

# Xenophobia in American Political Discourse: A Sociopragmatic Study

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## Abstract

This study sociopragmatically deals with xenophobia in American political discourse. Understanding xenophobia in American political discourse through a sociopragmatic perspective highlights the importance of addressing the root causes and underlying issues. Xenophobia is mainly selected because it has not been given a close analysis by researchers from a sociopragmatic perspective, as much as the researcher could investigate. Consequently, this knowledge gap needs to be bridged by sociopragmatically examining xenophobia in the context of American political discourse. This study, hence, is an attempt to achieve the following aims: pinpointing the sociopragmatic indicators that mark the existence of xenophobia; finding out the pragmatic strategies used to reflect xenophobia in the context of American political discourse; and showing the effect of the social variable of authoritative power of xenophobic speakers on their language. In accordance with its aims, this study hypothesises that: xenophobia sociopragmatically manifests through certain sociopragmatic indicators such as the use of out-group markers, negative stereotyping, scapegoating, fear mongering, and policy proposals; xenophobia is pragmatically manifested in the activation of the pragmatic strategies of assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarative speech acts in addition to the strategies of repetition, dehumanization, and hedging; and xenophobic speakers use their authoritative power to influence their audience by employing several strategies. To accomplish its aims, this study follows certain steps. It briefly reviews the related literature about the sociopragmatics of xenophobia and develops a model of xenophobia to analyse the data. It also analyses five extracts qualitatively using the model developed in this study for this purpose and discusses the findings to arrive at some conclusions. This study concludes that xenophobia is a negative attitude towards people from different countries or cultures that is sociopragmatically recognized by certain indicators and demonstrated by several pragmatic strategies.

**Keywords:** Sociopragmatics, Xenophobia, American Political Discourse.

## رُهاب الأُجانب في الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي: دراسة تداولية اجتماعية

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## المستخلص

تتناول هذه الدراسة تداولياً واجتماعياً رُهاب الأُجانب في الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي. إن فهم رُهاب الأُجانب في الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي من منظور تداولي اجتماعي يسلط الضوء على أهمية معالجة الأسباب الجذرية والقضايا الكامنة وراءه. واختيار ظاهرة رُهاب الأُجانب بشكل أساسي؛ لأنها لم يحللها الباحثون عن كثب من منظور تداولي اجتماعي، من وجهة نظر الباحث. ومن ثم، يجب سد هذه الفجوة المعرفية بتفحص هذه الظاهرة اللغوية تداولياً واجتماعياً في سياق الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي. ومن ثم، فإن هذه الدراسة محاولة لتحقيق الأهداف التالية: تحديد المؤشرات التداولية والاجتماعية التي تدل على وجود رُهاب الأُجانب في الخطاب؛ ومعرفة الاستراتيجيات التداولية المستخدمة لتعكس رُهاب الأُجانب في سياق الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي؛ وإظهار تأثير المتغير

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الاجتماعي للسلطة للمتحدثين بكراهية الأجانب على لغتهم. وفقاً لأهدافها، تفترض هذه الدراسة أن: كراهية الأجانب تتجلى بشكل تداولي عبر مؤشرات اجتماعية تداولية معينة مثل: استخدام القوالب النمطية السلبية، وإلقاء اللوم على الآخرين، وإثارة الخوف؛ تتجلى كراهية الأجانب بشكل تداولي في تفعيل الإستراتيجيات التداولية لأفعال الكلام الحازمة والتوجيهية والإلزامية والتعبيرية والتصريحية بالإضافة إلى إستراتيجيات التكرار ونزع الصفة الإنسانية والتحوط؛ ويستخدم المتحدثون المعادون للأجانب سلطتهم للتأثير على جمهورهم باستخدام العديد من الإستراتيجيات. ولتحقيق أهدافها، تتبع هذه الدراسة خطوات معينة. تستعرض هذه الدراسة بإيجاز الأدبيات ذات الصلة حول التداولية الاجتماعية لكراهية الأجانب، وتضع أنموذجاً لرهاب الأجانب لتحليل البيانات. وتحلل خمسة مقتطفات نوعياً باستخدام الأنموذج الذي طورته هذه الدراسة لهذا الغرض، وتناقش النتائج للوصول إلى بعض الاستنتاجات. وخلصت هذه الدراسة إلى أن رهاب أو كراهية الأجانب هي موقف سلبي تجاه الأشخاص من بلدان أو ثقافات مختلفة، الذي يمكن التعرف عليه اجتماعياً من مؤشرات معينة ويمكن إثباته بالعديد من الإستراتيجيات التداولية.

