A Corpus-based Analysis of American Bipartisanship Discourse on Immigrants from 2016–2023

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Abstract—Immigration is an important issue in the political game between the two parties in the United States, and it is also a basic variable affecting the national governance and political development of the United States. This paper uses the single corpus Antconc method to comb the immigration-related discourses in news articles and policy documents supporting the respective websites of the two US political parties from 2016 to 2023 to build a corpus. On the basis of combing and analyzing the high-frequency substantive words, keywords, adjective collocation and modal verb collocation in the two parties' immigration discourse in the corpus, it is found that there are triple tension disputes between the two parties in the United States on the immigration policy, including values, economic interests and partisan politics. It is the different positions of the two parties on the immigration issue that aggravate the debate on the immigration issue, making the immigration policy in the United States gradually become polarized, and then lead to the politicization of identity politics and veto.

Keywords—democratic party, republican party, immigration discourse, polarization

I. INTRODUCTION

The issue of immigration is one of the controversial issues during all political party elections in the U.S. In 2016, economic depression and social unrest in several Central American countries, coupled with natural disasters, led to millions of migrants from the Central American region attempting to cross the border to the United States. Illegal immigration at the border brought multiple pressures to the United States, making immigration one of the issues in the 2016 U.S. presidential election. During the election campaign, Republican Trump sought scapegoats for the social crisis in the United States and attacked and blamed illegal immigrants, inciting illegal immigrants to be criminals, drug traffickers, moral degenerates, job competitors, etc., and advocating the theory of the futility of immigration. After the Trump administration came to power, it took a variety of extreme measures to restrict the entry of illegal immigrants into the country, including controlling the number of immigrant applications, and implementing policies such as the "ban on Muslims" and "zero tolerance".2021, the Democratic Party Biden came to power, and showed an open attitude and "softness" in its immigration policy. In 2021, the Democrats will take office, and their immigration policy will be characterized by openness and "softness", which will intensify the border problem. The number of illegal immigrants continues to rise, leading to a sudden increase in pressure on the border, and the security of the homeland is threatened. In the U.S. public and the two parties together under pressure, the immigration issue continues to impact on the current U.S. government, and has become an important tool for the political game of the two parties.

In May 2023, the Republican-run states of Texas, Arizona, and Florida on the southern border of the United States sent captured illegal immigrants to President Biden's hometown of Delaware, Vice President Harris's official residence in Washington, D.C., and to the Democratic-run cities where illegal immigrants are sanctuaries, New York, and Chicago, to engage in a political party gaming game with the Democratic Party authorities for illegal immigrants. More than three million illegal immigrants have entered the U.S. in the year or so since the Democrats came to power. There are at least 15 million illegal immigrants in the U.S., and the net cost of illegal immigration reaches $150.7 billion annually [1]. The massive influx of illegal immigrants has brought law and order and economic pressures to American society, put U.S. border cities on the verge of collapse, and has become an important issue in U.S. political party gaming and governance.

Currently, academic research on U.S. immigration is mainly concerned with the following: Sorting out the historical changes in U.S. immigration policy and the effects [2]. The relationship between immigration and racism in the United States [3]. The logic between U.S. immigration and foreign policy [4]. The U.S. immigration governance dilemma [5]. Few of the above studies have addressed bipartisan immigration-related discourse. The identification and analysis of discourse is an important methodology in the social sciences. Starting from the dual interaction between discourse and society, discourse analysis mainly focuses on the contextual factors of discourse utilization, i.e., "pragmatics", and the internal meanings of discourse, i.e., "semantics", and emphasizes the revelation of the events, directions, and wills behind the complexity of discourse, emphasizing on revealing the eventful, directional, willful and evaluative factors behind the complex discourse and the interaction among them, so that the discourse can guide the values and shape the consciousness according to the actual needs of social construction [6]. In Foucault's view, discourse is a discursive practice carried out in the conscious choice of a specific time and social context, and the discursive practice is reflected in the discursive subject, the principle of discursive expression, the discursive advancement of a series of elements such as the role of generating a network of relationships [7]. Discourse reflects social existence and social relations, and at the same time dynamically constructs social existence and social relations. In other words, the essence of discourse analysis is to analyze

its internal discourse principles and forms of discourse practice [8]. This paper compiles the policy documents and news articles of the two parties' immigration-related discourse from 2016 to 2023. The policy documents and news articles, as a direction of discourse, reflect, describe and construct social entities and social relations. Antconc single corpus software is used to compare the commonality and individuality, attitude and emotion of the two parties' immigration-related discourses in policy documents and news articles, and to analyze the discursive practices presented in the immigration-related discourses of social subjects of the two parties.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses the websites of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), the Democratic National Committee, the Republican-National-Committee, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the Fox News Channel, the New York Times, and the Cable News Network, which publish immigration-related articles. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Fox News, The New York Times, and Cable News Network (CNN), which publish immigration-related news articles and policy documents. The official website news articles and policy documents were selected to be categorized as immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers for the time span of 2016-2023.Three corpus sub-corpora were established with the U.S. Democrats and Republicans, U.S. Republicans, and U.S. Democrats' immigration-related discourse, and each sub-corpora was further subdivided into the news articles and policy documents sections. In the 2016-2023 U.S. Democrats' and Republicans' immigration-related discourse corpus, the There are 323 total documents, 486,854 formants, 285 articles, and 38 policy documents. The total number of documents in the Democratic Party's immigration-related discourse corpus is 164, the number of articles is 151, the number of policy documents is 13, and the number of morphemes is 1,98794. The total number of documents in the Republican Party's immigration-related discourse corpus is 189, the number of morphemes is 283,760, the number of articles is 164, and the number of policy documents is 25. This is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Composition of the corpus of US Democratic and Republican immigration-related discourse 2016-2023.

