiterating America's precedent of helping those in need. She stated, "…but we cannot allow terrorists to intimidate us into abandoning our values and our humanitarian obligations" (Beckwith, 2015). She referenced both the values we hold as a country, as well as our obligation to humanitarian issues. She used specific language to help the audience become more aware of the humanitarian crisis impacting the world. She used the term "abandoning our values" (Beckwith, 2015, p. 1), which has multiple rhetorical aspects; reminding the public that as a world power, the United States is obligated to help with humanitarian issues such as refugee crises and invokes a sense of compassion from the audience to further her argument about <human rights>.

Clinton's dedication to humanitarian issues and maintaining <human rights> as an

ideograph corresponds and reinforces her previous rhetoric about this topic. As a country, we should be helping refugees and those in need: "We should be doing more to ease this humanitarian crisis, not less. We should lead the international community in organizing a donor conference…" (Beckwith, 2015). The use of the <human rights> ideograph has multiple purposes, relating back to the ideology that the United States, as a world power, has the obligation to help those in need. This ideograph first reinforces her use of positive frames for helping refugees due to our commitment to humanitarianism. And second, the <human rights> ideograph, along with reinforcing Clinton's sentiment on remaining dedicated to humanitarian issues, reinforces Obama's rhetoric about the value of American leadership. This ideograph highlights the ideology that the United States, as a world and moral leader, should continue to provide aid and resources to international humanitarian issues.

<American dream> ideograph. Referencing the ultimate goal of achieving the <American dream> is another rhetorical choice made by Clinton while referencing Syrian refugees. "We have always welcomed immigrants and refugees. We have made people feel that if they did their part, they sent their kids to school, they worked hard, there would be a place for them in America" (Alba, 2015). Clinton is appealing to the narrative of the <American dream,> as well as the American value system and our history as a nation. She invites the audience to be aware of the historical standards of allowing immigrants and refugees in the U.S., as well as the ideology that we have always welcomed those who are willing to work hard and contribute to our society.

Clinton used her discourse to actively frame Syrian refugees in a multitude of positive ways to further advocate for her ideology to relocate refugees to the United

States while refuting the negative discourse about Islam and Muslims. She cites America's value system and narrative of the <American dream>. She referenced our values as a country and our history of accepting refugees, grounding them in the <American dream> narrative: "Because I do believe that we have a history and a tradition, that is part of our values system and we don't want to sacrifice our values" (*Washington Post Staff*, 2015). While Obama is more explicit about particular <American values> such as compassion, generosity, and acceptance, Clinton grounds these values in a specific vision of the <American dream> that becomes a part of who we are as a history and tradition of American identity. She used the <American dream> ideograph that reinforces this positive frame about American identity while reiterating the ideology of accepting refugees into American culture to continue building upon our history of acceptance.

Metaphor. Like Obama, Clinton used metaphors within her discourse to liken the Syrian refugees to concepts and ideas that are familiar to U.S. citizens. She also used metaphors to humanize Syrian refugees, reminding the public that this group of people has been subjected to nonstop violence and persecution in their home country. Her discourse also contains metaphors that are focused on the ideology that the Syrian refugee crisis is a humanitarian rights issue. She continues her use of enacting the <American dream> narrative, as well as referencing our values as a country.

Her use of the metaphor "shutting the door" (Alba, 2015), as in closing our borders to those in need, helps link Syrian refugees to a human rights issue, like Obama's use of the "slamming the door" metaphor (Beckwith, 2015). She used this metaphor to help simplify the issue of relocation and emphasizes the importance of helping Syrian

refugees escape the war and violence by moving to America. By comparing our borders to closing a door, she can tie the importance of allowing the relocation of refugees to the various identities as Americans that we value as a country. She continues within this text to assert that closing the metaphorical door on refugees would be "undermining who we are as Americans" (Aba, 2015). She used this metaphor to enact a sense of pride from the audience, stating that as a country we have a tradition of and an obligation to help those in need. She continues by asserting America's dedication to humanitarian issues, such as allowing immigrants and refugees. The use of this metaphor allows Clinton to emphasize the importance of allowing and welcoming Syrian refugees into the country from a values perspective.

Clinton also used this door metaphor during her speech at the Council of Foreign Affairs, this time explicitly stating the religious implications of this rhetoric. Clinton stated "…discriminating against Muslims, slamming the door on every Syrian refugee, that is just not who we are. We are better than that" (Beckwith, 2015). She again referenced a metaphorical door but highlights the discrimination again Muslims that would inevitably occur, as Syria is a Muslim-majority country (Byman, 2015). Again, Clinton stresses the importance of maintaining our values as a free country, asserting that 'we' as a nation are better than turning our backs on those in need of help.

Another metaphor she used multiple times within these texts is the 'war' metaphor, commonly used within politics and used by Obama as well. "We are not at war with Islam or Muslims. We are at war with violent extremism" (Washington Post Staff, 2015). Clinton specifically used the war metaphor to refute the claims that we are at odds against Islam or Muslims in a general sense, rather than the radical jihadists. She used

this metaphor again, stating, "Sounds like we are declaring war against a religion" (ABC News Staff, 2015). This specific use of the war metaphor seeks to separate the issue of refugee relocation from the fear of terrorism, and differentiate between extremism and the Islamic religion.

President Donald J. Trump

As the newly elected 45th President of the United States, Donald Trump's discourse about Syrian refugees becomes increasingly more important and influential. Throughout his campaigning efforts, Trump remained a staunch critic of the United States' role in aiding Syrian refugees. His discourse reflected this belief, as he consistently used his platform as a presidential candidate to voice his concerns about the refugees wishing to relocate to the U.S. His use of negative discourse about Syrian refugees continues to impact U.S. citizens, as people continue to voice their opposition to the resettlement of Syrian citizens.

