

## The Digital Migration of Anti-Immigration Rhetoric: Anxiety, Addressivity, and Networked Public Culture

Maggie Franz

Virality, or the rapid spread of digital media across the Internet, often is thought of as the best and worst aspect of Web 2.0. Although the networked interconnectivity that facilitates virality enables ingenious marketing campaigns and new, creative forms of political activism, it also enables the spread of hoaxes, misinformation, and biased political communication. For example, the “spreadability”—the ability for media to travel across a wide range of formal and informal, large-scale and small-scale digital networks—of contemporary digital media enabled what Gabe Ignatow and Alexander T. Williams call “the anchor baby boom.”<sup>1</sup> The authors argue that “anchor baby”—a pejorative term describing the U.S. citizen child of an undocumented migrant who uses the child’s citizenship status to remain in the country—went viral in 2010 due to increased Internet traffic to “segmented,” or medium-sized politically biased, news websites (such as Newsmax) that have proliferated in the age of digital news.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, hyperlinks on segmented news websites aided the spread of the term by connecting readers from small far-right political blogs such as VDARE (the authors argue that the term’s online usage originated on this site), to large-scale digital platforms such as *The New York Times* online and Fox News online.<sup>3</sup>

According to Ignatow and Williams, the back-and-forth Web traffic pushed the term into the mainstream lexicon.<sup>4</sup> As such, the authors use database searches to show that the term was used online 10 times in 2000; 30,000 times in 2005; and 436,000 times in 2010. In 2005 the term only appeared on 441 blogs and in 2010 it appeared on 16,000. In 2010, Twitter users tweeted approximately 12 tweets mentioning “anchor baby” daily.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, *The American Heritage Dictionary* added the term in 2011, *Time Magazine* added the term to its “buzzwords of 2010” collection, and *The New York Times* added it to its

collection of buzzwords in 2006 and again in 2011.<sup>6</sup> Importantly, however, evidenced by the onslaught of draconian immigration and citizenship reforms beginning in the mid-2000s and peaking in the late-2000s, the increased usage of the term in online media coincided with a reinvigoration of anti-immigration and anti-birthright citizenship politics. Thus, the timing of the term's virality begs the question of the relationship between the virality of the term, the spreadability of new media, and anti-immigration politics. Moreover, ~~for those of concerned with social justice,~~ does the "anchor baby" case illustrate that new media lends itself to the mainstreaming of fringe politics?

This chapter attends to these questions by first providing an alternate interpretation of "anchor baby" virality. Building on Ignatow and Williams' claim that the 'cross-pollination' of writers and readers on "fringe" anti-immigration and more mainstream news websites caused the "anchor baby" to go viral, this chapter argues that we cannot grasp the rapid spread of the term unless we look at the interaction between online and offline anti-immigration political mobilization as well as how these contexts constructed the *character* of the "anchor baby" ~~as well as the term itself within a networked public culture.~~ ~~It next complicates~~ Ignatow and Williams' construction of "anchor baby" as a term with a denotative meaning, instead of as a symbol that addresses a public rhetorically. Because publics are formed through the ability to *feel addressed* by a text through the ability of seeing oneself in a text, "anchor baby" circulated widely in rightwing media because it functions as what Kenneth Burke calls a "god-term," or a term that sums up "a manifold of particulars" and forges an emotional and affective identification with a text.<sup>7</sup> Thus, by using god-terms such as "anchor baby" and "illegal alien" that stand in for various public anxieties about the demographic and political future of the United States, rightwing websites solicit a public that then carries the terms to the other digital cultures in which they participate.

The chapter concludes with an argument that scholars of digital media should take into account both the medium *and* its rhetorical messages. Thus, the "anchor baby" case illustrates ~~that~~ the proliferation of segmented news websites *and* online and offline anti-immigration rhetoric that addresses a broad array of public anxieties coalesce and work together, increasing the possibility that fringe politics will become more mainstream. Extremist politics are a product of both online and offline rhetorical situations, which elucidates that digital media presents scholars with complex rhetorical, technological, and ethical conundrums.