Corpus name	Number of documents	Number of valid characters
A Corpus of U.S. Democratic and Republican Immigration-Related Discourse	323	486854
A Corpus of U.S. Democratic Party Discourse on Immigration	164	198794
A Corpus of U.S. Republican Party Discourse on Immigration	189	283760

Note: The number of morphemes refers to the total number of words in the corpus.

This study utilizes the method of critical discourse analysis, which is derived from critical linguistics, which focuses on textual vocabulary, word collocation, and transitivity in order to analyze the conceptual meaning of words or clauses and elucidate the social significance expressed by language. Critical discourse analysis, as a qualitative analytical method, is used to describe and explain the use of discourse in context and how discursive power confronts and controls group thought and action, with obvious ideological characteristics [9]. Based on the framework of critical discourse analysis, we analyze the two parties' immigration-related discourse texts from the perspectives of high-frequency real words, key words and word collocation to explain their discourse practices and social practice. Python is used to crawl the information and build a corpus of bipartisan immigration-related discourse in the U.S. Secondly, irrelevant information is sifted out and the main text is retained. Second, sift out irrelevant information and keep the main text; sift out words that are not related to immigration and the two parties. Again, three corpora are built and the top 20 high-frequency real words, keywords, and immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers collocated with adjectives and modal verbs are exported by Antconc software.

First, in the U.S. Democratic and Republican Party discourse corpus related to immigration, the U.S. Democratic Party discourse corpus related to immigration, the U.S. Republican Party discourse corpus related to immigration, search for the words asylum seeker(-s), immigrant(-s), immigration) refugee(-s) frequency, to observe the two parties' importance to immigration. Secondly, we analyze the real words, adjectives, modal verbs of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, as well as the lines quoted by immigrants, in order to see the emotions and attitudes of the two parties towards immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, summarize the opinions, emotions and attitudes of the two parties in the United States in the issues related to immigrants, and predict the strategies of the future governance of the immigrants, illustrate the social practice of the discourse of immigrants in the United States, and explore the relationship between this discourse and the two parties, as well as reveal the logic of development behind it. Explore the relationship between this discourse practice and the two parties, and reveal the development logic behind it.

III. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF BIPARTISAN DISCOURSE ON IMMIGRATION

The frequency of words related to asylum seeker(-s), immigrant(-s), and refugee(-s) were searched in the established Democratic and Republican databases on Antconc software, as shown in Table 2. Democrats and Republicans use words about immigrants more frequently than refugees and asylum seekers, and Republicans use words about immigrants, refugees and asylum more frequently than Democrats in news articles and policy papers.

Table 2. Raw frequency of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees

	Republican party		Democratic party	
Words in articles	Words in policy documents		Words in articles	Words in policy documents
asylum seeker(-s)	1272	657	798	467
immigrant(-s)	1987	782	1278	432
refugee(-s)	1379	342	529	231

IV. ANALYSIS OF HIGH-FREQUENCY WORDS AND KEYWORDS IN BIPARTISAN U.S. IMMIGRATION-RELATED DISCOURSE

The high-frequency words and keywords (top 20) of the bipartisan immigration-related discourse texts in the United States from 2016 to 2023 are shown in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3 and Table 4 show that the top 20 keywords and high-frequency words in the immigration discourse of both parties include "illegal", "border", "labor", "relief", "bill", "policy", "visa", "security", "cost" and "finance". The high-frequency word "illegal" has a frequency of 9412 and a frequency of 8.982, and its criticality reaches 863.12, reflecting the negative characterization of immigrants by both parties and the seriousness of illegal immigration at the U.S. border. "Border" and "deportation" and "repatriation" are the first few high-frequency words and keywords, and the high-frequency word "border" has a frequency of 4287, a frequency of 8.262, and a key 456.24. It can be seen that from 2016 to 2023, the bipartisan characterization of immigrants not only has a negative meaning of illegal, but also reflects

the specific measures taken by the two parties to carry out repatriation and deportation of illegal immigrants. At the same time, "application", "policy", "bill", "visa", "government", "relief", "application" and "action" are among the top high-frequency words and keywords, indicating that the two parties also involve some macro policies on immigration governance, such as formulating relevant policies, promulgating bills, restricting visa applications, taking relevant actions, and implementing partial relief. High frequency words and keywords such as "large number" and "surge" reflect the large number of immigrants and continue to rise. The high-frequency words and keywords such as "cost", "labor", "security" and "finance" allude to the problems related to social security, economy and job competition brought by immigrants to the United States. From the top 20 high-frequency words and keywords in the immigration discourse of both parties, we can see that both parties have always been concerned about the issue of illegal immigration at the border and are committed to solving this problem.