**الكلمات الدالة:** التداولية الاجتماعية، رهاب الأجانب، كراهية الأجانب، الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي.

## 1. Introduction

In American political discourse, xenophobia has occurred as a frequent attitude by American political leaders who usually use xenophobic language that portrays any foreign group as a threat to national identity, economic stability, and security. Generally speaking, xenophobia is a regular theme in American political discourse. Political leaders have frequently invoked xenophobic discourse by describing foreign groups as a threat, cultural disruptor, or national security risk. While xenophobic discourse is not unique to the United States, its manifestation in political discourse provides a fertile ground for sociopragmatic analysis. Understanding the way in which xenophobia is activated in American political discourse demands a sociopragmatic approach that scrutinizes both the linguistic choices of the speakers and the social factors of the context. This study, therefore, investigates the sociopragmatics of xenophobia in American political discourse. It focuses on Speech Act Theory to analyze xenophobic discourse functions and some other strategies such as repetition, dehumanization, and hedging [1,p.1-23]. It also examines the role of the authoritative power of the American politicians in their xenophobic discourse through a sociopragmatic lens. By analyzing some extracts from American political speeches, this study explores how language reinforces or challenges xenophobic ideologies. Drawing on sociopragmatic theory, this study seeks to uncover the implicit and explicit ways in which xenophobia operates within political discourse, shedding light on its broader social and ideological implications. This study, as a result, investigates the interplay of language, power, and ideology in xenophobic political discourse in the United States. In other words, by analyzing some extracts from the speeches of key American political figures, this study attempts to uncover the pragmatic strategies used to construct xenophobia. Additionally, it attempts to detect the social variable of authoritative power of the American xenophobic politicians and how they can influence their audience. Therefore, this study makes an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What are the sociopragmatic indicators of xenophobia in American political discourse?

2. What are the pragmatic strategies activated by speakers of American political discourse?
3. How does the social variable of authoritative power of xenophobic speakers influence their audience?

## 2. Sociopragmatically Theorizing Xenophobia in American Political Discourse

Etymologically speaking, the word "xenophobia" originated from the combination of two Greek words "xénos" which means foreigner or stranger, and "phóbos" which means fear. Generally speaking, xenophobia can be described as the fear or hostility toward foreigners. From a sociopragmatic perspective, xenophobia is not merely an attitude but a communicative phenomenon shaped by language, context, and social interaction. It can be realised using certain pragmatic strategies that help xenophobic speakers to create in-group and out-group discrimination to justify any exclusionary policy by the government. When sociopragmatics is applied to xenophobic discourse, it helps to explore how American political speakers use certain pragmatic strategies to evoke fear, manipulate public sentiment, and legitimize discriminatory practices. By detecting these pragmatic strategies, sociopragmatics demonstrates how xenophobia is pragmatically produced in American political discourse. From a political point of view, xenophobia can be considered as "an element of a political struggle about who has the right to be cared for by the state and society"[2,p.17-41].

Xenophobia is a universal phenomenon that can be broadly depicted as disapproval, hostility, and fear of strangers[3]. Otherwise stated, xenophobia emerges as a result of the feeling that foreigners corrupt the rights of the native citizens. Some scholars examine the phenomenon of xenophobia within American political discourse through sociopragmatic and critical discourse analysis lenses. In this study, Knoblock, for example, utilizes critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics methods to examine the use of xenophobic and verbally aggressive discourse on Donald Trump's official Facebook page, particularly concerning Muslim immigration[4,p.295-322]. From another perspective, Gonzalez-Gorman explores how political rhetoric serves as a "micro-aggression" which contributes to the marginalization of groups and fosters a polarizing cultural environment [5]. As Al-Rodhan considers it, xenophobia can be connected to racial and ethnic phobias which result in prejudice against members of a particular race or ethnic group[6]. From this point of view of Gerston, xenophobia is a "cruel centerpiece of American political behavior"[7]. Hence, xenophobia can be seen as a direct threat or danger to the insiders.

