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EARLY 20TH CENTURY XENOPHOBIC PERCEPTIONS AMONG AMERICAN
SECURITY RALLY OF MONTANA PARTICIPANTS IN 2016

By

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Early 20th Century Xenophobic Perceptions among American Security Rally of Montana Participants in 2016

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The goal of this research was to investigate immigration perceptions among participants in the American Security Rally of Montana using in-depth interviews and participant observation qualitative techniques. The thesis was guided by the following questions. What are the perceptions of participants among the American Security Rally of Montana with respect to immigration, where do they come from and why are they are created? The main theme highlighted by participants was one of xenophobia. This xenophobic rhetoric was predominantly directed towards potential Syrian refugee migrants to Montana but also encompassed a perspective pertaining to Hispanic/Latino undocumented migrants. Theodore Adorno's notion of the "authoritarian personality" and his ideas on the "culture industry" are applied along with social identity theory to explain where the anti-immigrant rhetoric highlighted throughout the findings of the current study come from. This study is important because it addresses one of the most controversial contemporary topics in American culture. It represents a social issue that is timely and applicable on the local, national, and international levels. The study is unique because it addresses anti-immigrant beliefs in a rural northwestern state with one of the least diverse, mostly white, populations in the United States (Schmalzbauer 2014). Findings are important because they highlight a xenophobic narrative from the past that has persisted from the time Theodore Adorno started his work in the early 1900's (Hafez 2015: 24; Ekman 2015; Bulliet 2003).

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INTRO

Republican President-elect, Donald Trump has stirred much controversy and debate over immigration in past months. The Trump campaign relied heavily on anti-Muslim and anti-Syrian refugee rhetoric, a narrative that clearly resonated with many Americans. The most recent President-elect has suggesting banning Muslims from entering the country and creating a Muslim registry for those already in the country (Phillip and Hauslohner 2016). However, this research proposal was originally inspired by Trump's statement during his presidential announcement speech on June 16, 2015 concerning Mexican immigration in which he stated,

When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you, they're sending people that have lots of problems and they're bringing those problems. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime. They're rapists and some, I assume, are good people, but I speak to border guards and they're telling us what we're getting (Ye Hee Lee 2015).

Trump received a substantial amount of backlash for the comments in the public eye, but many Americans applauded the statements. At that time, immigration from Mexico was arguably the hottest topic among presidential candidates, as well as the media. However, since the terrorist (ISIS) attacks in Paris on November 13, 2015, the immigration debate has shifted heavily to the topic of Syrian refugees (Byman 2016; Douglass 2016).

Immediately after the Paris attacks, many Governors announced that they would oppose Syrian refugee resettlement in their states. Currently, thirty-one state governors oppose accepting Syrian Refugees into their states. Montana Governor Steve Bullock was not among them as he stated, "Montana will not allow any terrorist organization to intimidate us into abandoning our values" and declared that Montana will not refuse considering Syrian refugee resettlement (Michels 2015). At the time, Montana was just one of two states that had virtually no refugee resettlement programs. However, since then, a Missoula organization known as Soft Landings

has taken steps to establish a refugee resettlement program in Montana. Originally Soft Landings proposed accepting ten refugees, but now are pushing to resettle roughly a hundred per year (Michels 2015). On February 8, 2016, The American Security Rally of Montana, an organization opposing Soft Landings, Syrian refugees, and “uncontrollable illegal immigration,” protested in front of the Missoula county courthouse (Drake 2016). The stated purpose of the organization on their Facebook website is for:

“[N]o other reason than to motivate people to DEMAND that their representatives honor their oath of office and protect the CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES and not place those of other countries above us.” The organization is “particularly concerned with issues from closing the borders to illegal immigration to terrorists being allowed into the U.S. and any other issues that put the United States and her population in danger.”

Since February this organization has continued to hold protests and public demonstrations in cities throughout the state of Montana. As of right now, no Syrian refugees have been resettled in Montana (Briggeman 2016). However, the debate continues around the state of Montana and NPR, a public radio network, even did a story about the raise of anti-Syrian refugee sentiment in the Flathead Valley on October 17th hosted by Robert Siegel.

Purpose / Objective

The goal of this research project was to investigate the worldviews among participants of the American Security Rally of Montana. The objective was to understand immigration perceptions among members of the American Security Rally of Montana, specifically endeavoring to discover participants’ understanding of the proposed “danger” threatening America in the form of “illegal immigrants” and “terrorists being allowed into the U.S.” The researcher wanted to better understand participants fear or threat to “American Security” that according to scholarly research is thought to incite hostile feelings towards immigrants (Murray

2011; Ekman 2015; Chavez 2008; Rana 2007; Gardell 2010; Yakushko 2009; Raiya et al. 2008; Elias 2006; Dixon and Linz 2000; Valentino et al. 2013).

Significance

This study is important because it addresses one of the most controversial contemporary topics in American culture. It represents a social issue that is timely and applicable on the local, national, and international levels. There has been much research on hostile perceptions of immigration throughout the country but Montana remains an area that has been virtually untouched by the vast majority of immigration scholars, mainly because Montana is simply not considered a major immigration destination like states in the southwest such as Arizona, California and Texas. This study is unique because it addresses anti-immigrant rhetoric in a rural northwestern state with one of the least diverse, mostly white, populations in the United States (Schmalzbauer 2014). This study will provide theoretical insights into the anti-immigrant rhetoric and contribute to the existing body of research.

LITERATURE

This section discusses relevant literature on anti-immigrant narratives targeting Hispanic/Latinos, and Muslim immigrants in America. For the sake of clarity, Hispanic refers to Hispaniola and Spanish ancestry. Latino is a broad term that references Spanish speaking peoples from the Americas. Therefore, Mexicans are Latinos but Latinos are not necessarily Mexican. Furthermore, Muslim refers broadly to those who follow the religion of Islam. All themes discussed throughout the literature are interrelated with the overarching theme of xenophobia, or fear of immigrants. Xenophobia can be thought of in more specific categories such as islamophobia and “the Latino threat.” Literature themes that will be discussed pertaining to

islamophobia and “the Latino threat” include, threat to resources, immigrant assimilation, and immigrant imperialism.

Xenophobia

Xenophobia is, “an underlying set of attitudes based on fear, dislike, or hatred of foreigners” (Yakushko 2009: 36). In other words, xenophobia refers to negative attitudes towards foreigners (Fernando 1993; Awan 2010; Yakushko 2009). Oksana Yakushko explains that xenophobia is a form of oppression and intolerance (2009: 48). The United States has a long documented history of xenophobia (Awan 2010; Fussell 2014). Xenophobia is closely related to ethnocentrism, the attitude that one’s group or culture is superior to others (Mukherjee, Molina and Adams 2012; Murray 2011; Valentino 2013). Xenophobia encompasses race and ethnocentrism but focuses more broadly on “forms of cultural prejudice and religion-based discrimination” (Rana 2007: 149). Religion and ethnicity are generally geographically consistent so it makes sense that religious fears often get misconstrued as racism and vice versa (Bloom, Arikan and Courtemanche 2015). Yakushko concludes that “ethnocentrism and xenophobia appear to be highly characteristic of U.S. society in general” (2009: 58).

Islamophobia

A specific type of xenophobia is islamophobia. Islamophobia can be defined as a fear of Islam and Muslims (Rana 2007). Ekman (2010) explains how anti-Muslim sentiment in the western world is nothing unique and has been around for centuries. Since the events of September 11th 2001, global islamophobia has been on a steady raise (Hafez 2015). Muslims in the United States are stereotyped and victims of prejudice and discrimination (Alsayegh 2016; Johnston 2016; Jackson 2010). Scholars argue that islamophobia is more linked to religion than anything else. Islamophobia is a form of cultural racism rather than biological racism. It is an

example of “racism without a race” (Ekman 2015: 1988). Rana makes a case that so called “racism” has always been complexly intertwined with religion; as has clearly been the case with discrimination towards Jews, Native Americans, African Slaves, Muslims, etc. Rana argues that the entire concept of race has historically developed from a cultural religious perspective rather than a racial point of view. He states that, religion has been the “central feature from which to understand notions of biological and cultural difference encapsulated in the race concept” and argues that the historical formation of the word race was originally founded “in terms of religious opposition of Christianity to the so-called American Indian heathen” (Rana 2007: 153). Historically, the other has been classified by outsiders as “sexually deviant, barbaric, depraved, cruel, tyrannical, deceiving, and immoral” (Rana 2007: 154). Rana sees islamophobia as a frame of thinking in which Muslim immigrants are considered “a threat to white Christian supremacy” (Rana 2007: 150). For example in the eyes of many Christian theologians, “Islam was seen as a heretical version of Christianity and in many senses a corrupt extension of the Judeo-Christian tradition” (Rana 2007: 158).

Prejudice towards Muslims in the United States is frequently correlated to violence and terrorism (Ogan et al. 2014; Jackson 2010; Johnston 2016; Klepper 2014; Alsayegh 2016; Hafez 2015). One of the most prevalent western anti-Muslim arguments today is the idea that Islam represents a threat to national security; this has been referred to by scholars as “the green scare” or “the green peril,” similar to the historic “red scares” of communism (Ekman 2015: 1987). In a 2006 USA Today Gallup Poll thirty-nine percent of Americans favored requiring Muslims, including American citizens, to carry a special ID as a means of preventing terrorist attacks and nearly one-fourth of respondents said that they would not want to have Muslim neighbors (Elias 2006: 5). Prevalent in the anti-immigrant rhetoric are arguments like “Muslims kill innocent

people” and “Muslims always turn to violence and can’t solve their problems without bloodshed” (Raiya et al. 2008: 318).

The religion of Islam is thought of as a primitive uncivilized religion that is inherently opposed to western values (Johnston 2016; Awan 2010). Often associated with islamophobia is the belief that Islam is incompatible with the western ideals of freedom and democracy (Klepper 2014). Muslims are often thought of by outsiders as “incapable of democracy and self-rule” (Ekman 2015: 1989). There is also an existing narrative among Muslim-fearing Americans that Islam is a “totalitarian political ideology,” as much as it is a religion. Islam has been associated with Hitler, fascism, socialism and communism; some conservatives say “there is no such thing as moderate Islam.” This argument has been made by right-wing Ayn Rand influenced thinkers like Pamela Geller (Ekman 2015: 1994; Johnston 2016).

Islamophobia rhetoric among Americans often associates Muslims with criminals, terrorists and rapists (Yakushko 2009; Jackson 2010; Ogan et al. 2014). According to data gathered by the Pew Research center, only about half of the U.S. population perceives Muslims as honest (Klepper 2014). Many Americans view Muslim treatment of women negatively (Klepper 2014: 118). Islamophobic thinkers perceive Muslim cultures as authoritarian, sexist, inherently violent and static or incapable of change (Awan 2010). Predictors of anti-Muslim attitudes include being older, religious, and politically conservative (Ogan et al. 2014). Other predictors of anti-Muslim attitudes include lower levels of education and unemployment (Ogan et al. 2014: 35).

“The Latino Threat”

Like Muslim immigrants, Hispanic/Latino immigrants are commonly subject to xenophobic American perceptions. Unlike Muslim immigrants, negative beliefs towards

Hispanic/Latino immigrants are not centered in religion. Leo Chavez' coins the term "the Latino threat" to describe how American society demonizes Latino immigrants as an invading force threatening to destroy the American way of life (Chavez 2008). The notion of Hispanic/Latino immigrants as a national security threat is nothing new (Ekman 2015; Schmalzbauer 2014; Chavez 2008). These threats are represented and manifested in many different ways. Xenophobic Americans commonly associate Hispanic/Latino immigrants with the declining economy, overpopulation, pollution, increased violence, depleted social resources and loss of cultural values. They are perceived as criminal, poor, violent, and uneducated (Yakushko 2009: 37; Chavez 2008; Schmalzbauer 2014; Mukherjee et. al 2012; Ekman 2015; Bloom et al 2015; Schemer 2012; Fussell 2014; Valentino et al 2013; Seate and Mastro 2015).

Chavez discusses an organization calling themselves the Minutemen, a vigilante group that took it upon themselves to "protect America from the illegal invasion of Mexican aliens" along the border in Arizona. Many of the members of the Minutemen were veterans of Vietnam and Iraq. The organization insisted migrants were "breaking into the country" (Chevez 2008: 136). The Minutemen organization emphasized a "careless disregard of effective U.S. immigration law enforcement [and] a refusal of Congress and the President to protect our borders from illegal immigrants who have not had criminal background checks [creating a]... danger to all Americans" (Chavez 2008: 133). They portrayed themselves as "Americans doing the job the government won't do" (Chavez 2008: 133). One member of the Minute Men said, "I'd like to see my brother get a wheel chair lift rather than an illegal alien get a free education. I just think you've got to take care of your own" (Chavez 2008: 138).