## ANTI-BIRTHRIGHT CITIZENSHIP POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN RIGHTWING NETWORKED PUBLIC CULTURE

In their study of how the "anchor baby" boom occurred, Ignatow and Williams outline a method of hyperlink tracing to track the spread of digital

media content from one website to another.<sup>8</sup> As mentioned above, the researchers find that segmented news websites function as a transfer point between the small rightwing blogs where the online usage of the term initiated and the mainstream frequently visited news websites.<sup>9</sup> Though this method expertly maps the increased usage of the term online, the emphasis on *online* virality occludes the simultaneous boom in offline popular support for anti-birthright citizenship legislation that occurred during the same time, as well as the interaction between online and offline anti-immigration publications.<sup>10</sup> As digital media scholars Nancy Baym and Danah Boyd claim, online and offline contexts cannot be separated from one another; “offline contexts permeate online activities, and online activities bleed endlessly back to reshape what happens offline.”<sup>11</sup> Thus, the online and offline travel of both the term and its politics necessitates an inquiry into its “virality” that can attend to more than just its online path.

Journalists first used the term “anchor baby” and “anchor child” in the 1980s to describe child refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia. John Tanton, the founder of Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), and NumbersUSA, began employing the term in the mid-1990s in his quarterly journal *The Social Contract* to describe the United States–born children of undocumented (Mexican) immigrants.<sup>12</sup> During this period, Tanton’s contemporary—Peter Brimelow—also used this new connotation of the word in his bestselling anti-immigrant treatise, *Alien Nation*.<sup>13</sup>

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, “anchor baby” began making appearances in books by relatively well-respected Columbia historian Samuel Huntington and prolific conservative politician Patrick Buchanan.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, the “anchor baby” made sporadic appearances in local newspapers, increasing in the mid to late 2000s.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, conservative think-tanks such as The Manhattan Institute began using the term in print publications.<sup>16</sup> These examples show that the offline spread of the term “anchor baby” was not confined to “fringe” rightwing print media, but instead already was a word that circulated in political, popular, and academic texts.

In addition to tracking the spread of the term itself, grasping the full spread of the term requires examining how the *character* of the “anchor baby” and his or her migrant mother was constructed and deployed in public discourse. That is, we must look beyond the word itself and interrogate how the “anchor baby problem”—that migrant women “illegally” migrate with the sole purpose of having a citizen child and exploiting the welfare system—was shaped and circulated in rightwing media. Although U.S. immigration policy and discourse always have aimed to restrict migrant reproduction as well as migrants’ ability to become “burdens of the state,” the “anchor baby” discourse is a particular iteration of anti-immigration discourse that specifically problematizes Latina and especially Mexican women’s reproduction in the context of

undocumented and criminalized migration.<sup>17</sup> As such, during the mid-1990s, the anti-immigrant rhetoric supporting California's Proposition 187, or the "Save Our State" referendum and the Welfare Reform Act of 1996 mobilized the *figure* of the "anchor baby" by citing the overly fecund migrant mother and her citizen child as national threats who were abusing state resources.<sup>18</sup> Both of these legal measures employed rhetoric constructing Mexican and Latina migrants and their children as overly reliant on public resources, and thus they advocated for barring migrants from receiving public entitlements and services including non-emergency healthcare, welfare, and public school education.<sup>19</sup> The overt focus on migrant mothers and their citizen and non-citizen children led to a series of referendums and bills proposed in other states that attempted to bar migrant women from receiving prenatal care and to bar their children from receiving any sort of state benefits.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the "anchor baby" discourse spread from California to multiple other states around the country, infiltrating local and national conservative political platforms.

The character of the "anchor baby" goes back even further than the 1990s, however. Legal theorist Priscilla Huang argues that the inception of the "anchor baby" term transcends the resurgence of anti-immigration campaigning in the 1990s.<sup>21</sup> Huang claims that the current connotation of the word emerges from two interconnected anti-immigration movements that have their beginnings in late 1960s. The first is the Zero Population Growth (ZPG) movement, headed by Paul Ehrlich and mobilized by his incendiary 1968 book *The Population Bomb*. Population control advocates claim that supposedly out-of-control immigrant birthrates drain public resources and burden the environment. The second anti-immigration movement is a white supremacist nativist movement headed by rightwing pundits such as Patrick Buchanan, Michelle Malkin, John Tanton, and Peter Brimelow, as well as organizations such as VDARE, NumbersUSA, FAIR, and the CIS. These two facets of the anti-immigration movement are closely intertwined, and many proponents of population control also incite panic about the changing racial makeup of the nation. John Tanton, for example, is the founder of FAIR, a group which primarily focuses on population control, but he is also editor of the nativist periodical *The Social Contract* as well as the nativist think-tank the CIS. Figures such as Tanton show that the broader anti-immigration movement is concerned with both the perceived diminishment of native white hegemony and the perceived out-of-control reproduction of women of color, which they believe contributes to the depletion of white supremacy and state and natural resources.