In the context of this study, xenophobia can operationally be defined as a negative attitude towards foreign individuals or groups that can be realized through various pragmatic strategies and context-dependent linguistic choices that shape the social reality and influence the public attitude and policy of a particular society. As for American political discourse, it can be described as a tool of power and influence in the American political sphere, and a form of communication that combines persuasion, identity, media influence, and ideological framing to shape public attitudes. Thus, xenophobia in American political discourse is a sociopragmatic tactic that reflects explicit or implicit

hostility towards strangers and such a tactic can be used to influence policy and determine group identity.

### **3. Sociopragmatic Indicators of Xenophobia in American Political Discourse**

In American political discourse, Xenophobia can be characterized by the following sociopragmatic indicators as suggested by the present study:

#### **3.1 The Use of Out-Group Markers**

Politicians often use language that creates an obvious divergence between the in-group and the out-group such as the use of "us vs. them". Such use of language can be displayed in speech about immigrants or minorities when they are described as a threat to national identity and security.

#### **3.2 Negative Stereotyping**

Politicians, sometimes, prefer to use negative stereotypes by describing a particular ethnic or racial group in a negative way and attributing undesirable features or manners to them.

#### **3.3 Scapegoating**

Another indicator of xenophobia could be the activation of scapegoating which can be portrayed by blaming certain groups, for example, immigrants or minorities, for societal problems like economic downturns or crime rates. This technique is used by politicians to shift the focus away from systemic issues and to place the blame on the powerless groups.

#### **3.4 Fear Mongering**

Politicians also resort to the use of fear-inducing language in order to create a sense of danger connected with certain groups such as immigrants or minorities when they exaggerate the possible threat posed by them.

