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The redefinition of the nationalist movement under Trump era : a comparison between the beginning and the end of his term

Mégane Maillot

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Mégane Maillot. The redefinition of the nationalist movement under Trump era : a comparison between the beginning and the end of his term. Education. 2022. dumas-03784040

HAL Id: dumas-03784040

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MÉMOIRE DE MASTER 2

« MÉTIERS DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT, DE L'ÉDUCATION ET DE LA FORMATION »

MENTION 2nd DEGRÉ – PARCOURS ANGLAIS

The redefinition of the nationalist movement under Trump era: a comparison between the beginning and the end of his term.

Présenté par
Mégane MAILLOT

Sous la direction de :
Mme Isabelle SICARD (Maître de conférences en Civilisation Américaine, Associate professor of American History à l'Université de Franche-Comté)

Année universitaire 2021-2022

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	4
General introduction.....	5
I. Nationalism in the U.S.A before Trump's election.....	6
I.1. History of Nationalism.....	6
I.2. Xenophobia, Nativism, Racism and Nationalism	10
I.2.3. Racism.....	11
I.3. Nationalism, patriotism and national identity	13
I.4. Nationalism, protectionism and isolationism.....	14
I.5. Populism, 2016 electorate tendency and Nationalism	16
I.6. Conclusion.....	18
II. Donald Trump's rhetoric and access to power	18
II.1. Comparison between George W. Bush, John S. McCain, Willard Mitt Romney and Donald J. Trump's speeches at the Republican National Convention	18
II.2. Trump's Rhetoric.....	20
II.3. Trump's communication and access to power	23
II.4. Conclusion	26
III. Trump's term as a catalyst for the nationalist movement in the U.S.....	26
III.1. Signs of a more divided America.....	26
III.2. Antifa and Trump	27
III.3. The Far-Right and Trump	29
III.4. Conclusion	33
IV. Conclusion	33
V. Bibliography	34
Partie Didactique.....	39
Projet Pédagogique – Etablissement Jules Haag, Besançon.	46
Annexe 1	49
Annexe 2.....	50
Annexe 3.....	51
Annexe 4.....	52
Annexe 5.....	53
Annexe 6.....	55
Annexe 7	56
Annexe 8.....	57

Annexe 9.....	59
Annexe 10.....	61
Annexe 11.....	62
Annexe 12.....	63
Annexe 13.....	64
Annexe 14.....	65

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank my Director and Associate professor of American History, Mrs Isabelle Sicard, not only for her guidance, her expertise, her benevolent listening and her availability but for being a wonderful and brilliant teacher and director. She inspired me over the past five years to successfully write this research paper. Her words and support have greatly motivated me throughout this process. Thank you again for these years study in Bachelor and Master's Degree where I learned so much about the American system and which pushed me to be more involved in it. I also thank Mrs Pascale Smorag for opening me up to American culture and immigration through all these years and for her assistance in the development and structure of this research paper.

To my parents, for their immeasurable support and continuous encouragement. I would not be the person I am today without you both. You have never had any doubt regarding my abilities when I lacked confidence in myself. I know that you are proud of the work I provided and what I achieved, even if you are unfortunately unable to read the whole paper. You were great listeners and precious help regarding my questions on the economic and political functioning of a country. You followed the progress of my work, the stress and joy it gave me, so thank you for your support.

General introduction

It cannot be denied that the past and history have a great influence on our present. It is important to know the history of civilisations in order to understand how the world we live in works. The past leads us to our present choices and decisions. It is either to improve the present by doing our best, or to take up ideas from the past that worked, or to avoid quarrels when things did not turn out well.

The United States of America is a superpower with a rich diversity in terms of culture, ethnicity and religion ; this in itself justifies the study of this country. Although the history of the United States is rather recent compared to Europe, it was characterised by various conflicts and troubles, such as the Civil War, slavery and segregation. The latter is still sometimes present 'de facto', which explains why conflicts between races, ethnicities and genders still exist. The road to the end of slavery and then segregation has been long, and the scar has not yet closed. Today, segregation has been replaced by racism and discrimination. Because of systemic racism, the eyes of the world are on the United States looking for how to deal with them. The media constantly reports on acts of racism, police violence or shootings of Black people. These political and social issues were among my first concerns.

The president of the United States having received a mandate to hold the federal executive power, it is expected that he finds solutions to improve relations between the communities and to ease tensions within his country. Just as it is his duty to act in the best interests of the people, both economically and socially. However, like many people, I have come to wonder about the effect of Donald John Trump's tenure on the American people.

I was in Sweden when I started to wonder about a possible rise of nationalism and racism in the United States. I had an American associate professor of American history, who made me aware of the rise of nationalism and the various manipulations of the Alt-Right. Then the arrival and spread of the Coronavirus reignited tensions, dividing the nation even further. This led me to want to know how a country can become more and more nationalistic and what this really means.

After further questioning, I began to make the connection between D. Trump and the rise of nationalism. Have the last four years in the U.S. seen a shift in attitudes towards racism or nationalism? Could this be linked to D. Trump or the Republican Party? Are there differences on those issues when comparing the beginning and the

end of D. Trump's term? Who voted for him in 2016? How did he manage to win the election? Does the way he has governed the country have an impact on the rise of nationalism and racism? Could it also change the public's perception of the Republican Party?

These questions led me to this study for my research: has the nationalist movement undergone a change during the Trump era when comparing the beginning and the end of his tenure? I chose to study two precise periods of D. Trump's term: the beginning and the end, in order to be able to highlight changes and differences. To answer this question, I will first focus my analysis on the history of American nationalism to explain how it has developed over time, what elements have influenced its development both socially and economically. I will then study Trump's campaign and his rise to power, the influential people who helped him gain power and the salient elements of his speech that he most emphasised to win the vote. Finally, I will explore the important events that had an impact on American nationalism, as well as the issues he addressed in his re-election speeches.

I. Nationalism in the U.S.A before Trump's election

I.1. History of Nationalism

I.1.1. The Birth of Nationalism

Although the U.S. is defined as the "country of immigration" the term nationalism was first introduced – according to BELLAMY Edward (1892) in 1888 – as a civic or liberal nationalism based on "the equal voice of all for the equal benefit of all"¹. This first civic nationalism took place at the end of the industrial revolution, when the government needed strong economic cohesion in its country so that the reforms and industrial progress made by the people would benefit the people (i.e., the "common man", as Andrew Jackson would have it, as opposed to the elite). Indeed, at the time, civic nationalists defined national identity in terms of common moral values that allowed all citizens to lead an autonomous life. Labor and capital were thus nationalized by agents chosen by the people in a democratic system that allowed them to be represented in legislative and executive bodies and to exercise checks and balances through associations, media or trade unions. In this civic nation neither the state nor special interests can claim all powers and resources; the state must be neutral. This is

¹ BELLAMY, Edward, "Progress of Nationalism in the United States", *The North American Review*, Vol. 154, No. 42, June 1892, p. 742.

why civic nationalism advocated values of freedom, tolerance, equality and individual rights, regardless of differences in origin or culture.

What may be strange is the late arrival of this nationalism. This civic nationalism, which BELLAMY also calls economic nationalism, came long after the American Civil War and the abolition of slavery. The North and South had different economic sectors, one focused on industry, the other on agriculture, and they depended on each other for food and technical advances in agriculture and transportation. Once the reconstruction of the nation was done and the industrial revolution was well established, it was necessary for the nation to cooperate to unite their strength economically so that labour and capital could become one. To create an economic nationalism, the state wanted the money that circulated not to be controlled by private monopolies, as it was the case with the railways (Leland Stanford being one of the famous Robber Barons at that time), but for the people to be able to invest their money directly in the nation. Therefore, around the 1880s a multitude of unions were created, such as the People's Party (1891), joining the Knights of Labor (1969), which was very active in the 1880s, the Federation of Trades (1881), the National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry (1867), the Farmers' Alliances (1875)² and many others. Consequently, we can see that even at that time American protectionism was at the heart of their concerns, a subject to which we will return later.

Nonetheless, before reaching this point, it is important to remind oneself that protectionism was a concern of the revolutionaries in favour of independence³. The Founding Fathers, according to Dave ROOS (2019), created their federal government in a way to avoid foreign corruptions and thereby maintain their independence and autonomy⁴. However, the Founding Fathers were also afraid of the people, the famous “We, the People of the United States”, written in the Constitution by the Founding Fathers did not include Black people, Indians, women or white indentured servants. As a matter of fact, most of the Founding Fathers (T. Paine, B. Franklin, T. Jefferson, J. Adams and A. Hamilton) owned slaves and had considerable wealth, which enabled them to protect their interests by legalising in the Constitution the inferior social

² BELLAMY, Edward, “Progress of Nationalism in the United States”, *The North American Review*, Vol. 154, No. 42, June 1892, p. 744.

³ We won't go back to protectionism in colonial America with, for example, the Navigation Acts, since our purpose is to focus on American – as opposed to British – decisions.

⁴ ROOS, Dave, “The Founding Fathers Feared Foreign Influence – And Devised Protections Against It”, *HISTORY*, 05 December 2019.

condition of Black people, the exclusion of Indians and women, the domination of the rich over the poor, which in the end already existed before independence. Although they needed to make concessions to small landowners in order to secure political support, they took care to protect themselves from their own people. To this end, senators were appointed by state legislatures and the president was chosen by a limited college of voters. Finally, we can already see that a nationalism directed towards the American population was developing, affecting certain categories of people. There was not only an economic nationalism at the end of the 18th century, but an ethnic and cultural nationalism as well as a gendered one, although at that time the term nationalism did not exist. This brings us to the notion of the nation-state, which is linked to the definition of ethnocultural nationalism that the Founding Fathers tried to impose to define what the American population should look like.

1.1.2. Nationalism and the Nation-State

A nation-state is a nation that is governed by a state in which the individuals consider themselves as part of the same group with the same definition of their identity. It is because of this notion of nation as a single identity group that nationalism is formed. Yuval FEINSTEIN calls this single identity group “the core national group”⁵ which excludes all individuals who do not fit this identity definition. Therefore, an individual, although a citizen, can be excluded from the state. For instance, we can understand that some immigrants are not included in the nation because they do not fit the identity norms and criteria – ethnicity, religion or culture – imposed and defined by the majority individuals when the state was created. Furthermore, an individual may feel part of “the core national group” outside the nation, living in another state, but identifying with that identity group. According to Yuval FEINSTEIN, wars break out more or less at the same time as the nation-state is about to be established. The War of Independence is a good example, the American state wanted to establish itself and free itself from the British Empire, and to do so, the Founding Fathers had to determine the criteria for building a nation as a single identity group. Finally, we can easily guess that the criteria of the Founding Fathers were the ones we find in the term White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP).

⁵ FEINSTEIN, Yuval. "nation-state". Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date.

I.1.3. Nationalism through immigration

As Yuji ENDO (2020) asserts, the United States is known as a land of immigration and the influx of newcomers bringing with them their religion, language and culture threatened the core identity⁶ of the WASPs. The latter feared the dilution of their identity and consequently the loss of their superiority and ascendancy. To avoid this threat the government implemented different strategies throughout the different waves of immigration, notably from 1820 to the present day.

The first immigrants to endure discrimination from those who considered themselves WASPs, were the Irish people since they were Catholic. Consequently, in the 1850s, the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic American Party was created, also known as the Know-Nothings movement, which tried to curb immigration. In addition, Asian immigrants, who came in large numbers in the mid-1800s lured by news of the California gold rush, were also discriminated by the WASPs who feared a competition for jobs. After the Civil War broke out immigration slowed down and the federal legislation enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 which banned Chinese laborers from entering the U.S., and subsequently the government decided to designate Ellis Island as a federal immigration station in 1890 to filter and deter the immigrants from all over the world. The ethnic nationalism that was gradually established continued to grow stronger over time. Especially after the industrialization and urbanization of the U.S. when a workforce was needed, hence a peak in migration in the late 19th and early 20th century. Consequently, in the 1920s the Quotas laws were adopted, a system to restrict people's entry on the basis of their national origin. Later, the Bracero Program, a series of diplomatic agreements between Mexico and the U.S. was signed in 1942 and brought millions of Mexican immigrants to work on short-term agricultural labor contract until 1964 the end of the program. This period, according to History.com Editors⁷, allowed Mexican and Mexican Americans to come back to the U.S. after being deported or repatriated to Mexico during the Great Depression of 1929. The crisis of 1929 revitalized the ethnocultural and economic nationalism because the WASPs, once again, feared that Mexicans would take their jobs and that welfare would benefit Mexicans at the expense of Americans part of the nation-state, in other words one can

⁶ ENDO, Yuji, "Nativism in the United States and President Trump's anti-immigration policy", Harvard University, 2020, p. 8-9, explains how the "free white person" concept gave rise to the notion of WASP and reinforced nativist sentiments.

⁷ History.com Editors, "U.S. Immigration Before 1965", HISTORY, 10 September 2021, available online: <https://www.history.com/topics/immigration/u-s-immigration-before-1965>.

say, “the real Americans”. Finally, contemporary Immigration was marked by the New Immigration act adopted in 1965 which abolished the Quotas system. As a result of this act, the U.S. experienced a shift in immigration scheme as immigrants came mostly from Asia and Latin America.

Finally, major events that threatened the integrity and security of the nation influenced the government to establish new laws to combat these threats. For instance, the 09/11 terrorist attack and other terrorist attacks eventually led to the travel ban executive order. According to Graham FULLER, nationalism is often motivated by irrational anxiety and insecurity of the others⁸. Nationalism is then misused to distinguish its true people, which encourages discrimination, racism, and persecution of minorities and can promote ultra-nationalistic leaders to protect the interests of their nation⁹.

I.2. Xenophobia, Nativism, Racism and Nationalism

I.2.1. Xénophobia

As Ronald R SUNDSTORM and David HAEKWON KIM used to say, xenophobia is a distinct concept from racism and nativism, often associated with the “black-white binary”¹⁰. In order to make the difference, both authors explained that the state was divided into two ideals. On the one hand, what they called the “One Blood”¹¹ which sought the purification of the body politic from the taint of racial inferiors. On the other hand, the “One Mind”¹¹ which desired a single shared culture for the nation with the same sense of the alienness. With these definitions we can notice that xenophobia tackles everything that is foreign to the nation, which it considers inferior. Thus, we can link this sentiment to nationalism as we saw above that the nation of the U.S. considers itself superior to other nations.

Furthermore, the term “phobia” focuses our attention on fear, while it is not the first feeling involved in what is referred to as xenophobia. As a matter of fact, envy, resentment, or feelings of incongruity may be experienced first. The cultural alienness which is defined by a process making people feel that they do not rightfully belong to

⁸ FULLER, Graham E., “America's Uncomfortable Relationship with Nationalism”, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2006, p. 74.

⁹ FULLER, Graham E., “America's Uncomfortable Relationship with Nationalism”, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2006, p. 76-77.

¹⁰ SUNDSTORM, Ronald R., and HAEKWON KIM, David, “Xenophobia and Racism”, *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Special Issue: Xenophobia and Racism, 2014, p. 20.

¹¹ SUNDSTORM, Ronald R., and HAEKWON KIM, David, “Xenophobia and Racism”, *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Special Issue: Xenophobia and Racism, 2014, p. 24.

the nation, was in fact linked with what we called above the ethnocultural nationalism. Indeed, the Chinese Exclusion Act¹² is a good example of xenophobic law, it shows that some people were not considered as authentic participant in the nation's culture, language or religious traditions. However, some laws went even further, they affected both nativism and racism, as it was the case through the Executive Order 9066 which interned more than 100.000 Japanese Americans¹³ during WWII. Thus, it suggests that some people could not be related to the soil of the land or the blood of its inhabitants.