Table 3. High frequency words in bipartisan U.S. immigration-related discourse, 2016–2023

Range	High frequency word	Frequency	Frequency (per 1,000 words)	Range	High frequency word	Frequency	Frequency (per 1,000 words)
1	illegal	9412	8.982	11	asylum	2659	4.212
2	American	8765	8.032	12	getaway	1843	3.205
3	Biden	6532	7.232	13	visa	1566	4.124
4	policy	4323	7.124	14	act	876	2.341
5	border	4287	8.262	15	action	769	4.502
6	detention	3841	5.563	16	apply	735	2.034
7	foreign	3625	4.532	17	right	719	3.132
8	Trump	3402	6.132	18	cost	689	4.015
9	labour	2863	4.026	19	security	467	1.863
10	deport	2702	4.316	20	relief	235	1.056

Table 4. Keywords and criticality of bipartisan immigration-related discourse in the United States, 2016–2023 (top 20)

Range	Key words	Keyness	Range	Key words	Keyness
1	illegal	863.12	11	surge	88.34
2	border	456.24	12	relief	65.32
3	policy	389.65	13	visa	62.01
4	act	315.26	14	security	45.24
5	asylum	228.04	15	government	43.71
6	apply	201.36	16	action	37.39
7	foreign	114.72	17	cost	22.64
8	mass	112.43	18	return	22.31
9	labour	108.65	19	humanitarianism	20.56
10	deport	89.24	20	finance	20.32

When Republican Donald Trump took office in 2016, he implemented restrictive immigration policies and built a border wall on the U.S.-Mexico border to address the problem of illegal immigrants crossing the border. And the Democratic Biden administration took office, canceled the construction of the border wall and recovered the remaining funds, but in order to fulfill the campaign promise to protect the border while applying humanitarian measures to illegal immigrants, the Biden administration was initially tolerant of most illegal immigrants, especially minors and families coming to the United States. When the number of immigrants

continued to climb, the Democratic Administration Biden also began to arrest and remove illegal immigrants at the border, and overhauled U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), redrawing ICE's authority to focus on illegal immigrants who posed a threat to the nation or to public safety when arresting them. Under the implementation of Democrat Biden's immigration policies, in March 2021, U.S. Customs and Border Protection apprehended 172,000 people at the Southwest border, up nearly 70 percent from February 2021, and in July 2021, prevented more than 210,000 illegal immigrants from crossing the border [10].

Data for January 2023 show that incidents of Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans crossing the border illegally decreased by 97 percent from December of last year [11]. Both conservative Republicans and relatively liberal Democrats are committed to tackling illegal immigration at the border and working together to uphold the principle that America's interests are paramount.

Although there are some commonalities in the macro-policy of the two parties on the issue of illegal immigration at the border, there are big differences and even polarization in the specific measures and attitude positions related to the issue of illegal immigration. According to the key words and criticality of the immigration-related discourse of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party as shown in Tables 5 and 6, it is found that the key words, frequency and criticality of the immigration-related discourse of the two parties are quite different, shows that the two parties have different political views on the governance of illegal immigrants.

Table 5. Key words of Republican Party in immigration-related discourse from 2016 to 2023(Top 20)

Range	Key words	Frequency	Keyness	Range	Key words	Frequency	Keyness
1	illegal	3672	812.34	11	detention	138	256.76
2	border	3308	673.52	12	escape	134	234.67
3	alien	1216	442.17	13	surge	119	217.65
4	deport	1198	564.23	14	act	95	76.32
5	crime	986	482.56	15	cost	83	116.92
6	crisis	654	345.92	16	finance	67	113.56
7	mass	621	476.13	17	load	45	89.37
8	getaway	489	365.24	18	unemployment	41	78.83
9	labour	265	112.04	19	medicare	39	65.54
10	action	156	89.42	20	tax	16	30.68

As can be seen from the above Table 5, the key words of the Republican Party's immigration discourse mainly include words such as "illegal", "detention", "border", "escape", "surge", "deportation", "crime", "cost", "crisis", "finance", "large number", "escape" and "unemployment", which reflects the importance of the Republican Party to border security and vigorously expel illegal immigrants. The Republican Party's description of the attribute positioning of immigrants is basically negative, such as the social problems brought by illegal immigrants such as crime, unemployment, finance and medical care. The Republican Party produces these negative and negative immigration-related discourse, creating an imagination space for the immigration policy audience who support the Republican Party. Because discourse has the characteristics of being oriented towards its object, it opens to the object through a certain line of sight, and continuously deepens its characteristics to the object in a subtle way. To some extent, it reflects the shift of discourse power from producers to consumers, that is, the negative and negative discourse of the Republican Party on immigration permeates from the political and economic events in the public sphere of society to the private sphere of the common experience of the nativists and right-wing nationalist populists who support the Republican Party, and conveys to these audiences the social harm brought by illegal immigration. The Republican Party insinuates illegal immigrants through some negative keywords, so that illegal immigrants have signifier meaning. Although the signifier of words is considered arbitrary or unreasonable by Benveniste *et al.*, its symbolic meaning is not arbitrary or unreasonable. The signifier of a word separates it from its strictly linguistic communicative function, but gives the symbolic potential of the word, under the entity of the word, through a special arrangement, a perceptual value, and it is in this sense that the natural clarity of the word is confused, so that the statement acts both through the semantics of the "clear" linguistic activity. And at the same time evoke "emotional" resonance

[12]. In other words, a large number of negative words in the Republican Party's discourse on immigration not only deepen the American people's consciousness of immigration, but also arouse the emotional resonance of the American people.