Resource Threat

There is much debate among Americans over immigrants access to resources like jobs, drivers licenses, government sponsored education, social services, medical care, housing assistance, financial aid, and so on (Chavez 2008; Lee 2015; Mukherjee 2012; Schemer 2012; Fussell 2014; Valentino et. al 2013). Anti-immigrant sentiment would say that giving undocumented migrants access to any of these things is essentially rewarding criminals who have no respect for the law and these people need to be deported rather than assisted and “rewarded” (Chavez 2008). Many Americans believe that the health care system is being exploited by immigrants who are getting “free-health care” (Chavez 2008). Both Muslim and Mexican/Latino immigrants commonly serve as scapegoats for socioeconomic inequalities. In the media immigrants are blamed for the economy, un-employment, low-wages and high taxes (Lee 2015: 253).

To native born Americans there is a fear that immigrants take jobs and lower wages (Fussell 2014; Seate and Mastro 2015; Chavez 2008; Lee et. al 2001). Often times, diminished economic resources can proliferate fears and anxieties to be projected onto immigrant communities (Yakushko 2009: 45; Valentino et al. 2013). Researchers have found that poor uneducated Caucasians report being much more concerned about immigrants “threatening the economy” and “robbing U.S. citizens of jobs,” partially because they are the population most likely to be competing with immigrants for blue collar labor (Lee et al. 2001:436; Schemer 2012). Schemer explains how less educated Americans are more likely to be competing with minorities in the blue-collar labor sector of the economy. Due to this competition over resources, less educated individuals with lower incomes are more likely to perceive minorities and immigrants as a threat (Fussell 2014; Schemer 2012; Hainmueller 2015). Hostility towards

migrants is most likely to take place within the population who is most vulnerable to losing their jobs (Valentino et al. 2013).

Cultural Threat / Assimilation

Throughout American history, citizens have often demanded that immigrants assimilate into their culture, morals, religion, and language (Yakushko 2009: 50; Murray 2011; Mukherjee, Molina and Adams 2012; Chavez 2008; Johnston 2016). Immigrants are perceived by many Americans as unwilling or incapable of integrating or becoming part of the national community (Awan 2010). There is a belief among the American population that undocumented Latino immigrants and their children do not assimilate into American culture and society. Instead, Hispanic/Latinos are thought to form their own “political and linguistic enclaves and reject the Anglo-Protestant values that built the American dream” (Chavez 2008: 21). Some Americans think that Hispanic/Latino refuse to learn to speak English or abide by American laws (Chavez 2008: 23; Hainmueller 2015). These same statements have commonly been made towards Muslim immigrants in the United States as well (Bytwerk 2015; Lee 2015; Ekman 2015; Raiya et al 2008).

Immigrant Imperialism

There is a fear among some American citizens of a demographic shift due to immigration in which Caucasians will become the minority. In 2005, Latinos accounted for eighty percent of the population in Santa Ana California. Places like Santa Anna are presented in the anti-immigrant narrative as a microcosm for what is to come for the greater United States as a whole. There is a belief that American values, society and way of life are in jeopardy (Chavez 2008). Latinos are thought to be “part of an invading force from south of the border that is bent on reconquering land that was formerly theirs and destroying the American way of life” (Chavez

2008: 2). This notion not only pertains to Hispanic/Latino immigrants but to Muslim immigrants as well.

The notion of the “silent infiltration of Islam” (Lee 2015) suggests that the Muslim world is conspiring to convert the western world to Islam and strict Sharia law (Hafez 2015; Jones et al. 2011). This perception has “roots in classical anti-Semitic rhetoric and the conception of the deceitful Jew” as can be seen in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In the article, “Believing in ‘Inner Truth’: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion in Nazi Propaganda, 1933-1945,” author Randall Bytwerk discusses how *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was used by Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels in Nazi propaganda to promote the idea of “an international Jewish conspiracy” (Bytwerk 2015: 212). Contemporary rhetoric groups, such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Muslim Brotherhood, are often described as secret orchestrators behind the “islamization of the west” (Ekman 2015: 1993). In some American minds, Islam is thought to be inherently dishonest and deceiving. For example, online “counter-jihadists” point to the Muslim concept of Taqiyya, a practice that is seen as allowing a Muslim to deny their faith if it is to the overall benefit of Islam (Lee 2015: 253; Hafez 2015; Jones et al. 2011). Taqiyya is presented as proof that Muslim faith allows for lies and deception for the advancement of Islamic world domination.

THEORY

This section will introduce relevant theory that can be applied to the literature discussed in the previous section. Social identity theory and Theodore Adorno’s notions of the authoritarian personality and the culture industry will be discussed. These theoretical frameworks are appropriate because they provide an overall framework for adding insight to where xenophobic perceptions discussed throughout the literature come from, and how/why they exist.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory was pioneered by a man by the name of Henri Tajfel along with his graduate student John Turner. Tajfel was a Polish Jew who left Poland in the 1930's as a result of anti-Semitism and fled to France to continue to pursue his academic ambitions in Chemistry. During the outbreak of World War II he fought for the French army, was captured by the Germans as a POW, and remained in captivity until the end of the war in 1945. The events of the Holocaust and loss of family and friends prompted Tajfel into studying social psychology, focusing predominantly on prejudice (Jahoda 2004).

“Social identity theory posits that people derive a sense of self from identification with a social group, and consequently take part in symbolic conflict with other groups in order to maintain a positive group status” (Bloom, Arikian and Courtemanche 2015: 204). According to social identity theory “prejudice toward out-group members provides the members of the in-group a sense of positive social identity and satisfies their need for self-esteem” (Raiya et al. 2008; 313). Working off social identity theory, “terror management theory stipulates that in-group members evaluate out-group members negatively because unlike others are assumed to threaten their worldview” (Raiya et al. 2008: 313). Not all groups are equally threatening to social identity; it is the groups perceived as most different that are perceived as the most threatening to the in-group (Bloom, Arikian and Courtemanche 2015). Social identity influences group solidarity as in-groups separate themselves from out-groups groups and those dissimilar from themselves. This is important in reinforcing the social identity and superior in-group status of the particular group.

Applying social identity theory, Raiya (2008) finds that religion evokes compassion towards in-group members while separating out-group members as threatening. An example of

this phenomenon can be exemplified by high ranking Catholic leaders in the United States who tend to favor Latino immigration while not supporting Muslim immigration (Bloom, Arikan and Courtemanche 2015). Although Latino immigrants differ from most Americans in ethnicity, a high percentage of them are Catholic whereas Muslim immigrants for the most part differ from Americans in both ethnicity and religion (Bloom, Arikan and Courtemanche 2015: 216).

Understanding religion is important because religious social identity plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and Christian Americans are most likely to reject immigrants most different from themselves in outward appearance as well as religion. Social identity is important to understanding the complexities of intolerance in general.

Adorno's "Authoritarian Personality"

Specific social identities, like religious identity, are parallel to identifying characteristics of Theodore Adorno's notion of the authoritarian personality. Social identity theory plays off of and compliments the authoritarian personality because the authoritarian personality is made up of a multiplicity of social identities that are thought to influence the likelihood of individual being authoritative. In essence, the authoritarian personality itself is an unconscious living, breathing social identity.

Coincidentally, Adorno's biography is somewhat similar to Tajfel's. In 1934, Adorno was barred from teaching in Germany based on racial grounds due to his Jewish ancestry and relocated to the United States just prior to the wake of World War II. Being exposed to the social phenomena in Germany, the raise of anti-Semitism, fascism and the Nazi party, sparked Adorno's work on what he would eventually call the "authoritarian personality." The authoritarian personality was determined by a survey test that was administered to subjects

whose results could identify them on an “F” scale; representing an individuals’ fascist personality.

Adorno claimed that certain characteristics made individuals vulnerable to becoming fascists. These characteristics include religion, ethnocentrism, conformity, authoritarianism (following the rules), and right-wing political conservatism (Ferrarotti 1994; Roiser and Willig 2002). In Adorno’s research, authoritarian subjects were prejudice towards Jews, hostile to foreigners as well as minority groups and conservative with respect to social services (Roiser and Willig 2002: 74). Adorno’s central thesis was that capitalism and “industrial society encourage the formation of authoritarian individuals who may become fascist and are born within fascist organizations” (Roiser and Willig 2002: 93).

According to Adorno, authoritarians follow authority blindly, and in many cases are dogmatic, closed-minded, irrational thinkers (Roiser and Willig 2002). The authoritarian personality is a socialized personality that internalizes established “ideological irrationalities” and aligns with power and success (Ferrarotti 1994). Milton Rokeach who wrote *Open and Closed Mind* discussed the cognitive style of the authoritarian personality. Rokeach argued that “dogmatic thinkers tended to be right-wing” (Rokeach 1960; Roiser and Willig 2002: 80). Other authors such as Hans Eysenck claim that “fascists can be summed up as tough-minded conservatives” (Eysenck 1954; Roiser and Willig 2002: 84). Much of Adorno’s authoritarian personality has been correlated to right wing political parties but also religious groups.

A comprehensive review of empirical literature linking religion and prejudice was done in 1993 and found that “higher levels of religiousness related to higher prejudice in 37 of 47 studies” sampled (Batson, Schoenrade and Ventis). Scholars argue that islamophobia is far more linked to the religion of Islam than race (Ekman 2015). Popular figures like Atlas Shrugged

scholar Pamela Geller present Islam as “the driving factor behind extremism and violence” and argue that the religion is more of a political ideology than an actual religion (Lee 2015: 259). Islamophobia has been associated with notable religious figures as well such as David Horowitz, Daniel Pipes, Steve Emerson and Glenn Beck (Johnston 2016). One variable commonly affiliated with religious prejudice is particularism or religious fundamentalism (Raiya et al. 2008: 312). Particularism is when an individual or group perceives their religion to be the only true religion. In the eyes of a religious fundamentalist, one must conform to the one and only true notion of god.

In addition to religion, authoritarians and their social structures often represent a portion of society that, like capitalist industry, is hierarchical and promotes conformist attitudes. Franco Ferrarotti (1994) discusses conformity as an essential characteristic of the authoritarian personality. Ferrarotti argues that individuals with the authoritarian personality exhibit “mental laziness” and “general passivity” (Ferrarotti 1994: 105). Ferrarotti states that, “the conformist today is one so insecure in himself and of the world that he needs human groups inferior to himself” (1994: 117). A conformist is a person who just seeks to simply “get by” and is a “natural opportunist;” “one never dreams of questioning; obeying orders whatever they may be, and being thus ready to ‘believe, obey, fight’ without daring to ask why or against whom” (Ferrarotti 1994: 118). Racists are, after all, part of communities, and these communities are often responsible for shaping their beliefs. Anti-Semitism in the early 1900’s, for example, was part of a larger conformist hegemonic discourse established through political conservatism and authoritarian values (Ferrarotti 1994). Adorno believed that “unhealthy proto-fascist personalities develop during childhood within a predisposing culture” (Roiser and Willig 2002: 91). Authoritarians are non-egalitarian and are taught to obey rather than question (Roiser and Willig

2002). Individuals' sense of personal responsibility is lost in mass conformity and oppressed groups in society are blamed by those in power for their own situation (Ferrarotti 1994).

The authoritarian personality is also associated with ethnocentric attitudes. Franco Ferrarotti (1994) discusses ethnocentric prejudice as a characteristic of the authoritarian personality. It is under an ethnocentric nationalist assumption that minority cultures must assimilate and conform to American standards, epistemological ideology, culture, language and hegemonic discourse (Mukherjee, Molina and Adams 2012). The foundation of the dominant hegemonic discourse of white patriarchal society is nationalism, namely the American belief that white culture, religion and overall way of life is superior to all others. In the article "Nationalism, Patriotism and New Subjects of Ideological Hegemony," John Murray draws a comparison between the ideologies of British imperialism, German fascism and American capitalism. In all of these cases, the author argues, "these ideologies were used to exaggerate nationalist sympathies, to legitimize foreign and domestic policies of intolerance towards immigrants, and to promote fears of alien influences" (Murray 2011: 31). In another article, "National Identity and Immigration Policy: Concern for Legality or Ethnocentric Exclusion?," the authors conclude that "policies against undocumented immigration may be less about law and order than they are about nationalism and associated ethnocentrism" (Mukherjee, Molina and Adams 2012: 29). Murray discusses "white man's burden," which is "the supposed duty of white people to manage the affairs of non-white people" (2011: 35). White man's burden exemplifies an ethnocentric belief that whites are more civilized and possess the right to manage the affairs of minority groups they deem inferior.

Adorno's "Culture Industry"

Adorno argues that the authoritarian personality is representative of a population that is vulnerable to being manipulated, shaped and formed by the most powerful individuals in capitalist societies. The notion of the culture industry relates to the authoritarian personality in that it is the culture industry that is used as a tool by those who control it to create and govern authoritarian minded individuals in society.