1.2.2. Nativism

As Yuji ENDO explains, citizenship was authorized by the WASPs in 1790 through the first Naturalization Act, only for "free white persons"¹⁴ who resided in the U.S. for two years. This demonstrates how the WASPs constructed a nativist sentiment since they considered that the only people worth being American must be white in their image. It also shows that the concept of racialism was already embedded in the nation-state at that time. Racialism is a synonym of racism whose belief is that humans can be divided according to their biological features that determine their races.

Furthermore, nativism is, according to Ronald R SUNDSTORM and David HAEKWON KIM, a concept close to xenophobia but which goes beyond the foreignness by defending the nation-state and excluding an internal minority perceived as foreign, tending towards a purified nation¹⁵.

1.2.3. Racism

According to Robert BERNASCONI and Nira YUVAL-DAVIS, the term racism was introduced in English only in 1939¹⁶. Although this concept was already present during the Black African slave trade, segregation and during the genocide against Native Americans, it was only called discrimination. The first time the word appeared, it was during World War II, therefore the term was associated with Nazi anti-Semitism and

¹² SUNDSTORM, Ronald R., and HAEKWON KIM, David, "Xenophobia and Racism", *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Special Issue: Xenophobia and Racism, 2014, p. 25.

¹³ SUNDSTORM, Ronald R., and HAEKWON KIM, David, "Xenophobia and Racism", *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Special Issue: Xenophobia and Racism, 2014, p. 26.

¹⁴ ENDO, Yuji, "Nativism in the United States and President Trump's anti-immigration policy", Harvard University, 2020, p. 8-9.

¹⁵ SUNDSTORM, Ronald R., and HAEKWON KIM, David, "Xenophobia and Racism", *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Special Issue: Xenophobia and Racism, 2014, p. 31.

¹⁶ BERNASCONI, Robert, "Where Is Xenophobia in the Fight against Racism?", *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Special Issue: Xenophobia and Racism, 2014, p. 10.

the exclusion of ‘the Other’¹⁷. Thus, *racism* was in fact established to allow white Westerners to disassociate themselves from the anti-Semitism of the Nazis rather than acknowledging their participation in the “anti-black racism”¹⁷ and the violence of the colonial era. Then, Robert BERNASCONI explains that in the following decades *racism* was only a word one could use in biology. This naming strategy enabled the white Westerners to avoid saying that racial prejudices were based on cultures and nationalities, not only on physical characteristics.

Ronald R. SUNDSTORM and David HAEKWON KIM demonstrate in their study presented above that xenophobia is intertwined with racism. Therefore, to avoid an uprising or to neutralise a possible threat, the government (under the influence of popular nativist opinion) morally excluded these minorities from society and the nation state. These minorities, also considered as foreigners, were then recognised as “civically ostracized”¹⁸. They were also “racialized”, i.e., excluded or categorised according to their races (i.e., physical and biological entities). However, to minimise the impact of such exclusion, the government used a technique, still used today by politicians or fascist groups, called the “nationalized rhetoric of racism”¹⁹. This strategy consists of normalising and mitigating the significance of racist acts.

1.2.4. Know-Nothing Party

According to Bruce LEVINE (2001) and William Starr MYERS (1924) when the Whig died out in the early 1850s, a new organization was formed named the American or Know-Nothing Party, attracting dissatisfied Whig voters. Thomas R. Whitney, one of the main architects of the party was also one of the leaders of the Order of United Americans (OUA)²⁰, a “semi-secret nativist fraternity.” Before the creation of the Know-Nothing Party, Whitney was described as an abolitionist, and the nativists from the north were seen as anti-slavery activists. Although Whitney aimed at creating a more nativist and unionist party, when the Know-Nothing Party was established, its members

¹⁷ YUVAL-DAVIS, Nira, Nationalism and Racism, *Cahiers de recherche sociologique*, No. 20, 1993, p. 183.

¹⁸ SUNDSTORM, Ronald R., and HAEKWON KIM, David, “Xenophobia and Racism”, *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Special Issue: Xenophobia and Racism, 2014, gave a detailed definition of “civic ostracism” p. 23-30.

¹⁹ SUNDSTORM, Ronald R., and HAEKWON KIM, David, “Xenophobia and Racism”, *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Special Issue: Xenophobia and Racism, 2014, explain what a “nationalized rhetoric of racism” is, compared to a “mere national narratives of racism” p. 21-22.

²⁰ LEVINE, Bruce. “Conservatism, Nativism, and Slavery: Thomas R. Whitney and the Origins of the Know-Nothing Party.” *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no. 2, 2001, p. 459-68, explains that the Know-Nothing Party was established through a strong nativist sentiment and popular patriotism.

focused mainly on Catholics, immigrants and passive politicians' issues. They were not focusing on the slavery issue because of the Compromise of 1850²¹ but their motto "America for Americans"²² emphasized nativism. The Know-Nothing Party grew rapidly as Bruce LEVINE explains and it won several local elections. The nativists highlighted the considerable number of Irish Catholics among paupers and criminals which increased animosity toward them. They were also wary of the Germans considered plagued by "Red Republicanism"²³ which gave too much liberty and could paralyze industry and make both life and property insecure. Thus, one can notice that the hostility of nativists towards immigrants began right from the first wave of immigration. However, as William Starr MEYERS describes, the Party collapsed in the early 1860s, mostly because it emerged from the people – not politicians – and they used many forms of intimidation²⁴ even at the polling stations which led to violence and riot in the country.

Furthermore, MEYERS describes in his review the creation of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) ; it was created on the basis of racial and religious prejudices. It is very interesting to see the link the author makes between the KKK and the Know-Nothing Party. However, I won't have time to go further into the topic of the KKK although Trump's rhetoric during his 2016 electoral campaign was considered by KKK members and white supremacist groups as signs of his Klan fervour and their supremacist ideas.

I.3. Nationalism, patriotism and national identity

Leonie HUDDY and Nadia KHATIB (2007)²⁵ define in their journal article what American patriotism is when compared to nationalism. According to them, patriotism is the quality of being loyal and devoted to the nation, loving the national symbols and believing in the superiority of the country ; this is a crucial element to develop civic responsibilities and duties. Then, they explain that what defines nationalism, and which defers from patriotism, is the sense of superiority because there is an essential need for foreign dominance.

²¹ LEVINE, Bruce. "Conservatism, Nativism, and Slavery: Thomas R. Whitney and the Origins of the Know-Nothing Party." *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no. 2, 2001, p. 455-56.

²² MYERS, William Starr. "Know Nothing and Ku Klux Klan." *The North American Review*, vol. 219, no. 818, University of Northern Iowa, 1924, p. 3.

²³ LEVINE, Bruce. "Conservatism, Nativism, and Slavery: Thomas R. Whitney and the Origins of the Know-Nothing Party." *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no. 2, 2001, p. 469.

²⁴ MYERS, William Starr. "Know Nothing and Ku Klux Klan." *The North American Review*, vol. 219, no. 818, University of Northern Iowa, 1924, p. 2-3, depicts the violence of their intimidations

²⁵ HUDDY, Leonie and KHATIB, Nadia, "American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, No. 1, January 2007, p. 63.

Moreover, Li QIONG and Marilyn B. BREWER (2004)²⁶ try to define nationalism and patriotism, to make a clear distinction. First of all, there is a strong national identity, which means that to feel part of the nation-state, one individual has in mind a clear definition of what it is to be a good American citizen, as a charter that would define exactly what is expected of an American citizen. On the positive side, this could bring a sense of pride, a need to defend the national identity and culture, and a sense of solidarity. Indeed, even though the U.S. is often described as a country of individualistic people, this is also a country with an incredible number of non-profits or charitable organizations – 1.54 million according to the National Center for Charitable Statistics²⁷, which demonstrates a strong sense of solidarity. However, on the negative side, when individuals go beyond national identification, they slip and shift into the category of nationalism or “hypernationalism”. As a matter of fact, they turn into the depreciation and disregard of nations and cultures other than their own. This attitude is referred to as chauvinism, a desire for dominance and superiority over other nations which often leads to intolerance of cultural diversity and even a sense of authoritarianism.

The colossal survey of BONIKOWSKI Bart and DIMAGGIO Paul (2016) demonstrates that there are various forms of national self-identification, and that one’s nationalist attitudes may have different origins. Indeed, in their survey, they found four types of nationalists – ardent nationalists, restrictive nationalists, disengaged nationalists and creedal nationalists – who responded to 23 nationalism indicators²⁸. This survey tends to demonstrate that there are different levels of nationalism and that each has its own criteria for identification as a “true” American, a different level of nation pride and a different attitude towards minority groups.

I.4. Nationalism, protectionism and isolationism

According to Britannica, isolationism is the foreign policy of a state that does not want to take part in international affairs or that favours minimal intervention. The article of BEAR F. Braumoeller²⁹ (2010) explains that the term is mainly associated with the

²⁶ QIONG, Li, B. BREWER, Marilyn, “What Does It Mean to Be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism, and American Identity after 9/11.” *Political Psychology*, vol. 25, no. 5, 2004, p. 727-728.

²⁷ NCCS Team, Urban Institute, National Center for Charitable Statistics, last update June 2020. <https://nccs.urban.org/project/nonprofit-sector-brief>

²⁸ BONIKOWSKI, Bart, DIMAGGIO, Paul, “Varieties of American Popular Nationalism”, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 81, No. 5, October 2016, p. 958. The survey focuses on four aspects of American nationalism: *national identification, criteria of national membership, national pride and national hubris (Hubris: Excessive pride or self-confidence)*.

²⁹ BEAR F, Braumoeller, “The Myth of American Isolationism.” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, vol. 6, no. 4, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 350. The author gives a summary of the survey made by Pew

instability of the 1920s and 1930s – the interwar period. However, for BEAR F. Braumoeller American isolationism is a myth that only persisted because of the late action against Nazi Germany, which was interpreted as a policy of non-involvement. However, isolationism leads to an economic protectionism, which is defined by Jay GARG³⁰ (2020) as a policy that aims at protecting American companies from foreign competition. To do so, the government plays on foreign tariffs and taxes so that it becomes costly for foreign companies to trade their goods within the U.S.

The U.S. position regarding foreign affairs leads me to analyse its position on international trade and protectionism. According to Hubert RIOUX and Stéphane PAQUIN³¹ (2019), American protectionism is getting closer to neomercantilist traditions under the Trump administration, which I will analyse later. Neomercantilism is defined by Eric HELLEINER³² (2019) as an economic nationalist concept in which the economy must serve nationalist goals. Therefore, it is linked to the idea of free trade and liberal economic policies. Neomercantilism favours a “strategic protectionism” to support particular domestic economic sectors and an “economic activism” to strengthen the nation-state’s wealth and power. Thus, as we can observe that nationalist ideas of domination over foreign countries are also represented through the economy.

Finally, nationalism is not only a concept defining the way people feel about other members of their nation, but it is also an economic concept involving how the nation wants to manage its international and domestic trade policy. This nationalist protectionism enables the U.S. to secure its own wealth and power for the benefit of its citizens by protecting its local businesses from foreign competition. It can also be seen as a way to prevent its citizens from buying unhealthy and dangerous products that do not meet the standards imposed by the nation. In addition, it can be a good way to reduce the imports of products made by child labor or forced labor under unhealthy and risky working conditions. This policy often has rather positive results in

Research Center about the Americans opinion on protectionism which reveals that the American public agreed that the U.S. should “mind its own business in international affairs” and that it should either “play a shared leadership role – one that involved being “about as active as” or “more active than” other leading nations – or “be the single world leader””.

³⁰ GARG, Jay, “The politics of Protectionism”, Harvard Political Review, April 24, 2020.

³¹ RIOUX, Hubert and PAQUIN, Stéphane. “Perspectives on the Resurgence of Economic Nationalism in North America: A Long-Standing and Far-Reaching Phenomenon.” European Review of International Studies, vol. 6, no. 3, Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2019, p. 3-4.

³² HELLEINER, Eric. “Varieties of American Neomercantilism: From the First Years of the Republic to Trumpian Economic Nationalism.” European Review of International Studies, vol. 6, no. 3, Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2019, p. 8.

the short term. However, in the long term, it can lead to the opposite of what was intended, i.e. companies that would be uncompetitive on the global market. As a matter of fact, it could lead to retaliation by other countries, which may take trade-damaging retaliatory measures, increase the general cost of living, risk of damage to the trading system, lack of diversity in available products, lack of competition to reduce prices of consumer goods, lack of interest in innovation in the absence of foreign competition and incentive for smuggling. However, one shall not forget that the U.S. is a wide country with a very large range of resources and can therefore easily make use of an isolationist and protectionist policy and why not live in autarky.

I.5. Populism, 2016 electorate tendency and Nationalism

According to History.com Editors³³ (2020) and André MUNRO³⁴ (2020), populism is a political movement whose representatives consider themselves as embodying the common people and are generally opposed to big business, financial interests, elites and ruling powers. The leader of the movement uses rhetoric that draws a clear distinction between the two institutions, claiming that it is “us versus them”. Their rhetoric is considered as a tool that has a great impact on people, particularly on less educated people or people from a lower income class, since they are perceived as a more manipulable population. Thus, the leader often launches conspiracy theories, promotes extreme nationalism and racism, spreads rumours about marginalised groups and foreigners, which raises animosity toward the elites.

Indeed, as Claudine M. PIED³⁵ (2018) demonstrates in her survey, themes of race, culture, nativism and conservatism played a key role in the rhetoric of populist leaders in the early twenty-first century. Moreover, she describes that there is a strong tendency to target “white working class” in the rhetoric of populist leaders, as if the words used made more sense to this audience. Nonetheless, as the survey of Pew Research Center³⁶ (2018) demonstrates, race of voters was not the only marker for voting choices:

³³ History.com Editors, “Populism in the United States: A Timeline”, HISTORY, 14 December 2020.

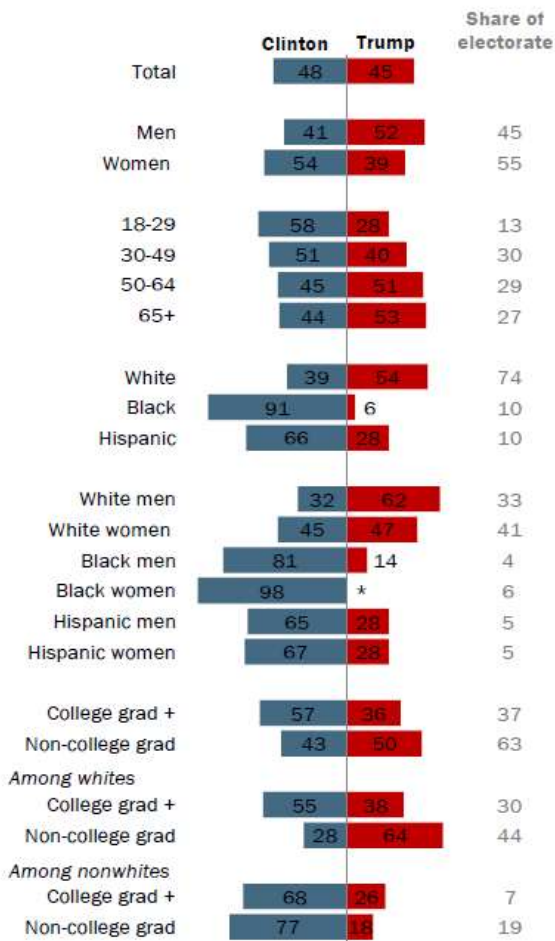
³⁴ MUNRO, André. "Populism". Encyclopaedia Britannica, last update May 29, 2020.

³⁵ PIED, Claudine M. “Conservative Populist Politics and the Remaking of the “White Working Class” in the USA.” *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 42, no. 2, Springer, 2018, p. 195-196. The author explains how “white workers” and “whiteness” was associated with superiority.

