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# **An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Critical Studies of Political Discourse**

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Council of the College of Education for Human Sciences, University of  
Babylon in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in Education/English Language/Linguistics.

By

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## المستخلص

تعتمد الاطروحة على مبدأ "التداخل" الذي يتضمن تداخل حقلين او أكثر من الحقول الاكاديمية لاقتراح نهج للدراسات الناقدة للخطاب السياسي. نظرياً، تهدف الاطروحة لتأسيس نهج يمكن من خلاله تتبع الثبات او التغير الأيديولوجي وتحليل اثره في حياة الأنظمة السياسية. والاهداف العملية تتلخص بتحليل كيفية قيام ترامب بتأسيس محتواه وتحقيق الوثام وفيما اذا تتغير ايولوجيات ترامب ام تبقى ثابتة. تختبر المخرجات التأثير الاجتماعي-السياسي للتغير او الثبات الأيديولوجي في خطاب ترامب من خلال التحليل الأيديولوجي للاستقطاب.

لتحقيق هذه الأهداف، تطور الاطروحة نموذج تداخلي - انتقائي يعتمد على نظرية "الأنظمة السياسية" لايستون (1953) من حقل العلوم السياسية الذي يُستخدم كإطار عام لتحليل الاطوار المختلفة لنظام ترامب السياسي، و نهج ووداك "الخطابي-التاريخي" (2001) ونهج فان دايك "الاجتماعي-الفكري" (2015) للتحليل اللغوي الناقد. طُبق النهج المقترح لتحليل ثلاث خطابات لترامب، وهي: "خطاب الإعلان" (2015) و"خطاب القبول" (2016) وخطاب "حالة الاتحاد" (2020).

وجد انه، في الطور الأول، يؤسس ترامب محتواه من خلال التركيز على مواضيع معينة دون أخرى، مستقطباً إياها الى المجموعة الداخلية والمجموعة الخارجية. وفي الطور الثاني، يؤسس لإدراك انتقائي لغرض تكوين وئام مع جمهوره، بطريقة استقطابية سلبية لخصومه وإيجابية لمجموعته. وفي الطور الثالث، يركز ترامب على اظهار نفسه ومجموعته بصورة إيجابية لغرض كسب ثقة مجلس النواب والناس، بواسطة التركيز على استراتيجيات وتقنيات تخدم هذا الهدف. ادى التمثيل الأيديولوجي الثابت-المتذبذب لخطاب ترامب الى تغييرات اجتماعية-سياسية مهمة في الولايات المتحدة.

﴿ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ﴾

(يَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ وَاللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرٌ)

﴿صدق الله العليُّ العظيم﴾

(سورة المجادلة: آية 11)

**In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.**

"Allah will rise up, to ranks, those of you who believe and who have been granted knowledge. And Allah is well-acquainted with all you do".

**Almighty Allah, the Most High Has Told the Truth.**

**(Surat Al-Mujadalah, Verse: 11)**

**(Ali, 1987: 281)**

I certify that this dissertation, entitled "**An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Critical Studies of Political Discourse**", by **Omar Ali Wally Atatfa** has been prepared and written under my supervision at the College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in English Language and Linguistics.

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We certify that we have read the dissertation entitled "**An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Critical Studies of Political Discourse**" and, as Examining Committee, examined the student **Omar Ali Wally Atatfa** in its contents and that, in our opinion, it is adequate as a dissertation for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in English Language and Linguistics.

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**Member and Supervisor**

Approved by the Council of the College of Education for Human Sciences

Signature:

Name:

Acting Dean of the College of Education for Human Sciences,

University of Babylon

Date:     /     /

To  
*The Pure Fallen Souls of the October  
Revolution.*

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## **Abstract**

This study utilizes the concept of “interdisciplinarity” which entails the involvement of two or more academic disciplines to suggest an approach in the critical studies of political discourse. The theoretical aim of the study is to establish an approach that can trace ideological (in)consistency and investigate its impact throughout the life of a political system. The practical aims are to investigate how Trump establishes his content, how he achieves rapport, and whether his ideologies change. The output tests the socio-political impact of ideological (in)consistency in Trump’s discourse through the ideological analysis of polarization.

To achieve its purpose, the study develops an interdisciplinary-eclectic model which relies on Easton’s “Political Systems” theory (1953) from the field of Political Science, which is used as the general framework to analyze the different phases of Trump’s political discourse, as well as Wodak’s “Discourse-Historical Approach” (2001) and van Dijk’s “Socio-Cognitive” approach (2015) for the critical analysis. The suggested approach is applied to the analysis of three of Trump’s speeches: the Announcement Speech (2015), the Acceptance Speech (2016), and the State of the Union Speech (2020).

The study finds out that, in the first phase, Trump establishes his content through focusing on certain topics rather than others and polarizes those topics into ingroup and outgroup. In the second phase, he establishes a selective perception to formulate rapport with his audience, in a way that negatively polarizes his opponents and positively presents his group. In the third phase, Trump focuses on positively presenting himself and his ingroup in order to gain the trust of the House of Representatives and the public, through relying on strategies and techniques that serve

this purpose. Trump's consistent-fluctuating representation of ideologies through his discourse leads to significant socio-political changes in the US.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Full Form</b>
CCP	Critical Cognitive Pragmatics
CDS/A	Critical Discourse Studies/Analysis
CL	Critical Linguistics
CMA	Critical Metaphor Analysis
CogLA	Cognitive Linguistics Approach
DA	Discourse Analysis
DC	Dependent Clause
DHA	The Discourse-Historical Approach
DP	Discursive Psychology
DRA	Dialectical Relational Approach
EC(D)A	Epistemic Critical (Discourse) Analysis
Freq.	Frequency
IC	Independent Clause
ISIS/L	'The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria/Levant'
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NC	North Carolina
No	Number
NOP	Negative Other Presentation
NYC	New York City
Par	Participant
Per	Percentage
Pro	Process
PSP	Positive Self Presentation
SCA	The Sociocognitive Approach
SOTU	State of the Union
SP	Selective Perception
US	The United States

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 The Problem

Van Dijk (1998) defines interdisciplinarity as the involvement of more than one discipline, presenting it as a means through which researchers may overcome *field-restrictions* that potentially compromise the researcher's efforts to come up with satisfactory results. It assists in broadening the range of analysis where one specific discipline fails to turn up with reasonable outcomes of the matter at hand. This is why Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth CDS) gives privilege to the aspect of "interdisciplinarity" as one of its main building tenets.

In this regard, Wodak and Meyer (2018) stress that CDS methods are interdisciplinary via the justification that they solve social phenomena or that the data collection itself is interdisciplinary. Therefore, it is safe to say that the existing state of affairs of CDS does not explicitly introduce the fraternization of theories from different fields into one theory or approach as defined above. Rather, it entails that the models used in this field are linguistic in essence but lead to social results, *enduring the hindrance of not having an approach -let alone a theory- which may pave the path for an interdisciplinary critical study that draws upon CDS and other fields.* This justifies projects' aims in the critical analysis of discourse (theses, dissertations, and research) which draw attention to the linguistic aspects of discourse and how it shapes social groups, but give less or no attention to the political aspect within these events.

Being aware of this gap, the current study aims at developing an interdisciplinary approach through which account is given to the linguistic as well as the socio-political aspects of political discourse. Therein, Easton's (1953) outline of the "*Life of the Political Systems*" is adapted as the general framework for analysis, consisting of *Input, Decisions and Actions*, and *Output* to which

the researcher adds the ‘*Pre-input*’ phase to account for the historical perspective of political discourse, as follows:

1. Pre-Input: Content Establishment Phase
2. Input: Rapport Establishment Phase
3. Decisions and Actions Phase
4. Output: Ideological (In)Consistency Phase

This approach is exploited to mainly examine how *ideological (in)consistency* affects the socio-political status and eventually reproduces power through the discourse of a political system.

For the purpose of testing the applicability of the suggested approach, the current study analyzes the political discourse of the former United States’ president, Donald Trump, through the different phases, highlighting any ideological (in)consistencies along the line that may have potentially led to *power reproduction*. Specifically, the study attempts to account for how his political discourse establishes its content, shapes the consensus of his supporters, and eventually leads to socio-political changes. Therefore, the study asks the following question:

- *What does the critical analysis of Trump’s political discourse reveal about his ideological consistency and how does it impact the socio-political situation?*

In other words, the study seeks to find out how ideologies are preserved, modified, or changed in Trump’s political discourse throughout the different phases of his political system, through asking the following questions.

1. What are the discourse strategies used at the Content Establishment phase and what is their significance in shaping Trump’s discourse?
2. How does the distribution of the discourse strategies at the Content Establishment phase serve the (un)polarized ideology in Trump’s discourse?

3. At the Rapport Establishment phase, what are the discursive strategies used to shape the discourse in a way that leads to consubstantiality?
4. How are discursive strategies used to create a (un)polarized selective perception to create a collective mind?
5. At the Decisions and Actions phase, how is Trump able to instill or deter ideologies in his discourse, leading to a fixed or modified view on some or all of the topics?
6. How does Trump achieve (un)polarization at the Decisions and Actions phase?
7. At the Output phase, what does the analysis of the ideological (in)consistency consequent into in terms of the socio-political status of the country?

## **1.2 The Aims**

The study aims at:

1. Finding out the discourse strategies used at the Content Establishment phase and highlight their significance in shaping the discourse in the other phases?
2. Investigating how the distribution of the discourse strategies at the Content Establishment phase serve the (un)polarized ideology in Trump's discourse.
3. Figuring out how discursive strategies are used to create consubstantiality at the Rapport Establishment phase.
4. Examining the ways in which these discursive strategies are used to create a(n) (un)polarized selective perception.
5. Pinpointing whether Trump instills or deters his ideological presentation in his discourse at the Decisions and Actions phase.
6. Examining the way(s) in which polarization is (not) achieved in Trump's political discourse at the Decisions and Actions phase.

7. Explicating the significance of the ideological (in)consistency in Trump's discourse in relation to any socio-political changes.

### **1.3 The Hypotheses**

It is hypothesized that:

1. Trump uses certain discourse strategies at the Content Establishment Phase that are significant in drawing upon events from the past for the purpose of forming content which aligns with the Trump's ideological orientation.
2. Discourse strategies are distributed in a non-haphazard way which aims at highlighting certain topics and mitigating others to serve the purpose of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.
3. At the Rapport Establishment phase, consubstantiality is achieved through assigning certain discursive strategies to convey specific denotations in the audiences' mental models.
4. Through the denotations of selective perception, polarity is made possible by linking the negative denotations with the outgroup's actions and the positive denotations with the ingroup's actions.
5. Trump's ideological presentation remains consistent in the selected discourse at the Decisions and Actions phase.
6. At the Decisions and Actions phase, polarization is achieved via discourse that implicates, presupposes and vaguely explains the information, leading to a polarized discourse.
7. Trump's ideological consistency affects the socio-political status of the US, rendering new orientations towards the emphasized topics discussed in Trump's political discourse.

## 1.4 The Procedure

In order to carry out the study and test its hypotheses, the current study develops an interdisciplinary eclectic model which is derived from Easton's (1957) "Life of the Political Systems" theory adapted from Political Science, and Wodak's (2001) "Discourse-Historical Approach" and van Dijk's (2015) "Socio-Cognitive Approach" adopted from CDS. This model is then applied to analyze Trump's political discourse in order to reveal *ideological (in)consistency* in each phase of the model to check whether/how it leads to *power reproduction*. The selected data for analysis are: Trump's Announcement Speech (2015), Trump's Acceptance Speech (2016), and Trump's State of the Union (2020) as detailed below.

1. Announcement Speech: obtained from The Times, 2015.
1. Acceptance Speech: obtained from Plumer, 2016.
2. State of the Union Speech: obtained from Schaff, 2020.

Each one is analyzed at the macro and micro levels, qualitatively and quantitatively, respectively. In each of the phases, ideological analysis is conducted to arrive at how polarity is achieved, if it exists. Then, the results of the analysis of the selected data are discussed to arrive at conclusions.

## 1.5 The Limits

The study is limited to developing an interdisciplinary approach for the critical studies of political discourse and applying it to analyze Trump's political discourse; specifically, his *Announcement Speech* (2015) as the first speech that Trump gave before the formal acceptance of his nomination which makes it fit to serve as standard for comparison with the other two speeches; *Acceptance Speech* (2016) which is selected because it is the first formal speech by Trump; and, the *State of the Union* (2020) as the last speech given by Trump to be compared with the first and second speeches in to test the any ideological (in)consistency, given that the period between the

first speech and this one is more than four years which gives the analysis more credibility. Trump's political discourse is selected as the data to be analyzed because he is the last US president who finished his term at the time of this study, which makes his discourse concurrent and applicable for the study's four phases. Moreover, the significance of his discourse stems from the fact that Trump does not have a deep political background, so it is seen as worth studying.

### **1.6 The Value**

The value of this study lies in its endeavor to develop a new interdisciplinary approach to the study of critical political discourse which may potentially be exploited in the fields of critical studies as well as political science. Therefore, it may be useful to critical linguists, students of political science as well as discourse and media analysts. It is also of value to those interested in analyzing ideological variation within (political) discourse, since it proposes a method which may be seen as a sample for other studies to start from.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter presents the terms which are of main interest to the study in order to draw a sufficient theoretical framework for the analysis of the data. It accounts essentially for the concepts of interdisciplinarity, multidisciplinary and transdisciplinarity, a review of CDS and some concepts relevant to the field, and a number of relevant previous studies.

#### **2.1 Perspectives: Theory and Disciplinarity**

This section deals with the distinctions of theory, interdisciplinarity, multidisciplinary, and transdisciplinarity, and their relation to context, focusing on the differences and nature of each of these terms. Eventually, it attempts to provide an answer to the question of how these may be related to CDS and what is the best to use in the current study.

##### **2.1.1 Theory**

One of the definitions that the Merriam Webster Dictionary gives to theory is that it is “a plausible or scientifically acceptable general principle or body of principles offered to explain phenomena”. Provided that, it may be safe to say that in any sort of analysis, a theory must be pertained to serve as the standard for analysis. However, taken that CDS is not a theory-based kind of field, but “a general label for a special approach” which draws from other disciplines’ theories -as van Dijk (1995b) puts it- it becomes inevitable that, for the analysis within CDS to be reliable, it must be disseminated under various fields’ theories, like political science, sociology, psychology, etc.

Therefore, the matter is not an easy one, especially because there are different types through which fields may be linked, such as interdisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity, and multidisciplinary.

Each one of these types has its own way of connecting the sciences in a different way, as described below.

### **2.1.2 The Disciplinary Perspective**

This perspective refers to the specific view of every discipline to reality, which is used as the main tool to differentiate between disciplines. It is worth noting that every discipline's perspective to reality is germane to the interdisciplinary understanding of that reality, filtering out irrelevant information and focusing on the ones which draw its interest. For example, a politician would be more interested in regulatory hurdles of oil refinery than a historian would (Miller, 1982, p. 7; see also: Boix Mansilla, Miller, and Gardner, 2000). Even though some scholars may limit the disciplinary perspective to certain elements, others, like Klein (2005), see it as one of many elements that outline a discipline, such as phenomena, epistemology, assumptions, concepts, theories, and methods. In other words, these elements, altogether, form the "cognitive map" of each discipline, giving the discipline its defining characteristics (p. 68). A simplified definition of disciplinary perspective puts it as "a discipline's view of reality in a general sense that embraces and in turn reflects the ensemble of its defining elements" (Introducing the Disciplines, 2021, p. 35).

In a similar line, Szostak (2020a), states that the disciplinary perspective is mostly unconscious which is why scholars are affected by it despite the effort to look interdisciplinary. He defines the elements of disciplinary perspective as follows:

1. Disciplines identify certain things that they study.
2. Disciplines favor one or a few theories (in general or for each thing they study).
3. Disciplines favor one or a few methods (and thus types of data and standards of evidence).
4. Disciplines define key concepts in particular ways.

5. Disciplines take their own ontological stance toward the nature of reality.
6. Disciplines take their own epistemological stance regarding the possibilities of human understanding and the best ways of enhancing (if possible) that understanding.
7. Disciplines, to varying degrees, may also be associated with particular ethical, ideological, or aesthetic tendencies.
8. Some disciplines are closely identified with certain major thinkers.

Moreover, what is also important is to check how these individual elements function in practice, which is explained as follows (“Introducing The Disciplines”, 2021, pp. 59-60):

1. These elements are mutually reinforcing. Disciplines tend to choose approaches that best investigate their theories, and subjects that their theories and methods can cope with. A discipline’s epistemological position definitely favors the approaches it employs which generates a vast wall to interdisciplinarity: “disciplinarians disdain the methods of others, but their own methods tend to be biased in favor of their own theories.”
2. The disciplinary perspective is mostly subconscious which is taken in gradually over time. Researchers that know disciplinary perspective may be better in valuing its limitations.
3. Disciplines decide whenever degrees are to be granted, employments given, and publication with recourse to disciplinary perspective.

Such account of disciplinary perspective goes in line with the definition of interdisciplinary studies in terms of *highlighting the disciplines and mixing their insights and theories to make a more comprehensive understanding*. For this reason, interdisciplinary scholars are required to evaluate disciplinary insights in the setting of disciplinary perspective, reflecting the reality of what happens in real interdisciplinary work- “drawing not just on disciplinary perspectives in a

general sense, but more particularly on those defining elements of disciplines (assumptions, concepts, and theories) that relate most directly to the problem being investigated”. Therefore, researchers who are interested in interdisciplinarity have always realized the significance of the “disciplinary perspective”- bearing in mind the fact that each discipline sees world from a different angle, which impacts how these disciplines make projects in their own ways (“Introducing The Disciplines”, 2021, p. 35).

### **2.1.3 The Interdisciplinary Perspective**

‘Interdisciplinarity’, ‘transdisciplinarity’ and ‘multidisciplinarity’ have become slogans of academic discourse (Weiss and Wodak, 2007, p. 15). According to Weingart and Stehr (2000), the difference between disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspective lies in that the former is defined by relying on the fields’ territories, whereas the latter is of an innovative, paradoxical, and flexible nature, emphasizing that the call for interdisciplinarity increases by the increase in differentiation of knowledge production. For this reason, there has been a consistent call for CDS to be interdisciplinary; not only on the methodological level, but also on the level of discourse interpretation, context and ‘exhaustive description’ versus ‘abstinence from theory’ (Weingart and Stehr, 2000, p. 16).

The literal meaning of an “interdiscipline” refers to the space "between disciplines" or the rational relation between two disciplines or more (Karlqvist, 1999, p. 379). Szostak, in his “Defining Disciplinary Perspective” (ND, p. 1) contributes to this definition by stating that the term itself - “interdiscipline”- makes reference to some *field of inquiry that brings together aspects of different disciplines but has not yet become a discipline with a single perspective*.