Although all of the rhetoric constructing the "Save Our State" campaign and earlier campaigns concerning environmentalism and white nativism might not have explicitly named the "anchor baby,"—though many did use the term—the rhetoric deployed in these movements constructed the

character of the “anchor baby.” By constructing the children of migrants as criminal equals to their parents, the “anchor baby” was synecdochically related to figures such as the “illegal alien” and the overly reproductive migrant mother through its ideological and textual relation to these terms in anti-immigration texts. Kenneth Burke defines “metonymy” as a reduction, and “synecdoche” as the device that reduces and thus represents.<sup>22</sup> Synecdoche is “an integral relationship, a relationship of convertibility, between two terms”; metonymy is a one-way relationship of connectedness between terms.<sup>23</sup> The migrant child was synecdochically represented in terms of the constructed criminality of his or her parents through language that decried the future crime and degeneration resulting from too many citizen children.

Conservative journalist Heather Mac Donald for example wrote that “the public dislikes the effect on local communities of large numbers of poor Mexicans and their progeny, legal or not. Some of the effects, such as crime, worsen dramatically from the first to the second generation of Mexicans, who not only are legal but are American citizens.”<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the parent—and especially the mother—was synecdochically represented in terms of the “anchor baby” through language that constructed migrant women as conniving welfare queens who were using their citizen children to get welfare. Peter Brimelow, for example, wrote, “Unquestionably, the largest loophole in welfare-eligibility provisions, however, is the birthright-citizenship provision of the Fourteenth Amendment.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, the diverse and fragmented right-wing rhetoric supporting welfare reform, Proposition 187, population control, and nativist anti-immigration all mobilized the figure of the overly fecund Mexican migrant woman through the deployment of the term “anchor baby,” and the figure of the “anchor baby” was mobilized through the figure of the overly fecund migrant mother. Through these discourses, the meaning of “anchor baby” was more or less able to solidify in rightwing rhetoric, as the children of undocumented migrants were constructed as future “illegal aliens” and as tools of migrant invasion that undocumented women use to obtain welfare and bring over more family members through immigration sponsorship.

Evidenced by Peter Brimelow’s comment about the Fourteenth Amendment, the “anchor baby” articulated much more than just the figure of perverse reproduction, but also began articulating a reformist project to reinterpret the birthright citizenship clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to restrict the children of undocumented migrants from becoming citizens.<sup>26</sup> During the mid-1990s, the long-standing debate over birthright citizenship was reignited as politicians and pundits advocated for reinterpreting the citizenship clause of the 14th Amendment to exclude migrant women’s U.S.-born children from citizenship—constructing it as a “magnet” pulling more and more migrants over the border.<sup>27</sup>

In 1995, Elton Gallegly of California proposed legislation denying birth-right citizenship to migrant women's children "to discourage pregnant aliens from entering the country illegally in order to have their babies delivered free of charge and become U.S. citizens eligible for an array of benefits."<sup>28</sup> Two years earlier, the governor of California, Pete Wilson, made a similar comment, decrying that "The 14th Amendment to the Constitution was never intended to be a reward for illegal immigration."<sup>29</sup> Subsequently, the Fourteenth Amendment was rearticulated in rightwing media as "the anchor baby loophole" by Tanton, the "anchor baby racket" by Buchanan, and later as "the 'anchor baby' Amendment" by Fox & Friends.<sup>30</sup> The arguments against the current interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment are not exclusive to rightwing media, however; they all cite Yale law professor Peter Schuck and political scientist Rogers Smith's *Citizenship Without Consent*. The book outlines an argument against *jus soli* citizenship for the children of undocumented migrants.<sup>31</sup> The multiple sources of the "anchor baby's" redefinition and subsequent signification show that the word and its politics were used and circulated in a much wider sphere than just fringe blogs such as VDARE.

The trajectory of contemporary anti-immigration mobilization in relation to the term's use is outlined here to show that a vibrant rightwing public culture already was in place by the time Tanton, Brimelow, Buchanan, and other rightwing pundits in the 2000s began writing about the topic in online publications on their respective blogs, "The Social Contract" (Tanton), "VDare" (Brimelow), and "Patrick J. Buchanan" (Buchanan), which Ignatow and Williams name as the "patient zeros" of "anchor baby" virality.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, best-selling rightwing pundits like Michelle Malkin, Ann Coulter, and Andrew Breitbart began to blog during the same period, posting commentaries about "anchor babies" on Tanton, Brimelow, and Buchanan's blogs as well as on their own.