³⁶ Pew Research Center, “For Most Trump Voters, ‘Very Warm’ Feelings for Him Endured” 9 August 2018.

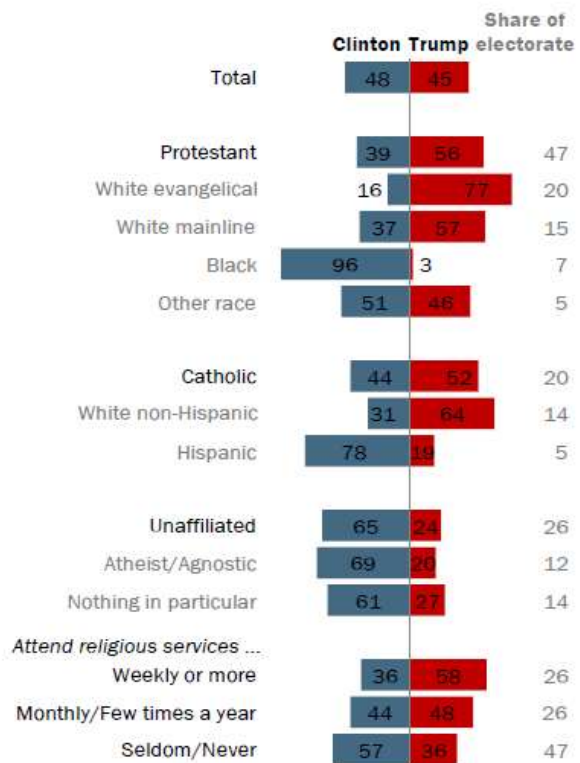
Among validated voters in 2016, wide gap among whites by education

% of validated voters in 2016 who reported voting for ...



Wide divisions by religious affiliation, attendance by 2016 validated voters

% of validated voters who reported voting for ...



As we can see, education, age, gender and religion are major factors in the voting results. To summarise the data, we can notice that a majority of men, mostly white, voted for Trump, with an average age that was 50 and over. In terms of education, a higher proportion of white voters who did not complete their education voted for Trump. Finally, Trump's strongest supporters were predominantly white as well as Protestant or Catholic. This survey shows that Trump defends a conservative vision of society that highlights the nationalist opinion of his voters, and that Trump embodies the archetypal WASP in their eyes.

Finally, as populist politicians are against the elite and mainstream media, they increasingly use social networks to communicate with the people in order not to be assimilated to the elite. This is what Ralph SCHROEDER³⁷ (2018) tries to demonstrate

³⁷ SCHROEDER, Ralph. "Digital Media and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism." *Social Theory after the Internet: Media, Technology, and Globalization*, UCL Press, 2018, p. 61-62.

in his survey, and how the use of social media and new technologies had an important impact on people, how it strengthens populism and extreme nationalism. These means are not regulated as the mainstream media are, thus unacceptable messages were easily spread by populist leader strategically to get the attention of “white America” and win votes.

I.6. Conclusion

Throughout this first part, we observed that the word nationalism was introduced fairly late when considering the history of the United State, i.e., mainly at the end of the industrial revolution. It was then called civic or liberal nationalism. However, the Constitution and the creation of the nation-state already gave rise to an ethno-cultural nationalism that was reinforced over time. Mass immigration resulted in further xenophobia, racism and nativism in the country. Individuals, associating their identity with that of the typical WASP, developed a strong patriotic and nationalistic feelings. These feelings led to a need for dominance over minorities but also over other nations. This in turn created a need for protectionism and isolationism. Finally, seeing this strong rise in nationalism, some leaders took advantage of it to exercise a populist rhetoric to manipulate their audience in favour of a national identity while demonising their opponents, the elite and mainstream media. We will now see if Trump is one of those leaders who, without necessarily saying so, define themselves as WASPs and use such rhetoric.

II. Donald Trump’s rhetoric and access to power

II.1. Comparison between George W. Bush, John S. McCain, Willard Mitt Romney and Donald J. Trump’s speeches at the Republican National Convention

First, what one can notice about these different speeches are the campaign promises and objectives of the candidates. For G. W. Bush, the objectives were the same from 2000³⁸ to 2004³⁹, a major emphasis on education, then to improve Medicare, health care and social security, to improve retirement, to reduce taxes and give better equipment and wages to the military. In 2000, G. W. Bush did not talk much

³⁸ ABC News members, *Transcript of George W. Bush's Acceptance Speech*, ABC News, 7 January 2006.

³⁹ Office of the Press Secretary, *President's Remarks at the 2004 Republican National Convention*, 2 September 2004.

about the foreign threat and rather focused on discrimination and segregation at school which shows that racism was still de facto in America despite the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The significant difference between his two addresses was the tribute paid to those who died in the 09/11 terrorist attack and the mention of all the threatening countries that host Al-Qaeda, the Taliban and other jihadists. This event forced him to insist on the security of the country and the freedom of his fellow citizens. Furthermore, as all presidential candidates, he used repetition in their rhetoric to strike a chord with people. In 2000 G. W. Bush used the words “strengthen”, “strong” and “prosperity” many times, while in 2004, the words "liberty", "freedom" and “greatness” were the most frequently uttered.

For John McCain in 2008⁴⁰ as well as for Trump, he highlighted the corruption of the elite led by lobbyists, but as G. W. Bush, migrants were mentioned as equal to the American citizens. On the contrary, D. Trump who explained in his speech on immigration in Phoenix, Arizona in August 2016⁴¹, that few immigrants could be considered as equal to American citizens, and that assimilation and integration were essential to obtain honourable immigrants. As a matter of fact, Trump wanted to select immigrants based on merit, skills and proficiency, and have them take a test to determine whether their values were in line with those of the United States. Moreover, as Trump, J. McCain was in favour of protectionism, he wanted to bring back the production of all sorts of energies. Nevertheless, with a brief mention of Al Qaeda, his program was fundamentally the same as that of G. W. Bush in 2004.

For Mitt Romney in 2012⁴², the most pronounced word was “future” to give a sense of hope and improvement to the American people. Again, his program was substantially the same as previously mentioned. However, a major difference between Trump and the other Republican candidates lies in the fact that Bush, McCain and Romney stressed the importance of fighting the enemy in their own country in order to maintain the security of the U.S., whereas Trump ordered the return of all U.S. troops.

Nevertheless, D. Trump’s RNC speech⁴³ is much more striking or even frightening compared to those of his predecessors. There are not just a few words repeated but his speech is filled with lexical fields of crime and danger, many

⁴⁰ CQ Transcriptions, *John McCain’s Acceptance Speech*, The New York Times, 4 September 2008

⁴¹ POLITICO STAFF, *Full text: Donald Trump immigration speech in Arizona*, Politico, 31 August 2016.

⁴² NPR members, *Transcript: Mitt Romney’s Acceptance Speech*, NPR.org, 30 August 2012.

⁴³ POLITICO STAFF, *Full text: Donald Trump 2016 RNC draft speech transcript*, Politico, 21 July 2016

accumulations and sometimes exaggerations. His rhetoric alternates between the lexical field of threat and security which gives the impression that the nation is under constant threat and that he is *the* candidate to solve these problems. Moreover, reading his speech, one can see that all the issues facing the U.S. are mainly the result of immigration. For instance, “chaos”, “terrorism”, “danger”, “crime”, “violence”, “killings”, “shootings”, “homicides”, “damage” and “devastation” are due to illegal immigrants in the country, as is mass unemployment. Apart from reinforcing the law and suspending immigration from the nations undermined by terrorism, Trump wanted to rebuild the country’s infrastructure, impose a fair-trade policy to guarantee job opportunities and repeal the “disastrous” Obamacare.

Finally, one can notice that over time, the rhetoric from G. W. Bush (2004) to Mitt Romney (2012) was fairly similar with a focus on the security of the country since the Wall Trade Center terrorist attack. However, Trump’s campaign focused on immigration and its social and economic consequences for the country. The most striking address he gave was the one in Arizona entitled “immigration speech”, in which he unveiled his ten-point plan concerning this topic. During this speech, D. Trump evoked once again “assimilation” and added that his country should have the “right to choose” immigrants. Assimilation is the process in which the immigrant who represents a minority will change their habits to resemble the majority group of society. Thus, Trump saying that, implicitly alluded to forced assimilation, when people abandon their culture, their beliefs, their customs to adapt to the new society in which they live. Such assertion hints at nativism, therefore, it would be interesting to ask what it is like for people of colour who, even if they assimilate voluntarily, may never be considered as WASPs and therefore as integrated.

II.2. Trump’s Rhetoric

At Trump Tower, in June 2015⁴⁴, Trump delivered his presidential announcement speech in which he started with a description of Mexican immigrants, asserting: “They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.” which set the tone for his campaign. However, on few occasions, Trump underlined the positive aspect of immigration, referring namely to assimilated immigrants and those who enriched the country. Furthermore, the social and economic issues faced by the country – seen previously, with immigration cited as the cause of

⁴⁴ TIME Staff, *Here's Donald Trump's Presidential Announcement Speech*, TIME, 16 June 2015.

all these woes – were according to Yuji ENDO's analysis (2020), a “way to stir up xenophobia and [...] persuade the general public to support an anti-immigration policy”⁴⁵.

In addition, Yuji ENDO referred to J. WOODS's and D. ARTHUR's research demonstrated that Trump highlighted many facts and numbers during his speeches that came out as “semi-truths” or “lies”, such as crime and unemployment rates, to raise fear among his audience. However, the scholars reported that “crime rates among immigrants are not as high as those among native-born Americans”⁴⁶ – according to “at least 20 research studies from 1915 to 2012”. Then, the research proved that “the places where immigrants settled experienced decreasing numbers of homicides and other violent crimes at the neighbourhood level.” One may wonder whether the fact that there is such a social pressure on immigrants would lead them to be more blameless or whether the crimes committed do not take place in the neighbourhoods where they live. However, Yuji ENDO emphasizes the research of criminologist John MacDonald and sociologist Robert Sampson explaining that “America is neither less safe because of immigration nor is it worse off economically”⁴⁶ on the contrary “the areas where immigrants have settled experienced not only declining crime rates, but also revivals of their communities.”⁴⁶ Thus, when Trump listed no less than 5 victims whose perpetrators were illegal immigrants, using an accumulation to make a mark, it is only to raise fear among the audience and make them feel threatened. One can also point out that Trump cited Sarah Root – a victim of these “criminal aliens” in his RNC speech (July 2016) and in his immigration rhetoric (August 2016) and perhaps in some other speeches – as a propaganda or a marketing tool to serve his agenda and move his audience.

Moreover, Trump's anti-immigration rhetoric also denied the unemployment statistics, stating: “real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it.”⁴⁷ This claim serves both to discredit the elite whom he considers corrupt, and to despise immigrants who would take over the American citizen's jobs and generate economic competition between natives and immigrants.

⁴⁵ ENDO, Yuji, “Nativism in the United States and President Trump's anti-immigration policy”, Harvard University, 2020, p. 5.

⁴⁶ ENDO, Yuji, “Nativism in the United States and President Trump's anti-immigration policy”, Harvard University, 2020, p. 9.

⁴⁷ ENDO, Yuji, “Nativism in the United States and President Trump's anti-immigration policy”, Harvard University, 2020, p. 6.

Thus, as Yuji ENDO underlines it, Trump's rhetoric is "deliberately not based on the data and facts," which "implies that nativism is based on racial prejudices and sentiment rather than facts."⁴⁸ As Brigitte L. NACOS, Robert Y. SHAPIRO and, Yaeli BLOCH-ELKON (2020) explain, Trump used demagoguery which they define as a process in which "skilled speakers and writers seek to influence public opinion by employing the traditional tools of rhetoric with complete indifference to truth."⁴⁹ This suggests that demagoguery is a kind of propaganda.

Furthermore, Panayota GOUNARI (2018) underscores Trump's authoritarian and manipulative rhetoric in her article. She exposes the five implemented features that demonstrate that Trump is authoritarian and how it manifests itself.

First, "a high degree of concentration and centralization of economic and political power"⁵⁰ mostly visible through the fact that he wanted to take over the legislative and judiciary powers in order to fully enjoy his executive power, which led to the creation of his 220 executive orders according to the Federal Register – Executive orders⁵¹, including the "Travel ban countries", "Increasing border security measure" and "Defeating ISIS" (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) among other anti-immigration, protectionist and isolationist orders.

Then, "doing through fear and terror while demonizing the different 'Other' and inciting racism"⁵⁰. In this section, Panayota GOUNARI explains how by creating a threat to every fear, it creates a state of repression where the only possible outcome is even greater repression to ensure the security of the country. In this way, people are willing to reduce their civil liberties as long as their security is guaranteed.

Then, "the creation of purposeful ideological confusion"⁵², indeed, Trump is described as an "agitator" promoting conspiracy theories, who at the same time scorns the elite and the capitalist system, even though he himself is part of it. Panayota

⁴⁸ ENDO, Yuji, "Nativism in the United States and President Trump's anti-immigration policy", Harvard University, 2020, p. 6.

⁴⁹ NACOS, Brigitte L., SHAPIRO, Robert Y. and BLOCH-ELKON, Yaeli, "Donald Trump: Aggressive Rhetoric and Political Violence", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 5, October 2020 p. 3.

⁵⁰ GOUNARI, Panayota, "Authoritarianism, Discourse and Social Media: Trump as the 'American Agitator.'", *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*, edited by Jeremiah Morelock, vol. 9, University of Westminster Press, 2018, p. 211.

⁵¹ *Federal Register*, <https://www.federalregister.gov/presidential-documents/executive-orders>

⁵² GOUNARI, Panayota, "Authoritarianism, Discourse and Social Media: Trump as the 'American Agitator.'", *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*, edited by Jeremiah Morelock, vol. 9, University of Westminster Press, 2018, p. 212.

GOUNARI reminds us that Trump is “the 156th richest American”⁵³ and develops the idea that Trump wants “to substitute the political elite by the economic elite so that the latter has direct influence on policy making”⁵³ which would enable “the top 1%” of the richest people in the U.S. – who hold a large proportion of the U.S. economy and therefore of GDP – to further control the power and wealth of the country.

Finally, Panayota GOUNARI emphasizes Trump’s personality – characterized as arrogant and cynical – and propaganda through his personal Twitter account, topic I will develop later on.

II.3. Trump’s communication and access to power

Beyond his addresses, Trump’s communication was well orchestrated. In his article, Reuben STEFF (2017) highlights different aspects of D. Trump’s campaign that enabled him to win the presidential elections. One of the aspects he mentioned is the impact of the team that Trump put together, namely by aligning himself with Steve Bannon whom he appointed as his chief executive. Reuben STEFF explains that Trump gradually moved away from mainstream conservatism and towards far-right conservatism. Indeed, Bannon was the owner of Breitbart News, a conservative website which turned into a platform for the alt-right.⁵⁴ The alt-right is the abbreviation of the alternative right, a movement that gathers far-right white nationalists. Thus, Trump associating himself with this image was able to win votes from American citizens who characterise themselves as WASPs, who have an anti-immigration discourse and who often consider that they face competition for jobs and wages with immigrants.

Moreover, as Jill COLVIN (2017) reminds us, the person behind Trump’s speeches is Stephen Miller, who Trump appointed as “assistant and senior adviser for policy” and as his “chief speechwriter”⁵⁵. The article describes S. Miller as an anti-immigration person whose populist rhetoric was more offensive than what Trump could have written during his campaign. He is also portrayed as deeply conservative, in favour of the unique use of English and borderline homophobic. According to Chris

⁵³ GOUNARI, Panayota,. “Authoritarianism, Discourse and Social Media: Trump as the ‘American Agitator.’”, *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*, edited by Jeremiah Morelock, vol. 9, University of Westminster Press, 2018, p. 209.