According to Nicolescu (2014, p. 19) interdisciplinarity involves “the transfer of methods [from] one discipline to another [...] but its goal still remains within the framework of disciplinary

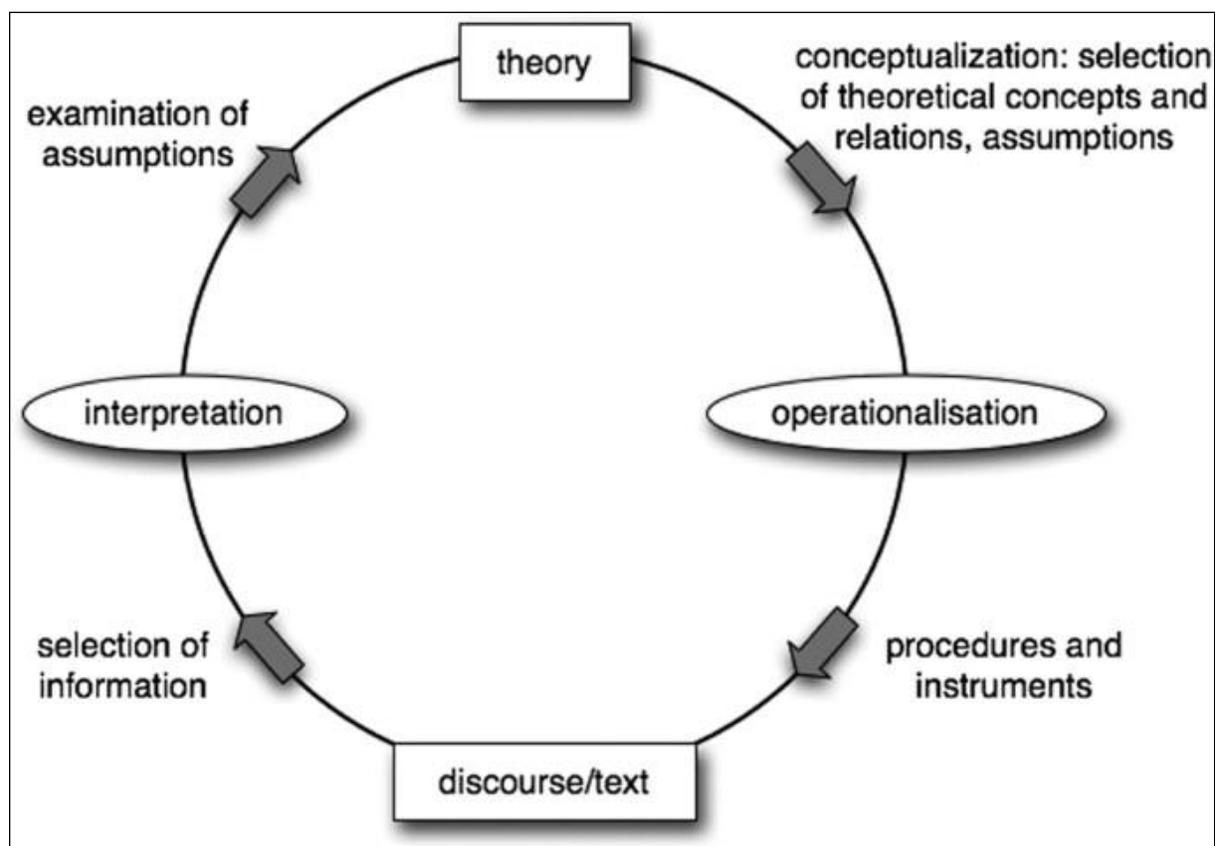
research”. It thus surfeits disciplines via transgressing the boundaries of disciplines. Lawrence (2010, p. 127) illustrates this type as involving the “collaboration and cooperation of scientists” from two or more disciplines, applying their disciplinary aptitude to study a common question in order to arrive at shared results, focusing on “integrating concepts, methods, and principles from different disciplines”.

Since its inception up until this point, critical analysts have reiterated the importance of interdisciplinarity as an essential principle of CDS “*as a reaction against the sometimes staid and rigid disciplinary boundaries of linguistics and other disciplines*”. The concept has been challenged and investigated on numerous occasions, being significant in matters such as racism, sexism, discrimination, and domination among other socially complex issues (Unger, 2016, p. 1).

According to Wodak and Mayer (2015), there are different stages, within the reclusive nature of CDS, in which interdisciplinarity functions alongside linguistics and other fields, as the following figure shows.

**Figure 2-1**

*The Reclusive Nature of CDS (Wodak and Mayer, 2015)*



In this circle, there is a wide range of disciplines whose theories may be used by CDS (at the top of the circle), since CDS entails combining a number of theories within a specific study (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 16). Moving on to operationalization, these disciplines could be separated from their “original” disciplines, getting changed and adapted to suit the problem under study- applying theory to research problem. This, in turn, puts them under the influence of the researcher’s orientation- getting affected by their disciplinary conventions (Unger, 2016, p. 4).

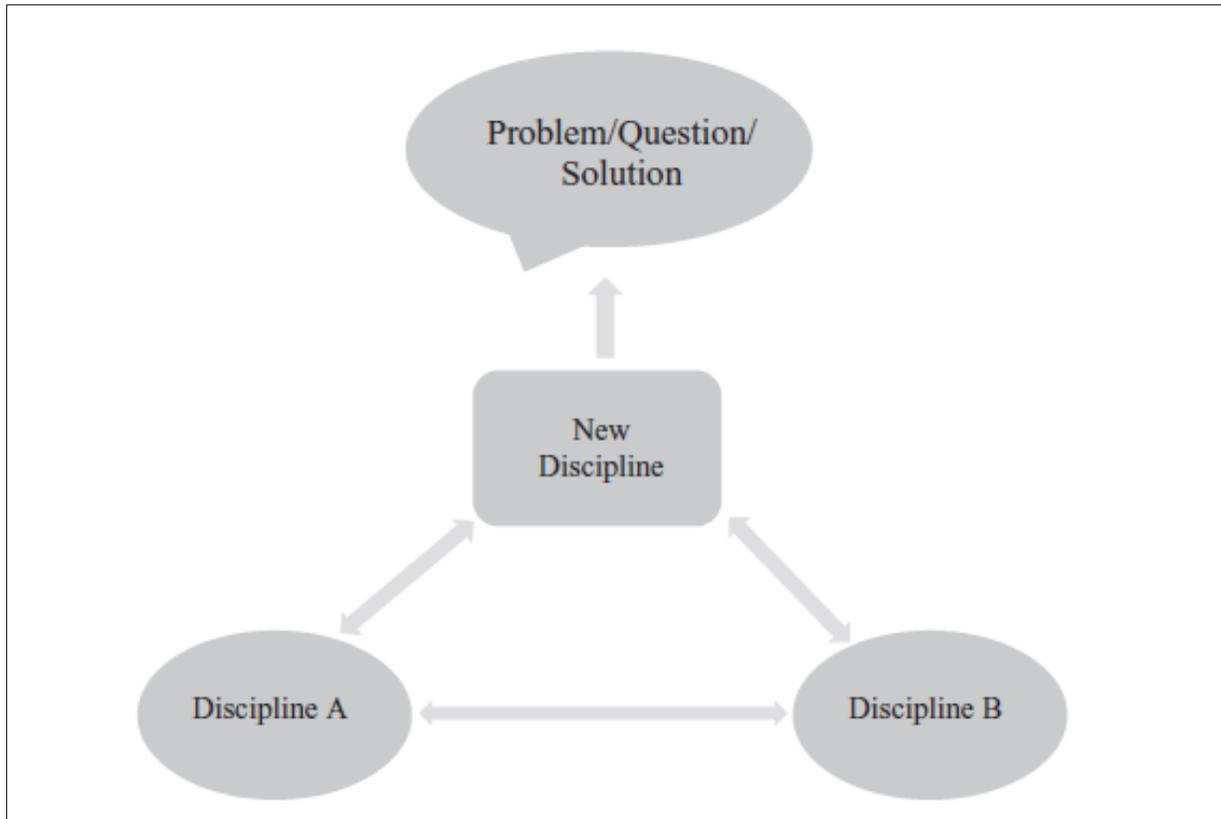
At the discourse/text stage, the choice of the linguistic phenomena under purview becomes in a parallel relationship with sub-fields of linguistics with which the researcher feels mostly comfortable, which, in turn, rely on the research question. That is why “*there have been calls to*

*combine different forms of linguistic analysis*” (which the current study makes use of). At the final stage, interpretation is also affected by the disciplinary conventions, yielding the scope and focus of what is interpreted being influenced as well. For example, within specific contexts, ethnographic approaches make comprehensive description of discourse practices without having to generalize to other contexts. On the other hand, there is corpus analysis which does not prevent inferences from being drawn about hypothetically large volumes of texts, except for specific discursive characteristics (Unger, 2016, p. 4).

Mainly due to this fact that CDA (and later CDS) has called for interdisciplinarity as ‘the conceptual framework conditions of discourse-analytical research’ in terms of analyzing the status quo (Weiss and Wodak, 2007, p. 1; see also van Dijk, 1995). Moreover, since the powerful people, not language, is what is responsible for societal inequality, CDS has chosen to side with the suffering public and to oppose the powerful groups. As a result, a call for interdisciplinary work is emphasized in order to get an accurate understanding of language functions in creating and transmitting knowledge, arranging social institutions or in exerting power (Weiss and Wodak, 2007, p. 14). To conclude, Weingart and Stehr (2000, p. 30) reiterate that interdisciplinarity may be looked at as the result of speculation in the production of knowledge; therefore, “perspective, specialization and interdisciplinarity complement each other; they are not opposites or new dichotomies, but rather they coexist.” Figure (2-2) below shows the representation of interdisciplinary research according to Schmalz et al. (2019).

**Figure 2-2**

*The Interdisciplinary Research Representation (Schmalz et al, 2019, p. 390)*



Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 24) present different theoretical levels of sociological and socio-psychological theories as follows:

1. Epistemology: provide the conditions that limit the human perception, specifically the scientific perception.
2. General social theories, or ‘grand theories’: link the micro and macro phenomena in society and try to conceptualize the complex relations between social structure and social action.
3. Middle-range theories: concentrate on specific social phenomena (like conflicts and social networks) or on particular subsystems of society (like, politics, economy, religion, etc.).

4. Micro-sociological theories: theories attempt to clarify social interaction, for instance, the reform of everyday actions that members of a certain society use to make their own social order (i.e., ethnomethodology).
5. Socio-psychological theories: focus on the social circumstances of cognition and emotion, and favor fundamental clarifications to an explanatory interpretation of meaning.
6. Discourse theories: aim at conceptualizing discourse as a social phenomenon and attempt to explicate its beginning and its structure.
7. Linguistic theories: are theories of grammar, of argumentation, and of rhetoric. They define the patterns of a specific language system and verbal communication.

#### **2.1.4 Transdisciplinarity and Multidisciplinarity**

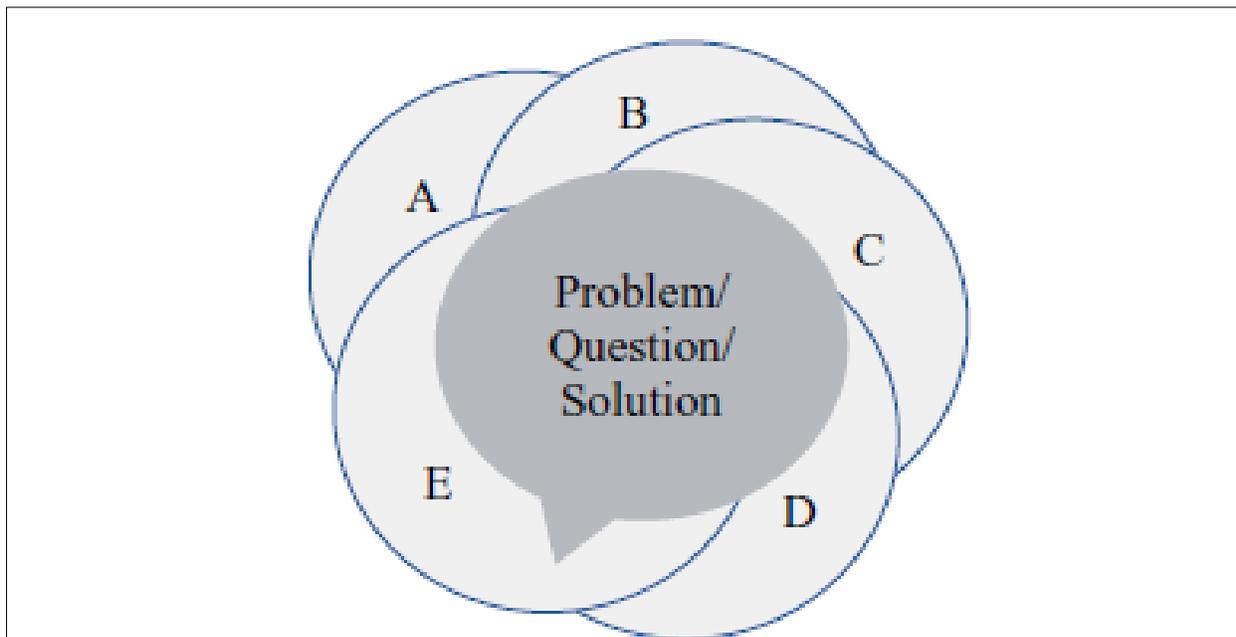
Transdisciplinarity involves the transfer “between the disciplines, across the different disciplines, and beyond all disciplines” whose aim is to provide an understanding of the current world based on the principle of “unity of knowledge”. On the other hand, multidisciplinary is defined as the study of a research topic in more than two disciplines simultaneously, whose incorporation contributes to the topic at hand. Even though multidisciplinary “overflows” the boundaries of disciplines, yet its goal remains within the framework of disciplinary research (Nicolescu, 2014, p. 19).

Schmalz et al. (2019, p. 390) perceive the transdisciplinary work as a step *outside of the researchers’ common areas* of inquiry making an independent “intellectual space”. So, it becomes evident that the aim of this mode is to “*truly blend different perspectives so as to understand scientific questions and problems in their complexity rather than just addressing pieces of them*”, as shown in figure (2-3) below. Along the same line, Gehlert et al. (2010, p. 412) strongly argue that a “[transdisciplinary] approach allows [the researchers] to transcend and operate *outside the*

*boundaries and cultures of those disciplines to capture new realities, mutually inform one another's work, and address multilevel determinants”.*

**Figure 2-3**

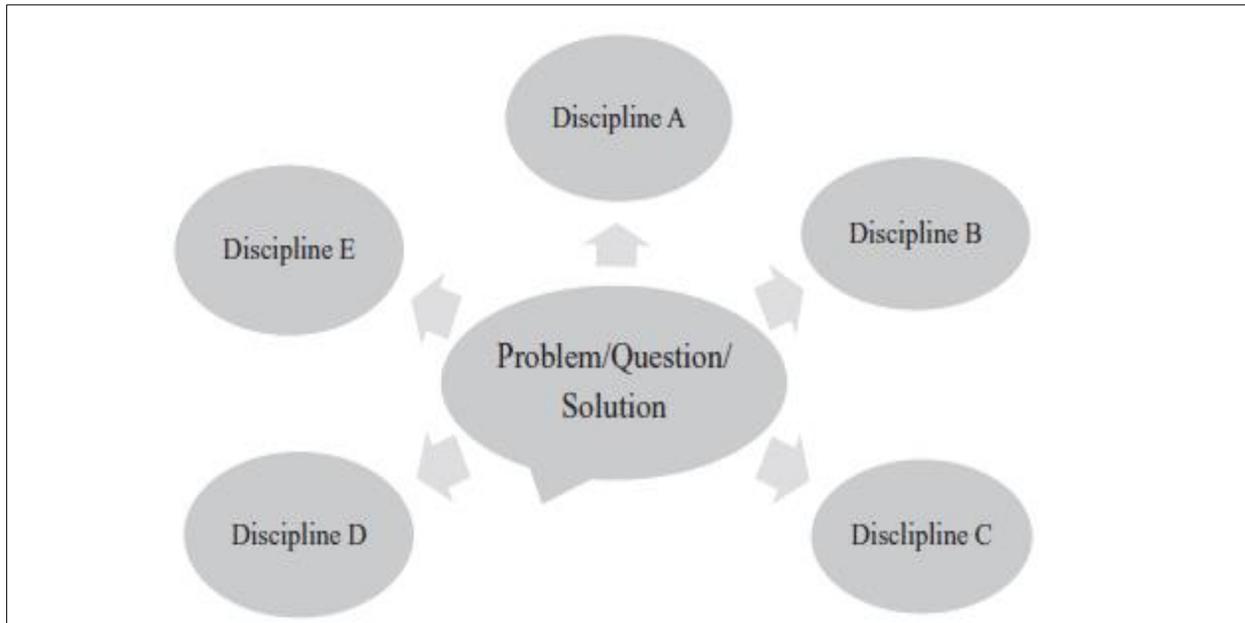
*The Transdisciplinary Research Representation (Schmalz et al., 2019, p. 391)*



In a somewhat different space, multidisciplinary demonstrates the fact that the multiple disciplines persist as independent, keeping the structure of disciplines and theories intact. In other words, this kind of academic cooperation entails dealing with a subject from differing disciplinary perspectives (Unger, 2015, p. 5). As such, multidisciplinary research involves a collaborative team of scientists of different specialties who examine a similar, wide-ranging question. They may meet every once in a while, yet they study a “similar topic of interest from their own disciplinary lens, reach their own conclusions, and disseminate their results to respective outlets” (Rosenfield, 1992 cited in Schmalz, 2019, p. 389). The following figure is an attempt at visualizing how the multidisciplinary research works.

**Figure 2-4**

*The Multidisciplinary Research Representation (Schmalz, 2019, p. 390)*



In the majority of his projects, van Dijk reveals the importance of multidisciplinary perspectives and theoretical substance “par excellence”. In order to understand the complication of the problem of knowledge, a number of disciplines and perspectives must be involved: epistemology, psychology, cultural anthropology, cognitive anthropology, sociology and linguistics. What is true for knowledge is also true for the notion of discourse. Therefore, van Dijk sees it as a postulate that the crossing point between discourse and knowledge also needs to be *multidisciplinary*. This becomes evident when they need and presuppose each other mutually: discourse production and understanding cannot take place without knowledge, and knowledge acquisition and change usually presuppose discourse (Weiss and Wodak, 2003, p. 25).

Using the words of Bruce et al. (2004, p. 16), who state that the difference lies in the fact that in multidisciplinary research, each discipline works in a “self-contained” manner and that interdisciplinarity approaches an issue depending on a array of disciplinary perspectives combined

to provide a complete outcome; transdisciplinarity confirms focus on how knowledge is organized “around complex heterogeneous domains” instead of disciplines and subjects which usually organize knowledge around them (Bruce et al. 2004, p. 17). Similarly, Choi and Pak (2006, p. 351) sum up the controversy regarding the demarcation between each of these terms based on their typological (Latin) roots as follows:

Multidisciplinarity draws on knowledge from different disciplines but stays within their boundaries. *Interdisciplinarity analyzes, synthesizes and harmonizes links between disciplines into a coordinated and coherent whole.* Transdisciplinarity integrates the natural, social and health sciences in a humanities context, and transcends their traditional boundaries.

Moreover, the adjectives of additive, *interactive*, and holistic are added, respectively, to describe multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary. Therefore, the first of these is ‘pseudo-interdisciplinarity’ due to the lack of intercommunication and separation of disciplines, the second is ‘true interdisciplinarity’ by the favor of the integrative nature, and the third has ‘exogenous’ borders as a result of its transgressing nature (Choi and Pak, 2006, p. 6).

Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 21) refer to interdisciplinarity as being implemented in different ways in the approaches of critical analysis. For instance, it may be tackled theoretically, as in using different approaches, like the Dialectical-Relational Approach, the Socio-Cognitive approach, and the like. Contradictorily, it could refer to the collection of data and their analysis, as in Social Actors approach, the Discourse-Historical approach, etc. In other words, the critical analysis of discourse accepts a wide range of theories alongside concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, and other factors which affect discourse.

With this detailed clarification of each of the modes of research provided, it goes without saying that the mode of interdisciplinarity (the “true interdisciplinarity”) is the best for the current study to adopt in its approach in terms of its integrating, linking and intercommunicative nature which allows approaches from the two selected fields, Linguistics and Political Science, feasible and achievable, leading to credible results and conclusions in this respect.

### **2.1.5 The Creative Aspect of Interdisciplinarity**

Creativity is defined, in a broad sense, as the capacity to come up with ideas or products which are original as well as adapted to the setting and restraints of certain tasks (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999, p. 3). According to Plucker (1998, p. 179), “creativity refers to a process that is both general/generic and relatively specific depending on its areas of application”; therefore, creativity contributes to the development of interdisciplinarity.

The well-known American sociologists and historians, Roger and Ellen Hollingsworth (2000, p.1), after long search for the best and most creative way to conduct research, found out that it is achievable through the “perspectives on interdisciplinarity, nurturing leadership, and integrated structure and cultures”. They concluded that interdisciplinary teamwork is at a quite intensive level and it is an essential requirement for creativity- including having scientists of diverse disciplines and backgrounds.