Donald Trump's frame of Syrian refugees is vastly different than the previous two rhetors of Obama and Clinton – he used rhetorical styles that many have identified as polarizing (Roberts, 2015; Wise & Morgan, 2016). However, these rhetorical choices and use of discourse have proven effective, as he continues to garner support as the new president of the United States. Throughout his nearly two-year campaign for President, Trump elected to use a different rhetorical style and discourse than expected from a typical presidential candidate – what some noted as aggressive discourse as he toured the country asking for support (Roberts, 2015; Wise & Morgan, 2016).

Framing. President Trump's framing referenced Syrian refugees in multiple negative ways, through fear of the unknown, questioning their intent as citizens in the

U.S., and consistently posing refugees as a danger and threat to the U.S. people and government. His discourse about Syrian refugees also has an abundance of gender and religious implications for how Americans understand refugees through public discourse.

Use of fear. Trump often used discourse that emphasized various fear tactics. He repeatedly stated that as a country, we don't know the refugees that are entering our borders or whether they will adapt to American culture. Trump stated: "We don't know where they come from," and "We're taking in people we have no idea who they are" (Fox News Staff, 2015). He first emphasized that the refugees are coming from unknown places and countries, and continued by stating that we are unaware of their identities. He aimed to play on a 'fear of the unknown' aspect, as well as used divisive language such as 'they.' When referencing refugees, Trump often used 'they' or 'them' to create a division between the American people and refugees. This is a stark difference to both Obama and Clinton, who commonly used an inclusive 'us' when talking about Syrian refugees. This is a disassociation rhetorical strategy, where Trump separated refugees from the American public.

Another frame used by Trump that is based on fear is emphasizing the potential danger of 'missing refugees.' Trump stated: "So you have people coming in, and I heard as of this morning they're already missing one or two people. They came in and they're gone. They're missing." (Fox News Staff, 2015). Within this interview, Trump repeatedly stated that 'thousands' of refugees are entering the United States and that some are missing. By suggesting that some refugees have gone missing, Trump's discourse allows his audience to complete his argument in assuming that the missing refugees are likely motivated by negative reasons. This plays on peoples' fear of missing refugees, in which

many are assumed to be dangerous. Trump also used this discourse to highlight the government's incompetence by reinforcing the ideology that the government is incapable of managing the incoming refugees in an organized and safe manner.

Questioning intent. Trump continues questioning Syrian refugees by referencing their capabilities or intent of adapting to American culture. He used repetition as a rhetorical strategy to emphasize that assimilation is the best model of intercultural adaption for refugees entering the U.S. Trump stated: "Will they assimilate? Are they going to be able to assimilate? I don't know that they even want to assimilate!" Here, Trump used his discourse to frame Syrian refugees as unwilling or unable to adapt to American culture. Although assimilation was the traditional model of intercultural adaption used by immigrants and refugees in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries (Hirschman, 2004), in recent decades' various alternative models have been developed in which immigrants and refugees are not forced to lose their cultural identities when moving to a different host country. By repeatedly questioning the intentions of refugees' capabilities or willingness to adapt to U.S. culture, Trump questions their desire to become American and further "others" refugees as distant from U.S.-born American citizens.

Within the same text, Trump argues that the United States allows all refugees into the country, without proper vetting or considering their circumstances (in this case, persecution and war). Trump stated: "And yet we take everybody" (Fox News Staff, 2015). Trump's use of this hyperbole questions the United States' vetting process as well as continues to question refugees' intentions for why they want to relocate to America. Although this claim is not true, and the U.S. has a very strict and lengthy vetting process for refugees wishing to relocate to the U.S., Trump's continued use of this language and

frame of refugees continues to create fear surrounding refugees in public discourse targeted toward the American public.

Potential threats. In addition to questioning the refugees' identities and intent, Trump also voices his doubts on the United States' vetting process. He stated: "We don't know what their crime record is. It could be wonderful, and it could be a disaster. But I have a feeling that a lot of bad things are going to happen out of this" (Fox News Staff, 2015). Within this text, Trump emphasizes that the U.S. government is unaware of incoming refugees' crime record and that 'bad things' could result from letting them into the United States. He used criminal language and the 'slippery slope' fallacy to suggest that refugees are 'bad' people who pose a threat to the U.S. The 'slippery slope' is a fallacy in which a person argues that a specific event inevitably occurs, without proving why this may happen (Walton, 1992). In this argument, Trump argues that "bad things are going to happen" (Fox News Staff, 2015) if refugees are allowed to relocate within the U.S., without providing evidence that refugees are inherently dangerous. He also suggests that the vetting process does not look at the criminal records of refugees and that the current vetting process is inadequate.

Within the same text, Trump also emphasizes that Syrian refugees do not have the appropriate paperwork or identification: "They have no identification. They have no papers. They're creating papers. They're making up papers" (Fox News Staff, 2015). This argument suggests that refugees can enter the U.S. without proper identification or paperwork, and also questions the legitimacy of their status as refugees. This argument suggests that these refugees are not legitimate and could be dangerous, which is why they do not have the appropriate paperwork and identification, leading them to 'make up' or

'create' their own. This discourse again provides the public with doubt; which further advances his ideology and claims that the refugees entering our borders are unknown, unidentified, and dangerous.

Trump continues this discourse by framing Syrian refugees as potential threats by using an argument by analogy in referencing the Paris terrorist attacks in November 2015. Trump said: "But if you take thousands of people, Sean, all you need is a couple. You know, you don't need 25. You don't need 100. Look at the damage done in Paris with just a few people" (Fox News Staff, 2015). President Trump's son, Donald Trump Jr., used Twitter to express a similar ideology: "If I had a bowl of Skittles and I told you just three would kill you. Would you take a handful? That's our Syrian refugee problem" (Nelson, 2016). Mars, Inc. immediately responded, stating: "Skittles are candy; refugees are people. It's an inappropriate analogy. We respectfully refrain from further comment, as that could be misinterpreted as marketing" (Disis, 2016). The initial report of the Paris attacks included the possibility of some of the terrorists to be Syrian refugees; however, despite claims by various media and political leaders, there is still no evidence that any of the terrorists were Syrian refugees (BBC News Staff, 2016). Despite the lack of evidence, Trump continues to use the Paris terrorist attacks as a reference within his discourse as to why the United States should stop the relocation of Syrian refugees. This discourse continues to use fear as a main tool of persuasion, convincing the public that as a group, Syrian refugees are dangerous and pose a threat to the U.S. and its citizens.