Therefore, to grasp *how* the "anchor baby" was able to spread so readily online requires consideration that the term was constructed within a vibrant networked public culture that organized (and organizes) in relation to diverse anti-immigration texts and sentiments. Michael Warner defines a public as a collective characterized by stranger relationality that self-organizes in relation to texts and their circulation, existing "by virtue of being addressed."<sup>33</sup> In the case of "anchor baby," a rightwing public—organized in relation to the production and circulation of anti-immigration, anti-welfare, and at times rightwing environmentalist texts—appropriated the term and began using it to describe the purported "problem" of migrant reproduction and birthright citizenship. Importantly, however, this rightwing anti-immigration public organized in relation to print-based and online publications, incorporating the online platforms of blogging, commenting on news websites, and employing social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter to further circulate and

spread texts, converting it into what Baym and Boyd call “socially mediated publicness.”<sup>34</sup>

According to Baym and Boyd, social media has vastly increased the potential scale and penetrability of “publicness.” They claim that “there are more layers of publicness available to those using networked media than ever before” which brings “into being multiple and diverse kinds of publics, counter-publics, and other emergent social arrangements.”<sup>35</sup> The connectivity and speed of networked media illuminates why Ignatow and Williams locate their scene of analysis solely in cyberspace. Cyberspace speeds up the spread of messages and therefore produces what is referred to as “virality.” Although media infrastructures provide opportunities or technological affordances for the rapid spread of data to more diverse groups of people than ever was possible before, the capability of online media to circulate digital phenomena in an unprecedented fashion does not necessarily prove Ignatow and Williams’ point that the traffic to and from segmented news sites *caused* the “anchor baby boom.” Baym and Boyd, as well as Jenkins, Ford, and Green, point out that the vast majority of online information circulated in the same social networks that spur viral media never cause a stir and certainly never go viral.<sup>36</sup> That an immense amount of media never “infect” a significant amount of people demonstrates that the digital medium of segmented news websites itself is not sufficient cause for virality. Thus, other aspects of “anchor baby” virality must be examined, not to prove a causal relationship—which is impossible—but to complicate the “good” and “bad” qualities that are attributed to virality and new media.

### **METAPHOR AND ADDRESSIVITY: “ANCHOR BABY” AS A NODE OF IDENTIFICATION**

Thus far, this chapter has described a larger, multimodal networked public culture in which the “anchor baby boom” occurred to complicate—though not refute—Ignatow and Williams’ focus on cyberspace. The term is analyzed not just as a word that conveys information about migrant motherhood and citizenship, but as a symbol that *addresses* its public, perpetuating the rightwing public formation that circulates and spreads the term online and offline. Such an analysis involves examining how the “anchor baby” functions as an affectively charged “god-term” that elicits identification with rightwing social imaginaries.

As Michael Warner makes clear, publics exist by virtue of being addressed by a text.<sup>37</sup> For both Lauren Berlant and Chris Lundberg, members of a public feel addressed by a text when recognizing a shared world view, or a shared imagination.<sup>38</sup> According to Lundberg, “attention to a singular text does not create a public *ex nihilo*: members of a public pay attention to a text because

it solicits them, trading on investments, that, although manifest in a text, precede and organize a public's attention to it."<sup>39</sup> One way that the circulation of texts solicits its readers is by the ability of readers "to find imaginary points of commonality, define themselves, and demarcate the bounds of their identities relative to those who are presumed to be inside and/or those marked as outside."<sup>40</sup> The imagination, as the architecture of a public, fosters affiliation through providing a sense of one's place in the world. A shared imagination, or what Cornelius Castoriadis defines as a schema for conceiving of reality as coherent, closed, and determinate, ~~which~~ holds a public together by providing not only grounds for shared identarian claims, but also ontological logics necessary to *feel* addressed by certain texts.<sup>41</sup> Thus, social imaginaries are akin to orientations for Kenneth Burke in that they are tacit agreements about actions, feelings, and terms of address that are never explicitly thematized, but nevertheless are followed and policed.