The culture industry can be thought of as the media. The culture industry is a term that was originally derived from Adorno and Horkheimer's concept of "mass culture" in the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, which was published in 1947 (Adorno 1975: 12). The culture industry is viewed by Adorno as the producer of mass media propaganda in society (Adorno 1975). Propaganda is an "artistic product that limits the ways in which we relate to ourselves, our society, and our world" (Lewis 2005: 51). In Adorno's eyes, the media produces propaganda to synchronize society into conformist values, what the Nazi party called "gleichshaltung" (Ferrarotti 1994). Adorno perceived members of society as "mere functionaries" of the upper class bourgeoisie who own and control the media to advance their own class interests and establish a uniform social discourse where people literally do not possess the critical skills to think outside the box and question the status quo (Ferrarotti 1994).

The culture industry produces products and advertisements that only work to socialize individuals into an ideology and frame of thinking which reifies the dominant ruling class' position of power in society (Lewis 2005: 47). The culture industry works to establish a conformist society and "standards for orientation" (Adorno 1975: 16). The ruling class owns the mode of production and only chooses to produce consumer products that reinforce their ideas and interests. Adorno argues that culture comes to know itself through these products and advertisements that are designed to further establish behavior that perpetuates the existing

unequal capitalist social order (Adorno 1975). As Adorno states of the culture industry, “the concepts of order which it hammers into human beings are always those of the status quo. They remain unquestioned, unanalyzed and undialectically presupposed, even if they no longer have any substance for those who accept them” (Adorno 1975: 17). Adorno refers to the media as “the master’s voice” who projects a common sense logic that is presumed “given and unchangeable” (Adorno 1975: 12). The media distorts information to incoherently manipulate public perception and produce propaganda in order to gain support for harsh contradictory laws that work to favor the upper classes capitalist agenda. One such example can be found in the media’s portrayal of immigration.

Seate and Mastro (2015) discuss common threatening media characterizations of minority groups. Exposure to threatening messages in the media influences viewers to produce attitudes that dehumanize immigrants. Viewing such messages increases levels of out-group anxiety. In Seate and Mastro’s study, higher level of news consumption was related to higher levels of anxiety towards immigrants. When a group perceives another group as threatening they tend to take steps to minimize these threats; even if their perceptions are fabricated by the media and in reality, may have no legitimacy what so ever (Seate and Mastro 2015).

There are many ways in which the media influences general attitudes about Latino immigrants. Racial priming theory suggests that the media has a direct effect on public opinion and politics (Valentino et al. 2013:151). Attitudes towards immigration among white Americans can be directly related to media portrayals of immigrants. “If the news overemphasizes the frequency of social problems in a particular immigrant community, such as among Latinos, we would expect support for policy restrictions to be powerfully linked to attitudes about the group” (Valentino et al. 2013:163). “Media priming” plays an important part in the formation of

attitudes concerning immigration. Negative portrayals of migrants on the news causes increased “white anxiety” over the other, and is “critical in triggering opposition to immigration” (Valentino et al. 2013:164). This can be done by framing pieces of information or by blatant misrepresentation of information. For example, in a 2000 study of local television in Los Angeles, researchers Dixon and Linz found that “although 13% of real-world homicide victims in the region were white, 43% of the homicide victims featured in the news were white.” Furthermore, “54% of real-world homicide victims in Los Angeles were Latino, but only 19% of homicides shown on the news depicted Latino victims” (Dixon and Linz 2000). The message here is clear but completely irrational; whites are the victims most often in the news, but not in reality. In this way, the media is thought of as a means of public socialization that can be used to oppress certain minority groups.

Latinos have been disproportionately represented in the media as posing threats to the country (Chavez 2008). Historically, media outlets and public rhetoric have produced “anti-immigrant riots, restrictive immigration laws, forced internments, and acrimonious public debates over policy” (Chavez 2008: 3). Undocumented immigrants are painted by the media as “undeserving criminals and potential terrorists” (Chavez 2008: 9). The immigrant threat of drugs, drug dealers, and gangs are common in the media as well (Chavez 2008). There is a media narrative of immigrants as damaging to commonly held U.S. morals and value systems thus symbolizing a threat to “liberty, democracy and safety” through the misrepresentation and framing of information (Seate and Mastro 2015: 3).

Similarly, research has shown that most media coverage depicts Muslims in a negative light (Ogan 2014). Ogan states that U.S. media has presented a “clearly unbalanced” negative portrait of Muslims that has contributed to the negative views of Muslim people that many

Americans hold (Ogan et al. 2014: 41). There is “a tendency in the media and among political circles to hold Muslims collectively responsible for the actions of a few” (Alsayegh 2016: 272). The perception being formed by the media is that “Islam is an other-worldly religion that relies on terror alone to convert people” (Awan 2010: 528). The violent image of Islam is produced and reinforced in mainstream media through popular films, television programs and books (Klepper 2014; Jackson 2010). Media plays a big role in shaping public opinion and has a profound influence on those who have limited to no contact with Muslims or Islam (Ogan et al. 2014: 29). A polling organization named CAIR indicated that the majority of Americans’ main source for information concerning Muslims and Islam comes from the television and these messages reflect “an incredibly narrow minority of Muslim practices” (Jackson 2010: 16). The media has had such an influence that when Americans think Islam they think of the Middle East. It is important to remember that “most of the world’s Muslims live east of Kabul” and the largest Muslim country in the world is Indonesia (Bulliet 2003: 16; Kent 2002). However, the impact of media is not simple, but highly complex (Jackson 2010). It is extremely difficult if not impossible to attribute causal effect to the media. However, this does not at all mean that media is an insignificant piece of the puzzle.

DATA / METHODS

Research Question: What are the perceptions of participants among the American Security Rally of Montana with respect to immigration, where do these perceptions come from and why are they created?

The methodology for this project was based on a deductive qualitative approach in which the literature and theory heavily guided the data-gathering process. Through participant observation the researcher attended public rallies in western Montana organized by the American Security Rally of Montana. These events took place in two cities throughout Montana, Missoula

and Helena. Participant observations took place amidst the literature gathering time period and influenced the literature review heavily. This deductive approach allowed the literature and theory to guide the analysis of data as well. Most themes were coded based on some of the categories developed from the literature and for the most part, all themes were determined because they occurred most frequently in interviews. However, a few were highlighted simply because they were fascinating.

Participant observation allows for the researcher to observe the social phenomena taking place in its natural public environment. This gives the investigator access to attitudes and personal narratives on the topic of interest, giving the researcher an opportunity to immerse oneself into the lives of subjects while also sharing an experience with them. During these observations the researcher took field notes that were later transcribed and coded. The researcher also listened to speakers, and informally interviewed protesters.

The investigator also used rallies as a recruiting ground to recruit protesting participants for nine in-depth interviews. The technique of purposive sampling was used to seek out a subset of the population of American Security Rally attendees in a place where the phenomenon under study was currently happening. The researcher obtained written consent from all participants and explained that all of the information that they provided would remain anonymous.

The interviewer used an open ended interview guide allowing for probes and in-depth discussion. An audio recorder was used during this process. After the interview, participants were given a short questionnaire about occupation, residence, age, gender, race, political affiliation and level of education. Interviews took place wherever was most convenient for participants, most often coffee shops and restaurants. Data from the interviews was transcribed as soon as possible upon completion throughout the summer of 2016. Coded transcriptions and

field notes were analyzed into common themes that could be presented by the researcher in a coherent report of the findings.

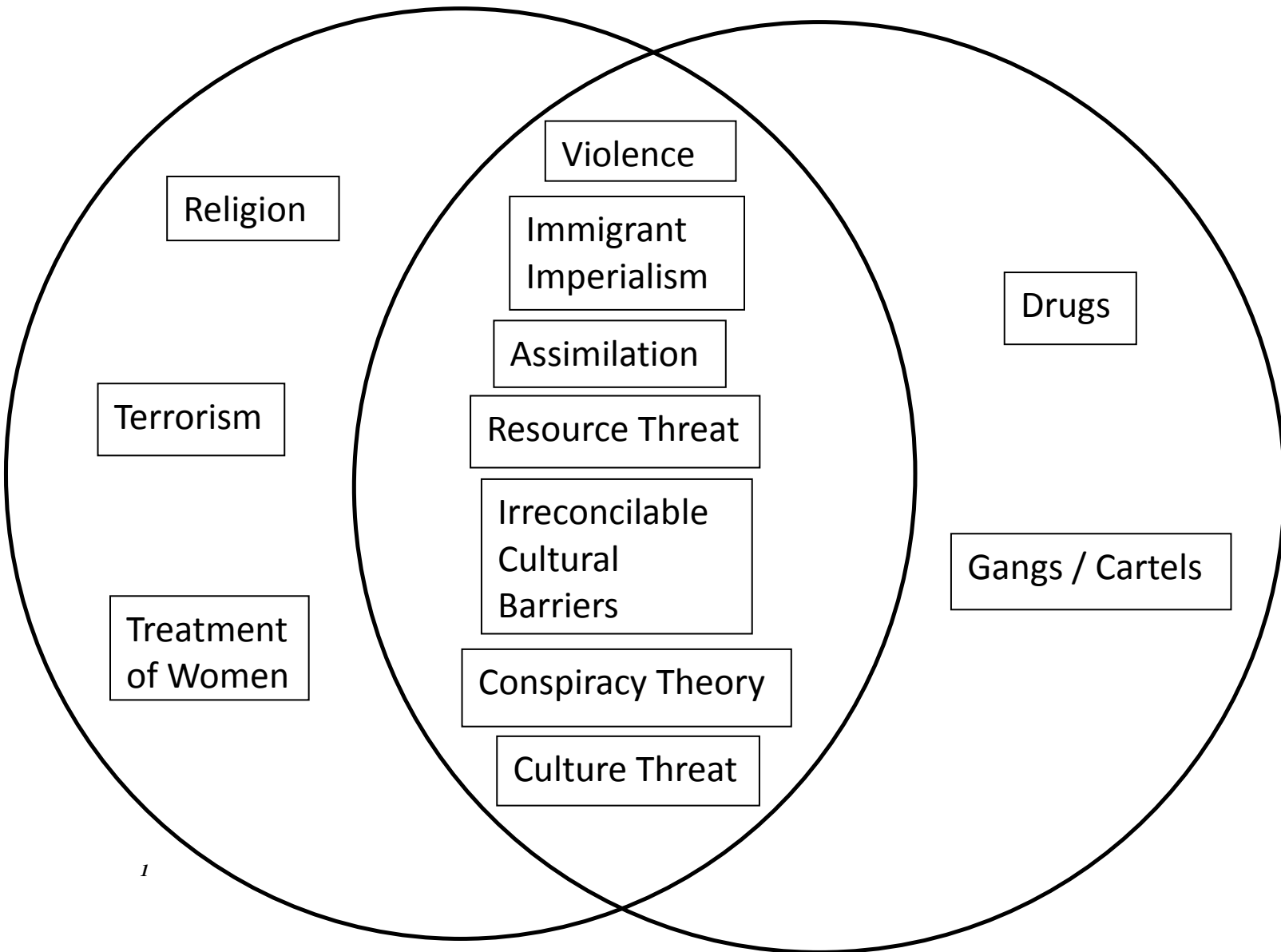
Interviews are important for obtaining in-depth data that cannot be attained through the process of participant observation. For example, not only do interviews reveal what people think, but they allow the researcher to explore how people think the way they do. Interviews allow for one-on-one narrative and provide a chance for the interviewer to probe the participant to elaborate on particular topics such as where information is obtained and why participants feel the way they do about a particular topic.

Participants provided the researcher with personal information for the sole reason of prospective interview recruitment. Participants' names and phone numbers were collected at rallies in order to contact them over the phone. However, no real names were used during the writing process and identities are completely confidential and anonymous. Pseudonyms were used in the place of real names to conceal identities.

FINDINGS

Syrian Refugees

Hispanic / Latino Undocumented Immigrants



¹

¹ Themes in the middle (violence, immigrant imperialism, assimilation, resource threat, irreconcilable cultural barriers, conspiracy theory, and culture threat) were applicable to Syrian Refugees and Hispanic / Latino Undocumented Immigrants. Conspiracy theory was an unanticipated theme.

The Participants

The researcher attended events held by the American Security Rally of Montana in order to both observe and recruit potential interview participants. These demonstrations were geared towards immigration, specifically pertaining to Syrian refugees and undocumented immigrants. Rallies took place in Missoula and Helena and consisted of roughly one hundred people which included those covering the event such as news employees, reporters and Human Rights Watch. There were always more men than women; at least two men to every woman, possibly three. Most individuals attending rallies looked as though they could be retired. These were exclusively white protests. The only minority I saw present was a younger Hispanic-looking man with tan brown skin who had a camera on a tripod and seemed to be a photographer taking pictures for the news or something. There was an abundance of blue jeans and a few people in Carhartts and khakis. Men in Helena looked as though they had come up to the protest straight from work which in Montana often consists of dirty worn pants and leather work boots. There were also a handful of rugged cowboy boots, cowboy hats and a surprising amount of camouflage. There were a few women with babies and small children.