⁵⁴ STEFF, Reuben. “The Audacity of Trump: How He Won and What We Missed.” *New Zealand International Review*, vol. 42, no. 2, 2017, p. 2.

⁵⁵ COLVIN, Jill, “Stephen Miller: the aide ‘who helped Trump find his voice’”, *The Canadian Press*, 18 January 2017, p. 3.

RIOTTA⁵⁶ (2017), Stephen Miller also went on Sunday news networks to defend Trump's executive orders, namely the "travel ban countries" order, which Kellyanne Conway usually did.

Indeed, to balance the conservative power, Trump appointed Kellyanne Conway as campaign manager, who represented a rather conventional conservatism. In addition, as a woman, she could be used to get the votes of conservative women, since, as a reminder, a majority of men voted for Trump. However, her less offensive or aggressive rhetoric led her to leave the stage, while S. Miller replaced her.

Then, another aspect of Trump's campaign is the way he managed his communication on social media. Trump let Jared Kushner, his son-in-law, work on the communication strategies to reach and gather as many people as possible around their ideas. However, to achieve this goal, Trump implemented a populist strategy, making extensive use of social media, mostly Twitter and Facebook which helped him to get closer to the people – a strategy referred to as something exuding "a sense of 'false familiarity'"⁵⁷ by Panayota GOUNARI. Since the beginning of his campaign, Trump embodied the populist political figure by rejecting mainstream media and opposing the corrupt elite. Moreover, in doing so, he demonstrated to the people that he would not spend money unnecessarily and that he would be a good candidate to manage taxpayers' money once in power. Indeed, Reuben STEFF reveals that "Trump's Federal Election Commission filings through to mid-October showed that he only spent half of what Clinton's campaign did."⁵⁸ Finally, because of his unconventional approach to campaigning and his behaviour, especially when he went beyond the norms of political correctness, people saw him not as a politician but as a man of the people.

Furthermore, Trump seemed also to use coded messages in his rhetoric, at least it is what Brigitte L. NACOS, Robert Y. SHAPIRO and Yaeli BLOCH-ELKON (2020) try to demonstrate in their study. These messages are apparently not detected by ordinary citizens but mainly by citizens characterised as supremacists, neo-Nazis, racists, xenophobes, sexists or even homophobes. These citizens referred to as White nationalists became more and more visible, not only because of these coded

⁵⁶ RIOTTA, Chris, "Stephen Miller's Rise to Power", *International Business Times - US ed.*, 13 February 2017, p. 3.

⁵⁷ GOUNARI, Panayota, "Authoritarianism, Discourse and Social Media: Trump as the 'American Agitator.'", *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*, edited by Jeremiah Morelock, vol. 9, University of Westminster Press, 2018, p. 208.

⁵⁸ STEFF, Reuben. "The Audacity of Trump: How He Won and What We Missed." *New Zealand International Review*, vol. 42, no. 2, 2017, p. 3.

messages but because of the people who endorsed Trump during his campaign. Brigitte L. NACOS, Robert Y. SHAPIRO and Yaeli BLOCH-ELKON refer in particular to the “White Supremacists and Neo-Nazis David Duke, a former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard, and Andrew Anglin, the creator of the racist website “Daily Stormer”.”⁵⁹

Moreover, in October 2016, Trump delivered a speech in which an antisemite message was implicitly uttered. Trump said:

“Hillary Clinton meets in secret with international banks to plot the destruction of U.S. sovereignty in order to enrich these global financial powers, her special-interest friends and her donors.”

“This election will determine whether we are a free nation or whether we have only the illusion of democracy, but are in fact controlled by a small handful of global special interests rigging the system... The establishment and their media enablers will control over this nation through means that are very well known. Anyone who challenges their control is deemed a sexist, a racist, a xenophobe, and morally deformed.”

Brigitte L. NACOS, Robert Y. SHAPIRO and Yaeli BLOCH-ELKON explain that the global financial powers and the media elites are decoded as being Jewish monopolies that “destroy White American and Western civilization.”⁵⁹ This kind of message followed by Trump’s election victory had many consequences on the population, especially among young teenagers with school bullying, white boys shouting “Heil Trump” and drawing swastikas on school furniture and papers.

Finally, the tragic event that occurred in August 2017, in Charlottesville, Virginia, during a White nationalist demonstration named “Unite the Right”, showed how the nationalist movement grew. As a matter of fact, it is not simply a matter of patriotism but a matter of sovereignty of the nation by one category of people, the White Supremacists. At this rally, those groups gathered to display their support for Trump, they carried weapons, waved confederate flags and displayed Nazi symbols. They were defined as far-right groups who self-identified as members of the alt-right, neo-Confederates, neo-fascists, White nationalists, neo-Nazis, right-wing militias and Klansmen. This highlights the fact that those radical groups were previously marginalised, and few people paid attention to them or avoided giving them attention, especially because of their highly controversial historical record. However, since

⁵⁹ NACOS, Brigitte L., SHAPIRO, Robert Y. and BLOCH-ELKON, Yaeli, “Donald Trump: Aggressive Rhetoric and Political Violence”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 5, October 2020 p. 5.

Trump's campaign and election, the visibility of those groups completely changed. Trump was the voice that put those groups in the spotlight, he amplified their visibility and gave them social legitimacy by the simple fact of willing to integrate them into his political side and gain votes. Therefore, this is what will give those groups the opportunity to re-emerge and assert themselves in the political sphere.

II.4. Conclusion

It can be seen from these various analyses that Trump's unconventional policies, his populist communication and his use of biased rhetoric had, from the beginning of his mandate and throughout his campaign, contributed to fostering a nationalism that became increasingly aggressive. Therefore, most extreme groups were not ashamed to come out of the shadows and spread their hatred messages towards anything that is not part of the WASP community. One can then ask how this movement will evolve throughout Trump's term and how it will manifest itself.

III. Trump's term as a catalyst for the nationalist movement in the U.S.

III.1. Signs of a more divided America

The survey and data collection by Kishi ROUDABEH and Jones SAM (2020) for the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) reveal that the 2020 general election year was marked by an outburst of "mass shootings", "violent hate crime", "police killings" and a surge of demonstrations all over the country, also due to the pandemic. Indeed, the data show an upsurge in demonstrations since the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis on 25th May 2020. They recorded "over 7750 demonstrations linked to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement"⁶⁰ between 26th May and 22nd August, suggesting that Floyd's killing was the trigger for all these protests. The protests multiplied to denounce all homicides committed by civilians or policemen without punishment or justice since Trayvon Martin's killing in 2012 – by George Zimmerman who was not charged at the time – which gave rise to the BLM movement.

The survey reveals also that the authorities' intervention increased during the demonstrations of 2020, particularly those associated with the BLM movement, compared to the demonstration of the year before. Furthermore, Kishi ROUDABEH and Jones SAM noticed that the use of force by the authorities was enhanced, in more than

⁶⁰ ROUDABEH, Kishi, and SAM, Jones, *Demonstrations & Political Violence in America: New Data for Summer 2020*, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, 1 Sept 2020, p. 3.

5% of BLM protests compared to less than 1% for all other protests⁶¹. According to the survey, Trump was the instigator of this rise in violence, “threatening to deploy the military and National Guard to disperse demonstrations” and asking to “cut through [protesters] like butter.”⁶² In early June 2020, Trump carried out his threats and, in addition to the National Guard, he called in “Secret Service agents, and US Park Police — among other federal agents.”⁶² Trump’s rhetoric targeted the fascists represented by Antifa, a left-wing movement, who are referred to as looters during the demonstrations. Indeed, Antifa is described as both a violent and non-violent group activist. However, the survey mentioned that the man with an umbrella who smashed store windows was part of the “Hells Angels” linked to a White supremacist prison and street gang, the “Aryan Cowboys”. This demonstrates that in both left and right wings there are looters and rioters who take advantage of a demonstration to wreck everything.

Finally, each demonstration seems to lead to a balance of power and thus to a risk of violence which, contrary to Trumpist rhetoric, does not necessarily emanate from leftist groups but contributes in any case to the increase of violence.

III.2. Antifa and Trump

As Nigel COPSEY and Amuel MERRILL (2020) explain in their study, anti-fascist came from the German militant Communist Party which operated in 1932-1933. Today Antifa is no longer associated with Communist organization, and it does not belong to any political party or prominent organization or leadership. However, people who identify as anti-fascists share the belief that fascism must be wiped out and must do everything they can to prevent fascists – those they call Nazis – to spread their opinions and views. In addition, in this study, the authors describe Antifa as a “militant, non-hierarchical, geographically dispersed social movement comprised of local autonomous activist groups”⁶³ and report that they are much less violent than the fascist far-right. Nonetheless, there is a group named Rose City Antifa (RCA) founded in Portland in 2007, when the Tea Party was founded. The Tea Party is a conservative and right-wing populist party, founded in 2009 to set up multiple protests against the

⁶¹ ROUDABEH, Kishi, and SAM, Jones, *Demonstrations & Political Violence in America: New Data for Summer 2020*, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, 1 Sept 2020, p. 7.

⁶² ROUDABEH, Kishi, and SAM, Jones, *Demonstrations & Political Violence in America: New Data for Summer 2020*, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, 1 Sept 2020, p. 8.

⁶³ COPSEY, Nigel and MERRILL, Samuel, “Violence and Restraint within Antifa: A View from the United States”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 6, Dec 2020, p. 125.

measures taken by President Obama. Thus, the RCA was created before Trump came to power, and their actions are deliberately using violence to differentiate themselves from other anti-fascist activists. However, in reality this group uses rhetorical rather than physical violence. Indeed, their messages are most often expressed in a moderate rhetoric as a symbolic struggle against fascism and its violence.

Nigel COPSEY and Samuel MERRILL assert that since Trump's election the Alt-right was "emboldened"⁶⁴, while Antifa was demonized as a "terrorist" organization. According to Oxford Languages the use of the word "Antifa" peaked in August 2017 during the rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, where a white supremacist killed Heather Heyer an anti-fascist. Instead of condemning this murder, Trump's response to this murder was to blame both sides, saying ambiguously and vaguely:

*"You had some very bad people in that group, but you also had people that were very fine people, on both sides. [...] there was a group on one side that was bad, and you had a group on the other side that was also very violent."*⁶⁵

Following this event, a petition was broadcast by "MicroChip" to declare officially Antifa a "terrorist group", the petition received more than 300.000 signatures. Besides, with extensive media coverage of these two events, the word "Antifa" became viral. The demonisation of the Antifa movement reveals that the Alt-right movements are very active on social networks, making themselves more and more visible. Thus, they seek to gain the support of public opinion through this aggressive and omnipresent communication. One could think that their growing visibility would give them a broad popular support, whereas there are at least as many people who support the opposite side – as the 2020 presidential elections showed - but their lack of mobilisation makes them invisible. This is why Trump is so active on social media, disclosing his vision of the world and his truth by being willingly provocative in order to give legitimacy to his supporters, while the silence of his opponents condemns them to invisibility.

Moreover, Nigel COPSEY and Samuel MERRILL's study reveals that "since 9/11, right-wing extremists were responsible for the politically motivated deaths of 110 people while [people] affiliated to Antifa killed no one."⁶⁶ This "zero" statistic is

⁶⁴ COPSEY, Nigel and MERRILL, Samuel, "Violence and Restraint within Antifa: A View from the United States", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 6, Dec 2020, p. 122.

⁶⁵ NACOS, Brigitte L., SHAPIRO, Robert Y. and BLOCH-ELKON, Yaeli, "Donald Trump: Aggressive Rhetoric and Political Violence", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 5, October 2020 p. 6.

⁶⁶ COPSEY, Nigel and MERRILL, Samuel, "Violence and Restraint within Antifa: A View from the United States", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 6, Dec 2020, p. 123.

explained by the fact that when people get arrested during protests they do not claim being part of any organisation or they are not listed as part of the Antifa movement. In addition, the survey demonstrates that the people arrested are not as violent as some of the acts committed by the fascists. As a matter of fact, by early September, after the George Floyd protests in Portland, Oregon, more than 70 per cent of the 300 arrests “were for minor citations and misdemeanours, not felonies” and “none of the court documents from federal cases in the city referenced Antifa or the wider anti-fascist movement.”⁶⁷ Moreover, during the George Floyd protests, Twitter banned many fake Antifa accounts advocating violence because they had in fact been created by far-right members and were thus purposely misleading.

In June 2020, Trump gave a speech in Tulsa, Oklahoma, during which he called once again his fascist supporters to take arms against the “enemy”, the radical left, and compared the BLM protesters to “bad people”:

*“We had some very bad people outside; they were doing bad things. They got rid of a lot of bad people that were there for a long time. Sort of like me in Washington, draining the swamp. I never knew it was so deep. [...] It’s deep and thick and a lot of bad characters. [...] And when you see those lunatics all over the streets, it’s damn nice to have arms. [...] Our incredible success in rebuilding America stands in stark contrast to the extremism and destruction and violence of the radical left.”*⁶⁸

Finally, in all speeches, one can notice that President Trump discredits BLM activists which reinforces his racist, anti-immigration, pro-nativist and pro-nationalist image. He also encourages his supporters to take up arms and use violence. The president considers White supremacists to be the pioneers of the American nation, which he believes should be dominated by these people. Therefore, Trump’s slogan “Make America Great Again” can be seen by some as a metaphor for a return to White Christian dominance of the old days, when racial, religious and ethnic minorities were subjugated.

III.3. The Far-Right and Trump

After Trump spent months demonising the radical left as a threat to the country's security, his supporters have shown that they can do far worse than the anti-fascists.

⁶⁷ COPSEY, Nigel and MERRILL, Samuel, “Violence and Restraint within Antifa: A View from the United States”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 6, Dec 2020, p. 124.

⁶⁸ NACOS, Brigitte L., SHAPIRO, Robert Y. and BLOCH-ELKON, Yaeli, “Donald Trump: Aggressive Rhetoric and Political Violence”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 5, October 2020 p. 3.

Indeed, his multiple calls for violence on TV and Twitter resulted in the “storming of the Capitol” on January 6th, 2021. According to the New York Times, Trump focused his administration and authorities on the Antifa movement ; Federal prosecutors and agents were under pressure to reveal a far-left criminal conspiracy while members of the Justice Department and the F.B.I were more concerned about the far-right threat, who were presented as “well-organized extremist groups that had allied themselves with the president.”⁶⁹ Although, according to Homeland Security, other members of the Justice Department were doing their utmost to publicly conceal the threat of far-right movements. Indeed, after the result of the victory of his opponent Joe Biden, Trump decided to attack the Democrats, the media and democracy at large through its elections system. He declared and spread the rumour that the election was fraudulent, and that the results were rigged. Trump did not hesitate to incite his supporters to use violence against his opponents, as we will see later during the attack on the Capital. However, it was not the first time that Trump used such aggressive rhetoric.

Indeed, Brigitte L. NACOS, Robert Y. SHAPIRO and Yaeli BLOCH-ELKON remind us that an attempt to impeach President Trump was launched by the Democrats and ran from September 2019 to February 2020. From the beginning of his mandate, Trump was suspected of having secretly defrauded the 2016 elections thanks to Russia. But it was in 2019, with more evidence in their possession, that the Democrats decided to initiate impeachment proceedings against Trump. Evidence showed that Trump asked the Ukrainian executive to investigate his future re-election opponent, Joe Biden. Trump then did everything he could to counter this impeachment, even going so far as to revive one of the most traumatic memories in U.S. history to discredit the Democratic Party – the threat of a civil war that would have irreparable consequences. As a matter of fact, Trump took the opportunity to retweet a threatening message from one of his supporters, the Evangelical Pastor R. Jeffress, saying:

“If the Democrats are successful in removing the President from office it will cause a Civil War like fracture in this Nation from which our Country will never heal.”⁷⁰

In this tweet, Jeffress explains that Trump’s impeachment would be a violation of democracy, even though the trial is linked to an attempt to manipulate the election by a foreign power in agreement with the candidate. Thus, Trump could be described as

⁶⁹ GOLDMAN, Adam, BENNER, Katie and KANNO-YOUNGS, Zolan, “How Trump’s Focus on Antifa Distracted Attention from the Far-Right Threat”, *New York Times*, 30 January 2021.