Secondly, the Republican Party describes the number of immigrants with vague words such as "large number" and "surge", which implies that the number of immigrants in the U.S. is very large, and "foreigners" is one of the top three keywords in the Republican Party's immigration discourse, with a frequency of 442.17 times. As the top 3 keywords of the U.S. Republican Party, "foreigner" has a frequency of 1,216 times and a criticality of 442.17, which is in line with the tradition of the U.S. Republican Party's right-wing ethnopopulist ideology, which constructs a distinction between "us" and "the other" in the treatment of immigrants. The distinction between "us" and "the other", the identity of the "foreigner" as the other is created in a specific context of immigration, and this identity is constructed in the context of interrelationships, which implies a process of inclusiveness and exclusiveness, and defines the "us" and "the other". and "other" [13]. The "we" and the "other" are in opposition to each other, and also involve a positive self-representation of the "we" and a negative representation of the "other". "negative representations of the Other. The negative representation of the immigrant "other" is not only the keyword "foreigner", but also "crime", "burden" and "unemployment". The negative representations of the immigrant "other" are not only characterized by the keyword "foreigner", but also by the terms "crime", "burden" and "unemployment". The negative characterization of the immigrant "other" stands in opposition to the right-wing national populist preoccupation with homogenous "people" groups. In a nutshell, the Republican Party's approach to immigration is intolerant. The Democratic Party's immigration discourse from 2016 to 2023 differs from that of the Republican Party, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Key words of the Democratic Party's immigration-related discourse, 2016–2023 years (top 20)

Range	Key words	Frequency	Keyness	Range	Key words	Frequency	Keyness
1	illegal	1321	356.78	11	finance	56	43.35
2	policy	1143	456.21	12	right	53	68.43
3	border	982	312.02	13	medicare	47	55.16
4	relief	723	283.26	14	humanitarianism	39	22.87
5	government	324	112.02	15	unemployment	38	22.45
6	mass	268	234.17	16	getaway	38	34.19
7	shelter	115	89.42	17	labour	35	28.07
8	act	102	114.65	18	apply	31	46.13
9	visa	78	106.76	19	tax	23	34.21
10	action	64	45.68	20	legal	18	26.09

From Table 6, the keywords of the Democratic Party's discourse on immigration differ from those of the Republican Party's discourse on immigration. Although the Democratic Party's discourse on immigration is characterized as "illegal" and the number of immigrants is depicted as "large", more keywords are mainly related to "policy", "fiscal", "rights", "relief", "humanitarian", "government", "asylum", "bill", "application", "visa" and "asylum". Visa" and "action" are words that reflect the specific measures and emotional attitudes of the Democratic Party in governing immigration. The Democratic Party's governance of immigration is mainly based on the concept of humanitarianism and equal care, and the Democratic Party attaches greater importance to the ways in which illegal immigrants, especially child immigrants, can obtain legal status, and the Democratic Party's attitude towards immigrants is more tolerant.

However, there is a basic consensus in the quantification of immigration in the discursive construction, such as bipartisan in the number of immigrants involved in the discourse on the use of "large number" and "surge" high-frequency words and key words. Fuzzy words such as "large number" and "surge" modify the number of immigrants, and the power of fuzzy words lies in the fact that they belong to the "realm of fantasy", beyond the perceptible. As a result, the combination of the space of words and the space of perceptual experience may unconsciously reproduce in people's minds the situation of a large and chaotic number of immigrants. Because language activity has a nature that stimulates depth effects and evokes associative forces. At the same time, references to immigrants in bipartisan immigration-related discourse are accompanied by precise numerical attributes. For example, the U.S. has accepted one million immigrants as permanent residents in 2023, close to the average of 1.1 million immigrant visas issued over the past 20 years, compared to the lowest level of 70,000 permanent immigrants accepted in fiscal year 2020, which is the lowest level since 2003 [14]. More than 2.6 million deportations were carried out at the south-west border in 2020 under the article 42 deportation policy [15]. The two parties not only have vague and uncertain descriptions of immigration, but also involve precise quantification many times. This kind of discourse construction implies that the number of immigrants in the United States is large and increasing.