Interview participants consisted of people from across southwestern Montana. Of all the individuals approached only two declined to meet for an interview. Participants were from Missoula, Hamilton, Helena, Townsend and Whitehall. However, only four of the nine participants were born in Montana. Two participants were women and seven were men. All participants identified as Caucasian with the exception of Gwen, an energetic middle-aged white mother who wrote on her questioner that “race is not important.” Age of participants ranged from twenty-seven to eighty five but the average age was fifty-nine. Most individuals identified as politically conservative. Five of nine participants had at least some college. Clark, a soft spoken

seventy-four year old, had completed a master's degree in political science. Bruce, an eighty-five year old who reminded me of Lou Holtz, had completed law school and worked as a JAG in the military before working for the FBI. Clark's wife Lois, a very sweet well-dressed jittery woman with silky-white hair, also had completed a graduate-level certificate in education. Four participants were retired. One participant was disabled, two others worked blue collar occupations, one was a student and another self-employed. All individuals who participated in the study were extremely approachable and more than willing to talk. Based on group characteristics observed during participant observations at rallies, the sample of interview participants obtained was a fairly accurate representation of the distribution of people involved in the American Security Rally of Montana.

Xenophobia

The rhetoric on display among rally members and interview participants was consistently and overwhelmingly a narrative of xenophobia. In this study, xenophobia took the form of many different fears relating, in the minds of participants, directly to both Syrian refugees and "illegal" immigrants from Mexico. Many of these xenophobic fears manifested towards undocumented immigrants and Syrian refugees simultaneously, while other themes were specific to exclusively one group or the other (see page 25). Most of the themes that emerged are supported by prior research and literature on anti-immigrant sentiment in America. However, newly unanticipated themes were revealed from the data as well, such as conspiracy theory. The findings are presented as themes that include sections about islamophobia, "the Latino threat," resource threat, culture threat, immigrant imperialism, religious threat, ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, conspiracy theory, solutions, and media influence.

Islamophobia

The islamophobia discourse dominated the interviews. The primary reason given by participants for not admitting Syrian refugees into the United States is that they were Muslim refugees. However, Steve, a sixty-one year old high-school educated blue collar grass roots activist most responsible for organizing the American Security Rally of Montana, clearly outwardly rejected the idea of islamophobia especially despise being called islamophobic. Bruce repeatedly stated that “truth is the new hate crime.” A common slogan used at rallies was “look at the facts.” Gwen suggested that those who claim they are bigots, islamophobic, or racist are “the real bigots.” These statements were all used to reinforce anti-Muslim sentiment among participants. From the perspective of participants, they are simply “using common sense” and “worried about the security of the country.” There was a consistency of fear among participants, but this fear was often directly associated with the fear of Islam itself. Nearly all participants perceived Islam as an extremist religion whose radical “mentality is guided by the Quran.” Islam was repeatedly associated with extreme violence, terrorism, and poor treatment of women.

As was expected, based on the literature, islamophobic discourse frequently centered around terrorism. Peter, a sixty-four year old conservative from Missoula who looked like the monopoly man stated, “[n]ot all Muslims are terrorists, but it seems like all terrorists seem to be Muslim. It has something to do with it, you know.” Recent terrorist attacks, specifically the incidents in Brussels, Paris and San Bernardino were given as examples by six participants for what might happen if refugees are allowed into the country. ISIS was commonly referred to as an organization waging a campaign to militarily infiltrate the United States by blending in and submersing themselves within the refugee population. Through this process they plan to infiltrate America from the inside. As Matt and Clark explained:

They [ISIS] openly admit, “first we send the moderates then we send the extremists,” because without the moderates you can’t have extremists. You know?” (Matt: 7)

No question. How do you destroy the United States and win the war? You can’t win it on the battlefield; you’ll lose. You destroy it from inside and you do it the way they’re doing it. ISIS has been winning. (Clark: 7)

Terrorism is linked with and seen as an expression of the violent nature of the Quran and the immoral teachings of the prophet Muhammed. Forced conversion through violence is seen by participants as second nature to the religion of Islam. Muhammed was depicted as a military leader who spread his religion by the sword. He was even compared to Hitler by multiple participants. Furthermore, in the eyes of most participants there was no separation between violent extremist and moderate interpretations of Islam. Vivid verbal depictions of beheadings and indiscriminate murder perpetrated in the name of Islam were provided by participants to support their points. Even Bruce, arguably the least extreme and most liberal participant in the study offered a negative, violent perception of Islam.

I see um, repeated evidence where the Muslims have taken a very uh, uh, militaristic view towards the spread of their religion. Where they have told people, you will either convert to Islam or uh, pay a bribery to continue to live, uh, or die. They give you those three choices. Well now that isn’t something that I think is a healthy religion. So I think the Muslim religion in itself uh, uh, is a violent one. (Bruce: 3)

Not only do participants associate Islam with terrorism and violence but also with the inhumane treatment of woman, which they think of as a defining attribute of Islam. This was a reoccurring theme in all nine interviews. Steve specifically referred to the oppressiveness of Sharia law towards women. In participants’ eyes, Sharia is a product of Islam and these laws are based specifically on the teachings of Muhammed and the Quran. One female rally participant in Missoula was holding a sign that read “96% of all Islamic doctrine about women subjugates them.” Participants referred to strict discriminatory rules toward women that could legally be punished in extreme ways. Common statements included pointing out that Muslim women aren’t

allowed to leave the house without a male escort. They are also forced to wear hijabs in public and cannot drive vehicles without fear of corporal punishment. Husbands can beat their wives at their own leisure with no legal repercussions. Gwen mentioned examples of women being confined to houses by their husbands. They can even be forbidden to speak or be heard. In more extreme cases participants like Peter explained that Muslims “still practice honor killings” and “female genital mutilation.” Peter explained that Muslim men just do not understand that rape is not okay. Furthermore, interviewees pointed to instances of rape followed by injustice in the legal system of Muslim countries. The following two statements demonstrate instances in which participants equate Muslim treatment of women with that of animals...

Women are dogs, something that you can own. A woman, under Sharia law, if a woman is raped he has to have four male witnesses. If she is raped his family can kill her for dishonoring the family. (Steve: 4)

Well the only thing I know is that as a woman I don't think any woman should want to live under Sharia law. You are, you know, counted along with the goats and the horses and you, a woman, is looked upon as subservient.... They can't vote. They can't drive. They can't uh, be out in public without a relative, a male relative. (Lois: 3)

Participants expressed concern that this radical ideology will spread to their hometowns through the admittance of Syrian refugees to Montana.

Often brought up with the topic of Syrian Refugees was concern over the current vetting process as many participants feel that radical terrorist minded individuals and ISIS sympathizers are “impossible to vet.” Vetting refers to the legal process of accepting refugees into the country. Bruce and Peter mentioned how government procedures failed to vet the perpetrators responsible for San Bernardino. Participants also commonly pointed to the “common sense” assumption that refugees are coming from a war torn country where there are supposedly few to no documents available. With that assumption in mind, Tony, Logan and Clark asked rhetorically “how do you

vet a person with no records?” Peter remarked on the supposed impossibility of vetting Syrian refugees:

[A]s far as the Syrians coming over, there’s nothing to vet them from. These people have no records, their cities are completely destroyed, not that there were any records in the first place.... There’s no records to vet from, you know.... (Peter: 1)

Furthermore, participants indirectly referred to comments made by FBI Director James Comey, in which he highlighted that there was a level of risk involved with the vetting procedure. The fact that “our own security departments are telling us we can’t do it the way it’s supposed to be done” was used by participants as information to support the notion of what was perceived by participants as an inefficient United States government vetting procedure.

“The Latino Threat”

Although the islamophobia discourse and concern over Syrian refugees that has been discussed thus far, makes up the bulk of the data gathered during interviews, research also showed a clear xenophobic rhetoric directed specifically toward Hispanic/Latino immigrants. The population of “illegal aliens” is perceived by participants to be largely made up of criminals, violent offenders such as “rapists and murderers,” drug dealers, and cartel members from Mexico. Cartels and drug dealers were emphasized by six of nine participants. These dangerous-type of people are thought by participants to be migrating to America in mass numbers and proliferating violent activity in American cities. On many occasions participants like Tony, Logan and Peter claimed that undocumented immigrants had committed murder. As Gwen put it, there’s “a thousand” parents in the United States whose children have been killed by “illegal immigrants.” Participants were outraged at criminal acts committed by undocumented immigrants, because they represented a failure by the American government to protect the public from Hispanic/Latino thugs, killers, sexual predators and drug dealers. Interestingly no cartel in

particular was ever mentioned specifically but “the cartel” was commonly referred to. However, “MS-13,” a Central American gang, was mentioned as well as “El Chapo,” which is a reference to Joaquin Guzman the recently recaptured leader of the Sinaloa cartel.

Participants also expressed a genuine concern for America’s drug problem and a desire to keep drugs out. Steve exemplified this narrative:

[I]f you look at our borders with the cartels coming across and drugs, that’s a big part of American security too. Drug abuse is very hard on the security of our country and to have a border like that with a country that feeds our people so much drugs and not have it secure is a crime, an absolute crime. It’s unbelievable. You have the drug cartels and then you have the gangs. (Steve 11)

When asked why immigrants migrate illegally, Logan, a twenty-seven year old from Helena responded, “They’ve got something to hide... felons, right there, you know? You committed murder, and you’re a felon in another country.” Gwen expressed similar concern, “The only people that are going to be hopping across that border are going to be your druggies, your cartels, and the criminals.”

As shown by the above statements, interviewees referenced reasons for migrating illegally. Steve mentioned that people who don’t have anything to hide follow the legal process. To many participants, “illegals” represented a dangerous threat to American society. Far less common was the mentioning of a hard working undocumented immigrant who simply worked for a living. However, three respondents did seem to think many undocumented immigrants are honest, hardworking individuals who are often victims of unfortunate circumstances.

Resource Threat

In addition to the multiple “security threats” that Syrian Refugees and “illegal immigrants” pose, eight participants were also concerned that these migrant groups also pose a

resource based threat to the United States economy. First off, participants were aggravated by immigrants' access to benefits. Prevalent throughout interviews was the narrative that these "terrorists" and "illegal aliens" are getting "free stuff." Immigrants are thought of by participants as getting "hand-outs" such as "free" medical care and "free education." Giving out "free stuff" is a concept that was repeatedly aligned with "socialism and communism" by Bruce and Peter. Peter thinks that America has too many people who "don't want to work" and who are "sucking off the system." Peter suggested that the entire reason that some immigrants come to America is to collect welfare and unemployment benefits. Others expressed a similar rhetoric:

[I]f you came over here disabled and to suck on my welfare, I would have a problem. You know there's a lot of them out here that come over here and don't go get a job. They just go straight to the welfare office. They get better benefits; illegals get better benefits than Americans. (Steve: 10)

In the eyes of participants, benefits provided by the American government to refugees and undocumented immigrants were completely unfair and unacceptable to them as taxpayers.

Participants perceive themselves as involuntarily paying for this "free stuff" through increased taxes. They expressed feeling powerless to control the influence of their hard earned dollar and find unsettling the possibility that tax dollars are being given to Muslim refugees who they perceive as terrorists and undocumented immigrants who they perceive as cartel members. To make matters worse, undocumented immigrants who are not criminals and who do work for a living are perceived as exempt from paying their share in taxes and, as Steve stated, are not "putting anything back into the country" because they often work off the books. Interviewees commonly suggested a redistribution of this tax money to "take care of our own" citizens rather than helping "illegal aliens." The overwhelming majority advocated the idea that it would be much more beneficial to invest these resources in problems that benefit American citizens such

as local poverty, homelessness, joblessness and veterans care. Logan stated, “We need to worry about ourselves. Stay at home and take care of our own first.”

Another resource based threat pointed out in most interviews is the threat that immigrants pose to the United States economy in the form of competition for American jobs. Tony explained how it was difficult to find work in their hometowns and expressed their fear that Syrian refugees are going to be competing for jobs that should be going to Americans.

They’re not going to find work. I mean half of the area, half of this town right now, our largest employer is the mill and the mill is down, so most of the town is already down, you know. I mean, they say it’s temporary and stuff until they can get the logs down and stuff but even when it happens I mean, there isn’t a job market here that’s big enough that’s going to be able to support it. (Tony: 6)

“Illegal immigrants” on the other hand take American jobs because they are “getting paid under the table” and are “willing to do the work for half the pay.” Logan explained that American families are “left stuck wondering what’s going to happen” because parents are losing their minimum wage jobs to Mexican workers. In participants’ eyes, these immigrant communities are placing severe strain on the overall economy and on the micro-level, are causing family suffering, but, on the macro-level may lead to large-scale financial collapse. Greece was given by Logan as an example of what is to come in America if we do not cease admitting Syrian refugees into our country. Tony explained “the economy just isn’t here... we are seventeen trillion dollars in debt. That’s not feasible any way you look at it. We can’t support ourselves.” Between taxes, immigrant access to “free stuff,” and taking away jobs from Americans, undocumented immigrants and Syrian refugees were seen as an illegitimate and “crippling” demand on resources.