The previous section describes some of the components of a rightwing anti-immigration imagination through a description of the social and political movements that reappropriated the term, assigning it an activist problematic. That is, the nativist anti-immigration movement, the rightwing conservationist movement, and anti-welfare movements share a common imagination of national life in which members of these movements feel that the United States is being invaded by criminal immigrants from the Global South who wish to exploit the nation's natural and economic resources. According to this imagination, to preserve both the material resources allocated to citizens and the racial and sentimental attachments articulated with U.S. citizenship, migrant women who bear children in the United States must be stopped. As such, "anchor baby" texts address the publics that circulate them because they use terms that construct this imagination, thus forging connections between strangers because of the assumption that consumers of a text "*already* share a worldview and emotional knowledge that they have derived from a broadly common historical experience."<sup>42</sup>

Importantly, the term "anchor baby" is symbolically able to articulate a rightwing imagination that solicits a public because it functions as a "god-term." According to Burke, god-terms are words in which "we can posit a world."<sup>43</sup> "God-terms" are "'Rome' terms to which all roads lead," though not in any simple or uniform manner.<sup>44</sup> "God-terms" are words such as "freedom" that signify an imagination, and thus invite a sense of publicness that signals shared feelings and shared orientations. "God-terms" elicit identification, which is Burke's key term for rhetoric. Burke claims that, though rhetoric traditionally has been associated with "persuasion," "identification" is a necessary extension to a philosophy of rhetoric.<sup>45</sup>

To illustrate both the connection between identification and persuasion, Burke claims that, "persuasion ranges from the bluntest quest of advantage . . .

through courtship, social etiquette, education, and the sermon, to a . . . form that delights in process of appeal for itself alone, without ulterior purpose . . . identification ranges from the politician who, addressing an audience of farmers, says, 'I was a farm boy myself,' through the mysteries of social status, to the mystic's devout identification with the source of all being."<sup>46</sup> Thus, persuasion and identification are two sides of the same rhetorical coin. As such, "god-terms" provide a "road" to identification and persuasion because they encompass many diverse and contradictory motives from the relational realm of courtship to the formal realm of identification with a God. Thus, "anchor baby" invites identification with a rightwing imagination because it encompasses orientations towards not only illegality, monstrosity, and criminality, but also the preciousness of American citizenship and the defense of the nation's boundaries.

Importantly, "god-terms" do not only posit worlds, they posit feelings and orientations towards worlds through the affective components of any symbolic phenomena. Thus, affect, or what Brian Massumi calls "unqualified intensity," is a central component of cultivating and recognizing a shared imagination because affect is integral to persuasion and the creation of meaningful connections with texts.<sup>47</sup> For Burke, the affective and corporeal realm of human life is a crucial site of persuasion, or of responding to symbolic phenomena.<sup>48</sup> Burke names two distinct communicative modes of representation—the "psychology of information" and the "psychology of form."<sup>49</sup> Information refers to the transmission of meaning, and form refers to "the expressive structure of communication and actualized through the effect it produces on the receiver."<sup>50</sup> Importantly, for Burke, "the real force of text resides not just automatically but autonomically in the affective, embodied response it provokes separate from the content or ostensible subject."<sup>51</sup> Thus, persuasion resides in the form and in the intensity of communication. This leads Jeff Pruchnic to connect Burke's theory of form with contemporary theories of affect that see affect as working parallel to and in tandem with the content features of discourse. Although Burke is addressing form and affect by talking about art and literature, popular and mundane forms of communication—like those that construct the "anchor baby"—similarly rely on a psychology of form to address readers and thus enter into mass circulation, eventually becoming part of dominant vocabularies about migration.

This chapter has outlined the role of the term "anchor baby" as a "god-term" that symbolically and affectively addresses a rightwing public's imagination to convey that the term solicits participation, which, the author argues, is a crucial component of its virality. Though not considering the "anchor baby's" status as a symbol and an affectively charged "god-term" that elicits identification with a text, Ignatow and Williams are able to claim that increased readership of segmented news websites *caused* the term to go viral. Such a claim—though by no means incorrect—elides the participatory aspect

of any networked public culture that is much more complex than just the affordances of the medium it uses.<sup>52</sup> Thus, it can be argued that another way to interpret “anchor baby’s” virality is to view it as a word that solicited public identification and thus, formation and participation both online and offline.