Weiss and Wodak (2007, p. 17) explain that, in looking at Chomsky’s approaches, it becomes evident that there is a similar structure as well as descriptive organized theories without replacing one another. They see it as an innovation through which new casual relations “weigh known casual relations differently or to highlight new dimensions of a study object, exemplifying the topic of women which could be studied historically, sociologically, philosophically and linguistically “so as to end the attributing of universal validity to findings based on studies of white

middle-class men.” In this, innovation may be recognized through the step from the sentence to the text, among other examples. Hence, creativity becomes “*an object of study perfectly eligible for an interdisciplinary approach, and it diffuses cross-borders in educational, economic, social, and cultural issues*” which increases the number of advancements on creativity simultaneously with mechanisms of interdisciplinary knowledge production (Darbellay and Moody, 2017, p. xvi)

## **2.2 Critical Discourse Studies: Background and Overview**

Critical Studies of discourse emerged simultaneously as other fields, such as critical psychology, critical social policy, and critical anthropology which were developing at the time. Whereas Fairclough (1990) used the term ‘critical linguistics’, others used labels such as ‘critical language awareness’ and ‘critical language studies.’ By that time, the term ‘critical’ had become a label for a specific type of academic research that aimed to find out hidden connections (Fairclough, 1989, p. 5).

In order to deal with CDS, it is inevitable to highlight how it is different from, or the same as, Critical Discourse Analysis. The latter originates from the field of Discourse Analysis (henceforth DA) which was established in 1960 for the purpose of sheer linguistic data in relation to their context, focusing on the meaning denoted to language through its users (Bhatia, 2008, p. 1). Ten years later, just like any other field, developments in DA and contact with other fields paved the way to the more critical analysis of language, i.e., Critical Linguistics (henceforth CL) whose aim was to find power relations through linguistic means (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, pp. 4-5).

Later on, Wodak and her colleagues (known as “the CDA Group”) helped establish the field of Critical Discourse Analysis which was their way to use more methods and theories in analyzing language to find ideological implications- fill in the gaps of the previous invention.

Therefore, CDA is more of an interdisciplinary, multi-methodical approach that aims to uncover power abuse and reproduction through linguistics texts (Machin and Meyer, 2012, p. 4; Wodak and Meyer, 2008, p. 2). As time went on, the term Critical Discourse Studies became more common in use by van Dijk and Wodak as it is *more exhaustive* to the scope that this field covers as well as is *more expressive* than CDA (van Dijk, 1995; Wodak and Meyer 2003). Moreover, van Dijk, in his (2015) “Critical Discourse Studies: A Socio-cognitive Approach”, emphasizes that he prefers CDS over CDA because the former dodges the common misconception that a critical approach is one method of the methods of discourse analysis, and that it presents the field as one within which there is a *critical theory* and *critical applications*.

Contingent with this argument, Unger (2016, p.1) defines CDS as “a group of approaches to the analysis of texts in their social contexts” and Christopher Hart (Hart, 2011, par. 1) adds that it is “an exciting research enterprise in which scholars are concerned with the discursive reproduction of power and inequality”. Hart accentuates that CDS analysts realize the necessity of studying the cognitive dimensions as well as the context in order to arrive at a conclusion which links *language*, *legitimization*, and *social action*. This, in turn leads back to van Dijk’s question about the core aim of CDS to which he provides the following:

1. The aim is to analyze, and thus to contribute to the understanding and the solution of, serious social problems, especially those that are caused or exacerbated by public text and talk, such as various forms of *social power abuse* (domination) and their resulting social inequality.
2. This analysis is conducted within a normative perspective, defined in terms of international human rights, that allows a critical assessment of *abusive, discursive practices* as well as guidelines for practical intervention and resistance against illegitimate domination.

3. The analysis specifically takes into account the interests, the expertise and the resistance of those groups that are the victims of *discursive injustice* and its consequences. (Van Dijk, 2015, pp.63-4)

Van Dijk's reference to such kind of domination as "abusive discursive practices" and "discursive injustice" raises the bar of the level of seriousness with which this topic should be dealt. Unger (2015) poses the question of whether CDS is in a position where it could be considered as an independent discipline, despite all the journals, postgraduate degrees, conferences, etc. whose focus is solely on CDS. What is sure though is that CDS has achieved broad success and longevity of ideas which it has developed significantly to the point where it has become a "brand" which can rely on "well-established" theories and methodologies from other disciplines (Unger, 2015, p. 4).

### **2.2.1 Aims and Principles**

Interdisciplinarity can also be seen within the major aims of CDS, as Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 3) explain it as being run by social problems which render its methodology to inevitably be eclectic and *interdisciplinary*. This enhances the ability of the critical analysts to self-reflect and explain their own interests. Different scholars set various aims for the field, but they all lead to one main point, i.e., revealing social inequality within discourse. It is for this reason that Wodak and Meyer (2009, p.7) present CDS as a tool that monitors and guides the public behavior, providing them with the knowledge that they need to liberate themselves from any mastery or deceit.

Fairclough (1992, p. 6) and van Dijk (1993, p. 250) both seem to have close viewpoints regarding the aim of this field, referring to hidden deception and manipulation as the outcomes of ideologized forms of discourse that average people may not pay attention to. This would lead to unequal social privileges which, in turn, leads to dominance of some groups (such as the elites)

over others. This dominance is usually legitimized, denied, mitigated, supported or concealed in discourse, resulting in *power reproduction*. Therefore, the role of the critical analyst is to investigate how this reproduction of power is achieved via adhering to a number of requirements, as the ones van Dijk (1998, p. 2) states below:

1. To be accepted, it must not be like other research, but better.
2. More than any other, its emphasis should lie on the social and political subjects.
3. To be appropriate, it should be *multidisciplinary*.
4. Any socially-related discourse structures should be clarified rather than described.
5. Its focus must be on how structures of discourse legitimize, enact, reproduce power to achieve dominance.

As a matter of fact, the significance of the third point above, “it should be multidisciplinary”, as well as Wodak and Myer’s emphasis on interdisciplinarity (as clarified above) is what drives the current study to develop an approach that carries this feature. Moreover, the social and political aspects stressed in the second point above led the current study to focus on the socio-political dimension of the effect of discourse.

In his endeavor to set up principles to be adopted by the critical analyst, van Dijk (1997a, pp. 80-1) give forth the following principles:

1. The main concern of CDS is social problems.
2. It interprets and explains the issues under scrutiny.
3. Discourse contains ideological implications.
4. Discourse is a type of social behavior.
5. Discourse is related to history.
6. Discourse organizes opinions and communities.

7. Power relations are related to discourse.
8. The relation between society and text is mediated (not direct).

With that provided, it is now essential to deal with the main principle that differentiates CDS from other sheer linguistic methods of analysis, i.e., critique. The following section presents a somewhat detailed account of this concept within the critical analysis.

### **2.2.2 The Rhetoric of Critique**

Along the lengthy list of academics who used ‘critical’ approaches in their endeavors, Kant (1781, p. 3) is considered as the most notable scholar who used the term in his title ‘Critical Investigation of Pure Reason’, indicating that his aim was not after the criticism of ‘books and systems’ but to the way of using ‘rational priori principles’ in the analysis of reason. Then came Karl Popper (1976) who referred to his work as “critical rationalism”, focusing his attention on the Marxists, metaphysicians, and all upholders of induction principle as “uncritical dogmatists”.

The negative connotation of the term “critical” has been of debate since the inception of the field, giving reasons for some scholars to discuss finding potential alternatives. That is when Fairclough (1989, p. 5) clarifies that what the term actually refers to is the investigation of unseen connections rather than a criticism of some politician, etc. He later updated his statement to indicate that it is *critical* because of its need to be differentiated from other *non-critical* approaches to discourse, shedding the light on the relation between language and society (2001, pp. 133). In fact, this falls in line Jean Piaget’s work in psychology which puts the term critical as a dividing standard between his work and that of other rival approaches that lack such an approach (Burman, 1996, p. 39).

Any similarity that may be found in today’s CDS and that of Kant or Popper does not relate to them directly (as they both say their work is different from any other work), rather, the similarity

may be due to the similar origin of these critical approaches- the Frankfurt School (Gergen, 1994, p. 197). That is why today's critical analysts do not assign themselves to either of these categories; for instance, van Dijk (1993) states that CDS is not a conventional method with progressive viewpoints, but is a way of criticizing the social system in terms of how the dominant groups impose discourse which leads to social inequality. Wodak and Meyer (2001, p. 9) go further as to highlight that, in CDS, the analysts' stance and political opinion may be reflected in their work, keeping in mind the social context of the data under scrutiny.

Moreover, being critical does not yield the fact that other non-critical approaches should not be used. Rather, they may be relied on by critical analysts since their tools of analysis may be fruitful in terms of analyzing detached fragments of language as opposed to using them in the more macro socio-political context (Wetherell, 1998, p. 387). In this regard, Schegloff (1997, pp. 165-187) maintains that conversation analysis' refusal to impose political or other categories on the selected data for analysis is its strength, because otherwise such categories may hinder the analysis of the particulars of talk by the participants. This, in turn, reduces the detailed interpersonal analyses which the critical analyst aims at (Wetherell, 1998, p. 390).

Hence, another difference between the critical and non-critical approaches rises: the former contrast itself with other non-sociopolitical focused approaches, disciplines, theories, etc. Consequently, an argument is upheld between those who see criticality as intrinsic to the results of CDS, like Potter (1996, p. 227) who claims that the results of the analysis should determine whether there are or there are no "social criticisms". On the other hand, critical analysts argue that critique is an inbuilt feature in theoretical and methodological tools of CDS analysis - it is the reason behind the existence of this analysis (Billig, 2002, p. 9).

Since critique is the tool through which discourse is analyzed to find out the hidden ideologies, it is essential that the relation between discourse and ideology is also reviewed. The following section clarifies this relation.

### **2.2.3 Discourse and Ideology**

Fairclough (1992, p. 3) does not give a simple and precise definition to the term ‘discourse’, stressing that it is hard to come up with one single definition for this term due to overlaps of definitions as well as its reference to not only the written form of language, but to the spoken as well. Jaworski and Coupland (1999, p. 1) follow the same line of thought as Fairclough and add that discourse is not easy to define because each genre has its own kind of discourse: medical discourse, court discourse, advertising discourse, etc., yet they show that it lies beyond sentence level, reflects language use, and includes social non-linguistic elements.

On the other hand, van Dijk (2011, p.30; 2015, p. 71) links discourse to mental models, assigning “local” and “global” levels of coherence to discourse which serve to either “enable or delimit” knowledge, control speech, and thought; thus, it gives elite groups in societies the advantage of disseminating their ideologies and impose their view points on the public (the less dominant group). This gives an explanation as to why van Dijk (1995a, p. 21) sees ideologies as “specific basic frameworks of social cognition with specific social structures and specific cognitive and social functions” which serve as the bridge between, on the one hand, the mental representations and the necessary discourse procedures and social context and social groups” gains, on the other.

### **2.2.4 Discourse-Cognition-Society Triangle**

One of the main controversial issues regarding the relation between discourse and society is that they are significantly different in nature from each other, which makes their mingling

difficult. Therefore, van Dijk (2013, p. 1) sees discourse and societal structures are connected via mental representations which affect the cognitive processes concerned with the production and interpretation of discourse, and states that the reverse is also true- societal structures affect discourse through these same representations. van Dijk (2013, p. 2) adds that ignoring cognition or denying it takes the argument back to the controversy of Behaviorism which dates decades ago, due to the inability to observe the cognitive representations and social structures, narrowing the notion of “action” and implied meanings to “the concept of “observable” conduct”. The same holds true to discourse which is also almost impossible to account for it in terms of observation.

As such, van Dijk (2015, p. 64) states that his critical approach to discourse, unlike other approaches which relate discourse to society in an immediate relationship, adds the element of cognition as the mediator between discourse and society, hence creating the triangle of Discourse-Cognition-Society. Adding this element, therefore, makes the comprehension of how discourse changes people more logical:

Discourse structures and social structures are of a different nature, and can only be related through the *mental representations of language users* as individuals and as social members. social interaction, social situations and social structures can only influence text and talk through people’s interpretations of such social environments. And conversely, discourse can only influence social interaction and social structures through the same cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. (van Dijk, 2015, p. 64))

This re-emphasizes the importance of tackling these three elements in detail so as to make up how they influence comprehension. The following sub-sections discuss discourse, cognition, and society for that matter.

### **2.2.4.1 The Discourse Component**

Fairclough (1992, p. 3) does not agree on one specific definition of discourse due to what he realize as the existence of a variety of discourses: discourse of newspapers, advertisements discourse, medical discourse, among many others; let alone the difference between written and spoken examples of language. In a similar vein, Wodak and Meyer (2008, pp. 5-7) see discourse not as an entity by itself, rather by those who use the discourse, referring to the controversial difference of the meaning of discourse in England and Central Europe. Nevertheless, in order to come up with a common ground for researchers who are interested in discourse, Jaworski and Coupland (1999, p. 1) set a tripod definition for discourse as: “anything beyond the sentence” which indicates “language use” and stands for “a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language”.

#### **2.2.4.1.1 Political Discourse**

Political discourse is the type of discourse made by political institutions (or parties) or professional politicians, such as members of a parliament, prime ministers, presidents, etc. whether it is national, international or local (IGI Global). Van Dijk (1995b, p. 135) puts any type of ideological discourse under the umbrella term of “socio-political” discourse, trying to fill the gap between the structure of discourse and that of the society (such as class, gender, ethnicity, etc.). This is why, he justifies, critical analysts are interested in studying power abuse and power resistance in a critical manner, yielding political discourse under the microscope of critical studies, even before the use of CDA (Chilton, 2004)

In his endeavor to focus on discourse structures and discursive practice at the macro-level analysis, Fairclough’s studies have mainly focused on political discourse from an economic point of view, with a focus on globalization and British politics. In a similar, yet different in orientation,

effort, Ruth Wodak's studies and methods as well as those of her collaborators have played a vital role in the approach of the critical studies of political discourse (Chilton, 2004). As a matter of fact, Wodak's and her associates' works on political discourse are considered as the "most extensive and explicit" analyses of such discourse, integrating a wide range of disciplines and notions of analysis in their DHA, such as psychology, sociolinguistics, and history. One of such analyses is highlight the inevitability of analyzing the entire *historical and social context* in discourse production (as well as its structures and strategies), when criticizing the speech act theory. Her multidisciplinary approach has been applied to a variety of fields, such as courtrooms, schools, hospitals, racism, antisemitism, etc. (Van Dijk, 1998).

Furthermore, political discourse has received more attention than the merely theoretical perspective in fields such as linguistics and pragmatics, for instance Paul Chilton's collection on the language of the debate on nuclear weapons, work on contemporary "nuke speak", and metaphor (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 19; see: Wodak, 1994, 1996). According to Derian and Shapiro (1989, cited in van Dijk, 2001, p. 354-355) political science is among the "*few social disciplines in which discourse analysis has remained virtually unknown, although there is some influence of "postmodern" approaches to discourse*" which is why the majority of the work is conducted by linguists and discourse analysts.

Thus, the current study attempts to link the gap between these two disciplines through attempting an interdisciplinary approach which relies on the theories of the two sciences: Political Science and CDS.

#### **2.2.4.1.2 Discourse of Domination**

Dominant groups may show control not only through their discourse of others but through their own discourse. Hence a powerful group may enact social power via the properties of its

(members') discourse. For example, Eckert and Rickford (2001) present one of the many studies which discuss how language and discourse have a potential for variation and show the relation of power between speakers and audience, as in the following:

1. Morphology: diminutives may be used by men to belittle women.
2. Lexicon: one form of paradigmatic domination is through using racist slurs to address ethnic minorities as a legitimation of neighborhood crimes.
3. Pronouns: these are defined by power differences, politeness, and deference between speakers and recipients.
4. Syntax and lexicon: these may be utilized through passive structures, mitigation, and euphemisms, as in rape trials to mitigate men's responsibility for their violence against women.
5. Metaphor: just like using mitigated sentences and words, metaphors might also be used in court to advocate that rape victims may be lying.
6. Storytelling: stories in entail social identities in various ways and can also be used to show power, for instance, when some female managers tell stories to show how strong leaders they may be.
7. Conversation: many differences in power and status may be indicated by many, as in turn-taking, sequencing (e.g., opening and closing), interruptions, topic.
8. Initiation and change: the more powerful speakers may be allowed to speak first if, according to the designated culture and context.

Therefore, these may be used as strategies which may be potentially utilized to deter, change, inflict, etc. certain ideologies by the powerful group, and lead to changing the minds of the dominated group. Nevertheless, this would not be achievable without the mediation of cognition, which is discussed in the following section.

### **2.2.4.3 The Cognition Component**

According to van Dijk (van Dijk, 2013, p. 66) the cognitive line between discourse and society is “as complex as the very structures of text and talk, on the one hand, and those of society, on the other hand”. Therefore, any attempt to summarize this relation should be limited to those most relevant motions in this regard. Being significant in investigating discourse, the cognitive component deals with the aspects of mind, memory, and the cognitive processes concerned with the production and comprehension of discourse. Therefore, the following sub-sections deal with the notions of memory and its types, mental models (individual and episodic), social cognition, and (personal and shared) knowledge.

#### **2.2.4.3.1 Memory**

Van Dijk (1998, p. 10) uses the division of memory into short-term and long-term memory to indicate that the latter contains the “autobiographical experiences and knowledge stored in Episodic Memory (EM)” as well as the “socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies in Semantic Memory (SM).” Therefore, the short-term memory represents the exclusive knowledge and personal experiences and opinions of the people, grew through their lives- and it is divided into mental models and context models. The long-term memory, on the other hand, is the “social representations”, like the broader immaterial socio-cultural information, beliefs or attitudes that members of a group share with each other.

##### **2.2.4.3.1.1 Personal Cognition (Mental Models)**

Van Dijk (2015, p. 66) refers to personal cognition as the individual unique experiences of a person which are processed in the Working Memory (stored in Episodic Memory), entailing a universal hierarchical composition of categories of memory such as “spatiotemporal Setting, Participants (and their identities, roles and relations), Actions/Events, and Goals.” Moreover,

personal cognition may include “visual, auditory, sensorimotor, evaluative, and emotional information of experiences, as differentially processed in different parts of the brain.” This type of cognition is somewhat similar to or different from those of other members of the same community, allowing communication, interaction and cooperation through discourse.

#### **2.2.4.3.1.2 Social Cognition**

Unlike mental models, social cognition is gained from the socially shared perceptions and understandings, resulting in a non-specific non-representational knowledge of the world. It is shared with other members of the same social group (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 66). Also, members of certain social groups may share attitudes towards specific topics, such as abortion, immigration, death penalty, etc. as well as ideologies (racism, sexism, neoliberalism, etc.). On the other hand, some group members may choose to differ and uphold incongruent ideologies, for example: antiracism, feminism, environmentalism, socialism, pacifism, and the like (van Dijk 2013, pp. 2-3).

#### **2.2.4.3.2 Knowledge**

Knowledge is one of the aims of CDS with which it endeavors to provide the public, which makes it an essential element in this field. Van Dijk (2005, pp. 72-4), defines knowledge as the “shared beliefs satisfying the specific (epistemic) criteria of an (epistemic) community”, stating that some of the people’s beliefs are shared as knowledge in a community through the criteria of that community, or its historical moment. These criteria, apparently, are different in the “common sense” community of the public and in the scientific communities, and a “belief is treated as knowledge in a community if it is presupposed in the public discourses of that community, as in storytelling, songs, or news reports”.

In line with this argument, Hudson (1996, p. 82) differentiates between the “common sense” and the scientific knowledge in that the latter is the aftermath of the contact between the former and the specialist knowledge, further dividing the types of knowledge into: cultural (from which language originates), shared non-cultural, and nonshared, noncultural (personal) knowledge. In a similar vein, van Dijk (2005, pp. 72-4) proposes the following criteria as the basis of knowledge variation:

1. Scope: personal, interpersonal, group, organization, nation, culture.
2. Specificity: more or less general or specific knowledge.
3. Concreteness: more or less abstract or concrete knowledge.
4. Reality: More or less fictional or knowledge about the real world.
5. Objects: The objects of knowledge: people, animals, things, nature, etc.
6. Firmness: More or less sure knowledge.