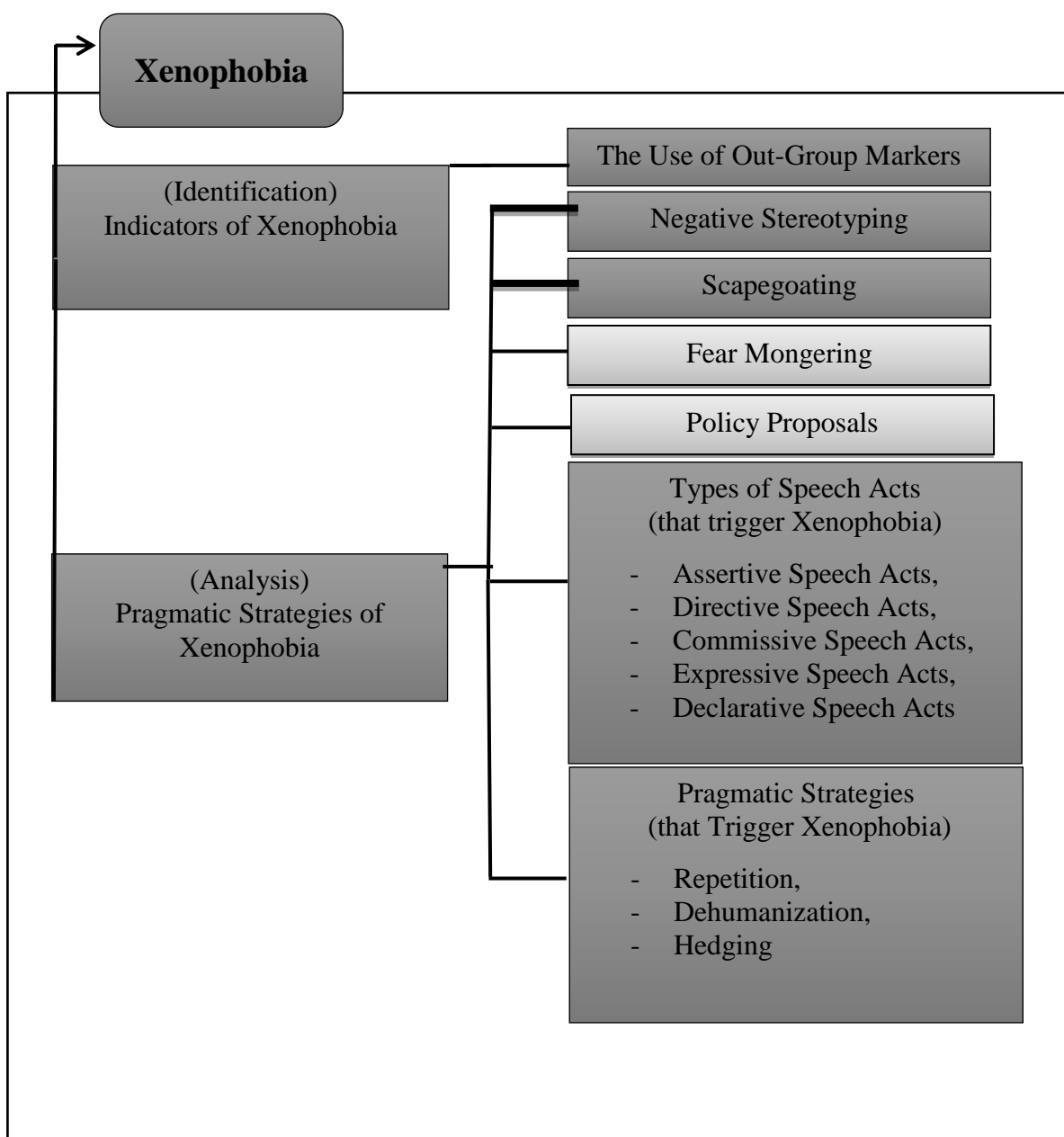
#### **3.5 Policy Proposals**

Another sign of xenophobia is proposing certain policies that target or disadvantage certain groups to restrict them, limit access to their services, or increase their surveillance.

### **4. Methodology**

The data of this study is exemplified by five representative extracts said by well-known American politicians who are Donald Trump, Stephen Miller, Tom Cotton, Steve King, and Jeff Sessions. They are political figures who have an authoritative power so their position influences how their speech is perceived. They have played pivotal roles in shaping American political discourse, particularly concerning immigration and national identity. Their speeches consistently employ linguistic strategies that align with xenophobic discourse, reinforcing exclusionary narratives and fostering hostility toward immigrant groups. Also, they frequently frame immigration in terms of an existential threat to American identity, security, and prosperity. Additionally, they make use of fear-based messages to justify exclusionary policies as they repeatedly link immigrants to crimes. Their discourse, thus, can be representative of xenophobic language because it systematically employs fear-based appeals, dehumanization, and exclusionary policy

justifications to construct immigrants as threats to American society. Their language reinforces nativist ideologies that seek to maintain social hierarchies by marginalizing specific ethnic and religious groups. In this study, Searle's taxonomy of speech acts is adapted to include all the speech acts which suit the use of xenophobia [1]. Other pragmatic strategies such as repetition, dehumanization, and hedging are also activated in these extracts. The model has two phases; namely, identification and analysis. First, it starts with the identification of the indicators of xenophobia. Second, it moves to the analysis of these extracts where xenophobia is activated by means of some pragmatic strategies. The proposed model is clearly sketched in Figure (1) below:



**Extract (1)**

*"When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people".*

**Speaker:** Donald Trump, The President of the United States.

**Analysis:** In this extract, Trump starts with the utterance "When Mexico sends its people" to imply that the Mexican government is intentionally sending problematic people to the U.S., and this utterance inserts a conspiratorial part to his speech which may fuel more xenophobic sentiments towards immigrants. To reflect his social identity and political power, Trump positions himself as an authority figure who has the power to influence immigration policies. Trump uses out-group markers as he makes a clear distinction between "us" to refer to "the Americans" and "them" to refer to the "Mexican immigrants" which creates a sense of exclusion and otherness. He also employs negative stereotypes to describe Mexican immigrants, by labelling them as "people that have lots of problems," "bringing drugs," "bringing crime," and "rapists" These negative stereotypes reinforce harmful and prejudiced views about the immigrant community. By attributing societal problems such as drug trafficking and crime to Mexican immigrants, Trump resorts to the strategy of scapegoating in order to place the blame on them as an exclusionary action. Furthermore, Trump resorts to the strategy of fearmongering as he utilises fear-inducing language to give a sense of danger associated with Mexican immigrants. This is obvious in utterances like "*bringing drugs*", "*bringing crime*", and "*rapists*" which are intended to evoke fear and anxiety among the audience. Trump uses assertive speech acts when he makes claims about the nature of immigrants from Mexico. Also, he employs commissive speech acts because there is an implicit promise to take action against the perceived threats of the immigrants. Expressive speech acts are also activated by Trump and this is obvious in his choice of words like "*problems*", "*drugs*", "*crime*", and "*rapists*" which convey his strong negative attitude towards the immigrants. Additionally, Trump resorts to the strategy of repetition when he repeats the utterance "*They're not sending you*" to emphasize his idea about immigrants as a separate and problematic group. This repetition also emphasizes Trump's idea that the immigrants coming to the U.S. are not representative of the best of Mexico. This strategy strengthens his negative description of the immigrants and makes the message more memorable. Besides, Trump makes use of dehumanization and his choice of utterances in this extract dehumanizes the Mexican immigrants by portraying them as a group of negative traits and problems. This dehumanization makes it easier for Trump to justify his discriminatory actions and policies against them. Hedging is also operated by Trump when he says "*And some, I assume, are good people*" which allows him to appear less extreme while still promoting a predominantly negative view of Mexican immigrants. Overall, Trump, in this extract, utilises diverse sociopragmatic strategies to encourage a xenophobic language narrative and to create a negative and fearful portrayal of Mexican immigrants. Such strategies, as a result, serve to justify his exclusionary policy and prejudiced attitude towards immigrants.