V. AN ANALYSIS OF ADJECTIVE COLLOCATIONS AND MODAL VERBS IN AMERICAN BIPARTISANSHIP IMMIGRATION-RELATED DISCOURSE

In addition, the Democratic and Republican parties have made extensive use of different word forms to define immigration, refugees and asylum seeker, giving these groups attributes, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. The co-occurrence frequencies of immigration, refugee and asylum seeker with specific adjective modifiers in the Republican Party and democratic corpus from 2016 to 2023(L5, R5)

Republican Party refugee(-s) and immigrant(-s)：illegal(3672)；criminal(986)；mass(621)；surging(119)；many(89)；huge (85)；high(67)；foreign(63)；permanent(48)；uncontrolled(46)；large(36)；previous(35)；new(35)；chief(34)；strong(31)；cheap(23)；economic(23)；unskilled(22)；unlimited(21)；other(11)；insane(13)；past(9)；disastrous(9)；skilled(7)；irregular(6)；ungrateful(5)；unabated (5)；suicidal(3)；wealthy(2)；few(2)；historical(2)
Asylum seeker(-s)：bogus(62)；failed(23)；legal(3)
Democratic Party refugee(-s) and immigrant(-s)：illegal(1321)；mass(268)；foreign(124)；legal(69)；unaccompanied(65)；skilled (61)；poor(54)；humanitarian(49)；ordered(46)；new(45)；surging (34)；unemployed(23)；(23)past；unskilled(11)
Asylum seeker(-s)：bogus(9)；existing(11)；failed(2)

In the Table 7, the words with the highest frequency of immigrant collocation in the Republican Party and democratic corpus are illegal, accounting for 87% and 35% of the collocations respectively. It is clear that neither party wants to accept more illegal immigrants. The Republican Party collocation of adjectives "Immigrant" and "Refugee" involves more negative and derogatory meanings. The negative derogatory discourse strategies make it easy for the American people to mark immigrants according to their nature or function, when this relationship can be identified as an attitude relationship rather than a strictly semantic one, negative discourse can be labeled as negative. Among them, skills and non-skills, unemployment vocabulary implies whether immigrants adapt to the labor market capacity, crime, economic and foreign adjectives and immigrants, indicates the distinction between immigrants and we, and questioned immigrants' sense of American identity. On the other hand, it reflects the impact of immigration on national security and order, which is also the basis of restrictive immigration

policies Republican Party.

The Democratic Party has also used the term "illegal" to describe immigrants on several occasions to define the attributes of immigrants. While the Biden administration has been tolerant and open about immigration policy, it has also sought to address the problem of illegal immigration. on April 27, 2023, the Democratic Biden administration reinstated the use of Acts 8, which imposes harsher penalties on immigrants who do not comply with the legal channels for entry into the country, such as expedited removal from the United States under Acts 8, and a prohibition on returning to the U.S. for a period of at least five years if they are ordered to be deported. At the same time, also use a large number of neutral and positive terms, such as "legal," "humanitarian," and "orderly" to define the attributes of immigrants, reflecting the Democratic Party's approach to immigration governance with universal values. This shows that the Democratic Party's approach to immigration governance is based on universal values and humanistic concerns. The high-frequency adjectives such as "homeless" and "pitiful" reflect the corresponding measures taken by the Democratic Party's government towards illegal immigrant minors. The Democratic administration's policy toward minors, especially homeless children, is based on the principles of tolerance, relief and amnesty, while President Biden has asked local border state governments to help reunite families with homeless children. As a result, more than 356,000 unaccompanied children have come to the United States since President Biden Since the Biden administration. With the influx of minors, longtime traditional immigrant resettlement centers have run out of space, and the Biden administration has had to reopen some temporary facilities, which used to hold 250 people, to accept up to 4,000 at a time [16].

The bipartisan attitudes and sentiments toward immigrants can be gleaned not only from adjective collocations in immigration-related discourse, but also from modal verb collocations in bipartisan immigration-related discourse in the United States. Hanley thinks that modality refers to the speaker's judgment of the likelihood or obligatory nature of what he says. Modality is an attitude that can express 'pure' directional and predictive content of speech, expressing degrees of truthfulness, certainty or skepticism, ambiguity, likelihood or necessity, and even licenses and obligations, and modality can be seen as the initial "commitment" "attitudes, judgments, positions, which are related to the reproduction of actions and social relations [17]. The modal verbs reflect the stance taken by the author on reproduction, which is an important dimension in analyzing the author's stance and reproduction. In a sense, the modal verbs in the text of the bipartisan immigration discourse imply that the bipartisan attitudes, stances, and judgments towards immigration are also a reproduction of the bipartisan social actions to govern immigration.

Modal verbs can be classified as high-level (such as must, need, have to), intermediate (such as should, will, would), and low-level (such as May, might, can, could). Modal verbs of different values express different moods and imply different attitudes [18]. We searched for 2016-modal verbs