Cultural Threat / Assimilation

In addition to this clearly defined immigrant threat to resources was also a clearly defined cultural threat, one relating to immigrants supposed refusal or in some cases, outright inability to assimilate. Interview data suggests that in the eyes of participants, undocumented immigrants and Refugees were either unwilling or unable to become American. One common example given was that immigrants were unwilling to learn English. Clark expressed that in America you should have to vote in English. Logan stated that if immigrants don't learn English in three years they should be deported, and Matt emphasized that English needed to be nationalized.

Participants also expressed concern over the cost of interpreters and taxpayers having to pay for interpreters because so many immigrants refuse to learn to speak English adding additional sentiment to the "threat to resources" previously outlined. In Gwen experienced personal shock over an experience she had at a McDonalds in Portland. She expressed alarm over the possibility of the Hispanic/Latino employees tampering with her food.

"[W]hy do you guys turn around and give the order back in Mexican Spanish. That bothers me. I mean, are they telling them to spit on my hamburger or something," you know what I mean? I mean, you know, I'll put a little more chili pepper on this one or you know, you don't, you just don't know. You're just unsettled. You're kind of like, it's not comfortable. (Gwen: 11)

Gwen went on to say that there is "nothing worse" and was clearly upset with her short experience as a minority in McDonalds.

In addition, and even more commonly highlighted by participants, was the assertion that immigrants were simply incapable of assimilation due to overwhelming cultural differences, what I refer to as irreconcilable cultural barriers. This perception was demonstrated by Tony, Gwen, Steve, Peter, Lois and Matt. Irreconcilable cultural barriers pertained more often to the

topic of Syrian refugees than undocumented immigrants. In the case of Syrian refugees, interviewees felt that it is impossible for somebody who was raised in a “backwards” culture to become a productive, respected, law-abiding citizen of American society. There was a heavy notion of “becoming American” by “speaking our language.” This language concern was mentioned in seven interviews. Participants also stressed “obeying our laws” and not living in what participants deemed to be “separate communities” (minority neighborhoods). Steve stated that Americans “have nothing in common” with Muslims. Muslim men are thought to be unable to handle the feminism and freedom that women are given in the western world. These men would be “shocked” to find themselves in prison after physically assaulting their wives in America. Peter attested to what he thought would happen when Muslim men encountered liberal United States laws, and specifically referring to Obama’s decision to legalize gay marriage. Peter explained “they [Muslims] behead homosexuals over there; they throw them off rooftops. Over here they have gay parades and stuff.” According to Matt, Muslims are raised in a culture, so different that it might as well be alien.

If you take that person and you turn him into a refugee and you send him over here. That’d be like taking a fucking, an American, and putting them fucking in like the Klingon home world. They’re not going to be able to assimilate and live and partake in society like people think they are. They have a completely different way of how society works ingrained into them, you know. (Matt: 6)

Interestingly, assimilation rhetoric revolving around language most often produced data pertaining to Hispanic/Latino undocumented immigrants whereas data concerning irreconcilable culture differences usually was directed towards Muslim immigrants. However, this cultural threat of assimilation was manifested and enhanced by a fear that immigrants want to force their cultural identities onto Americans and taint American culture. It is a fear of immigrant takeover, what I refer to as immigrant imperialism.

Immigrant Imperialism

Immigrant imperialism refers to immigrants supposed desire to infiltrate and take over entire communities in America. This notion stems from immigrants supposed refusal to assimilate and deep desire to remain in separate communities and retain traditional ways of living. To many participants, immigrants represented an impeding foreign enemy threatening to take over their communities. One of the arguments typically made for advancing this imperialist agenda echoed back to the theme of islamophobia and the fear of Sharia law, which was mentioned by six participants. According to Clark, Steve and Peter, Muslim immigrants are apparently already establishing their own Sharia courts in the United States and being ruled according to their own Sharia law. Sharia law is associated with brutal corporal punishment, “honor killings” and oppression towards women. Sharia law is thought by Clark to be fundamentally incompatible and at odds with the ideas of freedom, democracy, and the constitution of the United States. Numerous examples were given by Bruce, Gwen, Peter, Matt, Steve and Tony of communities that had been conquered by Muslims. Many pointed overseas to places like Brussels, Sweden, Germany, Russia and Britain as examples of what is to come if Syrian refugees are allowed to migrate to the United States.

However, communities in America were also given as support for immigrant imperialism, most often in Minnesota but also Michigan and Texas. Minnesota symbolizes a place, where according to Tony and Gwen; Muslim “enclaves” have successfully infiltrated the country. Dearborn and Detroit are thought by Tony to be “Muslim cities” with institutionalized Sharia law. Lois represents an example that assimilation and the idea of “being American” is in conflict with American Muslim communities and their Sharia law.

You should come here to be an American not to set up your own little, you know, there are pockets in various uh, cities in our country now where they attempt to have Sharia law.... Sharia law is not, should not be uh, put into practice anywhere in this country.
(Lois: 2)

The idea for Muslim takeover is rooted in the belief that this takeover is an essential aspect of Islamic religious doctrine. In Steve's eyes, Sharia law is both political and religious and cannot be thought of as separate from the violent ways of Islam. Muslim attitudes are portrayed by participants as having a "convert or die" attitude towards "infidels" that is guided by Sharia but ultimately, by Islam. This imperialist narrative clearly echoes back to islamophobia, however, it does not entirely exclude Hispanic/Latino undocumented immigrants.

Like Muslim immigrants, immigrants coming to America from south of the border were depicted in relation to the threat of immigrant imperialism during interviews. Not only illegal migrants, but Hispanic/Latino immigrants specifically were associated with a rhetoric that threatened the contemporary dominant American demographics. Illegal Hispanic/Latino immigrants are depicted by interview participants as "flooding into the country" and places like Arizona and California where there are "sanctuary cities" are said to have already been taken over by the feared other. Participants explained how "you go down to the border and there's entire Mexican, or Hispanic communities." Matt pointed to the Hispanic/Latino migration as a "foreign invasion." Participants' fear of immigrant invasion was not specific to Syrian refugees or undocumented Hispanic/Latino immigrants but rather encompassed both groups. However a common perception among the sample population did pertain more often to the assumed threat of admitting Syrian refugees.

Religious Threat

Another reoccurring threat posed by immigrants in the interview data was a religious threat pitting Muslims, Christians and their theological ideologies against one another. This narrative actively contributing to the rhetoric of assimilation, irreconcilable cultural barriers, islamophobia, and immigrant imperialism already discussed. Religion was a perceived threat by participants that was entirely unique to Syrian refugees and did not include Hispanic/Latino immigrants, or in any way relate to immigration coming from the Mexican/American border. In the minds of most research participants, Muslim ideologies fundamental to the Quran and the teachings of the prophet Muhammed are in direct opposition and violation to Christian morals, ideology and way of life. Participants conveyed the message that “there is no comparing the Christian religion to the Muslim religion.” In their eyes Muslims are violent and hate Christians, so how on earth could Islam and Christianity have anything in common? Muslim societies are thought to be “brought on by force, agree or die” whereas Christian societies are “open” and “accepting.” Tony stated that Muslims worship a different god than Christians, “their god is ‘Baal,’ the god we worship is a different god.” Peter supported the notion of this supposed religious incompatibility by drawing a comparison between the prophet Muhammed and Jesus. In Peter’s words, “Jesus never spread his religion with a sword.” Peter also explained that Muhammed “took a pre-teen girl as his bride” which in his Christian eyes is completely immoral.

According to participants, the most common difference between Muslims and Christians is the violence and terrorism that participants associated with Islam. Eight participants mentioned this religious clash in one way or another. Logan mentioned how “a Jew isn’t going to go blow themselves up at a train station because someone offended them. A Christian ain’t going to do the same thing either.” Similarly Peter stated “it’s not Presbyterians, it’s not Methodists, it’s not

Episcopalians or Catholics committing these terrorist acts, its Muslims, you know.” It was considered common knowledge among interview participants that Muslims “slaughter” and “behead” Christians. Interestingly, some participants expressed that “Christian refugees are the true refugees” and that the United States should cater to Christian refugees from Syria rather than Muslim refugees. This clearly suggests that some participants were more concerned with religion than race, ethnicity or culture. This narrative of inconsistency between the ideologies of Christianity and Islam was commonly provided as support for refusing to admit Syrian refugees into the country.

Ethnocentrism: nationalism / patriotism

A less common theme was the ethnocentric nationalistic tone underlying much of the language used by research participants. However, this was more evident at rallies than in transcript data. Themes already highlighted in this paper, assimilation and religion, most certainly contribute to and perpetuate ethnocentrism. Throughout observations and interviews with participants, nationalism and patriotism were certainly expressed to a degree.

Each rally was started with a prayer followed by the singing of the national anthem. Present among rally members were many American flags and an abundance of patriotic t-shirts and baseball caps. One man was wearing a long-sleeve black shirt that had a print of an all-white American flag and read in bold white all capital letters INFIDEL. Over the stage was a draped sign that said in big letters “God Bless America.” Next to the podium was a large American flag with a cross on top, adding to the patriotic environment of the whole rally.

Some participants pride stemmed back to the revolutionary war explaining how Americans had “stood their ground and fought” and asking, “why can’t they [Syrian refugees] do

the same?” In Steve’s words, “why are all these big, strong, able-bodied men running into Europe?;” the indication being of course that these male refugees are cowards and should stay and fight for their country like Americans did during the American Revolution. To participants, freedom and democracy, core American values, are being directly threatened by undocumented immigrants and Syrian refugees. Clark stressed that a nation should have “standards and an identity.” It is these American “standards and identity” that participants believe are being put in jeopardy. Matt explained that although he is sympathetic towards many “illegal immigrants” he thinks that it is his duty to speak up for ranchers who live down on the border. The U.S. is depicted by Logan as “the greatest country on earth” with the “best system of government” and the “best infrastructure.”

Authoritarianism / Right-wing Conservatism

In addition to this patriotic, nationalist, ethnocentric tone was also a tone of authoritarianism. This authoritarianism seemed to revolve more around the topic of Hispanic/Latino undocumented immigrants, but not exclusively. This authoritarianism took the form of participants repeatedly stressing what they saw as an importance for immigrants to obey the law. Naturally, this perception often accompanied the topic of “illegal” immigrants. Almost all participants specified that they were okay with immigrants as long as they migrate legally. Breaking the law to migrate into the United States was considered unacceptable by Logan, Lois, Steve and Clark. Bruce was not the only participant to point out that his close kin were immigrants, “but they came here legally.” Seven participants expressed that we as Americans need to enforce our laws more strictly and “secure our border.”

As was explained in the literature, authoritarianism often goes hand-in-hand with right-wing political conservatism; the evidence discussed here presents nothing to the contrary.

Participants openly shared their political views and mentioned specific politicians in which they would support. Five participants in the study openly identified as “conservative” or “Republican.” Lois was actively involved in the Women’s Republican Club. Among others there was support for specific Republican politicians including Donald Trump, Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz. Left wing politicians like President Barack Obama, Hilary Clinton and “the socialist” Bernie Sanders were commonly depicted as villains.

Conspiracy Theory

Some members took this villain idea to the extreme, leaning conspiracy theory. These conspiracy theories included Barack Obama as a Muslim ISIS sympathizer and Member of the Muslim Brotherhood. Another conspiracy theory involved an Armageddon – like doomsday event and the emergence of a one world governing force.

Relative to undocumented immigrants however, was a separate narrative involving an assumption that “illegal immigrants” receive special favors, especially from law enforcement. Common elements of conspiracy were certainly applicable to the sample group in a more general sense as seven participants advanced some sort of conspiracy theory perspective during their interview. Interestingly, only the eldest three participants had no mention of conspiracy theories during their interviews.

One of these conspiracy theories was based on the notion that Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton are working with members of the Muslim brotherhood and ISIS to advance the imperialist agenda of Islam by infiltrating the United States of America through the Syrian refugee population. The perspective presented here is that America will fall because of liberal politicians who operate according to a secretive agenda based in the “taqiya” of Islam. In

participants eyes the concept of “taqiya” allows Muslims to lie and deceive non-Muslims, in order to advance what they see as the imperialist agenda of Islam and its followers. It was not uncommon for participants to claim that Barack Obama himself is a Muslim who has “family ties back with the Muslim Brotherhood.” The Muslim Brotherhood was mentioned in six out of nine interviews and was also expressed to a lesser extent at rallies. From participants’ point of view, Barack Obama was a member of ISIS himself. As Tony stated, “we know the administration is working with the Muslim Brotherhood... They’ve already come out and said that they’re sponsoring ISIS.” According to Tony, once we accept Syrian refugees into Montana, members of “CHAIR,” a smaller branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, “will be right here within two months.” To some participants, Obama himself is a terrorist who is manipulating and deceiving the American public.