Ideograph. Trump's definition of <refugee> is grounded in the identifiers of strong, young, male, and Muslim, which equate to <terrorist> within his discourse. He used these ideographs to appeal to the history of fearing immigrants in the United States,

which is evident in the literature review of his past discourse (Cadei, 2016; Engel, 2016; Gale, 2004). Trump used gender and religion as main factors in identifying Syrian refugees, which has continuing implications, especially for male Muslims within the U.S. and throughout the world.

<Refugee> ideograph. Trump defines <refugee> as strong, young, and male. Trump stated: "I talked to you about this two weeks ago, where we talked about the migration, how so many of the people in the migration were strong, young men. You look at them" (Fox News Staff, 2015). Here, Trump suggests that the Syrian refugees are overwhelmingly male, as well as having the physical attributes of being 'strong and young.' His rhetoric focuses on the physical appearance of Syrian refugees and defining these characteristics in a way that invokes fear.

However, he also used negation as a rhetorical strategy to argue his case against Syrian refugees. Trump stated: "When I look at that migration, I see a lot of very strong, young men. And I see far fewer women and children. I say, 'What's going on over here?'" (Belvedere, 2015). He again referenced the apparent lack of women and children refugees, stating: "I'm saying, where are the women? Where are the children?" (Fox News Staff, 2015). Within this discourse, Trump is actively defining <refugees> as specifically *not* women or children, which is in stark contrast to both Obama's and Clinton's rhetoric about refugees. This suggests the argument that the American people are willing to help women and children, but are more skeptical of helping young, strong (seemingly able-bodied) men.

Trump also used his discourse to associate Syrian refugees directly to ISIS, stating that Syrian refugees are rapidly entering the United States, asserting that this does

not allow the government to track potential links to terrorism. "When the Syrian refugees are going to start pouring into this country, we don't know if they're ISIS" (Carroll, 2015). Here, Trump is defining <refugee> in direct relation to terrorism, proposing that some portion of the refugees relocating within the Unites States have the potential of being members of ISIS. This use of discourse identifies refugees as potential terrorists, again negatively impacting the public's perspectives of Syrian refugees.

He also used specific language to state that as a country, we should be surveying and keeping track of Syrian refugees due to their potential links to terrorism, as noted above. Trump has argued for initiating a database for incoming Syrian refugees, referencing refugees as causing "problems" and implying that as a group, refugees impose a safety concern.

> But what I want is a watch list. I want surveillance programs. Obviously, there are a lot of problems. … But, certainly, I would want to have a database for the refugees, for the Syrian refugees that are coming in because nobody knows where they're coming from (Hanchett, 2015).

Within this text, Trump links the term <refugee> to being potentially dangerous, by stating that as a group of people, Syrian refugees need to be tracked. This discourse suggests that Syrian refugees pose a threat to the U.S. and therefore, need to be watched.

He continues this rhetoric, asserting the need for surveillance of Syrian refugees, as well as surveillance of mosques within the U.S. Here, he used an enthymeme to enable his audience to make a connection between <refugees> and <terrorists>. He does not explicitly state this link, rather uses language so his audience can imply the connection.

In the text below, Trump again references the necessity of maintaining surveillance on refugees:

> So here's the story -- just to say it clear -- I want surveillance of these people. I want surveillance if we have to, and I don't care. Are you ready for this folks? Are you ready? They're going to make it such a big deal … I want surveillance of certain mosques (Carroll, 2015).

This association allows the public to entwine <refugee> with Muslim, which continues the ideology that these refugees are to be feared and that they pose a threat to the public. The continued use of these ideographs in these terms has a negative effect on both the Syrian refugees, as well as U.S. citizens, as they become increasingly concerned for their safety. The gendered and religious manners that Trump describes and defines refugees is important to note, as well as his continued use of divisive language, using terms such as 'these people' when referencing Syrian refugees (Carroll, 2015). He consistently creates a direct link between refugees and ISIS, separating <refugees> from the American public, and used this ideograph to build upon an ideology based on fear of particular physical and religious attributes.

    <Terrorist> ideograph. By advocating for the use of the term 'radical Islamic terrorism,' Trump is attempting to redefine the term <terrorist> to involve the Islamic religion, while also using an enthymematic argument to relate back to Syrian <refugees,> who also are a majority Muslim. This is a guilt by association fallacy. If <terrorists> are Muslim, and <refugees> are Muslim, then refugees must be terrorists, according to this rhetorical fallacy. Since most Americans do not have the ability to assess a syllogism or break apart the logic behind Trump's arguments, people are often persuaded by this type

of fallacy. If the refugees are "young, strong men," who also happen to be "Muslim," then Trump is hoping his audience will complete the argument that they might then be terrorists, for why else would they come to the United States? This is a rhetorical strategy Trump often uses, to insinuate a meaning without explicitly stating it, in hopes that his audience will complete the argument for him.

He also criticizes politicians for their stance against the use of the term 'radical Islamic terrorism.' Here, Trump stated this about President Obama: "He doesn't want to talk about radical Islamic terrorism. He refuses to say the word! And here's a man who refuses to say those three words." And he continues, saying this about Hillary Clinton: "And by the way, Hillary Clinton refuses to say the words. She's as bad as he is, but -- although I'm not so sure about that" (Fox News Staff, 2015). Trump asserts that both Obama and Clinton's refusal to use the term labeling specific terrorist acts as 'Islamic' is incorrect. Although both Obama and Clinton have used terms such as "violent extremism" (*Washington Post Staff*, 2015) or "radical jihadists" (ABC News Staff, 2015), Trump asserts that 'radical Islamic terrorism' is the correct term to be used. Here, Trump again invites his audience to make the connection between <terrorist> and Islam.