⁷⁰ NACOS, Brigitte L., SHAPIRO, Robert Y. and BLOCH-ELKON, Yaeli, “Donald Trump: Aggressive Rhetoric and Political Violence”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 5, October 2020 p. 2.

a fabulator since he manipulates lies, often covering the truth with other lies and sometimes calling truth “fake news”. Moreover, other Representatives or far-right supporters wrote on social media and websites words inciting hatred, such as: “coup”, “civil war”, “enemy”, “treason”, “co-conspiratory”, “take up arms”, “Second Amendment”. These examples demonstrate how Trump’s rhetoric affect his partisans and stir up hatred and violence in them.

Therefore, after the results of the presidential elections, many different far-right militias gathered and marched to attack the Capitol, to protest against the result, claiming that they were rigged to overturn Trump’s defeat. Indeed, the journal Poynter, a non-profit journalism school and research organization with a code of ethics for fact-checking, reveals that, since December 2020, Trump had been sending messages to his supremacist supporters on Twitter, calling them to fight and bring election fraud to light. Poynter listed all of Trump's tweets, retweets and parts of speeches he made to stir up hatred among his supporters from 12th December 2020 to 6th January 2021. On 6th January 2021, Trump gave a speech on behalf of democracy and truth, urging his supporters to go to the Capitol:

“We’re going to walk down. We’re going to walk down any one you want, but I think right here. We’re going to walk down to the Capitol, and we’re going to cheer on our brave senators, and congressmen and women. We’re probably not going to be cheering so much for some of them, because you’ll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength, and you have to be strong.”⁷¹

Trump chose to make this speech precisely on 6th January, the date on which the US Congress, under the aegis of the Vice-President, Mike Pence, had to certify the legitimacy of the election results and thus the election victory of Joe Biden. Indeed, Congress still had to count the Electoral College votes of the states of Arizona and Pennsylvania before officially declaring Joe Biden’s victory, when the Capitol was stormed by Trump’s supporters.

During this assault on the Capitol, many different militias and White supremacist groups displayed their symbols of belonging. The video made by Insider News⁷² enabled me to decode their symbols and verify their membership and claim. They are

⁷¹ SHERMAN, Amy, “A timeline of what Donald Trump said before the Capitol riot”, *Poynter*, 11 February 2021.

⁷² Insider News, “We Decoded the Symbols from The Storming of The Capitol | Beyond The Headlines”, *Youtube channel* 16 January 2021.

presented as people driven by conspiracy theories, white supremacy and a “Trump-infused brand of Christianity.”

There was the “Oath Keepers” an anti-government militia who might have law enforcement officers and military veterans in their ranks, wearing patches where we can read “Guardians of the Republic – Not on our watch”, suggesting that tyrannical socialist conspiracy would take control of the whole world and eliminate freedom. The “Roman numeral three” is the emblem of the “Three Percenters”, a militia carrying heavy weapons and believing that only 3% of American colonists fought to overthrow the British and therefore claim to be the defenders of the Constitution. “The Kraken” visible on flags and in which we can read “Unleash the Kraken”, a sea creature that should be released to expose the fraud and plots against Trump. The green flag of “Kekistan”, a fictional country that started as an alt-right meme to make fun of the political correctness of liberals, but often displayed at neo-Nazi gatherings. The “QAnon” and the “Believers” are far-right conspiracy movements claiming that there is a global child sex trafficking made by Democrats, Hollywood and the elite. The OK hand gesture was also hijacked to read “WP” for “White Power”. Some wore neo-Nazi tattoos or camp Auschwitz sweatshirt. One recognizable figure was present, Jacob Anthony Chansley aka “Jake Angeli” or known as “Q Shaman”, whose tattoos represent Norse mythology including Thor’s hammer representing “racial purity” and three interconnected triangles known as “Valknut” used by White supremacists, which means “knot of the slain” suggesting “to die a warrior’s death for the cause”. There was also Eric Gavelek Munchel aka the “zip tie guy” who wore a rifle and the comic book character the Punisher on two American flags, popular among soldiers and police officers since the Iraq war that the far-right adopted. The “Proud Boys” were also there, and the battle flag of the Confederate States was waved, marking a deep-seated racism. Many other flags were waved, the “Gadsden flag”, the “Thin Blue Line” flag, the “Betsy Ross” flag, and flags from the former country of South Vietnam and many references to Christianity like the “Armor of God” among others.

This analysis proves the affiliation of fascist groups and different branches of far-right nationalist groups with Donald Trump. Once again, their demands are those that Trump highlighted throughout his mandate, i.e., a fight against the elites, an anti-immigration, racist, xenophobic and nativist policy whose aim is to return to a dominance of the WASPs and a subjugation of minorities. All this with the dissemination of false information and even conspiracy theories.

III.4. Conclusion

We underlined that George Floyd's murder set off the fire in the U.S. and that people who were not being listened to decided to be listened to. However, to counter these protests and demands, especially from BLM supporters, Trump decided to blame them, whom he assimilated to Antifa. Thus, to prove he was right, he deployed many more policemen during these demonstrations in order to make the public believe that the danger came from these protestors. Yet, after being defeated, Trump emboldened his fascist supporters who showed their affiliations proudly, just like at the 2017 rally in Charlottesville, during the attack on the Capitol. Thus, no one can deny that Trump had white supremacist ideas and supporters, which eventually led to the suspension of his Twitter account.

IV. Conclusion

Throughout this research paper, we observed that the concept of nationalism is vast and includes diverse notions that are often interrelated. We noticed that Trump's campaign was not conventional and much more different than that of his Republican predecessors. Although Trump was not the first president to use Twitter as a communication tool, he was nonetheless the only one to use his personal account (@realDonaldTrump) instead of the official account of the President of the U.S. (@POTUS). This choice was a populist strategy to highlight that what he really is, is first and foremost a member of the people. Thus, the rapidity of his communication with the people can be seen as a weapon to spread his nationalistic opinions and those of his supporters. Indeed, twitter is a popular, instantaneous and ubiquitous means of communication, which allowed Trump to keep a direct link, without any filter, with his supporters defined as WASPs, opposing the elite who use the usual ethical codes to communicate. In that respect, by disseminating fear, conspiracy theories, racism, nativism, xenophobia and protectionism, Trump created a blend that emboldened his supporters to be more virulent already during his campaign. We emphasized that the far-right movement became increasingly visible and that its members were much more violent than the anti-fascist, contrary to what Trump would have us believe. This manipulation divided the country even further. While Trump claimed to be the one denouncing the corrupt elite, he seems to be part of it and to use his policy in favour of the richest people of the U.S. This attitude shows in fact that Trump was not exactly

a politician, but rather a businessman who was well surrounded by politicians who helped him win the elections.

We can now say that nationalism is a malleable concept which, at first sight, seems to be a strong need to protect one's own country and people. However, the concepts of nation and national identity lead to a strict definition of what the American nation is and exclude what does not belong to this definition. Thus, we can say that American nationalism was more virulent under Trump's mandate. American nationalism did not become intolerable only at the end of Trump's term but right from the beginning. George Floyd's death was the moment when the population decided to say stop to fascism and violence against the minorities. Finally, this event occurring in the year of his possible presidential re-election was a major trigger for the mobilisation of the American people at the ballot box.

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Partie Didactique

Séquence pédagogique : Immigration of today and yesterday : The U.S.A, a new home for immigrants

Informations générales de la séquence	
<p>Niveau de classe : Cycle Terminale, 1^{ère} ou terminale générale Niveau CECRL visé : B1 et B2 en fin de cycle Titre de la séquence : "Immigration of today and yesterday : The U.S.A, a new home for immigrants" Problématique : Quelles difficultés les immigrants d'hier et d'aujourd'hui ont rencontrées pour s'adapter et faire partie de la société américaine et devenir citoyens américains ? Nombre de séances prévues : 9 Thématique : Gestes fondateurs et mondes en mouvement Axe : Diversité et inclusion ; territoire et mémoire Activités langagières dominantes : Expression écrite⁷³ et expression orale en interaction (saynète).</p>	
Tâche finale	
<p><i>Imagine that you have graduated from high school and moved to New York City to begin your university studies. Write a letter to your family in France. Talk about your experience of immigrating to a new country, the difficulties you encountered, adapting to a new life and embracing the American culture. Describe your new place, what you like and dislike about your new country, what you miss and don't miss about your home country. Express your emotions and be creative. (250-300 words)</i> Share your testimony on: https://myimmigrationstory.com/share-your-story-2/.</p>	
Objectifs communicatifs et langagiers à développer pour réaliser la tâche finale	
Objectifs Culturels	<p>Les flux migratoires et les différentes populations d'immigrants aux États-Unis de 1820 à nos jours.</p> <p>Ellis Island comme porte d'entrée et de régulation d'accès aux immigrants.</p> <p>Les différentes perceptions de l'immigration.</p> <p>Les causes historiques et culturelles de l'immigration aux États-Unis ainsi que leurs conséquences.</p> <p>Le Melting Pot et le multiculturalisme Américain.</p>
Objectifs Lexicaux	<p>Voyage : <i>journey, destination, foreign country, unknown, welcoming, culture, tradition, transatlantic, unfortunate, uncertain...</i></p> <p>Immigration : <i>Immigrant, refugee, asylum, citizenship, residency, border, labour, generation, war, religious persecution, racism, xenophobia...</i></p> <p>Sentiments : <i>sorrow, sacrifice, suffering, proudness, overwhelmed, devastating, submerge, uncomfortable, excited, pessimistic,</i></p>

⁷³ On notera : Expression écrite (EE), Expression orale (EO), Compréhension écrite (CE), Compréhension orale (CO), Prise de parole en continue (PPC) et Prise de parole en interaction (PPI).

	<p><i>dreadful, cheerful, miserable, serene, supportive, regretful, resentful....</i></p> <p>Fuite : <i>persecution, to flee sth, to escape from sth, to run away...</i></p> <p>Pauvreté : <i>poor, destitute, unemployment, poverty-stricken, jobless...</i></p> <p>Rêve Américain : <i>expectations, hope, to achieve, to fulfil the American dream, to succeed, to make it, opportunities, chance...</i></p>
Objectifs Grammaticaux	<p>Rebrassage du prétérit.</p> <p>L'expression de l'habitude passé avec « used to » et « would ».</p> <p>Les verbes de perception : feel, seem, hear, smell, listen to, taste, look, sound.</p> <p>Utilisation de « for », « since » et « ago »</p> <p>La voix passive : “<i>New arrivals were taken by ferry</i>”, “<i>If a medical problem was suspected by a doctor...</i>”</p>
Objectifs Phonologiques	<p>L'intonation dans l'expression des sentiments.</p> <p>Prononciation des différentes nationalités.</p> <p>Prononciation du <ed> au prétérit</p>
Objectifs Pragmatiques⁷⁴ et Sociolinguistiques⁷⁵	<p>Savoir écrire une carte postale et en connaître la méthodologie.</p> <p>Savoir rédiger un témoignage en structurant son discours.</p> <p>Savoir donner une raison/ justifier une décision.</p> <p>Savoir donner son opinion.</p> <p>Savoir exprimer des sentiments.</p> <p>Connaître les codes de description d'une image et d'analyse d'un texte ou d'un audio.</p>
Objectifs Citoyens	<p>Sensibilisation au multiculturalisme Américain, ouverture d'esprit, tolérance à la différence, respect d'autrui.</p>

⁷⁴ La compétence pragmatique renvoie à la maîtrise du discours, à sa cohésion, à sa pertinence, au repérage des types et genres textuels, des effets d'ironie, de parodie, etc.

⁷⁵ La compétence sociolinguistique renvoie au fonctionnement de la langue dans sa dimension sociale : règles de politesse, marqueurs de relations sociales, différence de registre, accents, etc.

	Séance 1	Séance 2
Documents/ Supports	<p>Doc A : Photographie : Ellis Island Immigration Museum U.S. flag. https://c2.staticflickr.com/4/3221/2883665318_4150b91509_b.jpg (Cf. Annexe 1)</p> <p>Doc B : Audio: Diversity in NYC. http://ddata.over-blog.com/xxxxyy/3/18/86/31/2nde/Ellis-Island/New-York-Population-AUDIO.mp3</p> <p>Worksheet 1 : Audio population of NYC (Cf. Annexe 2)</p> <p>Worksheet 1bis : Audio population of NYC – différencié (Cf. Annexe 3)</p>	<p>Doc C : Vidéo interactive sur 2 siècles d'immigration aux U.S.A. http://metrocosm.com/animated-immigration-map/</p> <p>Doc D : “The Immigrants facts and figures”, frise chronologique (Cf. Annexe 4) http://englishdaybyday.over-blog.org/article-36873996.html</p>
Éléments facilitateurs	<p>Doc A : image. Drapeau des États-Unis reconnaissable. Différence d'ethnie visible sur les visages.</p> <p>Doc B : Débit correct, clair et articulé. NYC soulevé en amont et accessible. Pas de fond sonore.</p>	<p>Doc C : Visuel simple, explicite avec des données claires.</p> <p>Doc D : Frise chronologique claire et épurée. Lexique simple, transparent et vu en amont.</p>
Obstacles	<p>Doc A : Le contexte et le lieu de cette exposition. Pourquoi ce drapeau exposé de telle manière. La signification et ce que représente cette exposition (l'implicite).</p> <p>Doc B : Beaucoup d'informations, de lieux, de nationalités qui peuvent être difficile à cerner car peu entendu.</p>	<p>Doc C : Regarder les différentes données en même temps (dates, mouvements et classement des pays).</p> <p>Doc D : La conversion des unités verticales du graphique (9000 thousand = 9 millions)</p>
Objectifs grammaticaux	<p>Réactivation de la probabilité : MAY/MIGHT Modal COULD (probabilité + radical dynamique)</p> <p>Modal CAN + verbe de perception (modalité dynamique)</p> <p>Réactivation du présent simple (<s> à la 3^{ème} pers. du singulier)</p> <p>Donner son opinion : <i>in my opinion, according to me, to my mind...</i></p>	<p>Prétérit</p> <p>Propositions causatives et résultatives : <i>cause, force, order, entail, make sb do sth, have s.o do sth, get s.o to do sth, result in, lead to</i></p>
Objectifs lexicaux	<p>Doc A : <i>immigrant, origins, nationalities, background, ethnicity and gender diversity</i></p> <p>Doc B : <i>poor, destitute, community, unemployed, racism, diversity...</i> Différentes nationalités. Les connecteurs logiques et les différentes zones de NYC</p>	<p>Doc D : Fuite : <i>escape, run away from, flee.</i></p> <p>Pauvreté : <i>poor, destitute, refugees</i></p> <p>Cause de l'immigration : <i>violence, social chaos, war, famine, persecution.</i></p> <p>Différentes nationalités ou noms par zone géographique : <i>Scandinavians, Eastern / Southern Europeans, Asians...</i></p>
Objectifs phonologiques	<p>Prononciation des nationalités et des différentes zones géographiques de NYC</p>	<p>Prononciation du phonème /ɔ:/ dans « cause », « order », « force », « war », « lawful », « important », « proportion »</p>
Objectifs méthodologiques	<p>Description de l'image (PPC). Entraînement à la compréhension orale.</p>	<p>Analyse de documents graphiques avec des données chiffrées. Savoir mettre en correspondance des</p>