Logan, for example, also implicated Obama, but took this perception to a unique extreme. For Logan, this conspiracy had an interesting element that included gay rights. Logan emphasized that gay rights have been advanced by left-wing political members, and more specifically Obama, as a means of population control, but also to set up what he sees as the slaughter of gays at the hands of Muslims. He explains:

[O]f course Obama wants all the refugees to come in that are radicalized Islamists. You just turned the nation mostly gay and gay supporting. As soon as they come in here, it’s going to be nothing but a mass slaughter because of their own lifestyle. Why would Obama want that; because he’s part of the Muslim Brotherhood himself. He has come out and admitted it. (Logan: 10)

Participants spoke of the implications of immigration in almost Armageddon-like terms. Tony believed that the world as we know it is in jeopardy and on the brink of collapse. Peter explained that his “heart is broken for young people in this country” and “we don’t have a chance.” Gwen feared that “if we keep letting this happen it’s going to be total chaos.” She

expressed that she is “tired of watching our poor nation go to hell.” Tony expressed similar concern:

We’ve watched this country just fall, spiral over the last twelve years and I just, I think everybody’s done.... I’d say, we’ll be lucky if we have five years before we start seeing something major happening here. (Tony: 11)

Logan equated the projected series of events that will unfold as “biblical prophecy coming true.” He also connected his prediction of end times with the financial collapse that will be brought on by the influx of immigrants. He argued:

If you cause that financial collapse, already this country is starting to implode on itself. You’ve got mass hysteria, mass panic. Citizens are going to end up killing off citizens themselves with riots and everything else just to survive.... You cause a collapse you end the country. (Logan: 7)

Logan was probably the most extreme participant with respect to his belief in conspiracy theories. Another conspiracy theory brought up during Logan’s interview included a theory referred to as “the new world order.”

This “new world order” scenario, also referred to as “Agenda 21,” was only mentioned by Logan and Tony. It was centered on a perception that a small but powerful group of bankers and important people who are determined to create a unified “one world government” and control the world. Tony and Logan suggested that the “new world order” would gain from facilitating refugee resettlement in the United States. Tony implicated the Rothschild’s, a prominent American banking family, and George Soros as personally involved in advancing “Agenda 21.” This Armageddon-like narrative pertained to Syrian Refugees more often than Hispanic/Latino undocumented immigrants.

Exclusively pertaining to undocumented Hispanic/Latino immigrants was a participant perception of conspiracy theory involving what I refer to as “immigrant special favors.” Clark pointed out for example that immigrants receive “special exemption and things like that.” Bruce felt that these special favors were to gain political support. He expressed how “Obama is letting in Mexicans because they vote democrat.” Peter also expressed that immigrants disobey laws and “the government does nothing.” According to many participants “illegal immigrants” experience far more leniency with respect to the criminal justice system than do ordinary American citizens. Numerous participants discussed immigrants committing heinous acts of crime, including rape and murder, who were captured and then released by police officials. Steve’s comment represents a common example of the perception of most participants.

[T]hey had that little gal killed over two years ago. She was shot by a guy that border patrol hadn’t shown up to pick up because he had been picked up and thrown in San Francisco jail. He had gotten into trouble and they picked him up and threw him in jail. So the government there in San Francisco, their city government said well were not going to turn this guy over, were a sanctuary city were not turning this guy over. They cut him loose, the sheriff cut him loose. Well a few hours later he is down at the beach and he just randomly kills a girl while she’s walking with her dad. Just shoot her in the back and kills her. (Steve: 7)

This event in San Francisco was referenced by other participants as well. Gwen offered an example of an analogous case in New Jersey where an undocumented Mexican immigrant was driving drunk and killed two young girls. Supposedly, “they let that guy go right back out on the street.” In Gwen’s frame of thinking “the Mexicans just get let loose.” It is important to note here that these conspiracy findings were unexpected with respect to the reviewed literature for this project.

Solutions

During interviews, participants were asked to propose solutions to the complex issues associated with Syrian refugees and undocumented immigrants. Their policy suggestions ranged from pragmatic and intuitive, to outright radical and extreme. With respect to undocumented immigration, many participants advocated a policy of heightened border security. For many, the reason there is such a large migration of undocumented immigrants from Mexico is because “we need to secure our border.” For some the solution was “building a wall.” Others suggested increased law enforcement, and even bringing the United States military into action in order to deter illicit border crossings. Matt blamed Mexico for the problem and recommended threatening the Mexican government in order to get them to prevent undocumented immigration into the United States. Clark mentioned citizenship and expressed a unique alternative solution and attributed the “illegal immigrant” problem in part to government immigration policy. He suggested that “[if] the legal system was shortened, you would find that illegals would maybe choose going the legal way rather than going the illegal way.” For Clark Mexican immigrants often come to the United States to work and oftentimes cannot wait through the legal process out of necessity; they need to work and feed their families. Clark’s perception was a rare exception to the sample population.

Interviewees’ perceptions of handling Syrian refugees were much different than Mexican/American immigrants. When asked how he would feel if Syrian refugees were to resettle in his community Logan responded, “I say just shoot them right on the spot.” Gwen made a similar comment saying “[i]’m just going to shoot them all,” but I did get the impression that she was joking because she was laughing. A handful of participants suggested administering religious tests to the Syrian refugee population in order to filter out Muslim immigrants. Matt

suggested that one way to do this would to have immigrants draw a picture of Muhammed. Peter, Steve, Tony and Gwen also advocated a policy of filtering Syrian refugees for Muslim beliefs.

Gwen made this clear:

[Y]ou've got to ask them about their religion. You've got to ask them about their belief and.... Glen Beck did it. Now, he brought over a bunch of Christian refugees that were Syrians but they were Christians, okay. He has a test and you can tell whether they're true Christians or not. They have to denounce Allah and believe in your lord Jesus Christ. They won't do that. They won't denounce killing infidels. (Gwen: 13)

This recommendation reflected the “no Muslims” sentiment among the majority of participants, a central theme of the American Security Rally of Montana.

Common suggestions to address the global humanitarian crises stemming from the conflict in Syria also involved methods of foreign intervention. Often mentioned was the prospect of establishing “safe zones” or “putting boots on the ground” in or around Syria and “restoring stability to the Middle East.” Peter explained, “help them out over there, you know? Send over a few troops and secure a part of that country where they can live happily and produce, you know, whatever they can produce.” Steve also argued for “safe zones” but insisted that they would also be more practical, economically speaking. He maintained that it would be drastically less expensive to aid the refugee population abroad, rather than bring them to the United States.

It would be cheaper for us to set up zones. The Middle East is a big area and there is not a war everywhere. We could set up zones that are safe zones and moderate them. We could have personnel over there to keep an eye on it. It'll give us a foot there and we can take care of people there for like \$2,500 a month whereas \$200,000 to bring them here. (Steve: 2)

For the most part, participants believed that it makes more sense to resettle refugees in other Muslim countries, where the culture is familiar to them. Interviewees suggested that avoiding

resettlement in America was not only good for Americans but, also good for the Syrians because of the culture clash discussed previously. Participants believed that fellow Muslim countries should be doing more to aid the crisis in Syria, not America.

Media Influence / Information Sources

Naturally, a sociologist would ask the question of how these individuals' perceptions and attitudes concerning immigration are formed. In order to get at this question interview participants were asked what sources they rely on to obtain information regarding immigration. The most common sources of information for participants were radio and television news. Participants mentioned listening to radio hosts such as Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh. Fox News was mentioned five participants. Peter explained:

I listen to a lot of talk radio, I listen to Rush Limbaugh for example. Um, and I watch Fox News frequently. In fact I watch it so frequently that I think you know, once in a while I should turn the channel over. (Peter: 4)

A television personality mentioned by Gwen was John Stossel, who works for Fox News. Another politically conservative radio/television personality mentioned by Steve was Ann Colter.

Participants also said they used internet websites like Facebook and YouTube as sources of information. Tony explained, "a lot of it comes through social media. Most of it, probably the majority of it, comes through social media." Logan had been watching a YouTube figure known as Jason A. "angel of apocalypse." Steve claimed that he became political because of things he had come across online while recovering from a health injury. Other internet sources mentioned included Refugee Resettlement Watch, Act for America, and Jihad Watch, two of which are founded by political conservative Ann Corcoran who Steve mentioned by name (Southern Poverty Law Center 2015). Additionally, participants referenced Brigitte Gabriel, who is also

associated with Act for America. A less common answer mentioned among only three participants included books. Peter and Bruce both recommended reading “The Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam” by Robert Spencer. Some participants like Bruce and Peter also commonly claimed to get information from newspapers and magazines.

It was not uncommon for participants, five in all, to mention first-hand experience. Bruce explained, “when I worked in the FBI I saw that um, uh, a lot of times foreign groups spring up and there are people that have a hidden agenda.” Both Matt and Tony had been deployed in the Middle East, Tony claimed to have worked for Blackwater and Matt was an ex-Army infantryman. Matt vividly recounted some horrific things he had seen at the hands of Muslim men during his deployment in Iraq and Afghanistan. Matt had also served with a convicted terrorist by the name of Naser Abdo who, according to Matt, was plotting to re-create the 2009 Fort Hood shooting perpetrated by Nidal Hasan. Lois and Clark had both worked high-level positions in Washington D.C. for the Department of Defense during the Regan administration. Steve had not been to the Middle East, but he personally knew people who had. He explained:

We have a guy over here toward Twin Bridges that spent seventeen years in Kuwait. The people that I have talked to who have been there, a lot of them don’t want them [Syrian refugees] to come here. (Steve: 5)

One finding that was less persistent but worth mentioning was the notion of a good Muslim/bad Muslim dichotomy, which was mentioned by Bruce, Gwen, Logan and Lois. Participants used a narrative that separated Muslims into two dichotomous categories, “good Muslims” and “bad Muslims.” Gwen explained:

[T]he good Muslims that live here in the United States are more loose... They don’t have a problem with their wives driving their cars or going places. It’s just the ones that are brought up radical and the old way of radical Muslim Islam stuff. (Gwen: 5)

From Bruce’s perspective the good Muslims should be controlling the bad Muslims:

When you can demonstrate that the good Muslims are controlling the bad Muslims, then we'll revisit immigration. But I think his idea of just stopping Muslim immigration until we can see some evidence that the good guys are in charge of the bad guys. Right now we're not seeing that. (Bruce: 4)

When expressing attitudes towards Muslim immigrants participants were probed to clarify whether they were referring to “all” or “some” Muslims. Most were clear that they meant “most Muslims.”

DISCUSSION

The goal of this research was to investigate perceptions among participants in the American Security Rally of Montana with respect to immigration. The thesis was guided by the following questions; what are these perceptions, where do they come from, and why are they created? Participants' xenophobic rhetoric was predominantly directed towards potential Syrian refugee migrants to Montana but also incorporated a perspective pertaining to Hispanic/Latino undocumented migrants. Theodore Adorno's notion of the “authoritarian personality” and his ideas on the “culture industry” are applied in this section to explain the anti-immigrant narrative discussed above. In addition, social identity theory are applied because the social identities that align with the authoritarian personality are the same social identities that American Security Rally participants affiliated themselves with during interviews. Understanding this authoritarian personality and where it comes from is important because the authoritarian personality is potentially dangerous (Murray 2011). It is a passive, dogmatic, irrational personality that is thought, by Adorno, to be vulnerable to manipulation by the most powerful people in capitalist societies (Adorno 1975). In the most extreme cases, this can lead to atrocities, as seen throughout the time of Adorno's research in 1930's and 40's Nazi Germany.

The authoritarian personality is socialized and reified, in Adorno's eyes, through the bourgeoisie controlled media, referenced by Adorno as "the culture industry" (Adorno 1975; Lewis 2005). Xenophobia can be thought of as an aspect of society instilled by the media. According to Adorno, capitalist societies create an environment that is controlled by the ruling class who manipulate the system to perpetuate their position of power, and through their control manipulate mass culture to create authoritarian, dogmatic, closed-minded irrational thinkers (Adorno 1975; Roiser and Willig 2002). Some of this irrational dogmatic thinking was exemplified by participants, especially but not exclusively with respect to conspiracy theory.

Participants were remarkably similar to those in Theodore Adorno's notion of the authoritarian personality. Ethnocentrism, religion, right-wing conservatism, nationalism, and authoritarianism were all found in this study (Roiser and Willig 2002). Additionally, like Adorno's authoritarian participants, participants in this study demonstrated hostility towards foreigners and minorities.

Social identity theory can be applied in order to explain xenophobia from an in-group out-group perspective. Adorno's authoritarian personality and social identity theory play off of one another, as the authoritarian personality can be thought of as a specific unconscious social identity promoting conformity. Participant characteristics often also represented specific social identities. For example being Christian, republican, white, or American.