Another rhetorical choice enacted by Trump is the assertion that if he wins the presidential election, he will send any Syrian refugees 'back' to emphasize that as a group, Syrian refugees need to be feared and separated from the American public. "And if I win I've made it known -- if I win they're going back. We can't have them," and "But I tell you, if they come into this country, they're going out. If I win, they're going out. We can't take a chance" (Fox News Staff, 2015). Trump stated multiple times that he would actively work towards deporting any Syrian refugees that were able to relocate within the

United States under President Obama. This discourse again invokes fear, as he asserts that the potential for danger from <refugees> is so great, there is a need for deportation. "We can't take a chance" that they might be <terrorists.> Trump asserts that the identities of these refugees are unknown, discounting the vetting process that takes an average of 18-24 months (Altman, 2015).

Although Trump does not explicitly state that <refugees> *are* <terrorists,> he does suggest they 'could be ISIS' (ABC News Staff, 2015b). Although these terms have obvious gender and religious implications, especially for refugees who are male and Muslim, this rhetoric continues to be polarizing for a specific group of people. By identifying a <refugee> as dangerous and a potential <terrorist,> Trump continues to advocate an ideology based on fear and disassociation of the American public from Syrian refugees.

Metaphor. Trump's use of metaphors within his discourse enhances the fear of Syrian refugees, by linking them to historical events, as well as proclaiming the United States is unaware of the identities of the refugees entering the border. Like his use of framing discourse and ideographs, Trump's rhetoric continues to highlight negative aspects of refugees, and inciting the concept of 'fear of the unknown.' The central metaphor used by Trump is that of the "Trojan horse" (ABC News Staff, 2015; Belvedere, 2015; Fox News Staff, 2015).

"Trojan horse" is a metaphor most Americans would recognize. This term is often used when referencing a hidden threat. The original use of the term referenced the Trojan War in Greek mythology, a war that lasted over ten years (History.com Staff, 2009). In what the city of Troy presumed to be a gift from the defeated Greeks, a large wooden

horse was left at the gate of the city. After bringing the gift inside the guarded city, the Greek warriors hidden within the hollow figure emerged and attacked (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015). Thus, the term "Trojan horse" emerged as a metaphor in public discourse, signifying a hidden or disguised threat.

Trump has used this term various times when referencing Syrian refugees, comparing their relocation to the U.S. to that of the Greek warriors' hidden attack on Troy. Within the five texts analyzed for this study, Trump used this metaphor four times in three different interviews between November and December 2015 (Belvedere, 2015; Carroll, 2015; Fox News Staff, 2015). Trump stated: "It would be one of the great Trojan horses" (Belvedere, 2015). In this first example, he stated that the Syrian refugee could be disguised as the 'great' Trojan horse. Here, he is comparing the Syrian refugee crisis to the original hidden agenda of the Greek warriors. His discourse implies that Syrian citizens could be posing as refugees as a means to enter the U.S. before attacking from the inside, posing an imminent threat to the United States and its people.

The second use of the Trojan horse metaphor came from his interview with Fox News' show *Hannity:* "So I think it's a way -- you know, it could very well be the ultimate Trojan horse. We're going to have to see. Hopefully not. But thousands are coming in" (Fox News Staff, 2015). Using the same Trojan horse metaphor, Trump references the potential alternative motives of incoming Syrian refugees, while again stating 'thousands' are entering the borders, implicitly making the argument that this is due to a poor vetting process. This metaphor and description of "thousands are coming in" supports Trump's larger ideology of federal government incompetence, especially when it comes to vetting Syrian refugees.

Both of the following quotes were taken from Trump's interview on *Good Morning America*, in November 2015 where he turns to this metaphor again: "…we don't know if they're ISIS, we don't know if it's a Trojan horse" (Carroll, 2015) and, "And we have no choice. We have no idea who's being sent in here. This could be the -- it's probably not, but it could be the great Trojan horse of all time, where they come in" (ABC News Staff, 2015b). Although Trump expresses doubt within this text, he again stresses the potential for dangerous consequences to accepting Syrian refugees within our borders. He also makes a direct link between refugees and ISIS, which has serious and lingering consequences on his audience of U.S. citizens considering any policy toward accepting Syrian refugees. This reference to ISIS and the use of the Trojan horse metaphor allows Trump to demonize Syrian refugees and continue painting them as threats to the U.S.

The discourse surrounding Syrian refugees continues to have major policy implications worldwide. While Obama and Clinton continue to dedicate their rhetoric to helping Syrian refugees relocate to the U.S., President Trump's rhetoric and actions as president continue to hinder refugees' chances of relocation. Trump's initial executive order banned immigrants, refugees, visa, and green card holders from seven Muslim-majority countries, causing an uproar around the world (Shear & Nixon, 2017). This executive order has since been denied. Trump has stated his new immigration order will be revealed soon, without a "blanket ban on citizens from Iraq" (Vega, Faulders, Martinez & Fishel, 2017, p. 1).

President Trump continues using his national platform to reiterate that keeping America safe is his top priority, and banning immigrants and refugees from Muslim

countries is one way to ensure safety. As the Syrian refugee crisis surpasses six ongoing

years, it continues to be a significant issue at the international level, with 12.5+ million

people displaced and searching for refuge (Connor & Krogstad, 2016). The discourse and

growing implications surrounding Syrian refugees will continue to have a major

influence on political and world leaders, which I, in turn, discuss in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION:

IMPLICATIONS FROM PRESIDENT OBAMA, HILLARY CLINTON AND

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S DISCOURSE ABOUT SYRIAN REFUGEES

The Syrian Refugee Crisis continues to be a hot-topic for both politicians and the public, debating the appropriate way to provide aid while ensuring the safety of citizens. The analysis of this political discourse has both positive and negative implications for framing theory, as well as ideographic and metaphoric criticism. This discourse about Syrian refugees by our high-level politicians also has steep and lingering implications on our society, refugees themselves, and U.S. and global policymaking. In this chapter, I discuss the implications of this analysis, as well as the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.