with high, medium and low 2023, and focused on collocational verbs with M values greater than 5.0. The results are shown in Fig. 1. In terms of the total number of all types of quantifiable modal verbs, the number of middle-quantifiable modal verbs is higher than that of high-quantifiable modal verbs and low-quantifiable modal verbs.
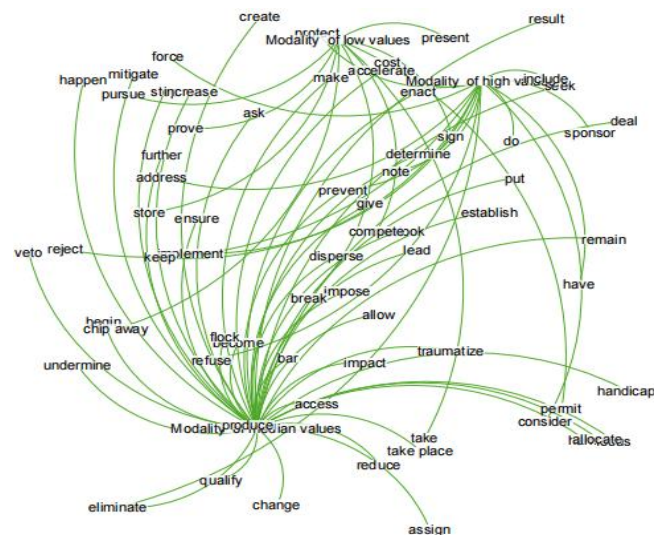

Fig. 1. 2016–2023 bipartisanship collocation of modal verbs in immigration-related discourse.

The research data show that there are significant differences in the magnitude and collocation of modal verbs in immigration-related discourse between the two parties from 2016 to 2023. High-value modal verbs, often paired with reject, prevent, address, implement, and cost, on the one hand indicate a negative bipartisan attitude toward immigration, especially illegal immigration. It also shows that news articles and policy papers on web pages supporting both parties are urging bipartisan action to address the problem of illegal immigration. That is, high-value words are most often found in attitudes and measures towards immigration. Mid-value modals are paired with words such as further, harm, assign impact, change, lead and take place, indicating the bipartisan controversy and discontent over the challenges and dilemmas posed by future immigration. The pairing of low-value words with words like take, present, prove, compete and pursue suggests a bipartisan disagreement about what immigrants might achieve in the future.

VI. A BIPARTISAN ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRATION-RELATED DISCOURSE INDEX LINES

Based on the corpus of bipartisan U.S. immigration-related discourse, searching asylum seeker(-s), immigrant immigrant(-s), and refugee refugee(-s), the statistics of resources for evaluating the bipartisan immigration-related index line for the years 2016-2023 are shown in Table 8.

Table 8 Migrant Index Row Evaluation Resources Statistics from 2016–2023.

Table 8. Migrant index row evaluation resources statistics from 2016–2023

Evaluation topics	Feelings	Judgements	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Sum
Financial burden of migration	4	2	0	16	3	25
The morality and quality of immigrants	2	5	2	10	3	23
Immigration legality, constitutionality, and jurisdiction	0	0	1	5	2	8
Immigration brings security issues and economic competition	3	2	3	11	5	24
Immigrant cultural identity	2	1	3	2	4	14
Public sentiment and sentiment brought by immigration	6	2	5	9	3	24
Immigration policy assessment	2	3	3	6	4	18
Immigration supervision and governance	0	2	2	6	7	17
Migration and humanitarian and relief	1	0	2	4	9	16
Fairness and equality for immigrants	2	2	3	3	6	17

From the data statistics in Table 8, it is not difficult to see that from 2016 to 2023, in the immigration-related news articles and policy documents of both political parties in the United States, the evaluation resources of immigration-related discourse mainly focused on the financial burden, security issues and economic competition brought by immigrants, the public sentiment and public opinion brought by immigrants, and the morality and quality of immigrants. Overall, there were 25 positive evaluations of resources, 72 negative evaluations and 53 neutral evaluations. Most of the themes of immigration in the United States are dominated by negative evaluations and supplemented by neutral evaluations. Negative assessments relate to economic and fiscal costs, social and cultural tensions, threats, and the continuation of the Border Crisis "Continues", "border encounters" and so on, showing that both political parties in the United States pay special attention to the negative impact of illegal immigration on American society. Thirdly, in terms of immigrant cultural identity, immigration supervision and governance, and immigration policy evaluation, positive, negative and neutral evaluations show a balance. On the one hand, the United States has long practiced multiculturalism toward immigrants, and immigrants have actively integrated into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture in order to better adapt to life in the United States. On the other hand, whether it is the more lenient immigration policies implemented by the Democratic administration or the restrictive immigration policies implemented by the Republican Party, it will incur the dissatisfaction and criticism of the opponent party.

From the high-frequency words, keywords and the collocation of immigrant adjectives and modal verbs in the immigration-related discourse of Republicans and Democrats, it can be seen that there are big differences between Republicans and Democrats on immigration issues. Major differences between the two parties on some important issues have existed for a long time, almost throughout the history of American politics. The first differences between the two parties arose from racist policies during the American Civil War in the 1860s. Beginning in the 1950s, after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the ideological differences between the two parties on black civil rights in the United States were once again strengthened. Later, the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War produced a series of highly polarizing issues on which there were no clear partisan positions. Changes within the two parties after the 1960s, including the rise of neoconservatism and the religious right, widened the ideological divide between the two parties. Then, coupled with the rise of identity politics, the influx of ethnic minorities accelerated the leftward shift of the Democratic Party and the rightward shift of the Republican Party, ultimately driving the process of party polarization.