Islamophobia

The most prominent xenophobic rhetoric that emerged from participant observation and interview research is islamophobia. There were multiple islamophobia related topics brought up by interview participants. One such topic, as was highlighted in the literature, was the

presumption that Muslims treat women poorly (Awan 2010; Klepper 2014; Mashhour 2005). However, the most persistent topic throughout interviews made a strong association between Islam and violence, most often terrorism, a finding that was consistent with the reviewed literature (Ogan et al. 2014; Jackson 2010; Johnston 2016; Klepper 2014; Alsayegh 2016; Johnston 2016; Hafez 2015). A fundamentalist view of Islam was presented by participants where extremist ideology was inherently linked to the teachings of the Quran and Islam.

The “Latino Threat”

Another theme that relates to the authoritarian hostility towards foreigners that Adorno outlined, pertained to Hispanic/Latino undocumented immigrants. Like Syrian refugees, participants viewed illegal Hispanic/Latino immigrants through a xenophobic worldview associated with violence. The Latino threat narrative expressed by participants was unique among interviews in that it excluded any notion of religion. In the eyes of American Security Rally participants, illegal Hispanic/Latino immigrants were frequently associated with violent crime such as murder and rape. They were also commonly perceived by six participants as drug dealers and gang members who work for the cartel. These characteristics are consistent with the “Latino threat” (Chavez 2008; Schmalzbauer 2014; Mukherjee et. al 2012; Ekman 2015; Bloom et al 2015; Schemer 2012; Fussell 2014; Valentino et al 2013; Seate and Mastro 2015). Like Syrian refugees, undocumented immigrants were thought of by Logan, Gwen, Tony, Steve and Peter as violent. However, this violence was often associated with Mexican gangs and drugs rather than Islamic terrorism.

Resource Threat

The perception of immigrant groups as a threat to resources was a narrative consistent with Adorno's authoritarian subjects who were conservative with respect to social services (Roiser and Willig 2002: 74). With respect to the information provided by participants, this xenophobic threat related to both Syrian Refugees and undocumented Hispanic/Latino immigrants, but was more heavily associated with undocumented immigrants. Participants reported that Hispanic/Latino immigrants and Syrian Refugees were receiving too much aid from American taxpayers. Participants believed that immigrants were getting access to "free stuff" and "hand-outs" like education and medical care. Participants thought that that they were being taxed for this "free stuff" while illegal Hispanic/Latino immigrants do not pay taxes at all. Many expressed that both undocumented immigrants and refugees take away jobs that rightfully belong to United States citizens. Some interview participants even felt that "illegal immigrants" benefitted from their undocumented status so much so that it gave them an advantage over Americans. Concern over undocumented immigrant's access to benefits, jobs, and the issue of taxes were consistent findings among the literature on anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States (Chavez 2008; Lee 2015; Mukherjee 2012; Schemer 2012; Fussell 2014; Valentino et. al 2013).

This phenomenon might also be explained with social identity theory. Participants may perceive employers as similar to themselves in terms of social identities like race, culture or citizenship. These similarities make employers members of the in-group, and therefore employers receive immunity in the eyes of participants, while undocumented immigrants become the primary focus of social indictment. This resource-based threat can also be attributed to the authoritarian personality that was prevalent throughout anti-Semitic Germany. Jews were the

symbolic scapegoats for the dire circumstances of the German economy during the rise of the National Socialism in Germany during the 20th century (Murray 2011). Jews were also completely cut-off from access to social services (Cary 2002: 558). Hostility towards migrants is most likely to take place within the sub-population who is most vulnerable to losing their jobs, especially among citizens who are less financially well to-do (Valentino et. al 2013). Diminished economic resources can proliferate fears and anxieties to be projected onto immigrant communities (Yakushko 2009: 45).

Religious Threat

Adding to this material resource threat narrative was a religious-based threat pitting Muslims against Christians. Religion was a common characteristic associated with both authoritarianism and in the literature (Johnston 2016; Raiya et al. 2008; Bloom, Arikan and Courtemanche 2015). It was relatively common, even in the 18th and 19th century, for Christian literature to depict Islam as a violent religion led by violent men advanced by conspiracy, fraud and force (Johnston 2016). This type of rhetoric was evident among participants. Participants like Steve, Gwen, Tony and Logan perceived Muslims as the instigators of violence and hatred towards Christians. Some participants argued that the Christian God and the Muslim God are not the same, and embrace opposite values. In the minds of most participants, Muslim ideologies fundamental to the Quran and the teachings of the prophet Muhammed are in direct opposition and violation to Christian morals, ideology and way of life.

This religious threat contributes to the symbolic conflict that strengthens in-group identity towards out-group members. Bloom, Arikan and Courtemanche (2015) found that religion evokes compassion towards in-group members, while separating out-group members as

threatening. Anti-immigrant sentiment is strongest when out-group members differ by both ethnicity and religion as opposed to just one or the other (2015: 207). This may explain participants' anti-immigrant rhetoric that most heavily revolved around the theme of Syrian refugees and islamophobia. For example, although Hispanic/Latino undocumented immigrants differ in ethnicity, many are Catholic whereas Syrian Refugees differ more substantially in both religion and ethnicity. Hispanic/Latino immigrants are closer to the in-group, since they share a similar religion with participants, Catholicism. On the other hand, participants associate Syrian refugees with Muslims, who are less similar unacceptable in-group members in their eyes.

A handful of participants advocated policy excluding Muslim refugees while admitting Christian refugees. This finding supports social identity theory. Despite the fact that both of these groups would be coming from the same war-torn country, some participants felt that it would be acceptable to vet refugees on the basis of religion. Although both of these groups were migrating from the same region, and likely share many of the same characteristics, like culture and ethnicity, Christians were acceptable to participants while Muslims were not.

Authoritarianism / Right-wing Conservatism

To compliment this religious aspect of the authoritarian personality demonstrated by participants, there was also a narrative of authoritarianism and right wing conservatism. Both of these themes were emphasized by Adorno as attributes of the "fascist" authoritarian personality and are mentioned among previous research literature (Fussell 2014; Schemer 2012; Mukherjee 2012). Fussell's research connects authoritarianism and political conservatism and support for the Republican Party (2014: 490). Other scholars have linked authoritarianism with religion, specifically religious particularism (Raiya et al. 2008). Harvey discusses how neoliberal

Republican conservatism cannot be thought of as separate from its Christian ties; he refers to this as the “unholy alliance” (Harvey 2005: 50).

Evangelical Christians make up nearly twenty percent of the American population. As far as David Harvey is concerned, Republicans have a twenty percent head start in all political processes because neoliberals have managed to brainwash this entire conservative portion of the population into supporting their agenda (Harvey 2005: 50). Religion has become highly correlated with membership in the Republican Party, in part due to the issues of abortion and gay rights (Ogan et al. 2014: 34). These participant characteristics of authoritarianism, right wing conservatism and religion all align with Adorno’s illustration of the authoritarian personality that he studied throughout the 1900’s.

Conspiracy Theory

Many participants marginalized left wing democratic political figures and implicated them into elements of conspiracy theory, potentially exhibiting the “irrational thinking” that Adorno affiliated with the authoritarian personality (Roser and Willig 2002). Barack Obama was implicated by five participants as a Muslim terrorist working with ISIS and the Muslim Brotherhood to advance Islam’s supposed imperialist agenda of world domination. Many participants spoke of the U.S. accepting Syrian refugees in Armageddon-like terms. Another major conspiracy-related theme pertained to the notion of immigrant special favors. This point of view centered on the narrative that violent Hispanic/Latino “illegal immigrants” are somehow exempt from the criminal justice system as law enforcement is releasing criminals and murderers who have perpetrated heinous crimes back into the general public. These conspiracy findings were unique and unpredicted with respect to the reviewed literature for this project.

Ethnocentrism: nationalism / patriotism

An underlying tone of ethnocentrism added to the xenophobic narrative expressed by American Security Rally participants. As explained in the literature review above, ethnocentrism is commonly linked to nationalism and patriotism, both of which are associated with anti-immigrant attitudes among Americans (Valentino et al 2013; Fussell 2014; Yakushko 2009; Lee 2015; Mukherjee, Molina and Adams 2012). This literature was consistent with research findings.

Additionally, ethnocentrism is a strong characteristic of the authoritarian personality. Patriotism is relatively harmless, but nationalism can become dangerous because it is often impulsive and irrational (Murray 2011). Nationalism has been associated with the authoritarian personality and support for authoritarian structures and institutions in society (Mukherjee, Molina and Adams 2012: 23). Participants shared the attitude that their group or culture is superior to others. One example is Logan's simple notion that, "America is the greatest country on earth." This is a belief that stems from ethnocentric thinking. It is only a rational statement if the person saying it has in fact been to every country on earth. Interview participants presumed that minority cultures must assimilate and Americanize themselves to meet in-group standards such as American epistemological ideology, American culture, American language and American hegemonic discourse.

This type of thinking demonstrates the interconnectedness between ethnocentrism and the demand for immigrant assimilation represented by participants of the American Security Rally of Montana. It's important to note here that the American Security Rally of Montana represents an

in-group that, according to participant observation, is exclusively white who is protesting against a perceived non-white out-group immigrant populations.

Cultural Threat / Assimilation

Emerging from ethnocentrism was a cultural threat and a demand of immigrant assimilation by interview participants opposing illegal Hispanic/Latino immigrants and Syrian refugees. Mukherjee, Molina and Adams (2012) link the authoritarian personality to notions of assimilation. Immigrant groups were perceived by American Security Rally interview participants to be unwilling or unable to assimilate into American norms and customs. For example, immigrants were said to be unwilling to learn English. Unique to Syrian refugees was the perspective of irreconcilable cultural barriers. This is the idea that the cultural difference between Americans and Syrians is too great to overcome, mainly because the value system of Muslim cultures is thought by participants to be “backwards” and in direct conflict and opposition to American moral standards. This rhetoric was expected, as prior research has found that xenophobia often encompasses judging immigrants based on perceived assimilation (Hainmueller 2015; Awan 2010; Johnston 2016; Alsayegh 2016; Schemer 2012; Yakushko 2009; Murray 2011; Mukherjee Molina and Adams 2012).

Social identity theory might explain this as “fringe groups criticized for their inability to achieve integration and the ways in which they disrupt cultural homogeneity” (Murray 2011: 35). Ironically, immigrants are often critiqued by the in-group for not assimilating; while simultaneously being denied the right to fully assimilate, as is the case in American Latino immigration (Chavez 2008). Authoritarian personalities often emphasize assimilation “focusing

on racial or cultural ‘others’ who do not assimilate to Anglocentric understandings of American citizenship,” such as the ability to speak English (Mukherjee, Molina and Adams 2012: 24).

Immigrant Imperialism

Participants not only believed that immigrants were unwilling to assimilate, they also expressed feeling threatened by immigrant imperialism, the notion that immigrants aspire to force their own culture onto Americans and “take over.” Immigrants were characterized by participants as an invading force threatening to demographically overrun entire cities and towns in the United States. They form their own immigrant “enclaves” and force their own cultural values onto Americans rather than assimilating and becoming Americans. This fear of immigrant takeover was consistent with some of the literature (Lee 2015; Chavez 2008; Jones et. al 2011; Hafez 2015). This notion can be attributed to maintaining a strong social identity and the fear of a Caucasian minority, which could threaten participants’ position of white privilege. The out-group is portrayed as an invading enemy to reinforce in-group identity by further stigmatizing and isolating the perceived other. In this instance, interview participants perceive out-group members, both Hispanic/Latino undocumented immigrants and Syrian refugees, as threatening to their worldview. Using social identity theory it is possible that negatively stigmatizing the other creates a positive social identity within the in-group, represented by authoritarian minded white, Christian, conservative members of the American Security Rally of Montana. Interview participants potentially derive a sense of self from identification with the American Security Rally of Montana and actively engage in symbolic conflict used to separate and isolate their in-group status from the perceived out-group.

Media Influence / Information Sources

Interview participants were asked to talk about the sources of information they relied on with respect to the immigrant issues of concern involving Syrian refugees and illegal Hispanic/Latino immigrants. Participants referenced media outlets such as internet, television, radio, newspapers, magazines and books. A few claimed to most heavily rely on social media like Facebook and YouTube. Websites mentioned included Refugee Resettlement Watch, Act for America and Jihad Watch. Many participants mentioned Fox News. They also referenced conservative Christian radio hosts like Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh who both have been known to preach islamophobia narrative (Johnston 2006). It has been shown in the literature that media sources play an important part in the formation of attitudes concerning immigration and that media depictions of immigrants are in large part negative, linking immigrants to crime, violence and terrorism (Seate and Mastro 2015; Fussell 2014; Dixon and Linz 2000; Schemer 2012; Yakushko 2009; Lee 2015; Ekman 2015; Chavez 2008; Ogan et al. 2014; Jackson 2010; Klepper 2014; Alsayegh 2016; Johnston 2016; Awan 2010; Bulliet 2003).

In Adorno's eyes the media, what he refers to as "the culture industry," is owned by the bourgeoisie who use it as a tool to perpetuate authoritarian social dominance. The bourgeoisie is the top echelon of society that controls the overwhelming majority of the mode of production and therefore most of the wealth and power. This power enables its members to exert mass manipulation in society. To Adorno, the bourgeoisie uses the media propaganda to perpetuate a uniform common sense hegemonic discourse that supports their own interests.