Review of Research Questions

Before discussing the implications of this analysis, I briefly re-state my research questions. As Syrian citizens continue to be displaced at an extremely high rate, the discussion and discourse about Syrian refugees become increasingly salient (UNHCR, 2017). This thesis answered two main questions about the discourse of Syrian refugees: Through presidential rhetoric (Obama) and presidential campaign rhetoric (Clinton and Trump), how are candidates framing political discourse about Syrian refugees? And: Within the political discourse of Obama, Clinton, and Trump, how are ideographs and metaphors being used to frame Syrian refugees? Within my analysis, I sought to answer these questions to bring awareness to the Syrian refugee crisis, understand the direct impact of political discourse on the public and refugees, and to unpack the use of

ideographs and metaphors within political discourse to simplify complex ideas and issues.

Implications for Rhetorical Theory and Communication Studies

For this study, I used framing theory as well as two critical perspectives to analyze the political discourse surrounding Syrian refugees. I discuss the positive and negative implications of this analysis on framing theory and ideographic and metaphoric criticism for rhetorical theory and the larger discipline of communication studies.

Implications for framing theory. Framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the public will affect the way the information is internalized and processed by that individual (Goffman, 1986). Through my analysis, I expanded upon framing theory's claim that framing helps exhibit the link between power and authority to language (Kuehl, 2012) and that framing theory illustrates how politicians use discourse to persuade, define, and construct audience views on specific topics (De Vreese, 2005). With the various ways that each rhetor used their discourse to frame Syrian refugees, there were both positive and negative implications. While Obama and Clinton used positive language to advocate for the aid and relocation of Syrian refugees, these frames also had unintentional negative implications, while Trump's use of consistently adverse language about Syrian refugees also had negative implications.

Previous literature and scholarship about political discourse on refugees and Islam tend to be consistently negative (Van Dijk, 1997); however, both Obama and Clinton maintained a positive tone on the subject of Syrian refugees. Through language that created relatable identities, referencing historical aspects in which refugees played vital roles in American society and enacted American values, as well as positioning the crisis

as an international humanitarian issue, Obama and Clinton framed Syrian refugees in a positive way that invited the audience to become simultaneously empathetic and sympathetic to their cause. This rhetoric allowed the audience to learn more about Syrian refugees, why they are seeking refuge in America and multiple reasons as to why the U.S. should provide aid and allow for a policy that enables relocation. My analysis of Obama and Clinton's discourse about Syrian refugees reinforced the main concept behind framing theory; that it is not necessarily what the story is about, but how the story is told (Chong & Druckman, 2007; De Vreese, 2005). Although refugee rhetoric in the past has remained inherently negative (Van Dijk, 1997), Obama and Clinton used consistently positive language to frame refugees in a multitude of ways, enabling the American public to at least identify with refugees as fellow human beings.

Although Obama and Clinton used positive language framing Syrian refugees, some of these rhetorical choices also lead to negative implications. A key example of this was the repeated frame of refugees as victims of terrorism. As previous literature stated, refugees and immigrants are commonly linked to societal issues, such as crime and war (Cisneros, 2008). Although framing Syrian refugees as victims of terrorism is a way to create sympathy and relatability, this can also create a negative framing aspect, through eliminating refugees' sense of agency within their ability to control their lives and choices. Consistently identifying refugees as victims could have negative impacts on the refugees' ability to influence and maintain control of their lives, as well as their family's lives.

Another implication that impacts Syrian refugees' sense of agency is the messianic complex. This complex, also known as the 'Western white-savior' complex,

builds the narrative that the American government and citizens must be the necessary

saviors of the world (Bex & Craps, 2016). Scheufele (1999) developed another key

aspect of framing theory, stating that it is important to identify who is using language to

build a frame and how are they using that frame to create imagery and meaning. With the

repetitive use of this rhetorical strategy- framing Syrian refugee as victims- Obama and

Clinton create specific images and meanings that become attached to these refugees,

while simultaneously creating the image that as Americans, we must come to the rescue.

These images and meanings then project back to Syrian refugees, who can feel as though

their lives and futures are no longer within their control.

President Trump's discourse framing Syrian refugees also had a plethora of

negative implications that reinforced the previous scholarship that rhetoric about refugees

is inherently negative (Van Dijk, 1997) and participated in elite forms of subtle racism,

where refugees are presented as problematic and threatening (Vought, 2004). Trump

consistently framed Syrian refugees as potential threats, dangerous to the American

public, and as a group of people that should be feared. This allowed the public to become

wary of allowing Syrian refugees to relocate to the U.S., fostered potential ill-will

towards America and American culture, and emphasized the potential danger of people

who may be terrorists or have links to terrorism. His framing of Syrian refugees in these

negative ways invited his audience to question the intent of refugees and push against

then-President Obama's executive order to allow 10,000 Syrian refugees to relocate by

2017 (Ostrand, 2015).

Through my analysis in chapter four and the above implications about framing

theory, there are multiple influences that can be seen within rhetorical theory and the

communication discipline. The first demonstrates how positive frames and framing language can have unintentional negative impacts. As discussed, Obama and Clinton's use of the word 'victim' when describing Syrian refugees was meant to create sympathy and relatability, but also created an unintentional negative impact; attributing refugees to a societal 'problem,' which can also lead refugees to lose their sense of agency and to feel a lack of control within their lives. However, my analysis also demonstrated that negative frames could have positive impacts. As stated, Trump's rhetorical style and frame about Syrian refugees were consistently negative. However, this bolstered his base of Republican primary voters and unified the party on this issue, ultimately having a positive impact on this audience. The implications of the above rhetorical strategies expand upon how our discipline can understand and interpret framing theory.