These types may be combined to form a complex mixture of knowledge, such as a myth that is taken as reality and as “knowledge of the world” by a certain social group (van Dijk, 2005, p. 73). Moreover, the second type in Hudson’s categorization is, in van Dijk’s terminology, the “group knowledge” which are the beliefs that a certain social group believes in. Therefore, since knowledge is acquired through discourse this, in turn, makes it an essential element in speaking and understanding language, serving as the basis for cognition, perception, and discourse. In other words, to understand a certain discourse, a speaker needs to have the “knowledge device” (or the K-device), and not only how linguistic elements are organized (van Dijk, 2015, p. 68). For instance, in order to understand a terrorist attack, a link between knowledge of the world (along with its assumptions and inferences) and how to use speech acts is inevitable (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 12; 1988b, p. 23).

With that provided, it becomes clear that when someone has access to knowledge, it may be confidently stated that he/she has the power to persuade others to make them believe in one idea or another via manipulation. The following subsections, therefore, discuss the concepts of persuasion, mind control, and manipulation.

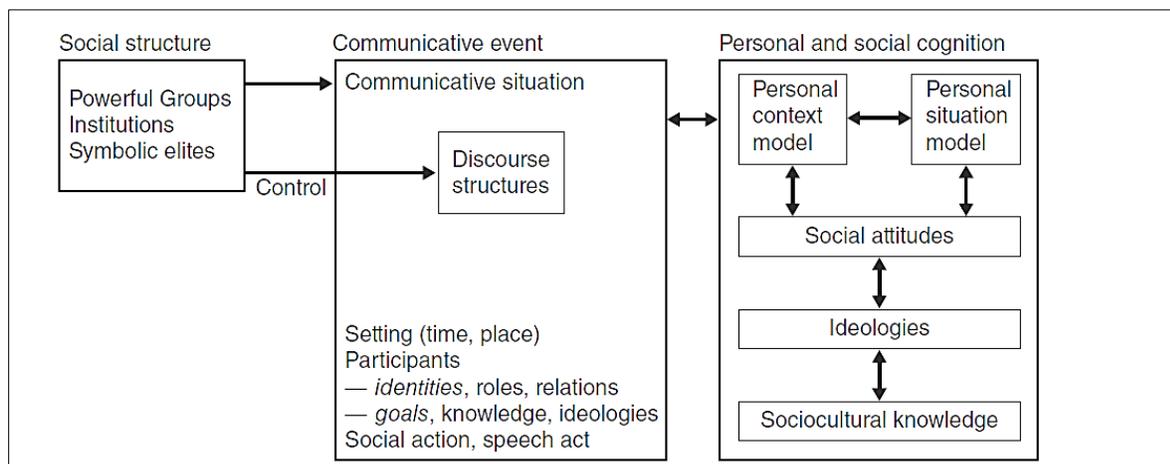
#### **2.2.4.3.2.1 Persuasion and Mind Control**

Oxford Languages defines persuasion as “the action or process of persuading someone or of being persuaded to do or believe something”, or “a belief or a set of beliefs, especially religious or *political ones* [the researcher’s italics]”. This definition leads to the simple fact that the feature of changing people is carried within the connotative meaning of persuasion, such as persuading them to change their attitudes or behaviors about a certain thing through transmitting a message, in an environment of free choice. When this is done, it is essential to lead the group being persuaded to believe that it is their own rationale that made them uphold a certain belief or idea, thus defending, justifying, and authenticating the new discourse (Perloff, 2003, p.1).

The ultimate goal of persuasion is to be able to control a certain group’s way of thinking, i.e., control their minds. This, however, is done in an implicit and indirect way through regulating contexts and structures of discourse, reproducing dominance and hegemony. As such, controlling discourse leads to controlling “intentions, plans, knowledge, opinions, attitudes, and ideologies – as well as their consequent actions – of recipients”, presupposing a separation between the personal memory and the generic socially shared “semantic” memory (van Dijk, 2006, p.363). The following diagram shows the relationship between the social structure, the communicative event, and cognition.

**Figure 2-5**

*Schema of the Discursive Reproduction of Power (van Dijk, 2015b, p.474)*



In that, the mental models and context models are manipulated in order to control the public's collective mind:

mental models [...] are the subjective representation of the events, action, or situation a discourse is *about* – and hence such models have a referential *semantic* nature. Understanding or interpreting discourse about specific events, as is the case for stories and news reports, consists of the construction of a subjective model of the situation the discourse is about. On the other hand, *context models* [...] control the *pragmatic* properties of discourse, such as speech acts, appropriateness, or politeness. Both semantic situation models as well as pragmatic context models not only represent situations but also feature people's opinions and emotions about the situation. (Van Dijk 1995b, p. 474)

Unlike news articles and parliamentary debates, speakers of the dominant groups tend to control the generic knowledge (such as ideologies and attitudes of a certain social group) in addition to controlling the specific knowledge and opinions stored in the recipients' subjective mental models (Van Dijk, 1995b).

Through SCA these three components are blended with one another; hence, manipulation is achieved through the overlap among these components in discourse which may eventually serve the purpose of manipulating the public's collective mind, which the following section affords to detail.

#### **2.2.4.3.2.2 Manipulation**

In critical analysis, manipulation is one of the tools to power abuse which requires attentive scrutiny with attention. One of the definitions put by the Merriam Webster dictionary is that manipulation is “to control or play upon by artful, unfair, or insidious means especially to one's own advantage”. In discourse, it entails forms of ideological discourse in such a way that like emphasizing the good things about the ingroup and the bad things of the outgroup (Bond, 2019, p. 2).

Van Dijk (2006, p. 359) refers to manipulation as the power abuse of discourse which in a way that affects its structures (such as topics, arguments, metaphor, lexical choice, etc.) and influencing the structures and contents of mental models for the speaker's benefit and contrary to the recipients' benefit. In cognition, manipulation is done through interfering with processes of understanding, making partial mental models and social representations like ideologies and knowledge. Therefore, at all levels, manipulation serves the benefit of the dominating group against the dominated group in an extreme manner, for the favor of the former.

The elites use the manipulated social cognitions as they have accepted them of their own, such as when they manipulate discourse that contains racist or xenophobic ideologies which serve as the basis for discrimination, leading the critical thinker to the opposite side of the policies of the governments and other elites (van Dijk, 2006, p. 372).

Political discourse inevitably entails ideologies which are likely to contain social-political manipulation. The latter, in turn, comprises ideologies, attitudes, and ideological structures of discourse. These discourses involve *patterns of polarizations* at all levels of analysis, yet this does not necessarily mean that all socio-political discourses are manipulative. Rather, political discourse may be persuasive and at the same time not manipulative, as is the case in parliamentary debates and television or newspaper discussions (van Dijk, 2006, p. 374).

Therefore, it is required to examine the “*social and cognitive contexts*” of the manipulative discourse under purview. That is to say, the dominant position of the manipulator, the recipients’ lack of knowledge, and the overall condition that falls for the benefit of the dominant group (against that of the dominated group) should be examined. This shall lead to social inequality- an illegitimate one per se (van Dijk, 2006, p. 374). This is why, in the suggested method herein, the socio-political context of the country is analyzed prior to the analysis of the selected data.

Consequently, the way discourse is organized and arranged to include certain ideologies leads to the goal that the speaker becomes powerful, dominant or hegemonic. These terms are significant in CDS which is why they are explained in the following section.

### **2.2.5 Power, Dominance, and Hegemony**

The ultimate celebrated aim of CDS is to find out power relations between discourse and society, which gives a clear case of why it should be tackled in this section. In discussing this topic, Weiss and Wodak (2007, p.15) define the relationship between language and power as one in which the former leads to, expresses, and is involved in the latter. With that established, it goes without saying then that whoever gets access and controls language is in fact the one (or group) that is powerful per se. Following Thomas’ (2004, p.10) words, it is people, not language, that are powerful.

Modern day power abuse does not show in coercive acts and behaviors as the technicality of the term indicates, rather it is “persuasive and manipulative”, using discursive practices to affect the social cognition of certain social groups, and eventually controlling their minds (van Dijk, 1995a, p. 85). This is the sole reason why CDS aims to uncover ideologies and how power is abused, social inequality is established, and dominance ensued via language (Fairclough, 1992, p. 12; Van Dijk, 1993, p. 96).

Concerning himself with cognition, van Dijk (2011, p. 33-34) refers to “knowledge society” as the by-product of power. What this term indicates is the fact that knowledge does not grow on people by nature, but it is consumed through various sources, such as family, school, politicians, media, etc. eventually leading to controlling their behaviors and desires. Therefore, van Dijk (2013, pp. 84-5) gives the following properties to describe power and dominance:

1. Power belongs to the relations between social groups, institutions or organizations. Therefore, this field focuses on social power not individual power.
2. The acts of a certain group or organization (or the members therein) define social power, affecting other groups in terms of influencing their knowledge, ideologies or attitudes.
3. Power of a certain group or organization may be “distributed” or restricted to a specific social domain or scope, as in that of politics, media, business, etc., leading to diverse “centres” of power and “elite groups that control such centers.”
4. Dominance refers to a form of social power abuse. In other words, it is like “a legally or morally illegitimate exercise of control over others in one's own interests, often resulting in social inequality”.

5. Privileged access to valuable social resources is a significant element on which power depends, for example in jobs, status, wealth, and a superior “access to public discourse and communication.”
6. In order to gain effective control and to reproduce power routinely, “social power and dominance are often organized and institutionalized.”
7. “Dominance is seldom absolute; it is often gradual, and may be met by more or less resistance or counter-power by dominated groups.”

Having more than one interpretation, the term ‘hegemony’ is not an easily-defined one, making it hard to explain it in light with CDS. A general definition is put by Merriam Webster, however, which defines *hegemony* as “preponderant influence or authority over others” or “the social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence exerted by a dominant group”. Coding Fairclough’s (2003, p. 45) words on hegemony who specifies that the difference between power and hegemony lies in the fact that the latter entails acceptance by the social group. Therefore, the social group which lies under hegemony may not be completely aware of this fact, and when they are aware, they conceive it as the de facto situation with which they should live, thus they act as if things were “normal, naturally, or simply a consensus” (van Dijk 1997a, p. 19).

### **2.2.6 Polarity: Ideological Analysis**

Relying on the notion of polarity in van Dijk’s “Ideological Square” (1998, p 267) and Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach, each phase, through the model and aspects used in it, aims to find out the positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, drawing on van Dijk’s moves, as follows:

1. Express/emphasize information that is positive about *Us*.
2. Express/emphasize information that is negative about *Them*.

3. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about *Them*.
4. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about *Us*.

That is to say, ideologies, within political discourse, incline to be polarized into positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation; therefore, the in-group's negative features are either mitigated or neglected entirely, but the outgroup's are emphasized and repeated constantly. These moves are essential features of ideology, as they add to the presentation of the self and other van Dijk's (1998, p. 267).

This move contributes to the creation of a collective mind (*rapport*) that put 'us' on one side and 'them' on the other, using the following "structures and strategies" of discourse, relying on a certain element, like topic, speech acts, communicative goals and context in order to be ideologically relevant. The following table summarizes how each group is dealt with in van Dijk's SCA.

**Table 2-1**

*Van Dijk's Ingroup and Outgroup Presentation.*

<b>Ingroup</b>	<b>Outgroup</b>
Emphasis	De-emphasis
Assertion	Denial
Hyperbole	Understatement
Topicalization	De-topicalization
-sentential (micro)	
-textual (macro)	
High, prominent position	Low, non-prominent position
Headlining, summarizing	Marginalization
Detailed description	Vague, overall description
Attribution to personality	Attribution to context
Explicit	Implicit
Direct	Indirect
Narrative illustration	No storytelling
Argumentative support	No argumentative support
Impression management	No impression management

Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 29) emphasize SCA's supposition that the majority of the above forms of interaction principally fall under the speaker's control, whereas other structures of the sentence are "grammatically obligatory and contextually invariant and hence usually not subject to speaker control and social power". They also stress the importance of analyzing the local meanings (i.e., implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, omissions and polarizations) in the critical analysis of discourse.

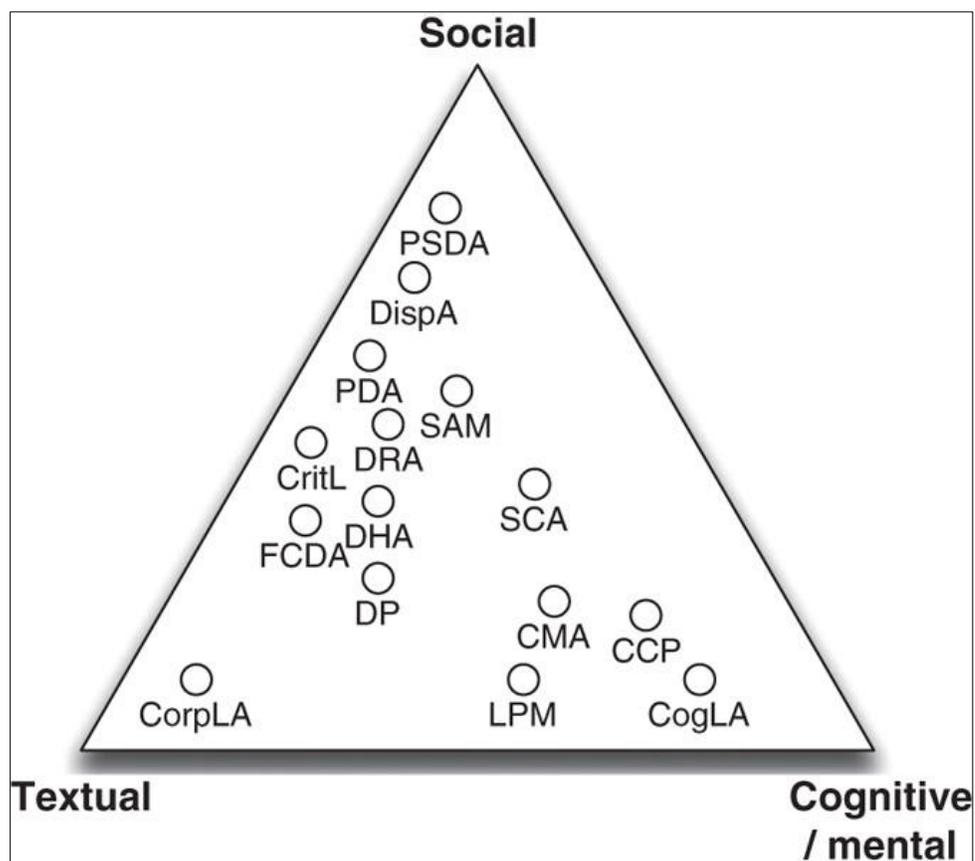
With that provided, the current study examines polarity at each phase using the tools of that phase: at the phase 1 through Discourse Strategies (which is used for PSP and which is used for NOP?); at phase 2, through Selective Perception (Which denotations are used for PSP and which are used for NOP?); and phase 3, through the strategies of ECA (Which strategies are used for PSP and which are used for NOP?). The Output (Phase 4) measures the overall frequency of each phase's polarity and analyzes its effect on the socio-political status of the system under study.

### **2.2.7 Critical Approaches**

There are numerous studies of the approaches of CDS, in papers, theses, research, etc. but it is agreed that each of these approaches does not necessarily exclude any other approach, yet showing them individually allows for an opportunity to pinpoint their similarities and differences. Building from the same idea of arrangement, Unger (2015, p. 3) assembles CDS approaches through contradicting Wodak and Meyer's method, in terms of their "analytical attractors"- textual, social, and cognitive/mental, as shown the Figure (2-6) below. Therein, each approach is aligned towards two categorizations- i.e., the socially-oriented approaches and the cognition-oriented approaches, though they overlap with each other.

**Figure 2-6**

*CDS Methods in Relation to Society, Text, and Cognition (Unger, 2015, p. 3)*

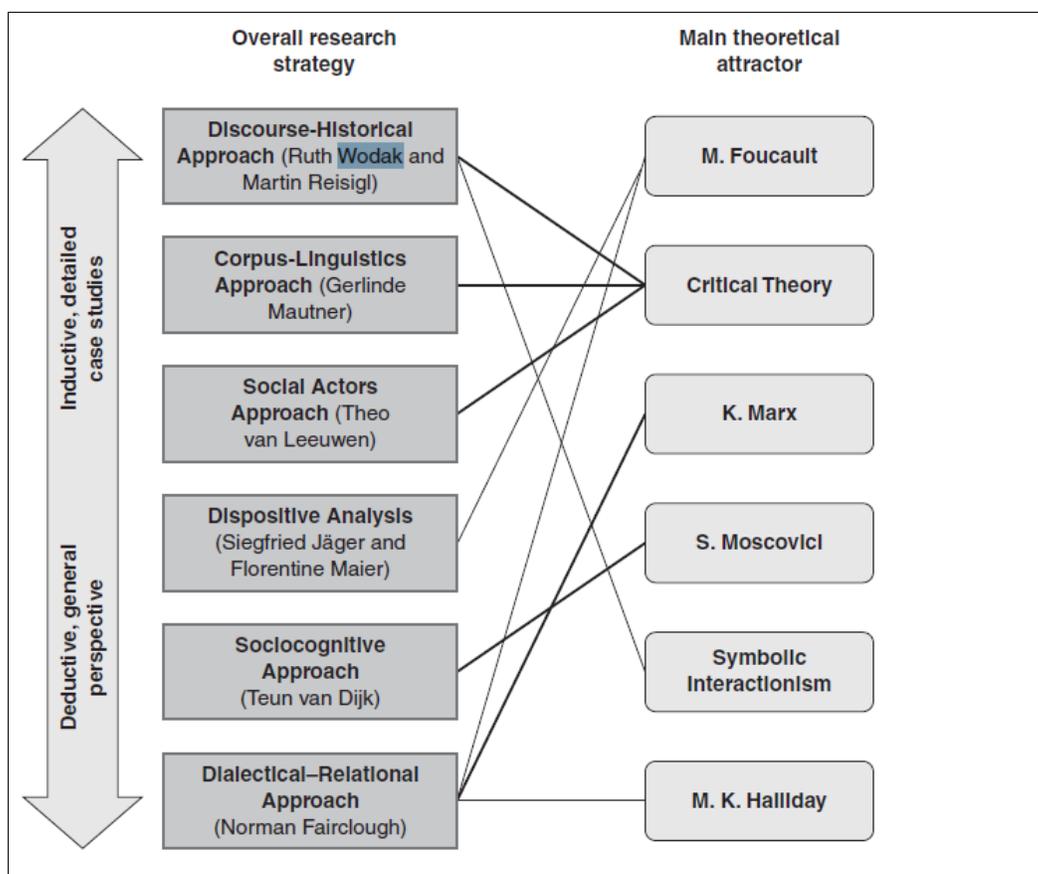


The interest of these approaches ranges from micro-level features of text and discourse to the macro, broader, social issues and cognitive features of the production, reception and interpretation of discourse. It should be noted, however, that these three levels of text, society, and cognition are dealt with by each approach, though with varying extents and emphasis, depending on the analyzed phenomena. To categorize these approaches, Unger (2015) states that the older, more established approaches, such as DHA and SCA, tend to be focused either on the social-textual axis or cognitive-textual axis, like SCA, while the younger approaches incline to be on the cognitive-textual axis, like Critical Cognitive Pragmatics.

In their “Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis”, Wodak and Meyer (2008) highlight the background and strategies of the approach used within the field of Critical Analysis, designating their “methodological attractors” (or their micro-level objects of analysis), Wodak and Meyer (2008: 3) arrange CDS approaches in terms of being inductive or deductive, as shown in Figure (1-7) below.