After the 1970s, the two parties became increasingly polarized on domestic and foreign policy, and the political positions of members of the House and Senate in Congress were increasingly polarized from the traditional moderate center. In the 90th Congress from 1967 to 1969, the ideological gap between Democrats and Republicans was 0.58, and then continued to increase, and in the 115th Congress from 2017 to 2019, the ideological gap between the two parties reached a historical high of 0.918 [19]. In 2016, the Republican Trump came to power, and the polarization of American political parties has reached a climax, which is more obvious in immigration-related issues. Historically, both the Republican and Democratic parties have been divided between those who want to limit immigration and those who want to embrace it, and neither party has a clear pro-immigrant or anti-immigrant political position. After

9/11, however, the situation changed, with the Republican and Democratic parties becoming polarized and internally homogeneous on immigration. The Republican Party embraces nativist, anti-immigrant politics. The Democratic Party supports the rights of immigrants and strongly opposes the demonization of immigrants. In this regard, when the two parties came to power, they adopted different or even contradictory immigration policies in terms of immigration reception and border policies. The different immigration policies of the two parties are mainly closely related to the traditional political ideological positions of the two parties and the political election game of the two parties.

The Republican ideological tradition is centered on Christianity and Judaism, and it adheres to the cultural value system dominated by white Anglo-Saxons. Both the early melting pot policy and the later multiculturalism policy in the United States were based on Anglo-Saxon culture, but the multiculturalism policy brought challenges to Anglo-Saxon culture, and the white Republican Party, based on Anglo-Saxon culture, was anxious and feared that the alien culture would erode and replace the existing civilization. For example, the impact of Eastern Islamic culture or Hispanic culture on the mainstream culture of the United States. The influx of foreign immigrants has made the proportion of immigrant population in the United States increasing, including not only the Asian population, but also the Hispanic population, and even a large number of illegal immigrants. Over the past few decades, Hispanics have been the main driver of population growth in the United States, accounting for 51 percent of the 22.7 million increase in the U.S. population from 2010 to 2020. In 2020, the Hispanic population in the United States will reach 62.1 million people, up 23 percent from the previous year, and the growth rate of the Asian population in the United States will exceed that of Hispanics, reaching 36 percent [20]. From 2027 to 2038, immigration will be a significant part of the U.S. population growth, in contrast to the continued decline of the white U.S. population. By 2069, the United States is expected to have 1.6 million new immigrants a year, far more than the country's natural-born population, and immigration has heightened the nativist sense of crisis. In addition, the Republican electorate is mainly made up of whites, nationalists, traditional Christians, and people from exurbs, small towns, and rural communities. In order to win the votes of these groups, the Republican Party has adhered to and continuously reinforced white supremacy, and the Republican approach has won the vast majority of white votes, which has successfully elected Trump in 2016. And run against the Democrats in the 2020 election. In policy, the Republican Party opposes the impact of multiculturalism on Anglo-Saxon Christian culture in the United States, and the implementation of restrictive immigration policies is one of the important manifestations of its traditional views. Conservative Republican members, in particular, strongly oppose the Democratic Party's tolerant immigration policy, which does not attach importance to immigrant assimilation, etc., to the detriment of the Republican Party and the interests of white groups.

However, the liberal Democratic Party advocates a new value system of diversity, openness and inclusiveness, treating border migrants with humanitarian values and granting citizenship to illegal immigrants, which sharply diverts from Republican ideas. The idea of the Democratic Party is also closely related to the interests of the party, aiming to ally with ethnic minorities and disadvantaged groups, expand the voter base, and win votes. The Democratic Party promotes multiculturalism and uses minority identity politics in order to gain a more favorable position in the election and play electoral politics with the Republican Party. Unable to compete with Republicans for traditionally white voters, Democrats are turning to non-traditional voters, especially recent immigrants. On the one hand, out of humanitarian concern, the Democratic Party regards immigrants as vulnerable groups; on the other hand, it values the voting rights of immigrants after legalization, and holds an inclusive and even welcoming attitude toward immigrants. Preponders of immigrants mean preponders of votes, which is very favorable for electoral politics [21].

VII. The Influence of the Two Parties on Immigration Issues from the Two Parties' Immigration Discourse

From 2016 to 2023, the two parties in the United States have some similarities in their news articles and policy documents concerning immigration, but the difference is still too large. As a result of this electoral competition and the polarization of party politics, the differences between Republicans and Democrats in immigration politics and policies have become increasingly intensified, which may lead to the trend of politicization of identity and rejection politics.

The politicization of identity on immigration issues in both parties. Identity politics is the pursuit of particular interests by groups with particular racial, ethnic, or religious beliefs [22]. Since 1965, when the United States enacted new immigration laws, immigrants of different languages, cultures, beliefs, racial and ethnic backgrounds have flooded into the United States. Especially in recent years, the influx of a large number of illegal immigrants has triggered a new round of identity crisis among white Americans. In the United States, the identity crisis caused by immigration is mainly manifested by ethnic differences, and the two parties make full use of identity politics to achieve party goals in the political game. That is, the Democratic-dominated minority identity politics pitted against the Republican-dominated white identity politics on immigration. The emergence of American identity politics is not only the result of the opposition between the two parties in social and cultural values, but also the change of social class structure and values caused by the change of industrial structure in the United States, but also the product of the adjustment of political party lines to meet the demands of voter groups and realize the interests of political parties.