Implications for ideographic criticism. Ideological criticism is often used to analyze political discourse as it allows the researcher to unpack, uncover, or thoroughly explain large meta-narratives that are found within specific cultural and societal contexts (Lucaites & Condit, 1999). Throughout each rhetors use of the central <refugee> ideograph, there were multiple implications regarding the ideologies behind this and other corresponding ideographs used by each rhetor. President Obama and Clinton used the <refugee> ideograph to help redefine the term and change the negative ideologies attributed to immigrants and refugees. Both Obama and Clinton used the <refugee> ideograph to create compassion and empathy, pose this as a humanitarian issue, frame refugees in familial terms to create relatable identities and remind the public of America's dedication to freedom of religion. The use of this ideograph advocated for the ideology that America, as a world and moral leader, as well as a country dedicated to the freedom

of religion, should continue to provide aid to those in need, and advocates for the relocation of Syrian refugees to the United States. As noted in the previous literature, this ideograph was used as an instrument to communicate "political consciousness" (Burgchardt, 1995, p. 497). The aim for this 'political consciousness' included the American people, as well as Democratic primary voters. Obama and Clinton aimed to create a political reality that involved providing aid and relocation services to Syrian refugees.

In opposition to Obama and Clinton's use of the term, President Trump used the <refugee> ideograph to define the term to fit his narrative and ideology that as a group, refugees should be feared. As stated previously, ideological criticism focuses on analyzing rhetorical aspects that express the dominant ideology, while simultaneously silencing opposing ideologies (Lucaites & Condit, 1999). Trump's use of repetitive rhetoric describing Syrian refugees as potential dangerous threats reinforces the ideology of fearing the unknown as well as the previous scholarship that poses immigrants and refugees as threats to the public and the security of America (DeChaine, 2012).

Trump's use of the <refugee> ideograph also has a multitude of gendered and religious implications. Within his discourse, Trump often defines <refugees> with specific physical and religious attributes, such as young, strong, male and potentially Islamic terrorists (Belvedere, 2015; Carroll, 2015; Fox News Staff, 2015). With this use of the <refugee> ideograph, Trump can again reinforce the dominant ideology of fearing people based on specific physical or religious attributes, which can lead the audience to potentially change their views of people based solely off of their physical appearance or religious affiliation.

Trump's use of the <refugee> ideograph had various implications as it relates to white supremacy and the seemingly large increase in race-based and religious based hate crimes since the beginning of his presidential campaign through his election as U.S. president. Aljazeera (2016) reported that hate crimes against Muslim's rose in 2015 and 2016 to the highest level since September 11th, 2001. My analysis of Trump's use of the <refugee> ideograph and its association with <terrorists> is compelling in how it correlated to an increase in racist statements and hate crimes against Islam and Muslim's in recent years, especially since the beginning of his campaigning efforts.

Throughout my analysis, I have expanded upon the knowledge of ideographs in communication studies, as well as within rhetorical theory and the application of ideographic criticism. From my analysis, I emphasize that the use of ideographs can develop into 'families' that are then used by specific rhetors over time as a rhetorical strategy. For example, Clinton's primary use of the <refugee> ideograph became attached to other familial ideographs such as the <American Dream> and <human rights,> which add insight into the overarching primary <refugee> ideograph in terms of rhetorical strategies for politicians. Similarly, Trump identified the <refugee> ideograph within terms that associated it with <terrorist.>

Implications for metaphoric criticism. Politicians often use metaphors to appeal to their audience (Foss, 1989), function as an art of persuasion (Booth, 1978) and to help describe complex issues with simple language to create understanding (Lakoff, 1993). The metaphors used by Obama, Clinton, and Trump acted as a rhetorical tool to help persuade their audiences and construct a social and political reality that fit their individual narratives about refugees (Lakoff & Johnson, 1981). Both Obama and Clinton

used a door metaphor in comparison to the U.S. border, stating that as a world and moral leader, the United States should not close our borders to Syrian refugees and that doing so would require abandoning our values as a country. Obama and Clinton also both used the war metaphor, but in different manners that both created a link between language and meaning (Gronnvoll & Landau, 2010). Obama's use of the war metaphor emphasized the relation between the U.S. and terrorism, while Clinton's use of the war metaphor emphasized America's dedication to freedom of religion.

Obama also used metaphors to imply the important role refugees play in American society and reminding the public that the United States is more than a piece of land, but an idea (Obama, 2015d). He used these metaphors to create a pattern of imagery (Osborn, 1976) that helped him describe refugees in a simpler manner that could be easily understood by his audience of the American people. The use of metaphors within his discourse enabled him to appeal to his audience and construct an idea and narrative about Syrian refugees in a different way than the media or other politicians.

Although President Trump used limited metaphors within the texts analyzed for this study, the repetitive use of one metaphor allowed it to develop rhetorical force. Trump used the 'Trojan horse' metaphor three times within the five texts of this study (Belvedere, 2014; Carroll, 2015; Fox News Staff, 2015), which he was able to use in a persuasive manner, and convince his audience that Syrian refugees pose a threat to the U.S. and its people. Trump's consistent use of the Trojan horse metaphor constructed a social and political reality that refugees are dangerous people and correspondingly, as a country, we should develop a national policy to prohibit refugees from relocating to the

United States. Trump has demonstrated his devotion to this ideology by creating multiple immigration orders that some have deemed unethical (Lomas, 2017).