		données graphiques avec une frise chronologique.
Objectifs culturels	Multiculturalisme américain. Melting pot et diversité. Différentes zones de NYC. Périodes ayant influencées l'immigration vers les États-Unis (Civil War, WW II)	Great Famine/Potato Famine. World War II, Great Depression. National Origins Act of 1924. 1917 Immigration Act. 1965 Immigration Act.
Mise en œuvre	<p>Anticipation : Doc A, faire émerger du lexique. Description de l'image. Emettre des hypothèses sur le contenu de l'audio (PPC)</p> <p>CO : 1^{ère} écoute sans la worksheet 1 ou 1bis. Noter au brouillon tout le lexique entendu ou reconnu. Travail en binôme pour comparer et s'entraider. Puis mise en commun du lexique au tableau.</p> <p>2^{ème} écoute avec la worksheet. Lecture et vérification de la compréhension des consignes. Travail en binôme puis mise en commun.</p> <p>3^{ème} écoute de vérification et finir de compléter. Travail en binôme puis mise en commun.</p> <p>Elargissement : Présenter un immigrant, sa nationalité, où il vit à NYC et pourquoi il est venu vivre aux USA. (5 lignes). Inter-corrrection et présentation orale sur volontariat. (EE/PPC) Trace écrite au tableau des productions.</p>	<p>Réactivation : <i>What was the audio about? (PPC)</i></p> <p>Correction des devoirs: Rebrassage des connecteurs logiques. Trace écrite des productions mises en commun.</p> <p>Anticipation : capture d'écran du document C avec le titre apparent « Two Centuries of U.S. Immigration (1 dot = 10,000 people) ». Description, type de document. Lexique sur l'immigration. Trace écrite au tableau. (PPC)</p> <p>Distribution du document D. Lecture individuel en autonomie.</p> <p>Compréhension globale : sous forme de carte mentale. (people, time, place, action, causes/consequences)</p> <p>Compréhension détaillée : visionnage de la carte interactive. Travail en binôme et classe divisée en deux. <i>After dividing time into 4 waves of immigration from 1820 to the present day, make up a sentence (2 lines) using the past tense to explain where the majority of immigrants came from and why they fled their own country. (EE)</i></p> <p>Puis mise en commun des 4 périodes sous forme de trace écrite. (PPC)</p> <p>Elargissement : <i>Imagine a war breaks out in France. Explain to which country you would flee and why exactly (3 à 5 lignes). Travail en binôme. Puis mise en commun (PPC)</i></p>
Tâches/ Homework.	Homework : En utilisant des connecteurs logiques expliquer comment est constituée la population de NYC et pourquoi. (5 à 10 lignes) Définir ce qu'est le Melting Pot.	Homework : Connaitre les principales causes de l'immigration aux USA selon les périodes. Apprendre le vocabulaire.

	Séance 3	Séance 4
Documents	<p>Réactivation : mots mêlés, lexique de l'immigration. https://learningapps.org/watch?v=pf7rgjqy221</p> <p>Doc E : ØVERLAND, Orm, <i>From America to Norway - Norwegian–American Immigrant Letters 1838-1914, Volume I: 1838-1870,</i></p>	<p>Recap : Frise chronologique : https://learningapps.org/watch?v=pvmiu4gz521</p> <p>Doc F : 2 photos d'Ellis Island libres de droits (Cf. Annexe 6) https://pixabay.com/images/search/ellis%20island/</p>

	Editor, 2013. (Cf. Annexe 5) Extrait du livre didactisé. (CE)	Webquest Pairwork : (Cf. Annexe 7) http://teacher.scholastic.com/activities/immigration/tour/stop2.htm#tab3-content
Éléments facilitateurs	Doc E : lexique globalement accessible (<i>prospering, machine, ignorance, propaganda, climate and economic conditions...</i>). Les titres pour séparer les différents sujets abordés.	Doc F : arrière-plan reconnaissable de Manhattan.
Obstacles	Doc E : longueur du document, le lexique lié à l'agriculture (<i>harvest, plow, milking, oxen, steam, wheat, grain, corps</i>)	Doc F : reconnaissance difficile du lieu ou méconnaissance possible.
Objectifs grammaticaux	Prétérit et verbes irréguliers (seek, sow...) Rebrassage du comparatif de supériorité et superlatif	Prétérit But et obligation
Objectifs lexicaux	Experience (<i>good fortune, prospering, technical advancements, good harvest, work, photography, farming, propaganda, to tempt, climate conditions, economic conditions, less distinction, language difficulties, disease, security</i>) Sentiments (<i>anxious, bliss, excitement, happiness, impressed, complain, impatient, patient, enjoyable, content, claim, ignorance, misconception, dissatisfied, love</i>)	Medical aspects (<i>medical exam, doctors, medical problem, disability, contagious diseases, unable to, curable, hospital</i>) Lawfulness (<i>inspectors, country of origin, legally, criminal record, suspected, indenture servants, literacy test, passport, visa, required</i>)
Objectifs phonologiques	/nɔ:ˈwi:dʒən/ Norwegian /aʊ/ dans plow (plough), how, /əʊ/ dans sow.	Prononciation de <ed> /t/ après consonne non-voisées /ɪd/ après /t/ et /d/ /d/ après les autres voyelles et consonnes
Objectifs méthodologiques	Autonomie. Coopération. Analyse d'un texte de civilisation. (Implicite, accumulation, structure, but, citations). Savoir justifier ses propos.	Savoir recueillir des informations : trier, sélectionner et hiérarchiser. Savoir décrire une image et émettre des hypothèses.
Objectifs culturels	L'immigration et l'installation des Norvégiens aux États-Unis aux XIX ^{ème} siècle.	Situer et découvrir Ellis Island.
Mise en œuvre	Anticipation : Titre et premier paragraphe afficher au tableau. Travail en binôme pour créer une carte mentale ou un tableau avec les informations demandées (<i>people, place, time, topic, type of document, aim of the document</i>). Puis mise en commun. Trace écrite. (EE/PPC) CE : Classe diviser en 3. Document divisé en 3 (l. 9 à 26, l.28 à 43 et l.44 à 61). Travail en binôme dans les groupes. Groupe 1 : <i>Focus on the lexical field of agriculture. Explain why it is important for the narrator to share this information. Focus on this accumulation of information. Explain the impact on the reader.</i>	Mise en commun du travail à faire en devoir, sur la base du volontariat. Trace écrite. Anticipation : Montrer la 1 ^{ère} puis la 2 ^{ème} photo d'Ellis Island. Description de l'image. Faire émerger du vocabulaire et émettre des hypothèses sur ce que les élèves vont devoir faire. (PPC) Webquest en binôme. Afficher au mur, sous forme de flashcards, des photos et du texte correspondant aux informations à retrouver par les élèves. (CE) Tâche intermédiaire (EE) : <i>With the help of the collected elements, put yourself in the shoes of an immigrant who arrived in Ellis Island at the end of the 19th century. Imagine the world</i>

	<p>Groupe 2 : <i>Identify Ole Rynning's aim with his book. Explain the use of the word "propaganda" in this context.</i></p> <p>Groupe 3 : <i>Find the main issues faced by Norwegian in the U.S. Then, give your opinion about inclusion and integration.</i></p> <p>Elargissement (EE) : <i>Put yourself in the shoes of a Norwegian in the 19th century. Write a propaganda letter to your family to encourage them to come to the USA. Use accumulation and exaggeration, emphasize the positive, and share your feelings of success. (5 à 10 lignes)</i></p>	<p><i>around you. Explain the process you had to go through, share your feelings, emotions and how you experienced this moment on the island in a new and unknown country. (100 words)</i></p>
Tâches/ Homework.	Homework : Continuer l'exercice « d'élargissement »	Homework : faire correspondre les paragraphes avec les photos concernant les étapes dans Ellis Island Immigration Station. (Cf. Annexe 8)

	Séance 5	Séance 6
Documents	<p>Remédiation des devoirs avec LearningApps : https://learningapps.org/watch?v=prc6e70ik21</p> <p>Doc G : 2 témoignages (Cf. Annexe 9) http://teacher.scholastic.com/activities/immigration/young_immigrants/ avec worksheet. (CE/EE) (voir Annexe 10)</p>	<p>Doc H : exercices de vocabulaire sur les sentiments. https://www.vocabulary.cl/Lists/Feelings-Emotions.htm (voir Annexe 11)</p> <p>Doc I : Rebrassage de la formulation des questions et exercices d'application. https://englishtunes.weebly.com/uploads/1/4/5/1/14512792/les_questions.pdf (voir Annexe 12 et 13)</p>
Éléments facilitateurs	Doc G : lexique simple et accessible. Texte divisé sous forme de paragraphes.	
Obstacles	Doc G : Longueur	
Objectifs grammaticaux	Prétérit Obligation : HAVE TO Voie passive WOULD : probabilité/hypothèse (radical dynamique) et d'habitude Present perfect : bilan (for, since, ago)	Ordre des mots dans les phrases interrogatives. Adjectifs liés aux sentiments.
Objectifs lexicaux	Sentiments (<i>sad, amazing, huge, love, like, surprised, hot, cold, to miss, success...</i>) Activités (<i>phone, learn, read, celebrate, play, eat, wear, draw...</i>)	Sentiments: (<i>enthusiastic, worried, shy; bitter, homesick, threatened, thankful, furious, curious, cheated, stressed, tense, left-out, hopeful...</i>)
Objectifs phonologiques	Prononciation du <ed>	Prononciation et intonation des adjectifs. Intonation montante pour les questions fermées (Yes/no questions) et descendante pour les questions ouvertes (WH-questions)
Objectifs méthodologiques	Recueillir des informations, synthétiser, reformuler. Composition/éléments d'un témoignage. Revoir les codes de la carte postale.	Autonomie. Méthodologie et structure des questions.

Objectifs culturels	L'immigration aux États-Unis de nos jours.	Temps de partage. Montrer que l'immigration est internationale.
Mise en œuvre	<p>Correction des devoirs : utilisation du document pour faire une PRL sur la voix passive.</p> <p>Anticipation : entêtes des 2 témoignages. Emissions d'hypothèses sur le type de document et la période.</p> <p>CE : Classe divisée en 2 et travail en binôme sur l'un ou l'autre des témoignages. Puis mise en commun.</p> <p>Élargissement : Ecris une courte lettre à ta famille en réutilisant la voix passive. Pour cela raconte tes mésaventures. (5 lignes)</p>	<p>Réactivation : voix passive.</p> <p>Correction des devoirs : trace écrite sur la base du volontariat.</p> <p>Préparation à la tâche finale et à l'écriture de saynètes en binôme.</p> <p>Exercice sur les sentiments Rebrassage PRL structure des questions et exercices.</p>
Tâches/ Homework.	<p>Homework : Finir l'exercice "d'élargissement". <i>Write a short letter to your family using the passive voice. Tell them about your misfortunes.</i></p>	<p>Homework (PPI): <i>Prepare a playlet in pairs. As part of an exchange programme (erasmus) you meet a person from the EU who, like you, is studying in the USA. Ask questions about what you would like to know about their country, talk about what you miss about your home country, what you like/hate about the USA and think about describing your emotions. (Durée : dialogue de 2 min)</i></p>

	Séance 7 et 8	Séance 9
Documents/ activités	<p>Doc H et I : finir les exercices en séance 7.</p> <p>Saynètes séance 8. (PPI)</p>	<p>Tâche finale : évaluation sommative.</p> <p>Doc J : grille d'évaluation. (Cf. Annexe 14)</p>
Objectifs grammaticaux	<p>Ordre des mots dans les phrases interrogatives.</p> <p>Adjectifs liés aux sentiments.</p> <p>Habitude passée : USED + TO</p>	<p>Prétérit.</p> <p>Voix passive.</p> <p>Cause/conséquence.</p> <p>Habitude passée.</p> <p>Obligation, autorisation et capacité.</p>
Objectifs lexicaux	Sentiments.	Sentiments. Immigration. Goûts.
Objectifs phonologiques	<p>Mise en voix : compétence orthoépique.</p> <p>Intonation et accent de mot.</p> <p>Accent de phrase pour les questions.</p>	
Objectifs méthodologiques	<p>Coopérer avec son camarade afin d'écrire et jouer une saynète.</p> <p>Autonomie.</p> <p>Organisation du dialogue, chronologie et clarté.</p>	<p>Autonomie. Organisation. Relecture pour l'orthographe, la grammaire et la syntaxe.</p>
Mise en œuvre	<p>Réactivation : structure des questions.</p> <p>PRL sur l'habitude dans le passé avec 'used to + BV' et 'would'</p> <p>Travail sur la saynète. Mise à disposition des dictionnaires. Si possible faire appel à l'assistant de langue.</p>	
Tâches/ Homework.	Homework : Se préparer à la tâche finale (EE) .	

Projet Pédagogique – Etablissement Jules Haag, Besançon.

Lors d'un projet à l'INSPE concernant la didactique lycée et collège, nous devons construire un projet pédagogique au sein de notre établissement de stage. Ainsi, je vous présente ci-dessous mon projet d'exposition et de musée interactif sur l'histoire de l'immigration aux États-Unis. Ce projet serait à adapter par rapport à la séquence présentée ci-dessus, et serait mise en place entre les vacances de la Toussaints et les vacances de fin d'année, afin de faire le lien avec la journée internationale des migrants le 18 décembre 2022.

Pour ce projet, trois objectifs bénéfiques aux élèves s'ajouteraient à la séquence précédente :

PIX⁷⁶	Utilisation de Artsteps. Faire des recherches sur internet. Créer un audio guide.
Motivationnels	Outils numériques. Audio guide. Sortir du cadre de la classe. Montrer son travail aux autres élèves. Fierté/accomplissement.
Pragmatiques	Conception artistique et esthétique. Coopérer et communiquer entre pairs. Savoir s'organiser dans l'élaboration et la chronologie des événements. Savoir transmettre des informations pour être compris de tous.

Ce projet pédagogique s'est construit autour du projet d'établissement du lycée Jules Haag de l'année 2018-2021 dont les axes principaux étaient les suivants :

Axe 1	Axe 2	Axe 3
Dominante : réussite scolaire, diminution de l'échec scolaire, traitement de la difficulté de l'élève, orientation active, développement de la confiance scolaire.	Dominante : relations avec l'environnement, liens avec le monde extérieur, travail sur les partenariats, apprentissage, formation continue, mixités de publics et affirmation de l'identité de Jules-Haag.	Dominante : valeurs citoyenne, bien-être et vivre ensemble, partage et transmission de valeurs humanistes, développement durable (label E3D), ouverture internationale, ouverture culturelle, climat scolaire.

⁷⁶ La Certification Pix est un outil qui permet d'évaluer en ligne les compétences numériques des élèves.

Mise en œuvre du projet pour une classe de 1^{ère} générales composée de 26 élèves. 6 groupes seraient créés, ayant chacun un thème de travail attribué afin de mener à bien le projet. Ainsi, nous aurions 4 groupes de 4 élèves et 2 groupes de 5 élèves. Les thèmes proposés par groupe seraient les suivants : Irish people, Chinese people, Ellis Island, Italian people, Mexican people, Testimonies.