Because “anchor baby” is a term that encompasses an entire emotional and ideological worldview towards immigration, it functions as an argumentative word that quickly forges identification with the hearing public. As discussed in the previous section, the participatory aspect of public culture is evident in politicians and pundits’ use of the word to refer to the “problem” of the 14th Amendment and the overall “problem” of undocumented migration in the welfare state. Online, the participatory aspect of the word is evident in comments that employ the word on both rightwing and mainstream websites, effectively spreading the word without the use of hyperlinks. For example, the top comment on a *Wall Street Journal Online* article about the attempt to reinterpret the 14th Amendment is from “DAVE FRANCIS,” who opens his multi-paragraph comment by saying, “Parents stay and then have more babies that the taxed-out American is forced to pay for anchor babies.”<sup>53</sup> DAVE FRANCIS then goes on to link to NumbersUSA, John Tanton’s restrictionist organization, bringing the “anchor baby” saga full-circle from fringe rightwing print journal, *The Social Contract*, to lobbying and research organizations such as NumbersUSA, FAIR, and CIS, to *The Wall Street Journal*.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter attempts to augment the mapping of “anchor baby” virality through an engagement with rhetorical theories. As such, although the rhetorical analysis by no means provides a perfect or a full view of an instance of virality, it *does* provide an alternate perspective to the dominant mode of doing digital media analysis. The chapter first shows how the virality of “anchor baby” online resulted from the entwinement of the term’s use in a networked public culture organized around online and offline anti-immigration texts. It then showed that viewing the term as rhetoric that addresses a public illuminates how the term functions as a “god-term” that forges identification with a text. Through the use of affectively charged “god-terms” such as “anchor baby” and “illegal alien,” rightwing websites solicit a public that will participate and circulate texts that employ the term to the other digital cultures that these publics encounter online. In other words, segmented news websites have not necessarily made rightwing politics more popular as much as they have provided one more medium through which a public culture can organize and circulate shared meanings.

In conclusion, the “anchor baby” case does not demonstrate that the proliferation of segmented news websites in the new media age of digital news

causes the spread of fringe rightwing politics. As Jenkins, Ford, and Green point out in their study of “spreadable media,” the faster and easier circulation of new media does not guarantee audience participation nor does it guarantee that anyone actually will pay attention and *listen* to media products.<sup>54</sup> The “anchor baby” case is evidence that active participation in the circulation of digital media depends on multiple social, political, economic, technological, historical, and symbolic factors. Because new media is much more “spreadable” than older forms of media in that it provides technological affordances for linking and spreading information in digital networks, however, segmented news websites *ease* the spread of fringe politics. They ensure that people who feel addressed by such politics encounter networked publics within which to participate. As such, the myriad of ethical and political debates that digital media instigates are only partially ruminated when only looking online. Instead, to adequately confront the unsavory politics that flourish in digital networks, scholars must investigate the blurry boundaries between online and offline public cultures.

## NOTES

1. Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture* (New York: NYU Press, 2013); Gabe Ignatow and Alexander T. Williams, “New Media and the ‘Anchor Baby’ Boom,” *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 17, no. 1 (2011): 60–76.

2. Newsmax is a right-leaning news website akin to Fox News online. They re-post news reports from the Associated Press as well as Reuters and they also publish original posts from “insiders” including well-known commenters like Charles Krauthammer, David Limbaugh, Fareed Zakaria, and Rich Lowry. They have a Google PageRank of 6 out of 10 and a large Twitter presence with 16 million followers.

3. Ignatow and Williams, “New Media and the ‘Anchor Baby’ Boom.” VDARE is an anti-multiculturalist blog founded by journalist Peter Brimelow. Named for Virginia Dare, the first Anglo born in what is now the United States, the blog features commentaries by other prominent rightwing pundits like Patrick Buchanan, Michelle Malkin, James Fulford and Paul Gottfried. Ignatow and Williams report that in 2005 VDARE had a Google PageRank of 6 out of 10. In 2015, its PageRank has fallen to 5 out of 10. This could be due to the proliferation of rightwing blogs as well as the occasional paywall that VDARE erects after not receiving enough donations to keep afloat. In contrast, Foxnews.com has a PageRank of 8 and nytimes.com has a PageRank of 9.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, 60.

6. Dennis Baron, “Defining ‘Anchor Baby,’” *The Web of Language*, December 9, 2011, <https://illinois.edu/blog/view/25/64516>; Grant Barrett, “Glossary,” *The New York Times*, December 24, 2006, sec. Week in Review, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/24/weekinreview/24barrett.html>; Ignatow and Williams, “New Media and the ‘Anchor Baby’ Boom.”