**Extract (2)**

*"America is for Americans and Americans only! We need to establish large-scale staging grounds for removal flights. So you grab illegal immigrants, and then you move them to the staging grounds. And that's where the planes are waiting for federal law enforcement to move those illegals home. Only Trump would allow Americans to live in a country where criminal gangs cannot just cross our border and rape and murder with impunity. It happens every day".*

**Speaker:** Stephen Miller, a Senior Advisor to Donald Trump.

**Analysis:** In this extract, Miller intends to highlight the perceived negative consequences of illegal immigration by portraying them as a threat to national security and public safety. Miller's social identity and power are obvious as he positions himself as an authority figure with the power to influence immigration policy. Thus, Miller appeals to the fears and concerns of the audience and this potentially strengthens his social and political power. In this extract, Miller uses an out-group maker by creating a clear division between the Americans using "us" and the illegal immigrants using "them" which, in fact, fosters an out-group mentality.

Miller resorts to fear-inducing language and dehumanizing in order to create a negative image of immigrants. It exemplifies the fear mongering and scapegoating aspects of xenophobic discourse. Miller uses assertive speech acts as he makes claims about the nature of illegal immigrants and the necessity of *"removal flights"*. Also, he utilises commissive speech acts and this is clear in his implicit promise to take action against illegal immigration. Expressive speech acts are also activated in his choice of words which conveys a strong negative attitude towards illegal immigrants. His use of emotive language in the utterances *"criminal gangs"*, *"rape"*, and *"murder with impunity"* is intended to arouse fear towards the immigrants among the audience. By using the strategy of repetition of *"America is for Americans"* Miller emphasizes a nationalist sentiment.

**Extract (3)**

*"I oppose their calls to reward mass illegal immigration with blanket amnesty, which would undermine the rule of law, cost Americans jobs, drive down wages for working Americans, and invite more illegal immigration".*

**Speaker:** Tom Cotton, the Republican Senator from Arkansas.

In this extract, Cotton shows his social identity and power by positioning himself as an authority figure with the power to influence the immigration policy. Cotton intends to criticize the economic and social impact of illegal immigration on the country. He tries to emphasise the negative outcomes of granting amnesty to illegal immigrants. He wants to accentuate that such a policy would have detrimental effects on the rule of law, employment, and wages for American citizens. He creates a clear division between the American citizens using "us" and the illegal immigrants using "them" to foster an out-group mentality. Likewise, utterances like *"Mass illegal immigration"* and *"illegal immigrants"* clearly mark the immigrants as being outside American citizens. Negative stereotyping is triggered by Cotton in his utterance *"undermine the rule of law"* as it indicates that immigrants are associated with lawlessness. Also, utterances like *"cost Americans jobs"* and *"drive down wages"* insinuate that immigrants have a negative

impact on the economy and directly harm American workers. Scapegoating is obvious when Cotton blames immigrants for economic problems, job losses, and reduced wages to shift the blame for these complex issues onto immigrants, making them scapegoats.