David Harvey discusses how included in this "one percent" are individuals like the owner of Fox, Rupert Murdoch. Murdoch has considerable influence on public perceptions through

control and mass manipulation of the media. Murdoch holds influence in not only the United States, but in Britain and Australia as well. Harvey argues that Murdoch uses media as a platform to advance neoliberal doctrine and targets conservative right-wing republicans to do so (Harvey 2005). For example, “all 247 of the supposedly independent editors of his newspapers worldwide supported the U.S. invasion of Iraq,” one of the most controversial political topics of our time (Harvey 2005: 35). Clearly this is no example objective journalism.

Joseph Goebbels once emphasized that it is the mere repetition of propaganda that makes it successful. Not only has Fox news been linked to one-sided journalism, but it has also been associated with islamophobia similar to the rhetoric expressed by participants in the American Security Rally of Montana. In a 2011 survey of Americans, 68% of those who “most trust” Fox News felt that “Muslim values are not compatible with American values or way of life. In this same study, 60% of Republicans who “most trusted” Fox News also thought that Muslims were attempting to establish Sharia law in the United States (Jones et al. 2011: 19). Both of these themes were expressed among interview participants. Social identity theory would suggest that this process of demonizing immigrants in the media creates a scenario where the public perceives themselves as in-group members who are different and unlike those minorities shown as the out-group on television.

A New Anti-Semitism?

Adorno’s notion of the authoritarian personality was not tested in this research but rather applied simply because of how similar participant characteristics were to those presented in Adorno’s research. It is remarkable how elements of the authoritarian personality, such as ethnocentrism, religion and right wing political conservatism, seem to have persisted over the

course of the past century and continue to oppress and marginalize out-groups to conform and consolidate social group identity. Many of the anti-immigrant perspectives argued by the American Security Rally stem directly from the anti-Semitic authoritarian narrative used in the early 20th century.

In Adorno's research, authoritarian subjects were prejudiced towards Jews, hostile to foreigners as well as minority groups, patriotic, religious, and conservative with respect to social services (Roiser and Willig 2002: 74). Much of the same can be seen with respect to immigration; and the media's influence on American attitudes. There are many anti-Mexican newscasts that use ethnocentric rhetoric and play off the authoritarian personality to gain political support.

The notion of the authoritarian personality was originally founded in Nazi-occupied Germany, and coincidentally, many of the arguments used to discriminate against Jews are extraordinarily similar to the xenophobic arguments made by participants of the American Security Rally of Montana. For example, Nazi Germany rejected all forms of cultural diversity and instead directed public fears and anxieties towards non-natives, specifically Jewish foreigners and anyone who strayed from the authoritarian hegemonic discourse. Hafez argues that the current anti-immigrant rhetoric toward Muslims "echoes rhetoric of 1930's anti-Semitism" and has become "quite mainstream" (Hafez 2015: 24; Ekman 2015; Bulliet 2003). The idea that the Muslim world is conspiring within non-Muslim countries to convert the western world to Islam has "roots in classical anti-Semitist rhetoric and the conception of the deceitful Jew" in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Ekman 2015: 1993). This sentiment strongly echoes the theme of immigrant imperialism pertaining to Syrian refugees.

Likewise, the 1940 Nazi propaganda film *The Eternal Jew* bares an unprecedented resemblance to the narrative used by the American Security Rally of Montana towards Muslim Syrian refugees and Hispanic/Latino undocumented immigrants. In *The Eternal Jew*, Jews are depicted as violent criminals and drug dealers who avoid paying taxes. They “cheat their home state” by taking jobs that rightfully belong to Germans (Hippler 1940). Moral teachings of Judaism are depicted as incompatible with western values and Jews are thought of as incapable of assimilating into German society (Hippler 1940). *The Eternal Jew* argues that Judaism is “not a religion, but a conspiracy against all non-Jews” and that deception, like “taqiya,” is acceptable in the Torah (Hippler 1940). These anti-Semitic arguments made in *The Eternal Jew* and throughout the twentieth century are disturbingly similar to many of the arguments made by participants of the American Security Rally of Montana towards immigrants, showing the persistence of authoritarian characteristics among some members of contemporary American society.

This authoritarian personality in the U.S. is disturbingly similar to the personality present in Nazi Germany prior to, during, and even after World War II; the same personality Hitler and his administer of propaganda Joseph Goebbels used to con into racist extremism and deploy as expendable foot-soldiers in the quest for imperialist world domination. Hitler used the Jews as a scapegoat to explain the suffering German economy, just as American Security Rally of Montana participants use “immigrants” to explain the problems of the American economy today.

CONCLUSION

Limitations / Future Research

It was not surprising that participants of the American Security Rally of Montana expressed the xenophobic perceptions presented in the findings narrative discussed above. However, two themes were new and unexpected. The conspiracy theories outlined by participants were completely original and unforeseen. Also unanticipated was the fact that five participants had at least some college education, and three of those five had attended graduate school (Ogan et al. 2014; Jackson 2010; Klepper 2014; Bulliet 2003; Hainmueller 2015). Although the most educated participants seemed to hold less extreme perceptions of immigrants, this study suggests that xenophobia exists in Montana even among individuals who are highly educated. Although this finding is inconsistent with the literature, it does not conflict with the Authoritarian personality, as anti-Semitic twentieth century German society authoritarian personalities were often educated (Avraham 2013). It is possible that the media holds more power in creating stereotypes than formal education has in breaking them. However, this is a hypothesis that would require future research.

Although I would have certainly liked to do more interviews, and the small sample size used certainly creates some limitations, I do feel that the number of interview participants was representative of the American Security Rally of Montana. I performed nine interviews, and the rallies that I attended both consisted of roughly one-hundred protesters each, a conservative estimate. In addition, some of the same individuals were at both rallies. Themes presented are only applicable to the participants who attended American Security Rally events in Missoula and Helena from February to March 2016.

In addition to sample size, time was a significant factor in this research as these immigration issues represent ongoing social issues that were difficult to fully develop in the context of a master's thesis. More time would have enabled me to incorporate the American Security Rally of Montana's social media Facebook page into analysis. It also would have been interesting to give participants a survey similar to Adorno's, indicating whether or not they are authoritarian according to Adorno's "F" scale. Additionally, there were certainly some strengths and weaknesses to attacking such a large issue. It was difficult to blend a xenophobic topic that encompassed both Syrian refugees and undocumented Hispanic/Latino's. At times I felt that I should focus on views directed towards one group or the other. However, using both perspectives allowed me to make unique comparisons that would not have otherwise been possible (see diagram on page 25).

These findings are important because they reveal a xenophobic narrative from the past that has persisted from the time Theodore Adorno started his work in the early 1900's (Hafez 2015: 24; Ekman 2015; Bulliet 2003). As Matt ironically acknowledged just after making an islamophobic comment, it is just "how race hating goes.... they're [Muslims] the flavor of the day in a sense." This study confirms that xenophobia is present in the United States, as literature suggests, but shows that this prejudice exists in Montana. Xenophobia, using the framework of social identity theory, suggests that it is natural for humans to fear those most different from themselves (Raiya et al. 2008). There is no easy answer to xenophobia, but it has been proven to be damaging to those populations in which it is directed; in this instance refugees from Syria and illegal Hispanic/Latino immigrants.

Much research has suggested implementing formal education to combat xenophobia but due to the fact that most participants were educated, I cannot make the same suggestion (Ogan et

al. 2014; Jackson 2010; Klepper 2014; Bulliet 2003; Hainmueller 2015). Therefore, I suggest the following. If the media possesses the ability to create negative perceptions among individuals in society it likely has just as much potential to re-create them and could be used as a counter measure to xenophobia. Furthermore, I also suggest in-group contact with the out-group. Perhaps the best way to overcome fear is to meet that fear face to face and in person (Ogan et al. 2014).

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Appendix A. Subject Information and Informed Consent

Study Title: Immigration Narrative among Participants in the "American Security of Montana"

Investigator(s):

Principal Investigator: Chris Boyce; Department of Sociology; University of Montana; Missoula, MT 59812; Phone: (406) 209-0332; e-mail: Christian.boyce@umontana.edu

Faculty Supervisor: Dusten Hollist; Department of Sociology; University of Montana; Missoula, MT 59812; Phone: (406) 243-2843; e-mail: Dusten.hollist@mso.umt.edu

Special Instructions:

This consent form may contain words that are new to you. If you read any words that are not clear to you, please ask the person who gave you this form to explain them to you.

Inclusion Criteria:

- Participant of the "American Security Rally of Montana"

Purpose:

You are invited to participate in a research study on Immigration Narrative among Members of the "American Security Rally of Montana." The purpose of this research project is to investigate and understand attitudes and perspectives among persons involved with the "American Security Rally of Montana" movement. The results will be used for writing a formal thesis paper and will potentially be submitted to an academic journal for publication. You must be 18 or older to participate in this research.

Procedures:

If you agree to take part in this research study, the entire interview will take between 30 mins to one hour but will not exceed one hour. Participants will be given a brief questionnaire of relevant background information prior to the formal interview session.

Risks/Discomforts:

There is little to no anticipated discomfort for those contributing to this study, so risk to participants is minimal. You will be informed of any new findings that may affect your decision to remain in the study. Participants may worry that the information that they provide will be used in a manner that they did not intend. Participants may also worry that their names and or identities will be associated with the written document. Precautions will be taken to minimize any threats to the anonymity of participants. These include the assigning of pseudonyms in the transcripts and reporting of the interview narrative and care to ensure that any personally identifiable information that is provided to the researcher is kept in a secure and private location.

Benefits:

Subjects may feel that this is an opportunity for their voices to be heard on a meaningful contemporary issue. Reporting how they feel may provide a sense of self-importance while also making a contribution to society and academics.

Confidentiality:

Your identity will be kept private. Information between you and the researcher will be completely confidential. You will remain anonymous and privacy will be protected in all published and written data resulting from this study using pseudonyms. Your signed consent form will be stored separately from the data. Only the researcher of this project will have access to the data. Your name or any other identifying information will never be attached to the data. Background information and all other physical data will be securely placed into a locked file cabinet. The audiotape will be transcribed without any information that could identify you. The tape will then be erased.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:

Please understand that your participation is entirely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer questions. You may leave the study for any reason.

Questions:

If you have any questions regarding this study, now or in the future, please contact Chris Boyce at (406) 209-0332. If you have any concerns or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may report your grievances—anononymously, if you wish—to the Chair of the Institutional Review Board through The University of Montana Research Office at (406) 243-6672.

Statement of Your Consent:

I have read the above description of this research study. I have been informed of the risks and benefits involved, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Furthermore, I have been assured that any future questions I may have will also be answered by a member of the research team. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. I understand I will receive a copy of this consent form and voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Printed Name of Subject

Subject's Signature

Date

Statement of Consent to be Audiotaped:

I understand that audio recordings will be used during the interview process and I consent to having my interview being audio recorded. I also understand that these audio recordings will be destroyed following transcription, and that no identifying information will be included in any transcription or presentation of the data.

Subject's Signature

Date

Appendix B. Interview Guide

- 1) Tell me a little bit about yourself
Where are you from originally?
How long have you lived in Montana?
- 2) What is important from me to learn from you about immigration?
- 3) Tell me about the “American Security Rally of Montana?”
What does the organization stand for?
- 4) How did you first get involved with the “American Security Rally of Montana?”
When/how many rallies or public events have you attended?
Why do you attend?
- 5) How would you feel about refugee resettlement in your community?
How would you feel about illegal immigrants living in your community?
- 6) How would you address immigration issues if you were President?
- 7) Tell me about where you get your information concerning immigrants?
- 8) Did I leave anything out that should have been asked?
Is there anything that you would like to add?

Appendix C. Participant Background Information

(Please fill out the following background information. If you have any questions or concerns, please ask)

AGE -

RACE -

GENDER -

PLACE OF RESIDENCE -

LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED -

OCCUPATION -

POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION -

Appendix D. Interpretive Coding Scheme

Xenophobia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Islamophobia - “The Latino Threat”
Fears	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Violence - Terrorism - Treatment of Women
Immigrant Imperialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conquered Places (Minnesota) - Large Families / Overbreeding - Sharia Law
Assimilation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language - “Obey or Laws” - Irreconcilable Cultural Barriers
Threat to Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tax Burden - Access to Benefits / “Free Stuff” - “Take Care of Your Own” - Job Threat - Financial Collapse
Conspiracy Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government Mistrust - The Muslim Brotherhood - The New World Order - Armageddon - Immigrant Special Favors
Ethnocentrism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nationalism - Patriotism
Right Wing Authoritarianism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Following the Rules - Breaking the Law - Conservatism - Republican
Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Christianity - Catholicism
Solutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Border Security - Foreign Intervention - No Muslims - Better Vetting
Media Influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Radio - Television - News - Internet - Experience - Books - “Look at...”