7. Kenneth Burke, *The Rhetoric of Religion* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1961), 3.
8. Ignatow and Williams, "New Media and the 'Anchor Baby' Boom."
9. Ibid.
10. Allison S. Hartry, "Birthright Justice: The Attack on Birthright Citizenship and Immigrant Women of Color," *New York University Review of Law & Social Change* 36, no. 1 (2012): 57–102.
11. Nancy Baym and Dana Boyd, "Socially Mediated Publicness: An Introduction," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 56, no. 3 (2012): 327.
12. Mark Arax (1987) in an article for *The Los Angeles Times Magazine* uses the term "anchor babies" to describe Vietnamese refugees. One of the first uses of "anchor baby" that refers to the U.S. citizen children of undocumented migrants occurs in Wayne Lutton's 1996 article "Anchor Babies" in John Tanton's quarterly journal *The Social Contract*. The subsequent issue of *The Social Contract* was titled "The Anchor Baby Loophole" and featured articles describing the "anchor baby" problematic by Schuck and Smith (1996), and Tanton (1996). This chapter specifies that "undocumented" often codifies a Mexican or Latin American ethnicity because in popular (and especially rightwing) discourse the two terms are either equated or presented as intimately connected. See De Genova (2005) or Chavez (2008) for excellent analyses of the construction of illegality as Mexican in popular media and legal discourses.
13. Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1996).
14. Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004); Patrick J. Buchanan, *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2002); Patrick J. Buchanan, *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2006).
15. Ignatow and Williams, "New Media and the 'Anchor Baby' Boom."
16. Heather Mac Donald, "Hispanic Family Values?," *City Journal*, Autumn 2006.
17. See Eithne Luibhéid (2002; 2013) for an excellent historical analysis of the intersections of sexuality, race, and immigration law.
18. Leo R. Chavez, *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation*, 1st ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001); Leo R. Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); Elena R. Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction* (University of Texas Press, 2008).
19. Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters*, 113.
20. Other states that proposed similar legislation include: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, and Texas. Recently North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama passed similar legislation.
21. Priscilla Huang, "Anchor Babies, Over-Breeders, and the Population Bomb: The Reemergence of Nativism and Population Control in Anti-Immigration Policies," *Harvard Law & Policy Review* 2 (2008): 385–406.
22. Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (New York: George Braziller, 1955), 506–507.
23. Ibid., 508.

24. Heather Mac Donald, "Seeing Today's Immigrants Straight," in *The Immigration Solution: A Better Plan Than Today's*, edited by Heather Mac Donald, Victor Davis Hanson, and Steven Malanga (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2007), 53.
25. Brimelow, *Alien Nation*, 149.
26. By using "articulate" I am referring to Stuart Hall's (1985) use of the word to refer to how different things and people are made to connect to each other through discursive struggles of meaning. According to Hall articulation performs the work of making a connection between arbitrary elements seem natural and necessary.
27. Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters*, 114.
28. Jonathon P. Decker, "Lawmakers Look to Revoke Automatic Citizenship Law," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 27, 1995, 3.
29. Pete Wilson, "Crackdown on Illegals," *USA Today*, August 20, 1993, sec. A.
30. John Tanton, "Jumping the Queue," *The Social Contract Press*, "Anchor Babies" - The Citizen-Child Loophole, 7, no. 1 (1996): 1; John Tanton, Denis McCormack, and Joseph Wayne Smith, eds., *Immigration and the Social Contract: The Implosion of Western Societies* (London: Avebury, 1996); Buchanan, *The Death of the West*; Buchanan, *State of Emergency*; Adam Shah, "Fox Dismisses the 14th Amendment as the 'Anchor Baby Amendment,'" *Media Matters for America*, accessed October 2, 2012, <http://mediamatters.org/blog/2010/08/04/fox-dismisses-the-14th-amendment-as-the-anchor/168745>.
31. Peter H. Schuck and Rogers M. Smith, *Citizenship Without Consent: Illegal Aliens in the American Policy* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1985).
32. Ignatow and Williams, "New Media and the 'Anchor Baby' Boom."
33. Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Press, 2002), 67.
34. Baym and Boyd, "Socially Mediated Publicness: An Introduction," 320.
35. *Ibid.* 321; 322.
36. Baym and Boyd, "Socially Mediated Publicness: An Introduction" Jenkins, Ford, and Green, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*.
37. Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*.
38. Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Christian O Lundberg, *Lacan in Public: Psychoanalysis and the Science of Rhetoric* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2012).
39. Lundberg, *Lacan in Public: Psychoanalysis and the Science of Rhetoric*, 152.
40. *Ibid.*, 128.
41. Cornelius Castoriadis, *World in Fragments: Writings on Politics, Society, Psychoanalysis, and the Imagination*, trans. David Ames Curtis (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).
42. Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture*, viii.
43. Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 105.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969).
46. *Ibid.*, xiv.

47. Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).
48. Jeff Pruchnic, "Rhetoric, Cybernetics, and the Work of the Body in Burke's Body of Work," *Rhetoric Review* 25, no. 3 (2006): 281.
49. Pruchnic, "Rhetoric, Cybernetics, and the Work of the Body in Burke's Body of Work."
50. Ibid., 281.
51. Ibid., 282.
52. Jenkins, Ford, and Green, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*.
53. James C. Ho, "Birthright Citizenship and the 14th Amendment," *The Wall Street Journal Online*, January 5, 2011, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203731004576045380685742092>.
54. Jenkins, Ford, and Green, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arax, Mark. (1987, December 13). "A Profile of a Lost Generation." *The Los Angeles Times Magazine*: 12.
- Baron, Dennis. 2011. "Defining 'Anchor Baby.'" *The Web of Language*. Accessed December 9, 2011. <https://illinois.edu/blog/view/25/64516>.
- Barrett, Grant. (2006, December 24). "Glossary." *The New York Times*. Week in Review. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/24/weekinreview/24barrett.html>.
- Baym, Nancy, and Danah Boyd. 2012. "Socially Mediated Publicness: An Introduction." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 56, no. 3: 327.
- Berlant, Lauren. 2008. *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Brimelow, Peter. *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1996).
- Buchanan, Patrick J. 2002. *The Death of the West* (New York: St Martin's Press).
- Buchanan, Patrick J. 2006. *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America* (New York: St. Martin's Press).
- Burke, Kenneth. 1969. *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
- Burke, Kenneth. 1961. *The Rhetoric of Religion* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press), 3.
- Burke, Kenneth. 1955. *A Grammar of Motives* (New York: George Braziller), 506–507.
- Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1997. *World in Fragments: Writings on Politics, Society, Psychoanalysis, and the Imagination*, translated by David Ames Curtis (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press).
- Chavez, Leo R. 2001. *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation*, 1st ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
- Chavez, Leo R. 2008. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press).

- Decker, Jonathon P. "Lawmakers Look to Revoke Automatic Citizenship Law." *Christian Science Monitor* (December 27, 1995), 3.
- Gutiérrez, Elena R. 2008. *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction* (University of Texas Press).
- Hartry, Allison S. 2012. "Birthright Justice: The Attack on Birthright Citizenship and Immigrant Women of Color." *New York University Review of Law & Social Change* 36, no. 1: 57–102.
- Ho, James C. 2011. "Birthright Citizenship and the 14th Amendment." *The Wall Street Journal Online*. Updated January 5, 2011. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203731004576045380685742092>.
- Huang, Priscilla. 2008. "Anchor Babies, Over-Breeders, and the Population Bomb: The Reemergence of Nativism and Population Control in Anti-Immigration Policies." *Harvard Law & Policy Review* 2: 385–406.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster).
- Ignatow, Gabe, and Alexander T. Williams. 2011. "New Media and the 'Anchor Baby' Boom." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 17, no. 1: 60–76.
- Jenkins, Henry, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green. 2013. *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture* (New York: NYU Press).
- Luibhéid, Eithne. 2002. *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press).
- Luibhéid, Eithne. 2013. *Pregnant on Arrival: Making the Illegal Immigrant* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press).
- Lundberg, Christian O. 2012. *Lacan in Public: Psychoanalysis and the Science of Rhetoric* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press), 152.
- Lutton, Wayne. 1996. "Anchor Babies." *The Social Contract*.
- Mac Donald, Heather. 2006. "Hispanic Family Values?" *City Journal* (Autumn).
- Mac Donald, Heather. 2007. "Seeing Today's Immigrants Straight," in *The Immigration Solution: A Better Plan Than Today's*, edited by Heather Mac Donald, Victor Davis Hanson, and Steven Malanga (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee), 53.
- Massumi, Brian. 2002. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Pruchnic, Jeff. 2006. "Rhetoric, Cybernetics, and the Work of the Body in Burke's Body of Work," *Rhetoric Review* 25, no. 3: 281.
- Schuck, Peter H., and Rogers M. Smith. 1985. *Citizenship Without Consent: Illegal Aliens in the American Policy* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press).
- Shah, Adam. August 4, 2010. "Fox Dismisses the 14th Amendment as the 'Anchor Baby Amendment.'" *Media Matters for America*. Accessed October 2, 2012. <http://mediamatters.org/blog/2010/08/04/fox-dismisses-the-14th-amendment-as-the-anchor/168745>.
- Tanton, John. 1996. "Jumping the Queue," *The Social Contract Press*, "Anchor Babies"—The Citizen-Child Loophole 7, no. 1: 1.
- Tanton, John, Denis McCormack, and Joseph Wayne Smith eds. 1996. *Immigration and the Social Contract: The Implosion of Western Societies* (London: Avebury).
- Warner, Michael. 2002. *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Press), 67.
- Wilson, Pete. 1993. "Crackdown on Illegals." *USA Today* (August 20), sec. A.



## **Part III**

# Community and Globalization