Fear mongering is also clear in the utterance "undermine the rule of law" to create a sense of fear and make the audience feel that their country is being threatened. Cotton uses fear-inducing language and scapegoating when he describes the immigration as illegal and portrays it as a threat to the rule of law, jobs, and wages. Additionally, Cotton shifts the blame for economic issues onto immigrants to create a sense of urgency and danger which, then, justifies exclusionary their policies. Cotton also reflects his stance against granting amnesty to illegal immigrants which could serve as a clear policy proposal that implies support for stricter immigration controls. He employs assertive speech acts to make claims about the negative consequences of blanket amnesty for illegal immigrants. He also utilises commissive speech acts by making an implicit promise to oppose the policy that rewards illegal immigration. Expressive speech acts are also triggered when he conveys his strong negative attitude towards the idea of granting amnesty to illegal immigrants. He uses emotive language in the utterances "*mass illegal immigration*", "*undermine the rule of law*", "*cost Americans jobs*", and "*drive down wages*" which are intended to arouse fear and urgency among the audience.

#### Extract (4)

*"We can't restore our civilization with somebody else's babies".*

**Speaker:** Steve King, the Former Congressman from Iowa.

**Analysis:** In this extract, King clearly divides the in-group and the out-group when he says "*somebody else's babies*", in which he intends to emphasize that immigrants and their descendants fundamentally differ from the native population. This utterance implies the use of negative stereotyping when King intends to clarify that immigrants and their children can be considered a threat to the preservation of civilization. Such utterance reinforces the harmful stereotype about immigrants by portraying them as incompatible with the prevailing culture. King triggers scapegoating when he stresses that the existence of immigrants and their children undermines civilization. Thus, he shifts the blame onto the immigrants to justify any exclusionary action. King operates fear mongering to create a sense of danger associated with immigrants as he warns the audience that the continuation of the native civilization is at risk due to the existence of immigrants.

King employs the strategy of dehumanization by describing the children of the immigrants as "*somebody else's babies*" and portraying them as a faceless group rather than recognizing their individuality and humanity. King's utterance can function as a declarative speech act by which he makes a claim about civilization and immigration. It can also serve as a directive as it implicitly suggests that the immigration policy should be restrictive. Overall, King, in this extract, promotes xenophobic language to create a negative and fearful portrayal of the immigrants and their descendants to reinforce his prejudiced attitude and justify any exclusionary policy.

#### Extract (5)

*"Illegal entry into the United States is a crime. It should be. It must be if you're going to have a legal system and have any limits whatsoever persons who violate the law of our nation".*



**Speaker:** Jeff Sessions, the Attorney General of the United States.

**Analysis:** In this extract, Sessions gives an authoritative tone by focusing on legal and national issues. Sessions uses a declarative speech act to assert a legal and moral stance on illegal entry into the United States. It also functions as a directive speech act as he calls for strict enforcement of immigration laws. Sessions uses the utterances "*illegal entry*" and "*persons who violate the law*" as out-group markers to distinguish between those who are seen as legal members of society and those who are not. He stresses the idea that illegal entry is a crime to emphasise that illegal immigrants are outsiders. Sessions also strengthens a negative stereotype by correlating illegal immigrants with criminals to indicate that anyone who enters the country illegally is naturally breaking the law and, thus, is considered a threat to the legal system of society. Sessions' utterances scapegoat illegal immigrants as being responsible for damaging the legal system and endangering national security. Sessions operates fear mongering in his utterances which imply that illegal entry is a threat to the nation and he emphasizes the need to enforce the law to preserve order. Sessions implicitly suggests a policy proposal that supports strict enforcement of immigration law when he stresses the need for strong measures in place to control illegal entry and to protect the legal system and national security.

## 6. Results and Discussion

After sociopragmatically analyzing the data of this study, the results demonstrate that xenophobia in American political discourse is a complex and multifaceted sociopragmatic phenomenon as it requires a deep analysis of the use of pragmatic strategies in a social context. It appears that xenophobia is dominant in American political discourse, especially during election campaigns and debates on immigration policy. It is noticed that American xenophobic politicians frequently use fear-mongering and scapegoating to divert attention from other issues. They also resort to out-group markers to discriminate between the in-group and the out-group where such discrimination creates social borders and exclusionary attitudes. Further, the analysis proves that American xenophobic politicians depend on negative stereotypes and scapegoating, especially when they blame immigrants for societal problems such as crime, unemployment, and cultural change. The results also show that fear mongering is used by politicians with the intention to emphasize a perceived threat of strangers to national security, economic stability, and cultural identity. American xenophobic discourse is often accompanied by policy proposals that support restrictive procedures for immigrants such as increasing border security and making strict laws for their entry. Consequently, understanding the sociopragmatic nature of xenophobia in American political discourse helps to specify its negative impact on society, politics, and social interactions.