**Figure 2-7**

*Theoretical Backgrounds and Research Strategies of CDA Methods (Wodak and Meyer, 2008, p. 20)*



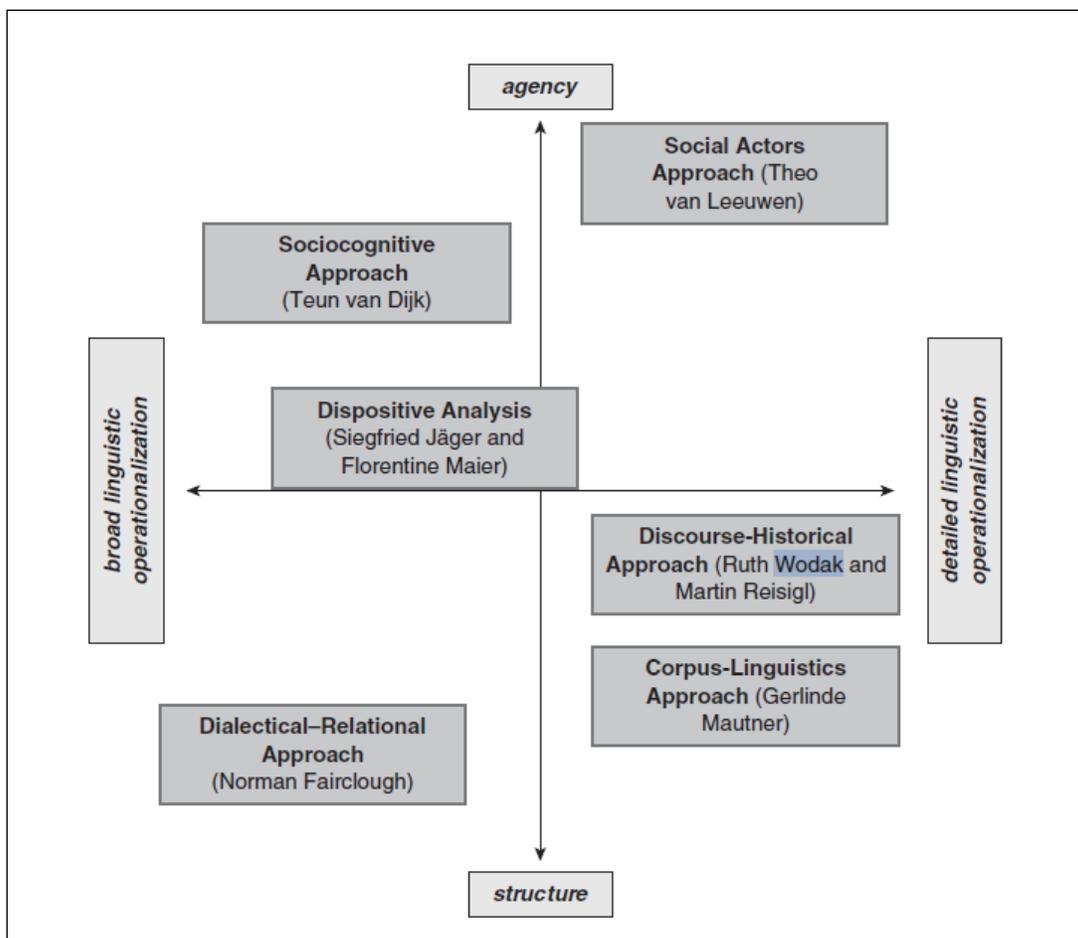
Even though the illustration presents the most common methods within CDS, in the current study, though, only the Three-Dimensional Approach, the Socio-Cognitive Approach, and the Discourse-Historical Approach are tackled. As can be perceived, Fairclough’s approach originates from Halliday’s theory, van Dijk’s approach stems from S. Moscovici, and Wodak’s belongs to Critical

Theory. This lineage explains the differences between each method and the other, and why they focus on the problems they focus on. Therein, the role of interdisciplinarity is most significant, where Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 21) explain that is a feature of the theoretical framework (such as SCA, DRA, etc.), but in other circumstances interdisciplinarity is related to data collection and analysis, and CDS “uses the concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity”.

The current study exceeds the limits placed in the above statement to include a theory from other fields than Critical Analysis, in this case, Political Science. For, the critical studies integrate linguistic categories into their research, focusing on various things with various intensities. For example, the social actor approach is used widely by critical analysts, other social scientists may rely on the concept of transitivity in Halliday’s theory as it does not require extensive linguistic knowledge on the part of the research, and so on (Wodak and Meyer, 2008, p. 21).

**Figure 2-8**

*Linguistic Depth of Field and Level of Aggregation (Wodak and Meyer, 2008, p. 22)*



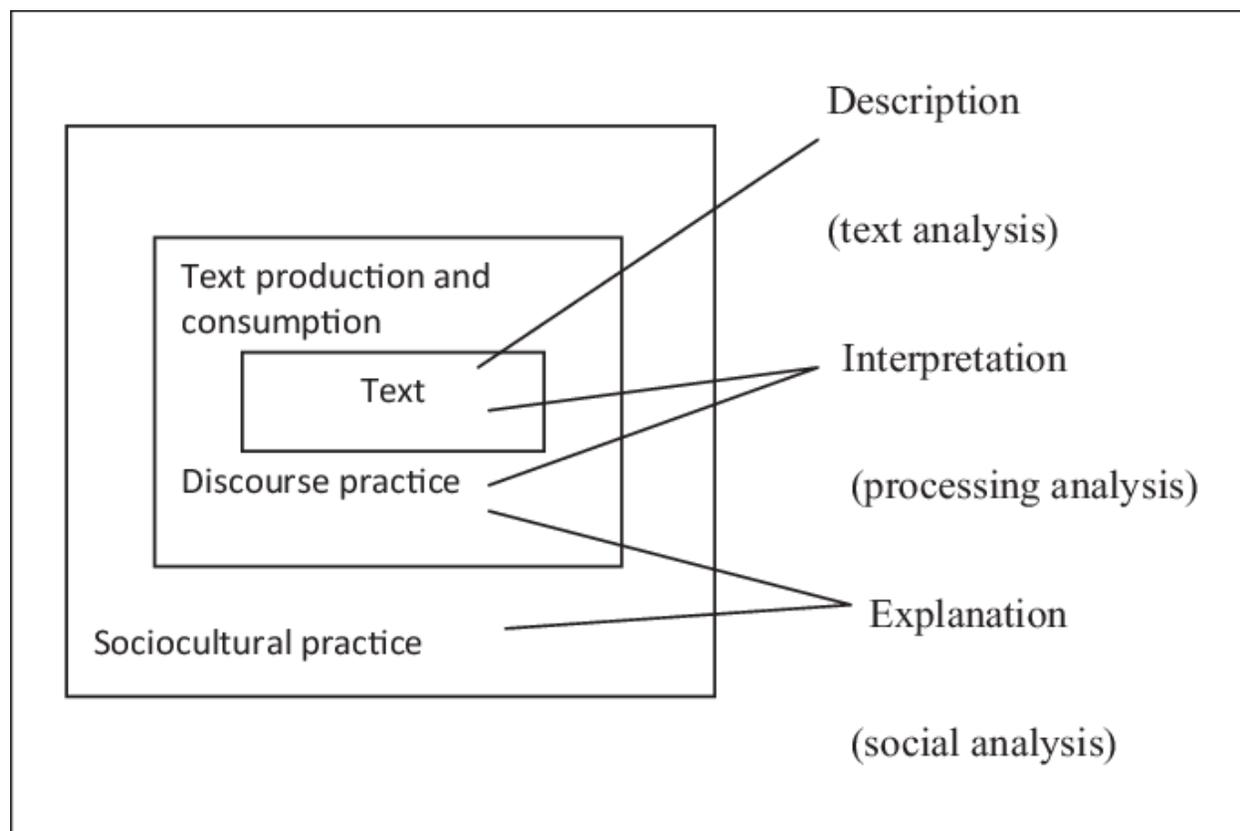
In relation to the theoretical levels mentioned above (*cf.* 2.1.3), Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 25) posit CDS methods along those levels based on their objectives (as shown in Figure 2-8). As such, SCA is placed within the socio-psychological dimension and DHA within the theories of discourse. The following sections feature these two approaches after a detailed account of Fairclough's 3-D approach.

### 2.2.7.1 The Dialectical-Relational Approach

The frontier of CDA, Fairclough, developed the Three-Dimensional Approach (abbreviated as the 3-D Approach) in which he investigates the relationship between the use of language and the use of power. He considers language and the social sciences as being connected through CDA; thus, his model comprises three inter-related “dimensions of discourse”: the item of analysis, the processes of production and comprehension, and the socio-historical contexts that govern these processes. Therefore, his 3-D approach is divided into three “dimensions of analysis”, namely: Description (text analysis), Interpretation (processing analysis), and explanation (social analysis), as presented in Figure (2-9) below (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 4-6).

**Figure 2-9**

*Fairclough’s Dialectical-Relational Approach (Fairclough, 1989)*



In fact, Foucault work influenced Fairclough's thought to the point where they might be seen as identical, except for the difference in goal: Fairclough is after power relations in society, whereas Foucault's emphasis is on text as the goal itself (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 152). Contingent with Fairclough's divisions, Janks (1997, p. 1) proposes three interrelated analytical processes tied with the three interrelated dimensions of discourse as follows:

1. The element of analysis (audio, voice, etc.).
2. The items' production and comprehension (speaking, writing, watching, listening, etc.) by the public.
3. The socio-historical situations that control these processes.

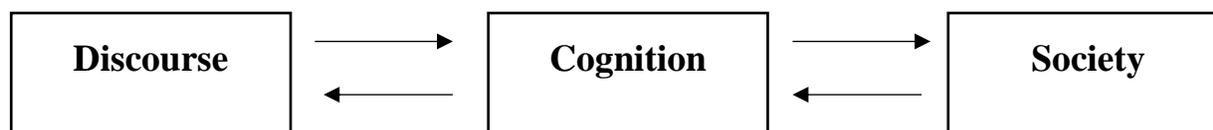
#### **2.2.7.2 The Socio-Cognitive Approach**

Launching from the gap between discourse and society caused by former approaches, van Dijk's SCA provides for this gap by bringing cognition into the equation, as the link between the said factors. Moving from this point, the CDS definition used by van Dijk (1995a, p. 18) is that it is "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" leading to what he calls the "social cognition" (representations and relations shared by a social group, and mental representations involving comprehension, such as arguing, inferencing, etc.). Reclusively, the social cognition serves as the point of contact between the cognitive systems of individuals and society (Wodak and Meyer 2009b, p. 26).

The following figure illustrates the relation between discourse, cognition, and society as presented in van Dijk's approach. These three components are integrated because they are an important characteristic for multidisciplinary research.

**Figure 2-10**

*The Relation between Discourse and Society (van Dijk, 2009, p. 64)*



At the microlevel of social organization, van Dijk (2002, p. 203) puts the use of language, verbal interactions, discourse, and communication, as opposed to the macrolevel of social organization which includes inequality, dominance, power, etc., hinting towards a connection between the two levels which is missing (van Dijk, 2015, p. 36). As such, he (2002, pp. 203- 4) proposes ideology in this regard as the interdisciplinary point which connects discourse, cognition, and society, emphasizing that social power is the instrument through which thought as well as behavior of the public is controlled. Hence, comes the effort of SCA to analyze power abuse, dominance, and inequality that leads to polarization between the *ingroup* and the *outgroup*, or us vs. them, which are sustained through discourse via contrasting *our* sympathy, tolerance, help etc. against *their* threats, deviance, differences, etc. (van Dijk, 1991).

Cognition in van Dijk's approach is divided into two types: the persona (or episodic) memory and the social memory. The former represents the individuals' experiences which are gained through their life experience, opinions acquired, etc. and it is subdivided into "mental models" and "context models". On the other hand, the latter represents the knowledge and experiences acquired from the socio-cultural environment in which the people live, such as the attitudes, beliefs, opinions, etc. that a social group holds and share with its members (van Dijk, 1998, p. 10).

Emphasizing the importance of context, van Dijk's SCA explains linguistics in a wide "structural-functional" aspect, urging the need that CDS should rely on a comprehensive theory of

context. Therefore, social representations of the social actors become the link between the social system and the person's cognition, acting as "the translation, homogenization and coordination between external requirements and subjective experience" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, p. 21)

### **2.2.7.3 The Discourse-Historical Approach**

With focus on "anti-Semitism" and political discourse after the Second World War, Wodak's approach emerged as an interdisciplinary method of analysis. Its uniqueness springs from its emphasis on the available background information of discourse which links discourses diachronically and synchronically (Wodak, 1995, p. 209). According to Reisigl and Wodak (2008, p. 4), DHA forces the analyst to elucidate their objects and stance under the following procedure:

1. Text/Discourse Critique which seeks to reveal the "inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas" within the inner structures of text and discourse.
2. Social Critique which is interested in "demystifying" the manipulative or persuasive nature of discourse. In this dimension, knowledge of the context, social theories, and other different methods are invested in the interpretation process of the discursive structures.
3. Future Critique which aims to develop the types of communication, for example, by setting out rules for the sexist language, or by reducing language barriers that exist in the different fields of life.

The DHA follows a socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory and one of the features that distinguish this approach from other approaches is its way of dealing with other approaches multimethodically, based on the empirical data and background information (Wodak 2000, p. 65; see also: Wodak and Ludwig, 1999, p.12).

Wodak and Meyer (2001, p. 26) offers six strategies in terms of how the analysis may be conducted:

1. The analysis of the semantic macrostructures: topics and macro propositions.
2. The analysis of the local meanings, within which lies the implied meanings, such as implications, presuppositions, polarizations, etc.
3. The analysis of the elusive formal structures, such as the linguistic markers.
4. The analysis of the local and global formats of discourse.
5. The analysis of minute linguistic strategies, such as hyperbole.
6. The analysis of context.

### **2.2.8 Context**

In its broadest sense, the term *context* is defined as the elements of a discourse that encircle a word or a group of words and may reflect its meaning, or it is the interconnected circumstances in which something takes place or occurs, such as the environment, setting, or the historical context of the war (Merriam Webster Dictionary).

According to Crystal (2008, p. 109), context is a term which refers to the “non-linguistic world in relation to which linguistic units are systematically used”, for which the term “situation” is also used to refer to “situational context”. The latter combines all the non-linguistic background to a communicative event (text or talk), including the direct state of affairs in which it is used, and the awareness by the speakers and hearers of what has been said earlier is communicated and of any relevant peripheral views or presuppositions.

Some scholars tend to define context by the immediately observable occurrence in a certain situation, others choose to talk about contextual meaning: using a linguistic unit in its social context, either restrictedly (such as religious context) or in a less restricted sense (age, sex, class of the speaker). In Hallidayan linguistics, the term ‘context’ is used to define the relationship between the linguistic form and the extralinguistic situation (Crystal, 2008, p. 109). Within, CDS,

however, context is used in a somewhat similar sense in each of the common approaches of the field.

Van Dijk (2006, p. 163) states that contexts are subjective interpretations, constructions or definitions of participants, rather than “objective” or “deterministic” constraints imposed by society or culture. As so, they should be analyzed in terms of the data under purview and in relation therein. The various opinions about context deem it necessary that each approach is dealt with differently when it comes to this topic.

The following sections feature context as it relates to the two critical approaches adopted in the current study, i.e., SCA and DHA.

### **2.2.8.1 Context within the Socio-Cognitive Approach**

Van Dijk (1977, p. 217) sees context analysis as a prior step which should be undertaken before language users may combine the specific input with the more general linguistic and other knowledge in memory, in order to arrive at the designated performed speech act. This is why he stresses that context is a notion which carries a theoretical and a cognitive abstraction from the actual (physical-biological, etc.) situation. That is to say, being irrelevant to the correct comprehension, it does not matter what the hair color of a speaker is for someone to understand their discourse. Rather, in order to correctly interpret someone’s utterances, the listener needs to focus their attention to the more relevant elements, such as the meaning/reference and pragmatic intentions.

Wodak and Meyer (2008, pp. 25) suggest that van Dijk’s SCA presents the term “context model” which are the “mental representations of the structures of the communicative situations” known by the participant, and determine the pragmatic aspect of discourse, through the forms of social representations, as:

1. knowledge (personal, group, cultural)
2. attitudes (not in the social psychology understanding)
3. ideologies.

Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 26) add that, in this case, the interaction between the social event, action, the actor, and the societal structures is essential because discourse takes place within societies.

### **2.2.8.2 Context within the Discourse-Historical Approach**

In relation to criticality, the question raised about context is that if it is not seen as the framework of a certain situation or not as merely the space/time of that situation, which raises the demand for interdisciplinarity to be an essentiality for an exhaustive comprehension. Within DHA, context is based on a “principle of triangulation” to reduce the risk of critical baseness and to escape politicization (Wodak, 2000, p. 125). That is to say, a dialectical relation is assumed to be present between the discursive practices and the specific fields of action within which they are embedded, and the latter simultaneously affects those discursive practices. In other words, discourses may constitute discursive and non-discursive social practices and at the same time be constituted by them. Therefore, Wodak particularizes the certain levels which need to be taken into account, the first of which is descriptive while the rest constitute her theory on context as follows:

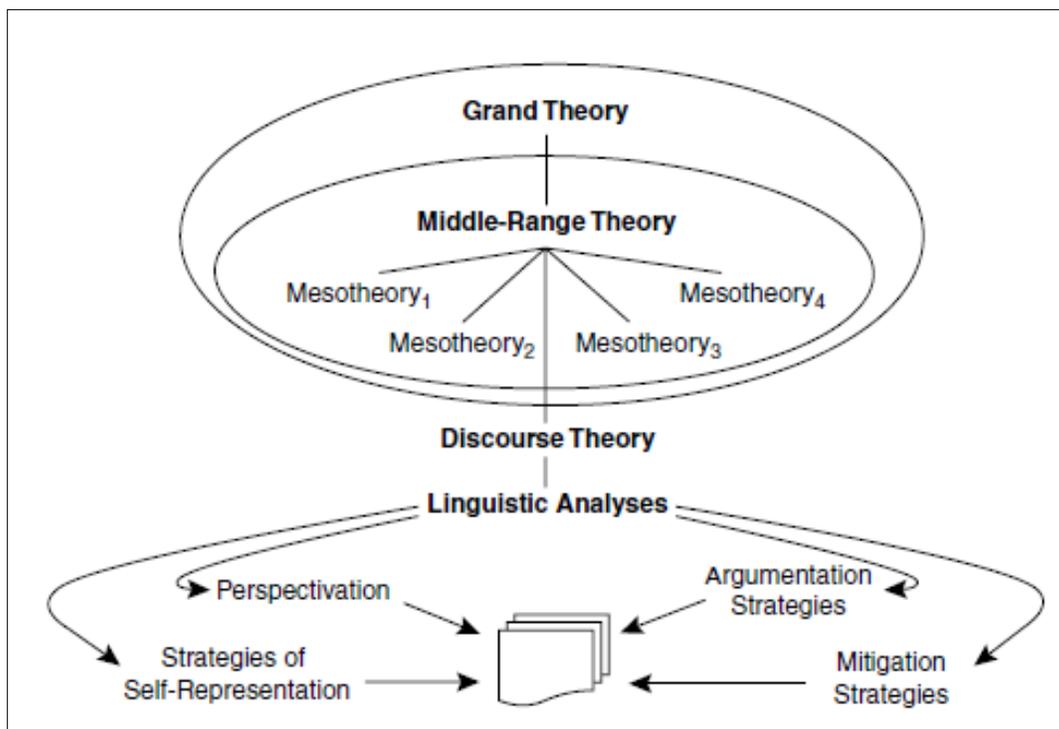
1. the direct co-text of language.
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive association between linguistic events, texts, genres, and discourses.

3. the extralinguistic variables (social/sociological) and official settings of a specific “context of situation” (middle-range theories) the larger sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are entrenched in and related to.

The complex challenge here is the unbridgeable gap which increases between the theory and the empirical research- i.e., between discourse and context. In other words, “theory formation” has to manifest itself in an explanation of the structural and linguistic facts because discourse analysis is not practicable without integrating the theoretical approaches (Wodak, 2000, p. 125). This gap inspired Wodak to present an interdisciplinary theory of context which puts it into levels, as shown in Figure (2-11) below.

**Figure 2-11**

*Levels of Context (Weiss and Wodak, 2007, p. 23)*



According to Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 25), DHA, through its emphasis on historical events, yields its dealing with context as one which should be understood as mainly *historical*, even though its role is in linking fields of action (genres, discourses and texts).

### **2.2.9 Previous Studies**

Some papers deal with the topic of interdisciplinarity and many others took the role of analyzing Trump's discourse to various lengths. For example, Davis (2014) in her "*Critical Discourse Analysis as an Interdisciplinary Research Methodology for Interdisciplinary, Intercultural and an Inter- Institutional Assessment Tool for Student-Perceived Learning Compared with Instructor-Perceived Teaching of Interdisciplinary Online Courses*", uses CDA as a tool to arrive at a pluralistic view to arrive at students' perception of their learning and teachers' perception of their teaching. In this study, Davis relies on the interdisciplinarity between CDA and the educational tools to provide feedback about the learning objectives set in a certain course. Eventually, she concludes that using CDA is an effective framework to be used in such studies, although it needs more time to be used as an efficient tool in this regard.