Organisation du projet pédagogique :

Lieu	CDI
Durée	7 semaines organisées comme suit : 2 semaines (4 séances) de préparation. 3 semaines de mise en œuvre et création par les élèves. 2 semaines d'exposition au CDI avec organisation de l'évaluation sommative et de la tâche finale.
Partenaires	Mme Elizabeth Labri, documentaliste. Proviseur et Proviseurs adjoints Professeurs d'anglais. Professeurs d'histoire (s'ils parlent anglais)
Matériel	Affiches type « roll up ». Voir le coût si le lycée n'en possède pas déjà.
Obstacles	Fonctionnement du matériel informatique. Refus de la documentaliste (peu probable)

Il serait important d'attribuer des rôles aux élèves pour créer à la fois le musée interactif et le musée physique au CDI. Cela permettrait également de mettre en place de la différenciation selon le niveau CECRL des élèves et leur permettrait de choisir le domaine dans lequel ils se sentent le plus en confiance.

Rôles des élèves	Tâches
Designer	Construction du musée interactif. Création des QR code. Création des quiz.
Researcher	Recherches sur le sujet attribué.
Photographer / Painter	Trouver des illustrations pour les deux types de musées. Créer le musée papier sur des feuilles A3.
Tourist Guide	Création des audio-guides pour les 2 musées. Trouver des vidéos à insérer dans le musée interactif.
Research assistant / Quiz creator	Création des quiz. Aide aux recherches et coordonne le groupe.

Enfin, les 4 séances de préparation en amont de la création des musées, reprendraient les premières séances de la séquence proposée en amont, avec notamment l'exploitation des documents proposés en séances 1, 2, 4 et 5.

Afin de visualiser le projet interactif attendu, j'ai réalisé une partie du musée interactif grâce au logiciel Artsteps, dont voici le lien et le QR code :
[https://www.artsteps.com/embed/621e40e8ffda8aeac65427d1/560/315" frameborder=](https://www.artsteps.com/embed/621e40e8ffda8aeac65427d1/560/315)



Ce logiciel est très simple d'utilisation. Nous pouvons nous balader dans ce musée comme dans un vrai musée. J'ai choisi de diviser les lieux en six zones identifiables correspondant chacune à un thème abordé par les élèves. Par manque de temps je n'ai pu faire qu'un exemple de présentation concernant les thèmes « Irish people », « Chinese people » et une partie sur « Ellis Island ». Le point fort de ce logiciel est son interactivité ; l'élève peut cliquer sur les œuvres et obtenir des informations supplémentaires sous forme de textes, de vidéos, d'audios et de liens renvoyant à une source apportant plus d'informations sur le sujet pour éveiller la curiosité des élèves. Ils peuvent également scanner les QR codes et accéder au musée sur leur téléphone et y avoir accès à n'importe quel moment de la journée. Enfin, pour rendre la création et l'organisation du musée interactif plus simple, puisque chaque groupe doit créer une partie du musée. Je proposerais que chaque groupe crée son propre petit musée interactif au lieu de regrouper les six thèmes dans un même musée comme dans mon exemple ci-dessus. Ainsi, les élèves devront générer leur propre QR code. Les six QR codes seront alors affichés au CDI dans le musée physique au niveau du thème correspondant.

Annexe 1

Ellis Island- Ludovic Bertron flickr.

Source : https://c2.staticflickr.com/4/3221/2883665318_4150b91509_b.jpg



Annexe 2

Audio population of New York City.

Audio: Population of New York City.

1. Find information about the **person interviewed**:

Name: _____ Origins: _____

Living area: _____

2. Which are the **3 largest** communities in NYC?

3. For each **ethnic group**, give information you hear about **where they live**:

	Chinese	Italians	African Americans	Eastern Europeans	Latinos/Latin Americans
Living areas					

4. Write the **Eastern Europeans** and **Hispanic** countries mentioned

Eastern Europeans: _____

Hispanic: _____

5. When did the **Chinese** come/migrate to the U.S.? Find information about their **work**?

6. **When** did most of the **Eastern Europeans** migrate?

7. How does the speaker **define** NYC?

8. Pick out the **number of nationalities** in NYC: _____

Tick those mentioned:

- Germans French Greeks Armenians Croatians
Argentinians Koreans Japanese Indians Senegalese
Vietnamese Haitians Canadians Arabs Ethiopians

Annexe 3

Audio population of New York City – différencié.

Audio: Population of New York City.

1. Find information about the **person interviewed**:

Name: _____ Origins: _____

Living area: _____

2. Which are the **3 largest** communities in NYC?

3. Associate each **ethnic group / community** with its **living area**:

Chinese ●	● Brooklyn
Italians ●	● Harlem
African Americans ●	● East Harlem/El Barrio
Eastern Europeans ●	● Queens
Latinos ●	● Chinatown
	● Little Italy/Low East Manhattan
	● Bronx

4. Write the **Eastern Europeans** and **Hispanic** countries mentioned

Eastern Europeans: Ukrainians Slovenians Lithuanians

Russians Poles Bulgarians

Hispanic: Spanish Porto Ricans Portuguese Cubans

Colombians Brazilians

5. When did the **Chinese** come/migrate to the U.S.? Find information about their **work**?

6. **When** did most of the **Eastern Europeans** migrate?

7. How does the speaker **define** NYC?

8. Pick out the **number of nationalities** in NYC: _____

Tick those mentioned:

Germans French Greeks Armenians Croatians
Argentinians Koreans Japanese Indians Senegalese
Vietnamese Haitians Canadians Arabs Ethiopians

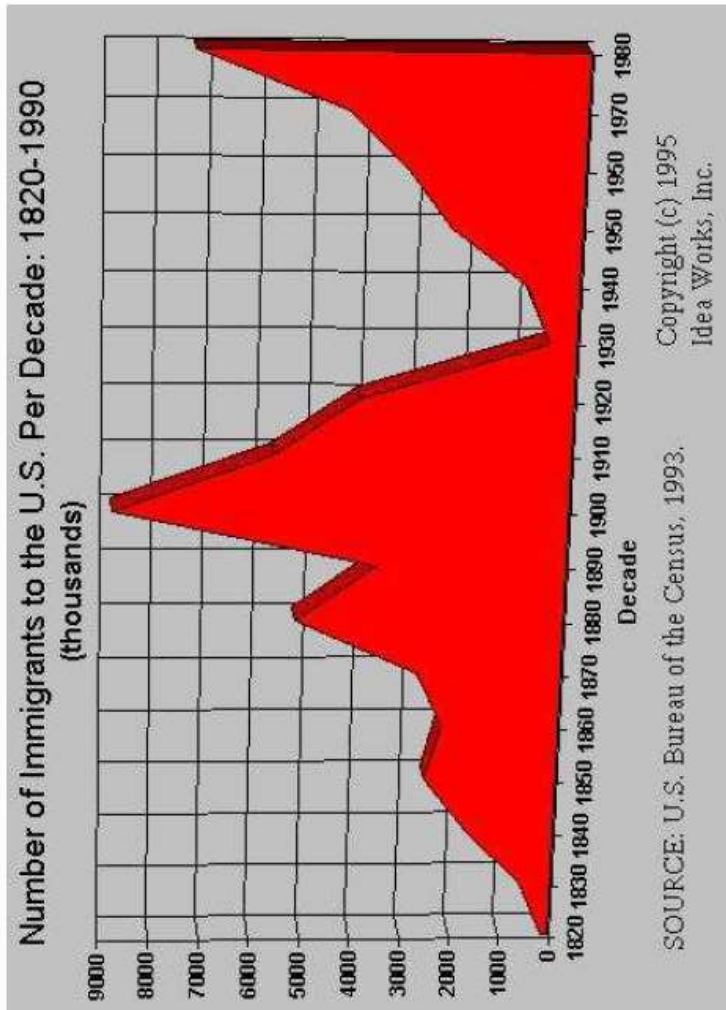
Annexe 4

“The Immigrants facts and figures”, frise chronologique.

Source : <http://englishdaybyday.over-blog.org/article-36873996.html>

1840-1860	1860-1880	1880-1900	1900-1920	1920-1960	1960-1985
<p>Following many English immigrants, the Irish came to the U.S as a result of the potato famine of 1845-49. There was also a massive German, Dutch and Scandinavian wave of immigration. The main reasons for leaving the country of origin were a high rate of unemployment, poverty and hope for better wages.</p>	<p>The Chinese came to build the railroads (trains linked the two coasts of the US in 1869). They were so poor in their own country that they were unable to raise their children. They arrived in America full of hopes and dreams.</p>	<p>Italians, Poles, and Czechs, as well as people from all over Europe, Ukrainians, Russians, Greeks also came in large numbers hoping to find religious and political freedom and an easier life.</p>	<p>These were the peak years with many Italians and Eastern Europeans who continued to emigrate, fleeing (running away from) wars and revolutions and hoping for a better life.</p> <p>The 1917 Immigration Act excluded all Asians and required literacy.</p>	<p><u>1920-1940</u> : The National Origins Act of 1924 established quotas for each country outside the western hemisphere. It was particularly prejudiced against Eastern and Southern Europeans.</p> <p>The Wall Street crash and the Great Depression brought immigration down to its lowest level in 100 years.</p>	<p>Immigrants from the Third World were allowed in thanks to the Immigration Act of 1965. Refugees were admitted as immigrants too.</p> <p>Today, poverty, war and political persecution remain the main reasons for people leaving their country and crossing the border to the U.S</p>

The immigrants facts and figures



Annexe 5

ØVERLAND, Orm, *From America to Norway - Norwegian–American Immigrant Letters 1838-1914*, Volume I: 1838-1870, Editor, 2013.

From America to Norway: Norwegian-Americans Write Home

The US National Archives, recognizing the great historical significance of immigrants letters, published three volumes of the oldest letters dating back to the period from 1838 to 1874. The 1830s is the time when emigration from Norway began in earnest¹. In their letters home to
5 *Norway, the emigrants tell about their experiences, thoughts and feelings related to emigration. The reader gains insight into the reasons why they left their homes and learns the details about their journey to America. The Emigrants describe American society and how Norwegians adjusted to it.*

10 On March 31, 1909, Martin Pettersen Herstad from North Dakota wrote a long letter to his brother, Anton, who lived in Vikna in Nord-Trøndelag. Martin had experienced good fortune since he emigrated to the USA, and he corresponded regularly with Anton. Now the harvest was underway, and he was anxious to tell how well he was prospering and how things were done "over there."

15 "I have now begun the job of dragging² [...]. But once I start, the job goes very fast because the drag is 26 feet³ across and I hitch⁴ 5 horses to pull it. And you can imagine, I drag a large field in 3 days. I use a plow⁵ with two plowshares, so it plows⁶ two rows at a time, and this summer I'll be milking 11 cows. And I have a cream separator, so I have lots of cream to deliver to the dairy. [...] I am going to sow acre of wheat that is 340 hectares according to Norwegian measurements. As proof of how we work with the soil here I am sending you this drawing. It is
20 a machine for plowing, and such machines are used on large farms also during the fall when we do the threshing such machines are used, they are powered by steam."

Thousands of similar letters belong to private owners and to public archives throughout Norway. Most of the letters from America were more down to earth, however, scrawled by immigrants whose hands were accustomed to hard labor. They wrote simple accounts about
25 day to day life on the farm, about grain prices and crops⁷ and about new machinery that lightened their work. [...]

[...]

Propaganda to encourage emigration

30 Some of the first emigrants to America were not content with writing letters. The son of a pastor with a university education, Ole Rynning, left Bergen for America in 1837, and the following year published a book he had written in Christinia. He claimed that the main purpose of the book was to eradicate all ignorance about America. He believed, for example, there was a broad misconception among his own people that the population in America had been wiped out by plague, and that the immigrants would come to fully established farms with buildings,
35 clothing and inventory just as they had been left when their former occupants died. He dealt with other misconceptions, and historians generally agree that this book had a great effect on Norwegian emigration prior to 1850.

40 It is important for us to understand that many of those who wrote letters home did not do it just to keep in touch with their family and friends. Their main objective was to tempt others to follow them to America so they could establish their own Norwegian institutions, schools and churches. This would make it easier for Norwegians to leave their mark in relation to other

¹ Pour de bon

² To drag = trainer en longueur. Ici, une herse traînante, un type de herse à dents à ressort, est un ancien outil de travail du sol en agriculture, il était utilisé pour aplanir le sol et l'ameublir après qu'il ait été labouré et compacté.

³ 8 mètres (10 feet = 3 mètres)

⁴ Atteler

⁵ Une charue

⁶ Laboure

⁷ Prix des céréales et récoltes

immigrant groups. Such letters were not only read by the addressee, but were copied and circulated to all who were interested, and were sometimes published in newspapers.

The creation of a Norway in America

45 Some of the emigrants complained about climate conditions and that they picked up diseases so serious that they had to forget the old "farm adage that a doctor and medicines weren't needed." Others were dissatisfied over the lack of Norwegian schools, and that they missed having pastors that professed the "proper creed."

50 Some of the emigrants returned to Norway but the majority remained. America gained a place in their hearts: "I love America and Norway, though each in their own way." Economic conditions were much better in the U.S. They earned many times what they had earned in the Old Country, and could easily work their way to a better standard of living. In addition, they maintained that there was less distinction between classes. A hired worker ate at the same table and ate the same food as the farmer and was shown the same consideration as everyone else.
55

Many of those who settled in America had difficulties learning the new language and being understood outside the Norwegian environment. Some felt that it was one of the greatest problems for them in the new country, "the second worst illness." People sought security in the new country in what was familiar among those with the same cultural background. Norwegian and other Nordic immigrants often clustered together and formed communities in which they were dominant.
60

Annexe 6

Ellis Island. Source : <https://pixabay.com/images/search/ellis%20island/>



Annexe 7 : (avec les réponses possibles et souhaitées)

Webquest through Ellis Island

What did the immigrants see when they arrived?	The Statue of Liberty
How old was the first Ellis Island immigrant?	The first person to go through immigration processing at the Ellis Island station was a 15-year-old girl named Annie Moore.
How were immigrants identified when they came ashore?	The officers passed out numbered identity tags
Give a synonym to bundles.	Bags, packages...
How long did the immigration process take and why?	The immigration process on Ellis Island usually took three to five hours. This wasn't because the medical and legal inspections were lengthy, but because there were probably a thousand or more people in line ahead of you
Find the name of the biggest room. Explain the aim of this place.	The Registry Room was nicknamed the Great Hall. Officials decided whether each person could enter the country right away or whether that person's case required further review to detect any disease.
Give the name of the first medical exam and explain its aim.	The first test was a "six-second physical." A uniformed doctor looked for any signs of illness or contagious diseases.
Explain the aim of the legal inspection	The legal inspection helps to know where the immigrants come from, their family situation and professional skills, whether they have a criminal record, if they have enough money to support themselves, and to know their goal(s) in America
What is the purpose of the post office?	In the post office immigrants could buy tickets for the railways and find help. They could also exchange money, to get dollars.
Explain where the name "kissing post" comes from.	It is a place where the relatives waited their loved ones. So, when they meet again, they kissed and hugged to express their happiness.