Through my analysis, I have expanded upon the use and application of metaphorical criticism within rhetorical theory and the larger communication discipline. The first is the way that continued use of a specific metaphor referring to a particular person or group of people, in this case, refugees, acts as a rhetorical tool (Musloff, 2004) but can also have lingering effects on the religious, racial, ethnic, etc. characteristics that group identifies with. For example, Trump's continued use of the 'Trojan horse' metaphor asked his audience to label Syrian refugees as a potential threat due to their physical and religious attributes. Therefore, the use of this metaphor in this manner allowed his audience to also extend this negative feeling onto the religious group that these Syrian refugees belong to, in this case being Islam. However, metaphors are also used to simplify complex issues, as stated by Lakoff (1993). Within my analysis, I also discovered the use of metaphors to create relatability with the audience. Obama and Clinton's use of metaphor within their texts invited their audience to become familiar with Syrian refugees, their cause and their fight against terrorism, similar to that of the American public.

This research and analysis of the political discourse about Syrian refugees have highlighted various implications within a rhetorical sense, as well as within communication studies. This analysis highlighted the different aspects in which the use of framing, ideographs, and metaphors helped each rhetor construct their narratives about Syrian refugees.

Implications for Society, Refugees, and Politics

In addition to the rhetorical implications of this analysis, there are also multiple implications for society, the refugees, and the political realm. I discuss the implications of this analysis on the topics mentioned above and explain the importance of this research, as well as the connection to previous literature and scholarship.

Implications for society. As the Syrian refugee crisis continues to worsen, politicians and world leaders continue to discuss the appropriate way to help aid those in need. As a world and moral leader, many have stated that the United States has an obligation to help Syrian refugees. However, this analysis has highlighted two key societal implications – the messianic complex and the "American Dream" narrative. As mentioned above, the messianic complex is also known as the 'white savior' complex (Bex & Craps, 2016). This complex, an implication of Obama and Clinton's definition of American values, has been researched in that as white, westerners, we feel obligated to help or 'save' other, non-white people (Denzin, 2014). This complex has been cited as self-perpetuating and in a self-serving manner, in that it is less about helping people in need, and more about regarding our government or people in a morally superior manner (Bex & Craps, 2016). Both Obama and Clinton use <American values> as a way to persuade the audience that providing aid and helping Syrian refugees relocate is a moral obligation of the U.S., simultaneously creating this white-savior complex that could be seen in a negative and self-serving manner (Beinart, 2015; *Washington Post Staff*, 2015). This is an especially interesting ideology as it pertains to President Obama. Although a minority himself, Obama continues to push this narrative of helping Syrian refugees and

thus, the messianic complex, as it is seen as an obligation from both the U.S. government and public.

Another societal implication is the narrative of the 'American Dream.' While Obama has commonly used this narrative in the past in his discourse about refugees and immigrants (Atwater, 2007; Beinart, 2015; Darsey, 2009; Elahi & Cos, 2005; Harris, Moffit & Squires, 2010; Roland & Jones, 2011). Clinton used this narrative in direct relation to Syrian refugees. However, the 'American Dream' narrative has a key implication that is commonly overlooked. This narrative does not account for structural inequality; meaning, the societal and economic differences between people. Clinton states, "We have made people feel that if they did their part, they sent their kids to school, they worked hard, there would be a place for them in America" (Alba, 2015). Although this is a positive narrative, reality exhibits that 'working hard' isn't always enough, and that societal and economic status plays a large role in the success of American citizens.

Implications for refugees. Throughout this analysis, there are various implications on our society and politics, but one of the most important implications to discuss within this study is the direct impact on Syrian refugees. Of these implications, the most prevalent is the expectation of assimilation for incoming refugees. It is important to note again that refugees, unlike immigrants, are forced from their country due to war, persecution or natural disaster and often lose their homes, belongings, culture, and family members (Malkki, 1995). Upon relocating, refugees are often expected to assimilate, causing them to lose their 'home' culture (Hirschman, 2004). This can cause an array of hardships, in that refugees are forced to leave their countries due to war, and then also expected to leave their culture and cultural identity behind.

Within his discourse, Trump explicitly stated this expectation of assimilation by refugees, stating there is cause for concern if they are unable or unwilling to adapt to American culture (Fox News Staff, 2015). With this public discourse, the audience of Americans then likely expect refugees to assimilate into American culture quickly and in various ways; socially, economically, lawfully, and in speaking the English language. Refugees and immigrants are given little flexibility to learn and use English. With this ideology, as stated by Philmore and Goodson (2006), refugees enter the political realm as an object; they are seen as helpless and as a problem in need of a solution and are left little room or assistance in salvaging their cultures and livelihoods.

Implications for politics. This rhetoric influences U.S. and global policy and policy making surrounding the refugee crisis and has implications for U.S. politics and the rhetorical presidency. As stated in the previous literature, the U.S. public has remained hesitant of allowing refugees to relocate in America, especially Muslim refugees (DeSilver, 2015b) after the onset of terrorist attacks around the world by those claiming to follow Islam. In a study conducted after the start of the Syrian refugee crisis, 50% of Americans stated they did not want to allow the resettlement of any Syrian refugees in the U.S. – a sentiment that has impacted immigration rhetoric and policymaking (Igielnik, 2016). Since being elected to office, President Trump has issued two executive immigration orders directly impacting Syrian refugees (White House Office of the Press Secretary, 2017). Although neither has been passed (yet) in Congress, the public can see the impact of Syrian refugees on U.S. and international immigration policymaking.

As stated in chapter two, presidential rhetoric both past and present helps shape public opinion and policymaking and highlighted the importance of the president's character in their ability to command and persuade (Edwards, 2006). However, through Trump's short time in office, my analysis demonstrated the impact of Trump's discourse on the rhetorical presidency. First is President Trump's continued use of starkly polarizing and divisive discourse in an unwavering manner. Unlike the majority of his predecessors, Trump is seemingly continuing to appeal to his audience that already supports him, rather than trying to reach the public that opposes his ideologies. Although President's tend to spend more time addressing those within their party, they also attempt to use discourse and language to convince those who oppose them to share or tolerate, their beliefs and opinions. However, Trump consistently uses language to appeal to those who already agree with him, often with harsh and critical language. He has also elevated the importance of social media to the rhetorical presidency. Although previous presidents' have used social media, Trump uses Twitter to speak directly to the public and his supporters in an unusual manner (McGregor, 2017).