Unger (2016) tackles the topic of interdisciplinarity in CDS as part of "an ongoing thematic collection" (p. 1) and asks questions about the present-day interdisciplinarity in relation to the critical approaches in this field as well as investigating the status of interdisciplinarity in relation to research that claim to be upholding this concept. The study recommends that, in order to be considered as a field of its own (which CDS aspires to become), there is a serious need that CDS turns its "critical eye inward". That is, it needs to be willing to accept new ideas and theories instead of becoming fixated on only the existing status quo. Unger (2016, p.3) eventually states that CDS is to be considered as a "rebranding exercise" and put labels to the test of

interdisciplinarity that includes “complex interplay between different theories, methodologies, and contexts” that allows CDS to be opened up.

Moreover, Trump’s discourse, due to its unfamiliarity in the realm of political discourse, has been the core of numerous discourse studies. For instance, Cullen (2017) in her MSc dissertation, uses critical analysis to investigate the speeches given by both Trump and Sanders to arrive at who is more populist. In her endeavor, Cullen uses Fairclough’s approach to analyze discourse in terms of three themes, namely, “their construction of America, “the people”, themselves and the antagonists.” Concludingly, Cullen states that despite the difference in orientations, Trump’s and Sanders’ tendencies align, yet they diverge in terms of dealing with the set topics. That is, their views are not compatible as to what they see as the ‘American people’ themselves.

Awawdeh (2021) in her MA thesis, titled “A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Donald Trump’s Speeches during the Coronavirus Pandemic Crisis”, focuses on Trump’s use of certain lexical items in his Covid-19 speeches to arrive at the implied potential ideological stands through his use of specific pronouns, modal structures, and comparative and superlative forms. Moreover, Awawdeh relies on Fairclough (1995) 3-D approach to analyze Trump’s discourse in terms of two phases during the pandemic. She concludes that “Trump used such linguistic tools to emphasize concepts such as American's superiority and supremacy, national unity, citizens' involvement, and self-glorification”. She also adds that the use of the pronouns of “I” and “we” are used significantly in the selected data to employ egoism and exaggeration. Eventually, the researcher concludes that Trump’s “bombastic language” led to his loss in the recent elections which is seen as not completely accurate, taken that it is this same language that made him win the elections in 2016.

The current study is crucial in that it revisits a substantial tenet in CDS – interdisciplinarity- and it collaborates with political science to achieve it. Hence, it provides a timeline through which ideologies of political discourse may be traced and any inconsistencies may be highlighted, and eventually leads to figuring out how power is manipulated. Practically, it applies this approach to Trump’s political discourse to reveal any inconsistent ideological stances and how these may cause any changes in the socio-political sphere of the United States. In other words, the current study uses a somewhat unorthodox methodology by linking theories from two fields, yet it preserves the critical linguistic analytical tools by relying on models from CDS.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter presents the description of the selected data for analysis, how they are collected, the logic behind their selection, and the summary of the selected data. It also presents the model used for analyzing the selected data. Eventually, the suggested approach is also introduced in this chapter.

#### **3.1 Data Description**

This section is concerned with presenting the data which are selected to be examined via the suggested approach and model of analysis. Critical Discourse analysts have been interested in political discourse and ideologies which it disseminates to the public in the past decades due to its significance in changing minds and manipulating the truth. This attention also arises, as van Dijk explains it, because of the fact that “when we consider the use or application of discourse approaches in political science, we find that it is one of the few social sciences that so far have barely been infected by the modern viruses of the study of text and talk” (Van Dijk, 1997b, p. 2). The data selected for the current study are given by Trump during his electoral campaign as well as his State of the Union address in 2020.

##### **3.1.1 Data Selection**

Since the approach targets the timeline of ideology from the point where Trump announces his intention to run for the election, going through the different phases of officially running and becoming the decision maker of the country, it is inevitable that the data are selected in terms of their time and type. That is to say, different data are selected to be analyzed depending on the time

and the type of discourse presented in order to be concurrent with the phase under investigation. The following table illustrates the speeches selected for analysis.

**Table 3-1**

*The Selected Data for Analysis*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Phase</b>	<b>Selected Discourse</b>
<b>1</b>	Phase 1: Pre-Input	Announcement Speech
<b>2</b>	Phase 2: Input	Acceptance Speech
<b>3</b>	Phase 3: Decisions and Actions	State of the Union 2020

As Table (3-1) above shows, the data selected for the first phase is Trump's Announcement Speech (The Times, 2015) which initiated his will to run for the elections of the US presidency. This speech is selected due to its significance in representing the historical aspect of Trump's political discourse. In other words, it serves as the standard of topics designation, polarity, and ideological implications to be contrasted with the analysis of the other two phases. It is more of a populist (less official than the others) speech in which Trump announces his intention as well as program for his candidacy campaign which makes it essential in terms of being a yard-stick that pinpoints his political ideologies. In other words, this speech is analyzed to investigate how Trump establishes his political content to draw the attention of the targeted audience.

At the second phase, Trump's Acceptance Speech (retrieved from Plumer, 2016) is analyzed as the data for the said phase. This speech is selected because it embodies Trump's official approval to be nominated by the Republican Party to be their sole representative in the (2016) US elections against Hillary Clinton. With this in mind, his speech is analyzed in order to be compared with the first speech to come up with the ways in which he adheres to or changes his

ideological stances on the same topics which are analyzed in the first phase. In line with Easton's terminology, this speech is chosen as the official pre-winning discourse to arrive at how he uses selective perception so as to serve the purpose of being consubstantial with the audience that he succeeded in bringing around in the first phase.

At the third phase, Trump's 2020 State of the Union speech (retrieved from Schaff, 2020, henceforth SOTU) is analyzed so as to be compared with the other two discourses. It is chosen to be analyzed in this phase for two reasons. Firstly, it is the last formal speech in which the president expresses to the Congress as well as the public state of the Union of the United States in terms of the various socio-political topics, which makes it perfect to be contrasted with the first two speeches in terms of ensuring that the topics discussed in the first phase are potentially discussed in this phase as well. This, in turn, makes it a good ground for successful analysis of how Trump's ideologies may be changed, fluctuated or fixed in terms of dealing with one topic or the other. Secondly, the time lapse between this speech and the first and second speeches gives credibility to the analysis in terms of analyzing the ideological (in)consistency. As such, if the analysis eventually proves that Trump is consistent or inconsistent with dealing with one topic or another, it would be more credible considering that a (lack of) change may be confidently measured with such time difference (almost four years).

According to Meyer (2001, p. 23), CD analysts select a small number of the corpora in their domain to be representative of certain discourses. Therefore, since the main goal is tracking the (in)consistency of political ideologies through the different phases and times in an attempt to pinpoint power reproduction, the selected data are believed to be representative of each period. It goes without saying that the data is selected at each phase to ensure the credibility and validity of the analysis.

### 3.1.2 Summary of the Selected Data

This section presents the selected data from each of the phases mentioned above, their venue, date, and word count.

**Table 3-2**

*Summary of the Selected Data*

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Selected Discourse</b>	<b>Venue</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Word Count</b>
<b>1</b>	Presidential Announcement Speech	Trump Tower, NYC	June 16, 2015	6389
<b>2</b>	Acceptance Speech	Republican National Convention, NC	July 21, 2016	4396
<b>3</b>	State of the Union	US House of Representatives	February 4, 2020	6488

### 3.2 The Model of Analysis

The eclectic model used for analyzing the selected data is compiled based on Easton's (1953) theory of political systems which explains the life of political systems by demarcating them into phases, i.e., Input, Decisions and Actions, and Output, including the demands and the support which a system receives along its cycle. However, this theory is adapted to be convenient with the current study by adding a fourth phase that accounts for the historical aspect of the context of the political system under scrutiny, i.e., the Pre-input phase. Easton's theory functions as the general outline under which CDS models do their job of analyzing discourses for the aim of revealing power reproduction, ideological implications, power abuse, and the like. Hence, the first level of the model is established, and it consists of the following four phases: *Pre-input, Input, Decisions and Actions, and Output*.

In the second (linguistic) level, each phase consists of a qualitative macro analysis which analyzes how each topic of the selected discourse is discussed; and, a quantitative micro analysis which accounts for the deep critical analysis of the selected data. The following sub-sections feature each phase in the suggested model and explain the models used therein, as well as the reason(s) for adopting these models.

### **3.2.1 Content Establishment Analysis**

This phase is concerned with analyzing Trump's Announcement Speech. It draws on Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (2008) in order to achieve the principal aim of this phase which is to interpret the historical aspects of discourse and set the context of the Trump's implementation of this context. Moreover, the fact that Wodak and Meyer (2008, p. 25) refer to DHA as the theory which "focuses on the field of politics, where it develops conceptual frameworks for political discourse" makes it a perfect fit for the current study.

#### **3.2.1.1 Political Context Analysis**

This level of analysis gives a detailed background to the political system under which Trump is running and explains the historical socio-political setting at the time. It also sheds light on the main events that had occurred before that time and which are believed to be significantly exploited in Trump's discourse.

#### **3.2.1.2 Analysis of Topics**

Having set the tone for the historical, socio-political background in the previous phase, this phase then turns to analyzing Trump's Announcement Speech for the purpose of pinpointing the topics that he focuses on and how he utilizes them to gain publicity, support and steer the public's thinking towards issues to which they may be oblivious.

### **3.2.1.3 Group Designation Analysis**

At this level of the analysis and, having established the topics discussed at the discourse of this level, the analysis turns to investigating how these same topics are used to achieve polarity. In other words, it defines which of the topics are used for the favor of the ingroup and which are used for the outgroup. The analysis of the remaining phases relies on this level as basis for the polarity analysis.

### **3.2.1.4 Macro Analysis**

Having established the topics analysis, this phase is concerned with conducting an overall qualitative analysis of the topics designated at the discourse selected for the analysis of this phase. As such, an investigation of the immediate co-text is carried out to highlight how Trump discusses each topic in his Announcement Speech.

### **3.2.1.5 Micro Analysis**

This level of analysis is concerned with analyzing discourse to find what Wodak, in her DHA approach (2008, p.p. 94-95), refers to as “discourse strategies”. The focus is on analyzing Trump’s discourse in terms of the use and frequency of the discourse strategies therein which may potentially be used as a means to spread ideologies and change the public mind. Wodak sets forth the following discourse strategies in her model.

**Table 3-3**

*Discourse Strategies in DHA (Wodak, 2008, p. 95)*

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Devices</b>
nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc.</li> <li>• tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (<i>pars pro toto, totum pro parte</i>)</li> <li>• verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.</li> </ul>
predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctive clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups)</li> <li>• explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns</li> <li>• collocations</li> <li>• explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms)</li> <li>• allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.</li> </ul>
argumentation	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• topoi (formal or more content-related)</li> <li>• fallacies</li> </ul>
perspectivization, framing or discourse representation	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• deictics</li> <li>• direct, indirect or free indirect speech</li> <li>• quotation marks, discourse markers/ particles</li> <li>• metaphors</li> <li>• animating prosody, etc.</li> </ul>
intensification, mitigation	modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• diminutives or augmentatives</li> <li>• (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc.</li> <li>• hyperboles, litotes</li> <li>• indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion)</li> <li>• verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.</li> </ul>

### **3.2.1.6 Ideological Analysis**

At this phase, the ideological analysis seeks to investigate how each of the aforementioned strategies is used for the purpose of positively presenting the self and the ingroup and negatively presenting the opponents and their outgroup, leading the public into a polarized view of the two groups. Moreover, a quantitative analysis of the negative and positive presentation of each of the discussed topics is conducted in this section of the analysis.

### **3.2.2 Rapport Establishment Analysis**

At this phase, Trump's discourse is analyzed at the point where he is officially registered to run for the presidency. Therefore, the data of analysis at this phase is Trump's Acceptance Speech. The goal here is to uncover how discourse is used to create rapport (consubstantiality) between the speaker and the audience through the process of selective perception. That is to say, the analysis seeks to find out the abstract psychological effects of discourse. Therefore, van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach is adopted to account for the link between discourse and society via the cognitive bridge. This is fortified by Wodak and Meyer's (2008, p. 25) statement that:

The Sociocognitive Approach [...] is situated on the socio-psychological dimension of the CDA field. The approach draws on social representation theory (e.g. Moscovici, 2000). Discourse is seen as a communicative event, including conversational interaction and written text, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images and any other 'semiotic' or multi-media dimension of signification.

This phase also makes use of the concept of "Selective Perception" which is used in Easton's (1953) theory. The latter is utilized to examine how discourse may be selective and how that may be reflected in the audience's minds. Using Easton's terms, this is the "Input" phase which hinges on addressing the demands of the public in order to gain their support.

### **3.2.2.1 Macro Analysis**

The Macro Analysis of this phase aims at qualitatively scrutinizing the Acceptance Speech in terms of the designated topics included within the selected data for analysis. As such, it analyzes the immediate co-text in which each of the discussed topics occur. Additionally, a quantitative analysis of the polarized view of the topics is investigated to check Trump's ideological stance at this point.

### **3.2.2.2 Micro Analysis**

In this section, Trump's SOTU speech is analyzed using van Dijk's "Discursive Strategies" from his (1995b) model "Ideological Discourse Analysis" to account for how ideological disseminations are done via discourse in a way that contributes to the polarized view of the speaker, favoring himself and disfavoring the others. Therefore, this discursive socio-political analysis seeks to connect the discourse structures with those of the society. By itself, the link between the actor and the society is demonstrated through the relation between the micro and the macro levels of analysis. Functioning as tools to analyze discourse in this regard, van Dijk (1995b, pp. 154-57) proposes the following discursive strategies.

#### **3.2.2.2.1 Negative Lexicalization**

This strategy is concerned with choosing lexical items which have robust negative meaning in describing the others, for example "war", "killing", "massacre", etc. which are usually related to the outgroup.

#### **3.2.2.2.2 Hyperbole**

This strategy refers to the use of exaggerated terms to describe an action or an event, mainly in connection with the outgroup's negative actions. For example, a small incident may be considered as a "holocaust" or when something petite is talked about as if it were a disaster.

### **3.2.2.2.3 Compassion Move**

In this strategy the speaker shows sympathy towards the helpless victims of the others in order to show that the outgroup is, for example, brutal because they victimize “innocents”.

### **3.2.2.2.4 Apparent Altruism Move**

This strategy relates to the compassion move and it is used to stress understanding for the position or interests of (members of) the outgroup. For instance, an anti-Muslim may say “for the interest of the Muslims and non-Muslims” showing that they care about the Muslims.

### **3.2.2.2.5 Apparent Honesty Move**

It refers to the act of disclaiming any negative statements of the self. This is a well-known move used with expressions like: “frankly” or “We should not hide the truth, and...” “to be honest,…” etc.

### **3.2.2.2.6 Negative Comparison**

This strategy signifies the act of comparing the outgroup with a recognized negative entity so as to highlight their negative features. For example, a minor event may be compared to a 'nuclear holocaust', or as when immigrants are portrayed as “waves of illegal immigrants” to make them look as if they were some sort of a invasion to terrify the people.

### **3.2.2.2.7 Generalization**

Merriam Webster Dictionary defines generalization as “the act or process whereby a learned response is made to a stimulus similar to but not identical with the conditioned stimulus”. Hence, through this strategy, a person or a small group is used as a point of generalization that describes a whole group or category, usually a negative one.

### **3.2.2.2.8 Concretization**

According to “Your Dictionary”, concretization is the process whereby “a general principle or idea by delineating, particularizing, or exemplifying it”. Therefore, via this strategy, terms that provoke imagination are used in order to talk about the actions of the others in a detailed way that allows the addressees to imagine a situation which is mostly negative. For instance, portraying immigrants as building nuclear weapons. Based on these definitions, emphasizing numbers may be considered as a tool that concretizes events and actions by political speakers.

### **3.2.2.2.9 Alliteration**

A “Phonologically based rhetoric is well-known in tabloid headlines and op-articles, and generally serves to emphasize the importance or relevance of the words thus being marked” (van Dijk, 1995b, p. 156.).

### **3.2.2.2.10 Warning**

Through this strategy, the speaker uses fearful terms to alarm their ingroup against the danger of the outgroup. Such as the case of using Doomsday scenarios to demonize the others and awaken those who do not take things seriously.

### **3.2.2.2.11 Norm and Value Violation**

This strategy is one way in which the outgroup is shown as bad by representing them as breaking the beliefs and values which human beings hold dear. For example, freedom of expression, human rights, freedom of education, etc.

### **3.2.2.2.12 Presupposition**

Presupposition means “a condition which must be satisfied if a particular state of affairs is to obtain” or, linguistically, “what a speaker assumes in saying a particular sentence, as opposed to what is actually asserted” (Crystal, 2008, p. 384). This semantic device is used as a tool in the

process of positive and negative presentation. That is, in asserting that the presented information is known or part of the common sense; thus, it does not need to be stated (van Dijk, 1995b, p. 157).

These structures are utilized in the process of extracting ideologies from text and talk. However, the more general (macro) strategy in this respect is the 'positive presentation of the self and the negative presentation of the others'. In this endeavor, certain moves may be utilized, including mitigating, hiding or denying the negative acts of the ingroup and the positive acts of the outgroup (van Dijk, 1995b, p. 157).

### **3.2.2.3 Selective Perception Analysis**

The APA Dictionary of Psychology defines selective perception as “the process in which people choose to attend to one or a few stimuli from the myriad array of stimuli presented to the senses at any one time”. Another definition puts it as people’s desire to perceive what they like to hear in a certain message and to ignore any other viewpoints, leaning towards things that go with their personal preference. With Selective Perception, people may overlook or forget any contradicting expectations or views. Among the factors that affect selective perception are people’s needs, the state of their emotions in terms of certain topics, and expectations. The mechanisms of selective perception are also influenced by the previous experiences of the people (Explorable, par. 1).

As such, depending on the findings of the analysis of the discursive strategies, this part of the analysis investigates how the selected discourse creates a selective perception which adds to the speaker’s self (and ingroup) but demonizes the *others*. Specifically, the analysis is after the effect of polarity and consubstantiality. For, being imposed to a certain kind of discourse constantly creates an ideological framework in the minds of the audience which would then be easier to control through relying on the feature of selective perception that humans have. Therefore,

at this level of analysis, the aim is to find, in political discourse, how the denotations of *anger*, *fear*, *hope*, *blame*, *demagogue*, and *change* may be created and used based on what Trump has already established in the first two levels of this phase, imposing one or more of these topics.

These denotations are inspired from the concept of Demagogue in Easton's (1953) theory and are exploited in the current study to pinpoint Trump's discourse's ability in emitting those denotations. Therefore, one of the aims of this stage of analysis is find out how these denotations are polarized in terms of discussing the designated topics. The following sub-sections explain the selective perception's denotations.

#### **3.2.2.3.1 Anger**

With this denotation, discourse may be used to arouse the public's anger towards the outgroup by referencing things that the outgroup has done or intends to do in such a way upsets the audience.

#### **3.2.2.3.2 Fear**

Like Anger, fear may also be used in discourse at this phase, for example, to warn the public against something terrible that would happen if the outgroup would remain in power and that the speaker and his ingroup are the only one that can prevent it from happening.

#### **3.2.2.3.3 Blame**

This strategy contributes to the "us" versus "them" polarity and depicts the ingroup as the victim which is being endangered by the evil intentions of the outgroup. For instance, Trump's discourse may be analyzed for the purpose of finding out whether there is blame that is imposed to point out to some other entity as the one which creates *fear* and *anger*. In other words, if Trump's discourse portrays his opponent(s) as the ones accountable for all the unhappy circumstances that took place at the time.

#### **3.2.2.3.4 Demagogue**

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines this concept in terms of “a leader who makes use of popular prejudices and false claims and promises in order to gain power”. More specifically, Larson (1964, p. 76) gives the following definition to describe demagogue:

a political leader in a democracy who gains popularity by arousing the common people against elites, especially through oratory that whips up the passions of crowds, appealing to emotion by scapegoating outgroups, exaggerating dangers to stoke fears, lying for emotional effect, or other rhetoric that tends to drown out reasoned deliberation and encourage fanatical popularity.