Tâche intermédiaire :

With the help of the collected elements, put yourself in the shoes of an immigrant who arrived in Ellis Island at the end of the 19th century. Imagine the world around you. Explain the process you had to go through, share your feelings, emotions and how you experienced this moment on the island in a new and unknown country. (100 words)

Annexe 8 : (Les photographies seront en plus grande dimension pour les élèves)

Match each paragraph with the right photo

a) **New arrivals** were taken by ferry to the main building at Ellis Island. Opened in 1892, the first immigrant to arrive was a 15-year-old girl from Ireland named Annie Moore to join her parents in New York City.

b) Immigrants entered the main building through its ground floor **baggage room**. They left their **trunks, suitcases** and **baskets** here until they were finished. Immigrants with only a few belongings carried their things as they climbed the stairs to the Great Hall for medical and legal examinations.

c) The first test the immigrants had to pass became known as the "**six second medical exam**." As the immigrants climbed the stairs to the Great Hall, doctors stood at the top and watched. They were looking for anyone having difficulty coming up the steps. If a medical problem or disability was suspected, one of **seventeen different chalk marks** was put on the person's clothing.

d) **The Great Hall** was the large waiting room of Ellis Island. Immigrants waited here for their interviews with legal inspectors after finishing their medical exams. At best, the entire process through Ellis Island took three to five hours. Some families stayed for days on Ellis Island, others for weeks, and still others for months waiting for a relative.

e) By 1917, **complete medical exams** were required for every immigrant. The main purpose of these exams was to find persons with **contagious diseases** or conditions that would make them unable to work. If their problem was curable, immigrants were sent to the island's hospital. If it was not, the steamship company that brought them would have to pay to send them back.

f) After passing the medical exams, immigrants had to prove they could legally come into America. They had to **prove their country of origin** and where they expected to live and work once they entered the country. **Inspectors** rejected any immigrant with a criminal record or those suspected of being indentured servants⁷⁷. By 1921, immigrants had to **pass**⁷⁸ a **literacy test** and show a **passport** and **visa**.

g) In the **money exchange area** immigrants exchanged the money of their homeland for dollars and **purchased any train tickets** they needed. Laws passed in 1909 required each immigrant to have at least 20 dollars before they were allowed to enter America.

h) Just beyond the money exchange was the **exit from Ellis Island**. Staff members referred to this spot as the "**kissing post**" because of all the emotional reunions that were witnessed there. Two thirds of the new Americans then **boarded a ferry to New Jersey**. The remaining third took the **ferryboat to Manhattan** to begin their new life in NYC.

⁷⁷ Indentured servants: people who signed a contract to work without salary and for a specific number of years

⁷⁸ To pass: to proceed or to succeed



X	Support	F	Free	P	Physical and Moral
⊗	Publicity of	F†	For	P ₃	Progress
	Interest (General Interest)	G	Goal	S ₂	Self-Interest
B	Book	H	Heart	S	Safety
C	Conductible	K	Kernel		
CT	Classmate	L	Lesson		
E	Even	N	Nail		
					7





NAME **Vandi** AGE **12** GRADE **6th**
CURRENT HOME **Revere, U.S.A.**
PLACE OF ORIGIN **Freetown, Sierra Leone**

Hi, my name is Vandi and I was born in Freetown, Sierra Leone. There was a war in my home country, so we had to leave. When I was six, my family was living in a refugee camp in Liberia, which is a country that neighbors Sierra Leone. We were picked by some officials there to come to America. I was really sad because I had to leave my family and friends; I will not get to see them again until I am grown and can go back to Liberia as an adult.

Coming here was amazing. It was my first time being in a real plane. My first impression of America was, "Wow! This is huge!"

Leaving was hard, but my mom made me feel better by telling me that in America we would learn to use the telephone to keep in touch. Now, I can call my family and talk to them by phone. They speak Mende, and I speak English to them to help them learn my new language, too.



I have been in America for six years now, so I don't speak Mende much anymore.

I like living in America. The education is better. The teachers here help me more than the teachers in Liberia. I had trouble learning in school in Liberia. Here is different.

I am a Muslim and that's really different, too. We don't celebrate Christmas, but the day after Christmas, my mom and dad go and buy me presents. I go out with my sister on Halloween, and we get candy. We celebrate Valentine's Day. On Thanksgiving Day my mom cooks a turkey. We didn't do that in Liberia.

The United States has lots of roads and sidewalks, which we don't have in Liberia. To go anywhere in Liberia you walk on the flat land. Our house in Liberia was only one room. In America, our house is huge. We can spread out in different rooms.

In America, I play football, soccer, basketball, and go on Facebook with my friends. I also play dodgeball, which I love. We didn't have any of those games in Liberia. I like to read books like The Bridge to Terabithia and Amulet. I also read comics. My favorite American foods are hamburgers and pizza. My favorite food from Liberia is a spinach and rice dish. In my home country we ate rice with every meal.

Although I was sad to leave, coming here was amazing. It was my first time being in a real plane. My first impression of America was, "Wow! This is huge! It's really big!" Now I can work hard in school and learn to be a lawyer and help people when I grow up.

NAME **Sadana**

AGE **11**

GRADE **5th**

CURRENT HOME **Queens, New York**

PLACE OF ORIGIN **Chennai, India**



Hi, I am Sadana. I moved to Queens, New York City, from Chennai, India. My mother, father, brother, and I flew here on a plane. When we landed at JFK airport in New York City, I was really surprised. Everything is so big, and it was so cold. In India, it is hot.

Since I am Hindu, I wear a bindi on my forehead. Hindu people wear bindi to make their face beautiful. It signifies good fortune.

My brother Guru is 9 years old. He and I go to a public school. I don't like school much because I don't have any friends yet and I don't know English well. I've been studying English since fourth grade. I am in fifth grade now. I like math, because I can do that correctly. I really miss my friends in India. I also miss my family, my teachers, and my principal.

Our house in India was different. We had three bedrooms and a kitchen. Here in Queens, we have only one bedroom and a kitchen. Also, the roads are different. Here, they are smooth. In India, they are sometimes made of stones. India's roads are crowded with people. Here they are crowded with cars instead. In India, I would see cows outside in the roads, but here there are no cows.

We drew Kolam outside the gate at our home in India. (Kolam is the art of drawing designs on the ground using brightly-colored rice powder.) "Kolam" means beauty in Tamil, the language I speak. Drawing Kolam outside your house makes it a sacred place. Kolam is like a prayer you draw. It is a prayer for success and happiness.

My father is a priest at the Hindu temple near our home here in New York. The temple is my favorite place in New York.

Since I am Hindu, I wear a bindi on my forehead. Hindu people wear bindi to make their face beautiful. It signifies good fortune.

Even though we live in the United States, we still eat Indian food. My favorite Indian food is noodles. My favorite food in America is ice cream!



Annexe 10

Worksheet reading comprehension: Testimonies

	Vandi	Sanada
Age		
Grade		
Country and city of origin		
Actual living place		
How long have they lived in their host country?		
Cause(s) of immigration		
Mother tongue		
With whom did they migrate?		
What do they like in their country of origin?		
What do they like in their new country?		
Differences between the two countries (something they do/like/dislike/miss)		

Annexe 11 : <https://www.vocabulary.cl/Lists/Feelings-Emotions.htm> (plus aéré pour les élèves)

Feelings and Emotions

Instructions: Circle or underline in each sentence the adjectives expressing an emotion.

Every morning, Sam is so enthusiastic to begin his day that he jumps out of bed and begins to sing. His mother became worried when she didn't hear from him for two days.

David is quite shy, so he doesn't like talking to people he doesn't know.

A year after being fired from his job, Alan is still very bitter. He has a lot of resentment towards his former boss.

Even though I am accustomed to traveling for business, I still get homesick if I am away from my home for more than a week.

Katie feels threatened every time her boyfriend talks to another girl. She thinks that every girl wants to steal him.

In the U.S., Thanksgiving is a holiday in which people give thanks for the blessings they have. Before the Thanksgiving meal, family members will say what they are thankful for.

I am absolutely furious!! I cannot believe that my dog chewed my favourite shoes. Now they're ruined!

Cats are so curious that they often get into trouble. Once, my cat fell into the bathtub because she wanted to know what was inside!

When Dave found out that the plumber charged him double the normal amount to fix his toilet, he felt cheated.

When Emily has a lot of work to do and feels stressed, she becomes very tense and cannot relax.

Our friend Lily makes us feel left out when she has a party but doesn't invite us.

Even in hard times when I don't have a lot of money, I stay hopeful and believe that next month will be better.

My aunts enjoy inviting me to their romance book club. I always feel trapped because I don't want to hurt their feelings by saying no, but I also don't want to go and listen to sixty-year-old women talk about romance.

As a teenager, Alexandra liked to be rebellious and defy her parents. She used to sneak out of the house after her parents fell asleep to go to parties.

When I see that puzzled look on your face, I know that you didn't understand my question.

Mr. and Mrs. Porter are very cautious about answering their door. If they are not expecting a visitor, they won't open the door.

Wow! I'm really impressed that Ashley can speak 7 languages, whereas I only speak one!

Ugh! I don't have anything to do. I'm so bored!!

It's difficult to not become discouraged while looking for a job, especially when you hand out your resume to employers and no one calls you.

After Kylie had her heart broken by her ex-boyfriend, she felt so down and blue. I tried to cheer her up, but she just wants to be sad for a while.

In many countries, American-style business tactics are perceived as too aggressive. American businessmen don't want to waste time talking about anything that doesn't pertain to business. In Asia, for example, a slower, more personal approach to doing business is preferred.

Affectionate children always want to be held in their parents' arms and receive lots of hugs and kisses.

He felt invincible and was sure that nobody would beat him.

When I found out that Santa Claus wasn't real, I was so disappointed that all of the presents really came from my parents and not the North Pole.

POSER UNE QUESTION EN ANGLAIS

3 questions essentielles à se poser avant d'écrire :

- quel auxiliaire choisir ?
- quel ordre des mots ?
- quel temps utiliser ?

Quel auxiliaire ?

-Be ou Have (got) seront à la fois auxiliaire et verbe.

-Si ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre, on utilisera Do.

- A la place de Do, on pourra trouver un auxiliaire modal : can/must/may/should...

Quel ordre des mots ?

Aux+sujet+complément = Are you English ?

Aux+sujet+verbe+complément = Do you play football ?

Can you play football ?

Mot interrogatif+auxiliaire+complément = Who is it ?

(Mot interrogatif) +auxiliaire+sujet+verbe+ (complément) = (When) did you call (me)?

Exception sans auxiliaire

Mot interrogatif + verbe = who came ? (réponse : Peter came – on remplace le pronom par la réponse)

Quel temps utiliser ?

Si l'exercice consiste à trouver la question grâce à la réponse donnée, observe bien cette réponse, et tu as juste à reprendre le temps utilisé dans la question.

S'il s'agit d'une question à poser sans indice, il te faut savoir à quoi sert le temps que tu penses utiliser :

- passé ? présent ? futur ?
- si temps présent : présent simple (habitude/vérité générale/valeur de futur) ? Présent continu (événement en train de se dérouler) ?
- si temps passé : present perfect (=bilan/constat) ? – prétérit (événement passé, daté, terminé) ?
- si temps futur: will (certitude/volonté)? Be going to (futur proche)?

Trouve les questions correspondent à l'élément souligné.

Yesterday, Sandra went to the shopping center

She bought a beautiful dress.

She got back home. She was unhappy because it was too large.

Her father phoned the shop.

He went back to the shop.

Annexe 13

https://archive.org/details/MurphyR.EnglishGrammarInUse.20124Ed._201412/page/n109/mode/2up

Exercises

49.1 Ask Joe questions. (Look at his answers before you write the questions.)

- 1 (where / live?) Where do you live?
- 2 (born there?) _____
- 3 (married?) _____
- 4 (how long / married?) _____
- 5 (children?) _____
- 6 (how old / they?) _____
- 7 (what / do?) _____
- 8 (what / wife / do?) _____

In Manchester.
No, I was born in London.
Yes.
17 years.

Yes, two boys.

12 and 15.
I'm a journalist.
She's a doctor.



Joe

49.2 Make questions with **who** or **what**.

- 1 _____ Somebody hit me.
- 2 _____ I hit somebody.
- 3 _____ Somebody paid the bill.
- 4 _____ Something happened.
- 5 _____ Diane said something.
- 6 _____ This book belongs to somebody.
- 7 _____ Somebody lives in that house.
- 8 _____ I fell over something.
- 9 _____ Something fell off the shelf.
- 10 _____ This word means something.
- 11 _____ I borrowed the money from somebody.
- 12 _____ I'm worried about something.

Who hit you?
Who did you hit?
Who _____
What _____

49.3 Put the words in brackets in the correct order. All the sentences are questions.

- 1 (when / was / built / this house) When was this house built?
- 2 (how / cheese / is / made) _____
- 3 (when / invented / the computer / was) _____
- 4 (why / Sue / working / isn't / today) _____
- 5 (what time / coming / your friends / are) _____
- 6 (why / was / cancelled / the trip) _____
- 7 (where / your mother / was / born) _____
- 8 (why / you / to the party / didn't / come) _____
- 9 (how / the accident / did / happen) _____
- 10 (why / this machine / doesn't / work) _____

49.4 Write negative questions from the words in brackets. In each situation you are surprised.

- 1 A: We won't see Lisa this evening.
B: Why not? (she / not / come / out with us?) Isn't she coming out with us?
- 2 A: I hope we don't meet Luke tonight.
B: Why? (you / not / like / him?) _____
- 3 A: Don't go and see that film.
B: Why not? (it / not / good?) _____
- 4 A: I'll have to borrow some money.
B: Why? (you / not / have / any?) _____

Annexe 14

TÂCHE FINALE: "Testimony"

Name: _____ class: _____

→ Imagine that you have graduated from high school and moved to New York City to begin your university studies. Write a letter to your family in France. Talk about your experience of immigrating to a new country, the difficulties you encountered, adapting to a new life and embracing the American culture. Describe your new place, what you like and dislike about your new country, what you miss and don't miss about your home country. Express your emotions and be creative. (250-300 words)

	A2	B1	B2
<p><u>Richesse lexicale</u> - Vocabulaire lié aux sentiments/opinion - Connecteurs logiques. - Lexique lié à l'immigration, le voyage, la pauvreté, rêve Américain, la famille, ses goûts.</p>	<p>Répertoire lexical limité mais reste intelligible.</p> <p>1/2</p>	<p>Étendue lexicale relative, nécessite l'usage de périphrases et de répétitions.</p> <p>3/4</p>	<p>Étendue du lexique et des structures sont riches et suffisantes pour permettre précision et variété des formulations.</p> <p>5/6</p>
<p><u>Correction grammaticale et syntaxique</u> - Structure des Phrases. - Prétérit - Présent de narration - Modaux et semi-modaux : habitude, capacité, obligation, interdiction - Recours à des tournures vues en classe.</p>	<p>Les structures sont correctes mais assez répétitive.</p> <p>Texte compréhensible malgré des erreurs fréquentes.</p> <p>1/2</p>	<p>Les constructions syntaxiques sont correctes.</p> <p>Bonne maîtrise des structures simples et courantes. Les erreurs sur les structures simples ne gênent pas la lecture.</p> <p>3/4</p>	<p>Les constructions syntaxiques sont correctes et variées. Bonne maîtrise des structures simples et courantes. Les erreurs sur les structures complexes ne donnent pas lieu à des malentendus.</p> <p>5/6</p>
<p><u>Orthographe et soin de la copie.</u></p>	<p>Des erreurs d'orthographe et de ponctuation/majuscule qui peuvent entravée lecture.</p> <p>1/1</p>	<p>Quelques erreurs d'orthographe et de ponctuation/majuscule mais la lecture n'est pas entravée</p> <p>1/2</p>	<p>Pas d'erreur d'orthographe et de ponctuation/majuscule. La lecture est donc aisée.</p> <p>2/3</p>
<p><u>Développement thématique et cohérence.</u></p>	<p>Le texte produit répond en partie à la consigne, certains points restent à développer. Les idées sont simples et rédigées sous la forme d'une liste de points successifs. Quelques mots de liaison simples ont été utilisés («and / but / because»).</p> <p>1/2</p>	<p>Le texte produit correspond à grande partie à la consigne. Les idées sont assez riches, rédigées de manière cohérente et elles s'enchaînent bien entre-elles. Plusieurs mots de liaison ont été utilisés.</p> <p>1/3</p>	<p>Le texte produit correspond en tout point à la consigne. Les idées sont riches, elles sont rédigées de manière cohérente et elles s'enchaînent très bien entre-elles. Mots de liaison bien utilisés.</p> <p>4/5</p>