The second implication on the rhetorical presidency is Trump's limitation of the bully pulpit. As stated previous, the bully pulpit is defined as a public office or authorial position that provides a valuable opportunity to speak out on any issue (Edwards, 2006). In our current society, one of the bully pulpit's major aspects is the media presence within the White House. This consistently provides the American citizens with a direct line to the most powerful political leader in the world. However, within Trump's two months as president, the bully pulpit and media has already been affected. In mid-February, President Trump banned certain media companies to White House briefings;

CNN, BBC *The Guardian*, *The New York Times* (Siddiqui, 2017). He deemed these media outlets as an "enemy of the American people" (Siddiqui, 2017).). By banning these outlets that commonly disagree with President Trump and his policies, many considered this act against free speech and a limitation of the bully pulpit.

Another implication on politics is the observed economic and social burdens of providing aid and relocation to the 12.5 million refugees (Connor & Krogstad, 2016). An example of this, as highlighted in the previous literature, is Turkey. As a country, Turkey has allowed more than one million Syrian refugees to enter its country (Cagaptay & Menekse, 2014), as well as spent nearly four-billion dollars on entire cities equipped with schools and hospitals dedicated to those who are fleeing Syria (Cagaptay & Menekse, 2014). The U.S. and other countries have observed the social and economic impacts Turkey has endured, which could cause hesitation and affect policymaking in the future.

Limitations of Study

The first and most evident limitation of this study is the lack of research on presidential and political discourse in direct relation to refugees. While there is some research on immigration rhetoric (Cisneros, 2008; DeChaine, 2012; Igielnik, 2016; McKinnon, 2008; Van Dijk, 1997) there is a very limited amount of research as it relates to refugees. Although we have begun to see an increase of scholarship and literature surrounding refugees and refugees' crises, it continues to be an understudied topic in general, and within the communication discipline. Thus, I had to rely on previous scholarship and literature that included refugees within their immigration studies or research. However, this thesis worked towards filling the gap within this research.

The second limitation of this study was the inability to include the most recent and ever-evolving discourse about Syrian refugees. Due to time and length constrictions, I chose all of the texts in this study within a specific period. As mentioned in the justification section, I chose November and December of 2015 as the discourse about Syrian refugees became an increasingly popular topic, and was included in the primary debates (both Democratic and Republican) for the 2016 presidential election. This study could continue to be of value when conducted again, using more recent discourse, as well as the inclusion of the two immigration orders manufactured and signed by President Trump.

Another limitation of this study was the inclusion of only three rhetors, as I had to limit the number of rhetors included in this study. As stated in the justification section, I chose these rhetors for various reasons; their political experience, differing perspectives on the topic and ultimately their ability to influence their audiences due to their powerful national and global platforms. I also sought to include the current president in the beginning stages of this thesis (Obama) and the soon to be elected president (Trump) to better decipher how their discourse has impacted public policy and opinion in different manners within the rhetorical presidency.

While I chose to conduct a rhetorical analysis of the political discourse about Syrian refugees, this could also created limitations. Within rhetorical analysis, the researcher is unable to make effect claims, which can often allow the reader or audience to understand why this study was important. This methodology, while important and valuable, also is unable to gage the opinions and perspectives of the population. Using a

different methodology that would allow the researcher measure for perspectives and opinions, could prove immensely valuable, as stated below in the future research section.

Future Research

In cohesion with the limitations, the suggestions for future research include using texts or discourse from a more recent period, including various or other politicians, potentially from other political parties and countries. This research could continue to add value to rhetorical studies about political discourse and refugees by including a wider variety of perspectives and the most-recent discourse.

Future studies could also investigate how the intersection of ideographs and metaphors create more powerful rhetorical strategies to enhance identification between the rhetor and the audience. For example, Trump's rhetoric about <refugees> and the Trojan horse metaphor created a powerful identification tool for his base of Republican primary voters, who are still enthusiastically supporting him today.

In addition, this study only included two political party's (Democrat and Republican) and although they are the most prevalent in the U.S., various other political parties have significant followings and differing perspectives and platforms on the topics of immigration rhetoric and refugees. In the 2016 presidential election, both Gary Johnson (Libertarian party) and Jilly Stein (Green party) received multiple national headlines and vast followings through their campaigning efforts. Including these party's perspectives on this topic could add value to a future study.

Future research could also benefit from the use of a different methodology. While I chose to conduct rhetorical analysis, future studies could emphasize a different manner to collect and analyze information. This study chose to focus on the exact discourse from

the politician and analyze the different communication styles and specific language used to impact their audiences. Future research could complete an experimental study or survey research to better understand how people interpret this language and how it affects their decisions and perspectives on refugees could prove to be extremely beneficial.

Summary

This study and analysis have enhanced and expanded the connections between presidential rhetoric, immigration rhetoric, and public policy, as well as increased the literature on rhetoric about refugees. Both research questions were answered by the analysis, which sought to explore how Obama, Clinton, and Trump used language to frame Syrian refugees, as well as the use of ideographs and metaphors within their political discourse. The implications of these frames, ideographs, and metaphors were discussed, as well as the positive and negative implications on our society, the refugees themselves, and U.S. and global policymaking.

As the number of Syrian refugees continues to grow and the number of refugees worldwide hits an all-time high (Foulkes, 2014), the contents of this thesis become increasingly more important. This thesis sought to accomplish multiple goals; fill the gap in literature within refugee rhetoric, raise awareness to the humanitarian issue of the Syrian refugee crisis, and unpack and uncover the multiple meanings and messages within political discourse that ultimately helps shape public policy and opinion.

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