Therefore, demagogues overturn established norms of political conduct, or promise or threaten to do so (Signer, 2009, p.32). The analysis shall reveal whether Trump’s discourse contains this denotation through raising topics which touch upon the feelings of the audience in order to gain compassion, and eventually their votes.

#### **3.2.2.3.5 Hope**

Through this denotation, discourse is used to send a message that there is hope for the problems raised by the other denotations, and usually the speaker presents himself (and his ingroup) as the alleged hope.

#### **3.2.2.3.6 Change**

With this denotation, the discourse may be used to provoke people to change the alleged miserable situation that the politician portrays for the audience. This change is usually done by voting for the politician in the elections. Therefore, he urges the people to take action by voting for him/her.

#### **3.2.2.4 Ideological Analysis**

This phases' ideological analysis is conducted through the result of the discursive strategies' analysis. In other words, the analysis seeks to examine how each of the denotations of selective perception is utilized, through discursive strategies, to present the ingroup in a positive framework that contributes to its presence, but at the same time portrays the outgroup in a negative framework that contributes to its underestimation and eventually its vanishing from the competition. It also makes use of polarity analysis so as to count the frequency of PSP/NOP that each designated topic receives.

#### **3.2.3 Decisions and Actions Analysis**

At this level of the analysis, Trump's discourse is analyzed at the end of his political system to function as a reference point to be contrasted with the other two phases. Therefore, the analysis here targets his SOTU speech in 2020. Van Dijk's approach is also used for the Decisions and Actions Phase for the purpose of explaining the discourse from a cognitive viewpoint and to stand at the structure of the discourse at this phase to find out how it either instills or deters the ideologies established in the first two phases. Specifically, van Dijk's (2011) Epistemic Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth ECDA or ECA) is used in this phase for the reason that the type of the selected data in this phase is more formal and addresses the Congress in the first place as well as the public; therefore, using this model with the selected data corresponds to van Dijk's (2011, p.40) statement that this model is best used for "sources of official knowledge, government declarations, and parliamentary debates".

### **3.2.3.1 Macro Analysis**

The Macro Analysis of this phase aims at analyzing, qualitatively, Trump's 2020 SOTU speech in terms of the designated topics included within the selected data for analysis. It investigates the immediate co-text around each of the designated topics.

### **3.2.3.2 Micro Analysis**

This level of analysis makes use of van Dijk's Epistemic Critical Discourse Analysis in his (2011, p. 1) "Discourse, knowledge, power and politics". The model focuses on how knowledge is an essential pedestal in the process of understanding discourse. Thus, he emphasizes that intertwining discourse and knowledge is inevitable in the process of uncovering abuses, power reproduction, etc. in society and politics. Highlighting the role of ECA as a method that could be used in critical analysis, van Dijk (2011, p. 35) explains it as a "way knowledge is expressed, implied, suppressed, distributed, etc. in text and talk".

To clarify the working of this method, it is determined that a cognitive component may be featured in such a "structural discourse analysis" through examining the underlying mental processes and representations or when the (trans)formation of those mental models and the recipients' general knowledge are affected. However, a cultural analysis, when culture is involved, is necessary when the social component is under investigation, to explain the *variation of those social situations and structures, such as knowledge marginalization or emphasis* (van Dijk, 2011, p. 36). He summarizes a number of the structures and strategies that critical studies focus on in terms of how they are influenced by knowledge.

#### **3.2.3.2.1 Actor Description**

This strategy is concerned with how people are represented and described in the discourse- i.e., what relationships, memberships, roles, occupations, gender, class, appearance, among others

are assigned to them. It is also through this strategy that polarization is achieved between Us (or the ingroup) and Them (or the outgroup) as well as stereotypes and prejudices. Therefore, van Dijk distinguishes this strategy in terms of whether it is *knowledge* or the mere *personal opinion* of the speaker, which may be used to confuse the boundary between common fact and the personal ideologies of the speaker about the actor. For example, Blair's speech prior to Iraq war, he used Saddam's name in terms of negative actions rather than functions ("Iraqi people who have been brutalized by Saddam", etc.) (van Dijk, 2011, p. 47).

#### **3.2.3.2.2 Levels, Details, and Precision of Information (LDP)**

In the process of focusing on desired knowledge and neglecting undesired knowledge, the level, details and precision of information comes handy to the speaker in their endeavor, allowing them to be (un)specific, general, or vague. Therefore, various semantic ways could be potentially used to describe actors and their actions or political social events which the speaker may use to manage in their expression of knowledge in discourse. This strategy helps the speaker in emphasizing the significance of an aspect of an event, for instance, Blair, instead of simply saying that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction, gave a detailed description of the types and quantities of "nerve gas" Saddam allegedly had (van Dijk, 2011, p. 47).

#### **3.2.3.2.3 Implications and Presuppositions**

The endeavor for playing with knowledge may also be utilized through shared and presupposed knowledge in discourse, therefore, it may be accommodated by leaving it implicit as part of the mental models, as if it were common and shared by the group. Nevertheless, implicitness may also be used with unfavored knowledge that does not align with the dominant ideologies of the speaker. As such, the implication is expected to be part of the recipient's mental model *after* a piece of knowledge is expressed through discourse, whereas in presupposition the

expectation is that what is not stated is believed to be part of the recipient's mental model *before* it is said. For instance, in Blair's opening to the members of the parliament: "Again, I say that I do not disrespect the views in opposition to mine", the implication is (what I am saying I have said before- triggered by '*again*'; there are views opposition to mine- triggered by '*the*'; some people think I disrespect views opposite to mine- triggered by the negation; I have views- triggered by '*mine*') (Krahmer, 1998, as cited in van Dijk 2011, p. 38).

#### **3.2.3.2.4 Definitions and Metaphor**

Definitions as well as other means (such as metaphors, comparisons, etc.) may be used to introduce new knowledge for the audience, contributing to the self-benefit of the speaker. Metaphors are imperative for understanding the social and political events, the general knowledge, and personal opinions because they represent 'the embodied, experiential conceptualization of abstract and complex knowledge of the world'. Therefore, metaphors may be used to explain simple facts (for instance, visualizing Saddam Hussein as a '*butcher*') or more or explain complex knowledge or defend complex attitudes and opinions (as in Blair's statement on Iraq war: "*this is a debate that, as time has gone on, has become less bitter but no less grave*") (van Dijk, 2011, p. 38).

#### **3.2.3.2.5 Evidentiality**

This strategy is used to make what is said sound well-grounded through attributing the expressed knowledge or opinions to trusted, reliable, and respected sources. This strategy is used in political discourse to show the credibility and legitimacy of the speaker's opinion. For instance, Blair uses this strategy constantly in his argumentation to support the war on Iraq ("So the issue was identified by the *United Nations* [the researcher's Italics] at those times as one for urgent remedy").

### 3.2.3.2.6 Argumentation

These are resembled by points of argument that support one's biased opinion via not only the speaker's views but also partisan representations of the real world. This strategy is mainly used to wrongly give the impression that beliefs are common knowledge through basing what is said on either *explicit* or *implicit* premises (van Emeren and Grootendorst, 1992).

### 3.2.3.2.7 Modality

There are certain ways in which events may be presented (or modalized), ranging from certain (necessary) to probable or possible, according to what the author has in mind. Hence, the strength of a certain belief may be expressed depending on what is intended. For instance, if the author is pro climate change, they would present their discourse towards the 'necessity' and inevitability of the need for solutions for this issue. This is seen as an important tool to be analyzed in discourse.

### 3.2.3.2.8 Rhetorical Devices

These may be used via *hyperboles* or *euphemism* for the sole purpose for emphasizing or de-emphasizing knowledge structures in discourse. Both strategies "do not have their own knowledge content" and may serve the polarizations between *Us* and *Them* (van Dijk, 2011, p. 38). For instance, hyperbolic terms may be used to talk about the ingroup's achievements or to address a bad thing that the outgroup does. On the other hand, euphemisms may be used to mitigate the effect of some words and expressions.

### 3.2.3.2.9 Grammar

Through this strategy, an analyst may come up with how certain knowledge is expressed, signaled, asserted, presupposed recalled or distributed, for instance in topic-comment and focus structure, cleft sentences, imbedded and main clauses, nominalizations, active and passive

constructions, word order, definite and indefinite constructions, etc. Similarly, these may be analyzed phonologically by tone, stress, volume, etc., emphasizing and mitigating agency to -or distance from- a specific social or political event (van Dijk, 2011, p. 38).

#### **3.2.3.2.10 Lexicon**

In linguistics analysis, it all comes down to how an author or a speaker represents their ideas, concepts or meanings in words. Therefore, the settings, participants, and goals are crucial in deciding which lexical item is to be used based on the dominant group's ideologies and knowledge. For instance, what may be represented as a 'honor killing' in the Iraqi culture is a crime which should be punished in other cultures. That is to say, what may be considered as one's knowledge is perhaps someone else's opinion, ideology or bias.

It is worth mentioning that the strategies of Topics, Local Coherence, and Non-verbal (semiotic) Structures are excluded from this model (van Dijk, 2011, p. 39). Topics is excluded because the model already signifies the topics in the selected data, and the remaining two are irrelevant to the study.

#### **3.2.3.3 Ideological Analysis**

The ideological analysis of this phase is conducted through counting the use of the strategies of van Dijk's ECA which result from the micro analysis at this phase. These strategies are compared in terms of which ones are used for the positive self-presentation and which are used for the negative other-presentation. Moreover, polarity is also investigated in terms of the frequency in which the topics are dealt with via a polarized PSP/NOP language.

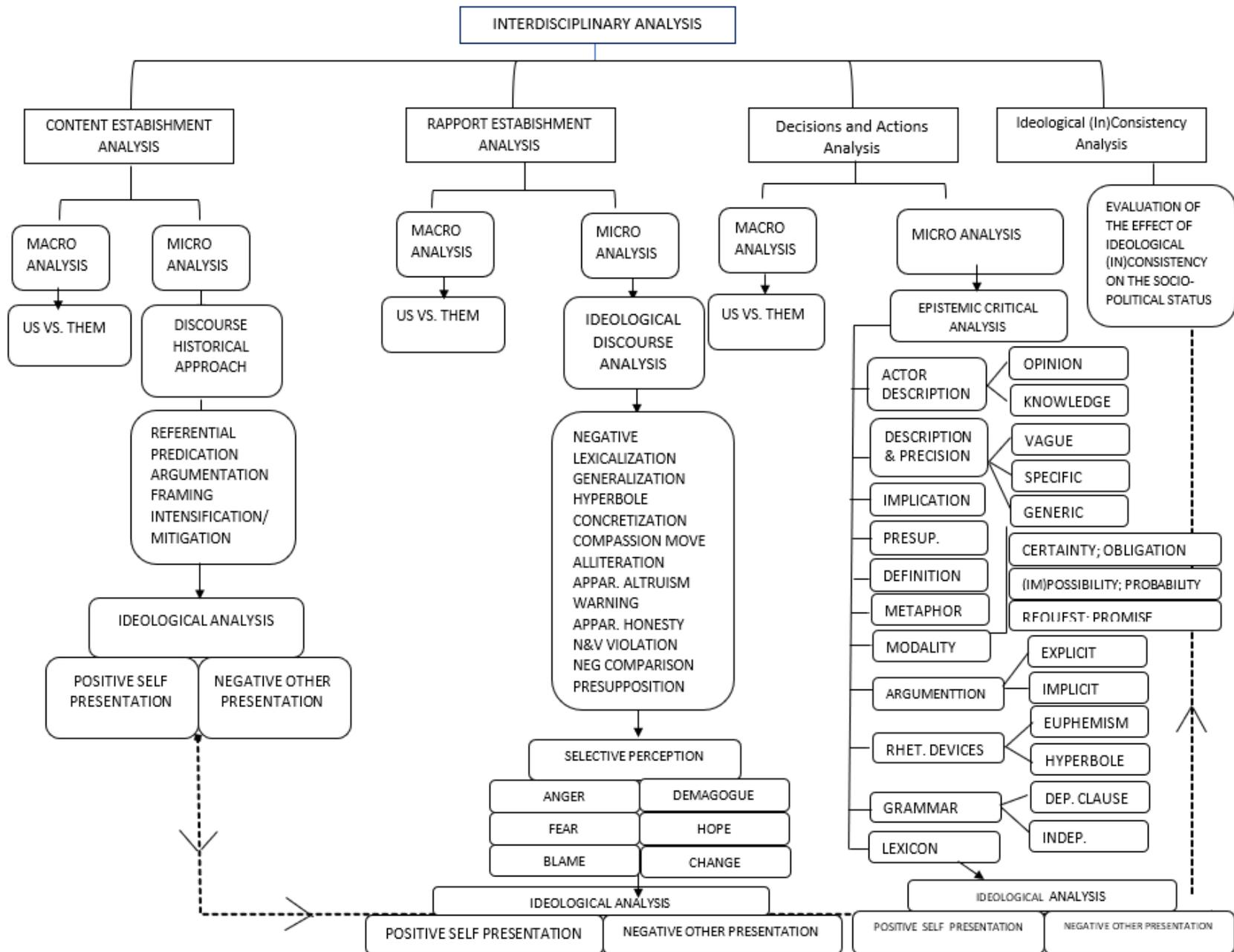
#### **3.2.4 Output: Ideological (In)Consistency Analysis**

At this level of the analysis, the results of the ideological analyses of the previous three phases are used to measure the extent to which Trump is consistent or inconsistent with his

ideologies towards what he considers as his ingroup and outgroup. Moreover, the analysis also reflects on what this leads to in terms of the socio-political status of the country, as well as the effect it has on the political ideologies therein- i.e., whether or not this leads to any new ideologies or orientations. The following figure illustrates the model of analysis.

**Figure 3-1**

*The Model of Analysis*



The constant in the above model is that each phase of analysis eventually leads to an ideological analysis that aims to measure how each group is presented at that phase. Eventually, these are contrasted to examine the level of (in)consistency in Trump’s discourse throughout the different phases of his political system.

### 3.2.5 Context Analysis

At the beginning of the analysis of each of the abovementioned phases, Hymes’ (1974) “SPEAKING” model is used for the purpose of explaining the context of each of the selected data for analysis, in terms of the Settings, Participants, Ends, Act, Sequence, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, and Genre. The following table illustrates what each of these categories represents in Hymes’ model.

**Table 3-4**

*Hymes’ (1974) SPEAKING Model*

<b>S</b>	Setting and Scene	Socially recognizable time and place of events
<b>P</b>	Participants	Those present, or implied, and their respective roles
<b>E</b>	Ends	Purpose, goals, outcome
<b>A</b>	Act Sequence	Form and order of consecutive acts
<b>K</b>	Key	Tone, manner, metacommunicative frame
<b>I</b>	Instrumentalities	Code, channel, media, style
<b>N</b>	Norms	Socio-cultural norms of composition and interpretation
<b>G</b>	Genre	Kind of speech act or event, socio-culturally defined

Using this model is believed to give a background to the data of analysis and it is believed to contribute to the comprehension of the analysis.

### 3.3 The Suggested Approach

In his (1953) theory, “An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems”, David Easton mentions that the concern of political studies is to establish an understanding of how decisions of the authority are made and executed for a society, arguing that:

we can try to understand political life by viewing each of its aspects piecemeal. We can examine the operation of such institutions as political parties, interest groups, government, and voting; we can study the nature and consequences of such political practices as *manipulation, propaganda, and violence* [the researcher’s italics]; we can seek to reveal the structure within which these practices occur. (p. 383).

Therefore, it is believed that in order to achieve the essential principle of interdisciplinarity of the critical studies of discourse, and integrating it with the field of political science, the contribution of Easton’s theory may be utilized to a large extent. As such, it is used in this approach as the umbrella concept under which the linguistic theories are used in analyzing the discourse of each of the phases that Easton proposes.

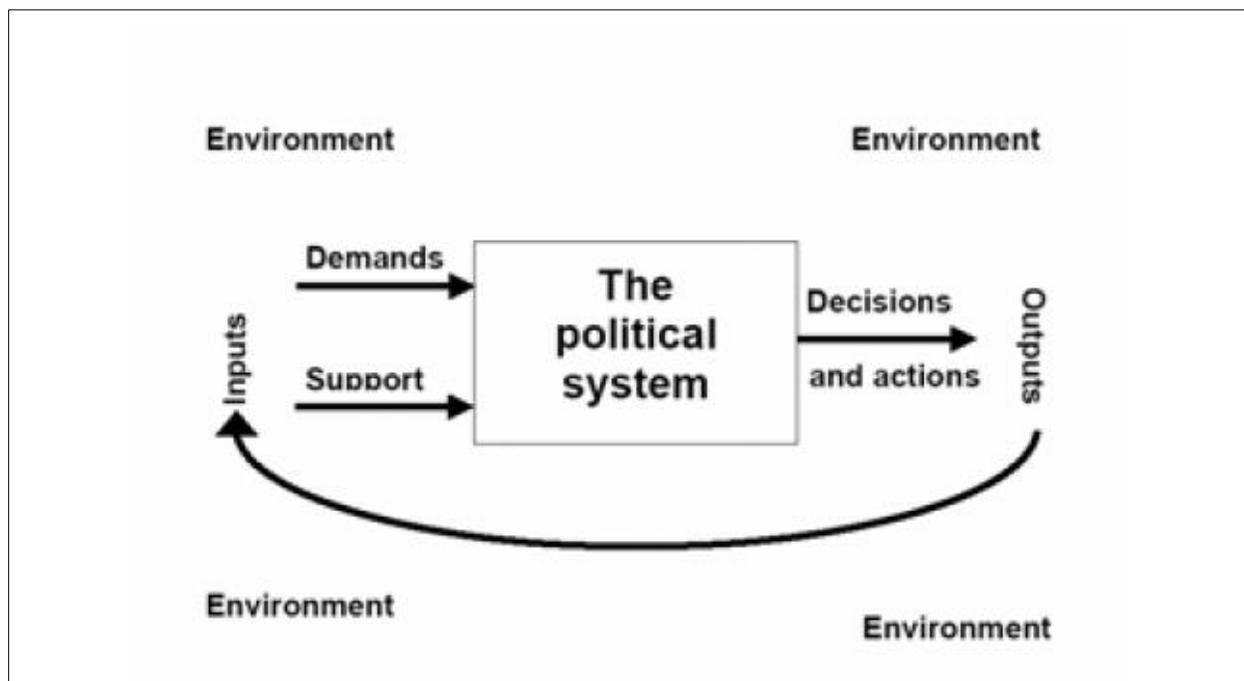
Easton (1953, p. 385) clarifies that for one to be able to indicate a certain political system, there need to be “properties of identification” which are necessary to distinguish the units of the political system from other social systems. These properties consist of the following:

1. The units: these are political actions which comprise the political system. They are formed in the political groups and roles.
2. The boundaries: these are the social, biological, and physical environments in which the political system is immersed.

For the purpose of linguistic analysis, it is safe to say that the first of these properties is the political discourse which forms a certain political system, with its ideologies and attitudes; and the second is the context in which that political system is found.

Easton (1953) presents three main elements in his theory: Input, Decisions and Actions (the political system), and Output. Nevertheless, since this model is also concerned with analyzing the historical background which led to affect and shape the public opinion, a fourth element is developed, the Pre-Input. Eventually, the timeline of the development of political discourse through these phases leads to the reproduction of power.

The suggested approach sets off from the observation that although the models commonly used under CDS claim to be interdisciplinary, yet, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, none is found to make use of the methods or theories of political science in their analysis, contrary to the postulate of interdisciplinarity. The proposed interdisciplinary approach claims that it covers this gap through bringing a political science's theory to serve as an umbrella under which various CDS models may be used, depending on the acclaimed goal of the analyst. Namely, the approach depends on David Easton's "Political Systems" (1953) to provide an umbrella of consistency-under-variation (throughout the phases the model offers) in terms of the data selected for analysis as shown in Figure (3-2).