After the 1970s, the United States gradually entered the post-industrial society, the transformation of industrial structure, coupled with the expansion of neoliberal economic policies, led to the gradual shrinkage of the working class and the gradual decline of social and economic status. At the same time, the ranks of the new middle class grew. The growing socioeconomic status of the working class and the new middle class has shaped their different perceptions of immigration. The less-educated white working class, a laggard in globalization, tends to blame immigrants for their

and their group's backwardness, and thus supports restrictive immigration policies or expresses a desire for national identity [23]. Based on this social background, white identity politics dominated by the conservative Republican Party has gradually developed, and white identity highlights the identity demands of Anglo-Saxon nations of European descent. Anxiety and fear generated by white people are largely due to the decline in social status, the decline in economic level, the loss of culture, and the concern about their dominant racial status, which is closely related to immigration. These problems jointly shape the identity consciousness of this group, strengthen its identity, and promote the emergence of white identity politics.

At the same time, the new middle class has obvious advantages in income, education or occupation, most of them have progressive and liberal cosmopolitan values, tend to identify with the positive face of immigrants, and therefore support tolerant immigration policies. The Democratic Party downplays its traditional class political identity, and turns to the identity politics to win the support of the new middle class voters. The minority identity politics of the Democratic Party, supported by multiculturalism, supported the social and political rights of immigrants, highlighted the positive side of immigrants, and thus won the support of the new middle class voters. In short, the political game between the two parties is once again intensifying identity politics when it comes to immigration.

The politicization of vetoes on immigration issues in both parties. Historically, although the two major political parties have some differences in immigration attitudes and immigration policies, they have a strong consensus on major issues of immigration. However, in recent years, as the two parties have moved toward all-out confrontation, democratic consultation has become more and more difficult, and the possibility of mutual compromise between political parties has become less and less. Due to the serious ideological polarization of the two parties on immigration issues, and the polarization of immigration policies when taking turns in office, the United States immigration policy lacks continuity and stability. In the early stage, there were differences between the two parties' immigration policies, but they were relatively small. After the two parties take turns in power, the ruling party can still implement the immigration policy measures of the previous government, and the immigration policy can also show a certain continuity. However, in 2016, the conservative far-right nationalist populist Trump was elected president of the United States, and the political polarization of the two parties reached a climax, resulting in increasing differences in immigration policies between the two parties. After the rotation of political parties, the ruling party often overturns many immigration policies of the previous government, resulting in repeated and inefficient immigration policy formulation and implementation. For example, after the Democratic Biden administration came to power, it almost overturned the immigration policies launched by the former Democratic Republican President Trump, such as confiscating the remaining funds, stopping the construction of the border wall, allowing unaccompanied children to enter the country, and granting citizenship to illegal immigrants. The repeated adjustment and modification of the immigration policies of the two parties

has brought serious resource depletion to national governance, directly affected people's trust in the government, and finally aggravated the border immigration problem.

At present, the relationship between immigration politics and party politics shows three characteristics: First, people's cognition of immigration system and policy is strongly divided based on the difference of political party identification; Second, the cognition of the immigration system and policy at the political elite level is also clearly divided based on party affiliation, which makes it more difficult to establish the cross-party political coalition to promote immigration reform in the past, and thus increases the difficulty of pushing relevant bills in Congress; Third, legislative difficulties make the president more inclined to use executive orders to adjust immigration policies, which also means that in the context of political party rotation, such immigration policy adjustment based on executive orders of the president is also easy to reverse [24]. It is the increasing political polarization that has driven the two major parties increasingly apart and confrontational on the issue of illegal immigration. The heated political struggle has put the United States into a dilemma of veto and inefficient governance.

VIII. CONCLUSION

As a political practice, discourse reflects political ecology and social entities. From the perspective of the immigration-related discourse of the two parties, we can clarify the ideological, emotional attitude and future trend of the two parties towards immigration, and understand the political practice of the two parties to govern immigration. Ideological practice and political practice complement each other, and the expression of the two parties' immigration-related discourse conveys the strategy of power implementation and power struggle. The Republican Party has enacted restrictive immigration policies based on the interests of white groups and the "America First" philosophy, and has vigorously accused immigrants of being scapegoats for America's social crisis. In 2020, the election of Democratic Joe Biden overturned the immigration policy of the previous Republican government. Based on humanitarian concern, the Democratic Party has developed a more fair and tolerant immigration policy. These two different political positions and attitudes toward immigration are also an important manifestation of the conflict and tension within the United States. Although the immigration policies of the two parties in the United States are based on partisan interests and realistic considerations to attract voters to vote, the immigration problem in the United States, especially the illegal immigration problem, involves complex issues such as humanism, national security, economic interests, civil rights, distributive justice, ethnic relations and national identity. This requires both parties to maintain a high degree of unity and unity in their attitudes and measures towards the immigration issue. However, the political game between the two parties has gradually polarized the immigration policy, and eventually immigrants may become the victims of the two-party game, and at the same time may impact American democracy, national power, political values and ethnic politics, which will not only be difficult to solve the immigration problem in the United States, but also give birth

to identity politics and veto politics.

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