## 7. Conclusions

The present study ends up with several significant conclusions as follow:

1. Xenophobia is a pervasive attitude by American politicians used in their political discourse, particularly during election campaigns and debates on immigration policy. It is utilized by American politicians because it serves as a powerful tool for mobilizing voters, distracting from other political issues, and reinforcing national

- identity. Politicians, especially during competitive elections, exploit fear of outsiders to gain political advantage.
2. Xenophobia is not merely an expression of personal prejudice but a discursive practice that serves various political, ideological, and social functions. It operates as a strategic tool embedded in language, media, and policy to justify exclusionary practices, and maintain power structures.
  3. In American political discourse, there are certain sociopragmatic indicators of xenophobia which are useful in understanding, countering, and mitigating its effects. These indicators are the use of out-group markers, negative stereotyping, scapegoating, fear mongering, and policy proposals. They prove their worth in characterizing xenophobia in the context of the American political discourse in order to detect, analyze, and respond to xenophobic discourse effectively.
  4. American politicians rely on the pragmatic strategies of assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarative speech acts in their xenophobic discourse. These speech acts allow them to shape public perception, mobilize support, and create a sense of urgency or fear regarding immigration and foreign influence.
  5. Other pragmatic strategies that trigger xenophobia in American political discourse are the strategies of repetition, dehumanization, and hedging as frequently used by American xenophobic politicians. These strategies are frequently used to normalize anti-immigrant sentiments, manipulate public opinion, and justify exclusionary policies. They shape xenophobic discourse by reinforcing fear, legitimizing discrimination, and making extreme views appear more acceptable.
  6. The social variable of authoritative power significantly affects how xenophobic politicians influence their audience and such authoritative power can shape the audience's perceptions and their behaviors. The reason is simply that American politicians are perceived as credible sources of information and their authority lends legitimacy to their utterances, making the audience more likely to accept their views.
  7. The social consequence of xenophobia is profound as it contributes to the marginalization of immigrants, deepens a kind of social division, and fosters hostility and discrimination in society.
  8. Politically speaking, xenophobia in American political discourse encourages anti-immigration agendas which influence public opinions and policy decisions. Thus, politicians use fear-based discourse to frame immigrants as threats, which mobilizes support for restrictive laws and justifies harsh enforcement measures.
  9. Ethically, the use of xenophobic discourse by American politicians leads to divisive and discriminatory attitudes. The reason is that xenophobia challenges the values of inclusivity, diversity, and equality. Hence, the use of xenophobic discourse by American politicians is not just a pragmatic strategy, but it also carries serious ethical implications that undermine fundamental values such as inclusivity, diversity, and equality.
  10. The use of xenophobia by politicians in their American political discourse is intended to construct fear, reinforce group identities, and justify exclusionary policies towards strangers, especially immigrants.

11. From a sociopragmatic viewpoint, this study underlines how xenophobic discourse operates explicitly through direct utterances and implicitly through indirect or coded utterances.
12. By examining the language used by American political figures, it is demonstrated that their pragmatic choices shape public perceptions of immigrants, influence policy debates, and contribute to broader social and ideological divides.
13. Xenophobia in the American political discourse can legitimize and normalize xenophobic sentiments which can have far-reaching consequences for social cohesion, policymaking, and democratic discourse.
14. With respect to the developed pragmatic model of xenophobia, it has proved its workability as a successful instrument used to examine xenophobia in the context of American political discourse. Thus, it is applicable and it could also be practical in other contexts.
15. While this study provides valuable insights into xenophobia in American political discourse, two limitations must be acknowledged. First, the analysis is primarily qualitative so that future studies could incorporate quantitative analysis. Second, while this study focuses on American political discourse, xenophobia is a global phenomenon. Consequently, comparative analyses with other nations could reveal multinational patterns in how xenophobia operates in different political and cultural contexts. By addressing these limitations, future research can further illuminate the intersection of language, power, and exclusion in political discourse.

### CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

There are no conflicts of interest

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