**Figure 3-2***Life of the Political Systems (Easton, 1953)*

In this regard, the feedback loophole between the outputs and inputs may be used to measure the proposed (in)consistency of the ideology of political discourse. It does so with the aid of the fixed time axis which, in turn, follows the timeline in which power is reproduced from its inception to its current state. The phases are each given a certain name so as to demarcate each level from the other, which in turn helps in specifying the steps involved in the process of power reproduction, the state of the speaker and the audience, and the degree to which the new ideology is applied-established, instilled, or socio-politicized.

Moreover, the model of analysis is made to be composed of four phases- Content Establishment, Rapport Establishment, Decisions and Actions, and Ideological (In)Consistency analysis. Each of these phases analyzes the discourse at a certain stage of the political discourse.

More specifically, the analysis is divided into two main divisions: Macro Level and Micro Level. The former is concerned with dividing the name and category of the phase and the latter is

more concerned with the minute CDS methods of analysis with which the selected data are analyzed. Moreover, within the Micro-Level, the terms *micro analysis* and *macro analysis* are used within the critical analysis to provide for the overall investigation and the more detailed critical one, respectively. The following table presents an outline for the proposed approach.

**Table 3-5**

*Levels of the Suggested Interdisciplinary Approach*

<b>Macro-Level</b>	<b>Phase</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
	<b>No./Name</b>	<b>Pre-input</b>	<b>Input</b>	<b>Decisions and Actions</b>	<b>(In)Consistency Analysis</b>
<b>Micro-Level</b>	<b>Data</b>	Data1	Data 2	Data 3	Evaluation of ideological (In)Consistency
	<b>Model</b>	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Evidence of Socio-Political Effect
	<b>Function</b>	Establish Content	Establish Rapport	Instill/Deter Ideology	Measure ideological (In)Consistency and socio-political effect (Power Reproduction)

As the table suggests, the numbers and names of the phases are taken from Easton's (1953) "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems" in which he details how a political system is outlined in terms of three phases: Input, Decisions and Actions (the political system), and Output. The Pre-input phases is added by the researcher to account for the discourse of the period prior to the official entrance into the political life (in this case, the Announcement Speech). Overall, this

is the (static) Macro Level which serves as an umbrella for the models and/or theories used in each phase. On the other hand, the (dynamic) Micro Level provides slots for CDS (or any other critical study) to use its models and select the compatible data for the purpose of the study.

The functions differ for each phase. In the first phase, the goal is to investigate how the content of the campaign is established through the topics raised, as well as pinpointing polarization and group designation. In the second phase, the discourse is analyzed to check how the rapport is established with the audience (consubstantiality) via tools of selective perception (such as: warning, threat, hope, change, etc.). The latter may be implicated through the use of certain discursal strategies which may differ from one discourse/ideology to another. In the third phase, where the nominee succeeds in taking power, discourse is analyzed to discover how the politician either instill the already established ideologies or deter them in another way; hence, this phase raises the question: *after attaining power, does discourse change or remain the same to serve the same ideologies?*

In the last phase, the results of the analysis are evaluated to find out whether they are consistent or inconsistent to eventually arrive at how (and whether) this (in)consistency affect the socio-political life. In other words, the Output achieves two purposes: measure power reproduction and change in society and politics in terms of any potential new '-isms', and provide a hindsight that gives a step-by-step detailed analysis of how power is reproduced. This phase makes use of any attainable statistics which reflect how the new established ideologies impact the socio-political status. The following sections explicate how each phase is involved in the analysis of the designated data.

**Phase I:** Establishing the ideological orientation before actually starting the campaign through:

1. Understanding the political state of the society under study.

2. Highlighting the political parties and their orientations (right, left, etc.).
3. Identifying the topics/themes which the political figure upholds at this stage and their relation to the ideological and partisan orientation.
4. Identifying the state of the society/country to decide where the topics raised stand in terms of the context.
5. Analyzing the selected data in terms of the context in which they are used and find out the discourse strategies used in the discourse under scrutiny.

**Phase II:** Establishing the relationship with the audience after formally announcing entering the race of the political arena, through:

1. Positive presentation of the ingroup and negative presentation of the outgroup.
2. How the speaker creates a collective mind with their audience via discourse which relies on selective perception, demagogue, etc.
3. How ideologies are employed through the mottos and logos of the politician.

**Phase III:** The discourse of the politician, when he/she is in power (authority), is analyzed, through:

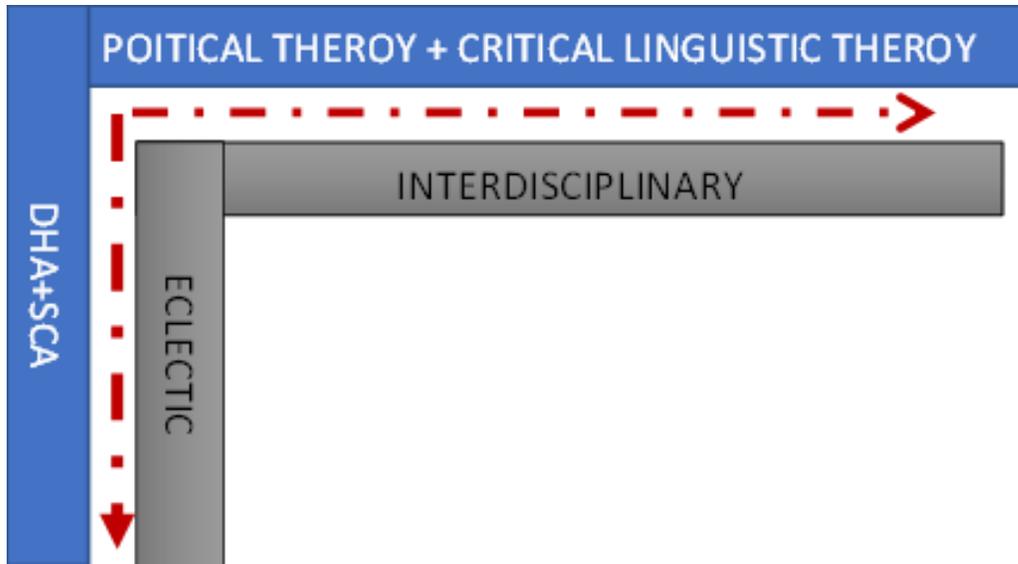
1. Analyzing the overall meaning of the discourse under study- the macro-level meaning.
2. Investigating the discursive strategies or techniques used in this phase to address the same topics/themes which are established in Phase I.

**Phase IV:** At this phase, the results of the previous phases are used to provide a quantitative analysis to the ideological analyses of the three phases in order to come up with a conclusion as to whether or not the ideologies of the selected political discourse change or remain consistent. As such, it presents a hindsight for how power is reproduced at the end of the life of a political system, through:

1. Presenting the ideological analysis of each phase and comparing it with the other analyses to arrive at a timeline in which these are changed (or not); and,
2. Measuring the socio-political effects of the ideologies of the analyzed discourse in terms of any new '-isms', and eventually investigate whether any potential or actual movements arise out of that ideology.

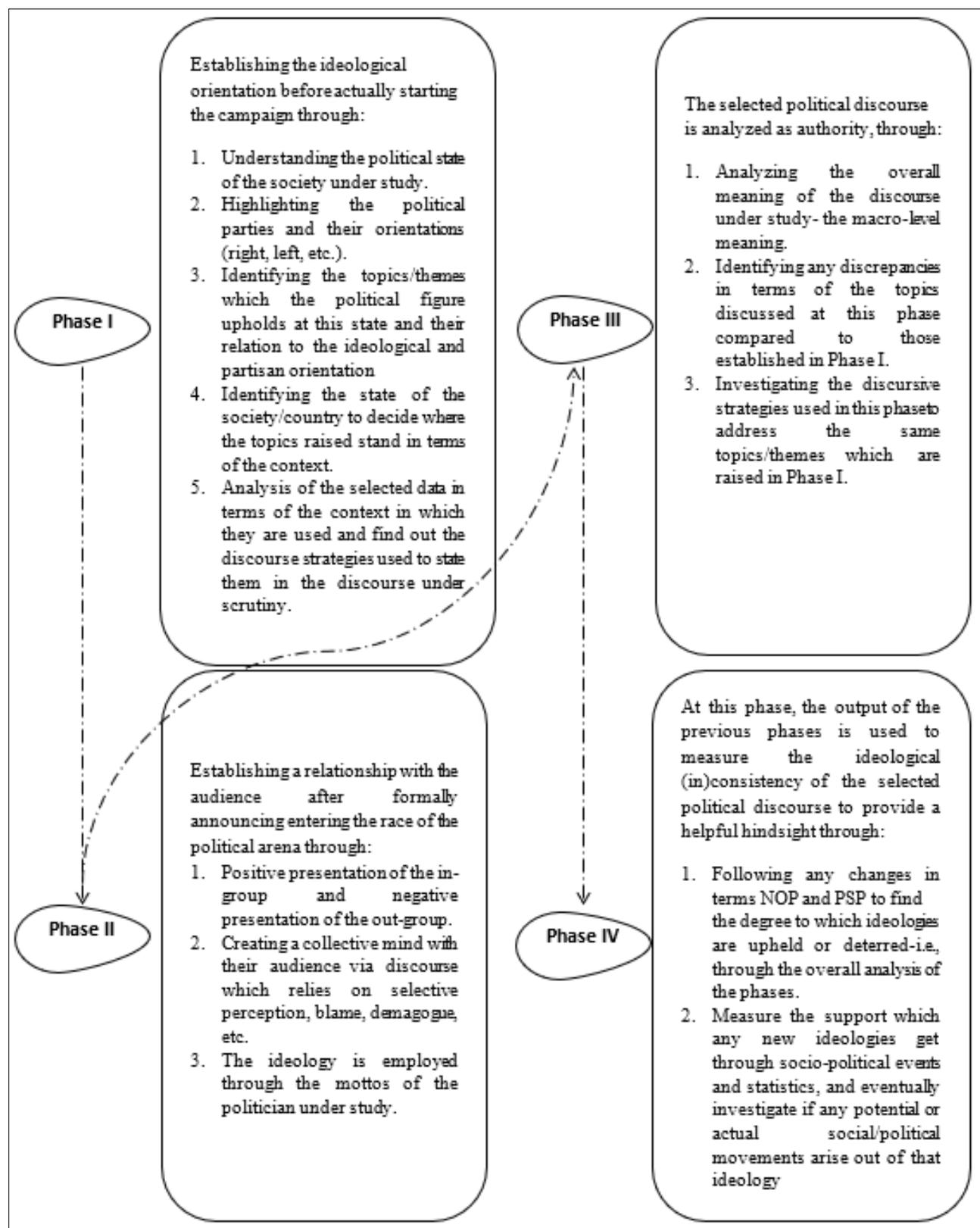
With that provided, what this approach presents differently lies mainly at the static Macro Level section of the approach: the integration of Easton's model from the field of political science, assigning names for the phases, adding a fourth phase (Phase I), and merging the terms of this model with terms from the CDS models to arrive at consistent and accurate results which intend to trace and pinpoint power reproduction, abuse, domination, etc. and its effect on the society whose political discourse is under preview. At the dynamic Micro Level section, the approach integrates concepts from various models in CDS. The latter may be alternated by models from other fields in order to be more suitable with the topic of the study under inspection. For instance, models from Critical Sociolinguistics, Critical Semantics, Critical Psycholinguistics among many other models may be used to achieve a designated goal.

Seen from the surface, the proposed interdisciplinary approach suggests a model which is-theoretically-divided into a vertical and a horizontal direction, hence reflecting the interdisciplinary and the eclectic nature of the theory, respectively. The following diagram illustrates the two divisions.

**Figure 3-3***Outline of the Suggested Approach*

At each phase, there is one or more adapted (or adopted) model which combine for the purpose of analyzing the designated political discourse at that phase. The following diagram gives a detailed account of how each phase functions within its perspective data.

Figure 3-4

*Phases of the Suggested Approach*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter provides a preview of the context of the political system under study, the contexts of each of the selected data, and the analysis of the selected data in terms of the phases designated in the model. Eventually, it displays the results of the analysis of these data and discusses their results.

#### **4.1 The Political System Context**

The United States implemented its own political system after it declared independence from Great Britain. In doing so, they relied on Montesquieu's 1748 "division of power" eradicating the autocracy through dividing power into three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. Hence, the Congress, the president, and the Supreme Court, respectively (The political system in the U.S). In terms of parties, the modern political system of the US is that of "two-party system" represented by the two dominant parties: The Democratic Party and the Republican Party.

These two parties have controlled the US Congress since 1856, and other third parties have since received minor representation in both the state and the national levels. The Democratic Party sets itself as the "center left" in the US politics which advocates the "American liberalism"; whereas the Republican Party posits itself as the "center-right", calling for a conservative America. In partisan elections, each party nominates their representative alongside other independent nominees (Baker and VandeHei, 2006)

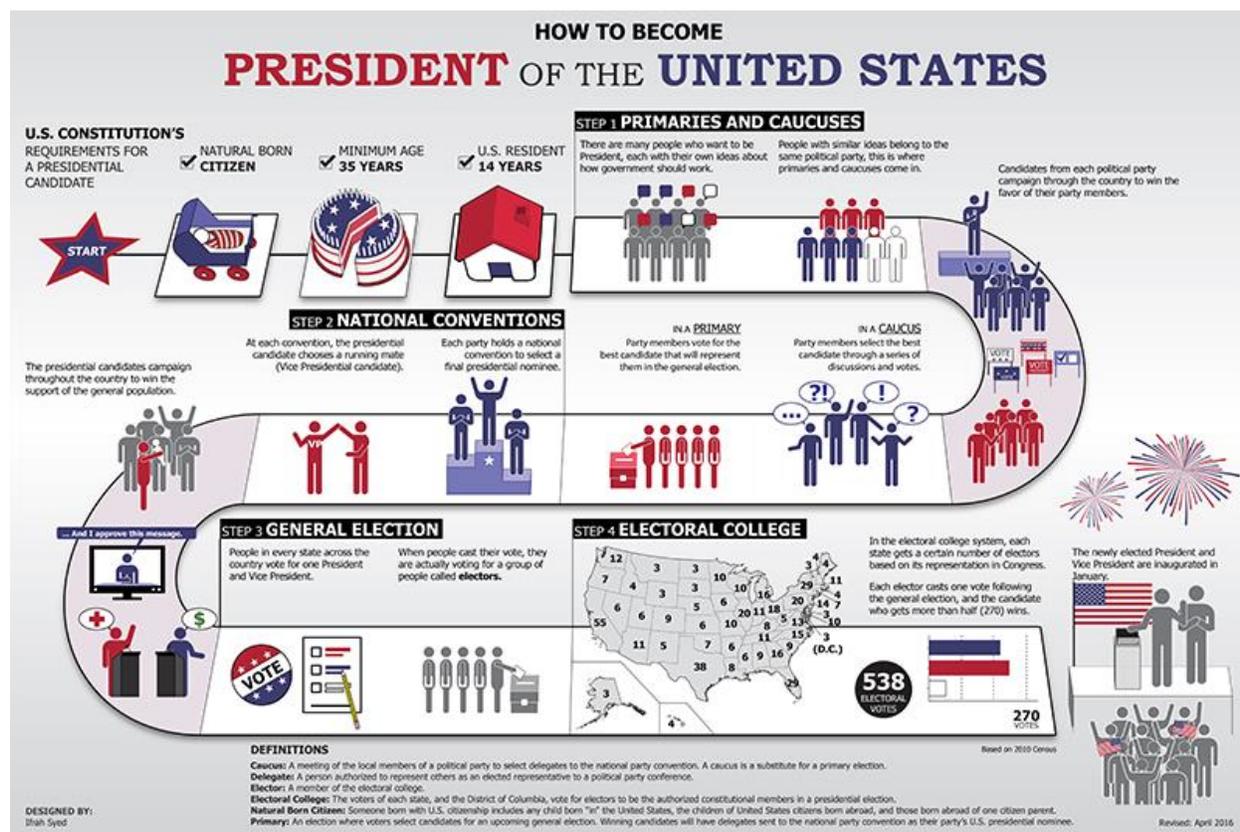
The people of the US, not the Congress, elect the president directly for a four-year term, for a maximum of two terms. Therefore, the president works effortlessly in order to gain the people's respect, support, and, most importantly, votes. Presiding over the executive branch, the

president becomes the head of over four million people, including the military personnel (Darlington, 2022)

The following figure presents the process of how US citizen becomes president, overviewing all the steps in that regard.

**Figure 4-1**

*Process of US Elections (Presidential Election Process)*



Donald Trump, the focus of the current study, was nominated by the Republican party. So, he supports a corporatist view, less government spending, and lower taxes as opposed to the Democratic Party which calls for social services, healthcare, jobs; thus, relying on taxes and borrowing (Rappler.Com, 2016, par. 1-3).

## **4.2 Data Analysis**

This section presents the analysis of the selected data at each of the phases explained in the model in Chapter Three (see 3.2). The analysis comprises two main levels: the macroanalysis and the microanalysis of the selected data. The former provides an overall investigation in terms of the co-text in which each designated topic occurs, and the latter examines whether the discourse of each selected topic reflects a polarized ideological implication- i.e., the ingroup vs. the outgroup.

### **4.2.1 Content Establishment Analysis**

This is phase I (Pre-input) in the interdisciplinary approach. In this phase, the selected data for analysis is Donald Trump's Announcement Speech, which is given on June 16, 2015, where he officially announced his intent to run for the elections for the presidency of the US. The analysis starts by giving a context analysis to provide a background against which later analyses can be compared to arrive at potential related ideological implications in Trump's discourse in each of the given phases.

Then the analysis moves to investigating the topics which Trump includes in his speech at this phase and present their significance. At this point, it becomes easy to pinpoint the group designation on which Trump relies in his campaign. The next stage of the analysis, the co-text analysis, is related to the previous one in that it derives the co-text in which each topic is raised and highlights how this is ideologically depicted, through analyzing the adjacent words used in when each of the topics is raised through the discourse.

Finally, the analysis investigates the discourse strategies used in Trump's discourse and indicates their significance in reflecting his ideologies and attitudes.

#### 4.2.1.1 Context Analysis of the Announcement Speech

The following table demonstrates the context of the first selected data for analysis, Trump's Announcement Speech, according to Hymes (1974) model.

**Table 4-1**

##### *Context Analysis of the Announcement Speech*

<b>No</b>	<b>SPEAKING</b>	<b>The Selected Data</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>S</b>	June 6, 2016 at Trump Tower, NYC
<b>2</b>	<b>P</b>	Donald Trump.
<b>3</b>	<b>E</b>	Announce the speaker's intent to run for the elections of the US presidency.
<b>4</b>	<b>A</b>	A formal speech conducted by Trump.
<b>5</b>	<b>K</b>	Encouraging audience to vote for him through viewing the current situation and what he intends to do if elected.
<b>6</b>	<b>I</b>	A semi-formal spoken address from a stage.
<b>7</b>	<b>N</b>	Presented by the speaker alone, and the audience express their (dis)satisfaction through "booing" or "applause".
<b>8</b>	<b>G</b>	Announcement speech which aims at exposing the formal intention of the speaker to officially nominate for the US presidential elections.

#### 4.2.1.2 Topic Establishment Analysis

In his Announcement Speech, Donald Trump raises certain topics to promote for his ingroup and to condemn his opponents. Table (4-2) below presents a list of the topics which he discusses in his speech. The table below shows the frequency count of each of the topics raised in

Trump's Announcement Speech arranged in a descending order from the most frequent to the least frequent topics, as well as the percentage that each topic occupies in the total number of occurrences of all the topics.

**Table 4-2**

*Frequency of Topics in Trump's Announcement Speech*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1.	China	23	14.37
2.	Leadership	19	11.87
3.	Jobs	14	8.75
4.	Mexico	13	8.12
5.	Obama	11	6.87
6.	Military	11	6.87
7.	Iraq	10	6.25
8.	Trade	9	5.62
9.	Saudi Arabia/Yemen	8	5
10.	Family	7	4.37
11.	Iran	7	4.37
12.	Politicians	6	3.75
13.	"Islamic Terrorism"/ISIS	6	3.75
14.	Oil	5	3.12
15.	Infrastructure	4	2.5
16.	Interests	3	1.87
17.	Nuclear Weapons	3	1.87
18.	Russia	1	0.62
	Total	160	

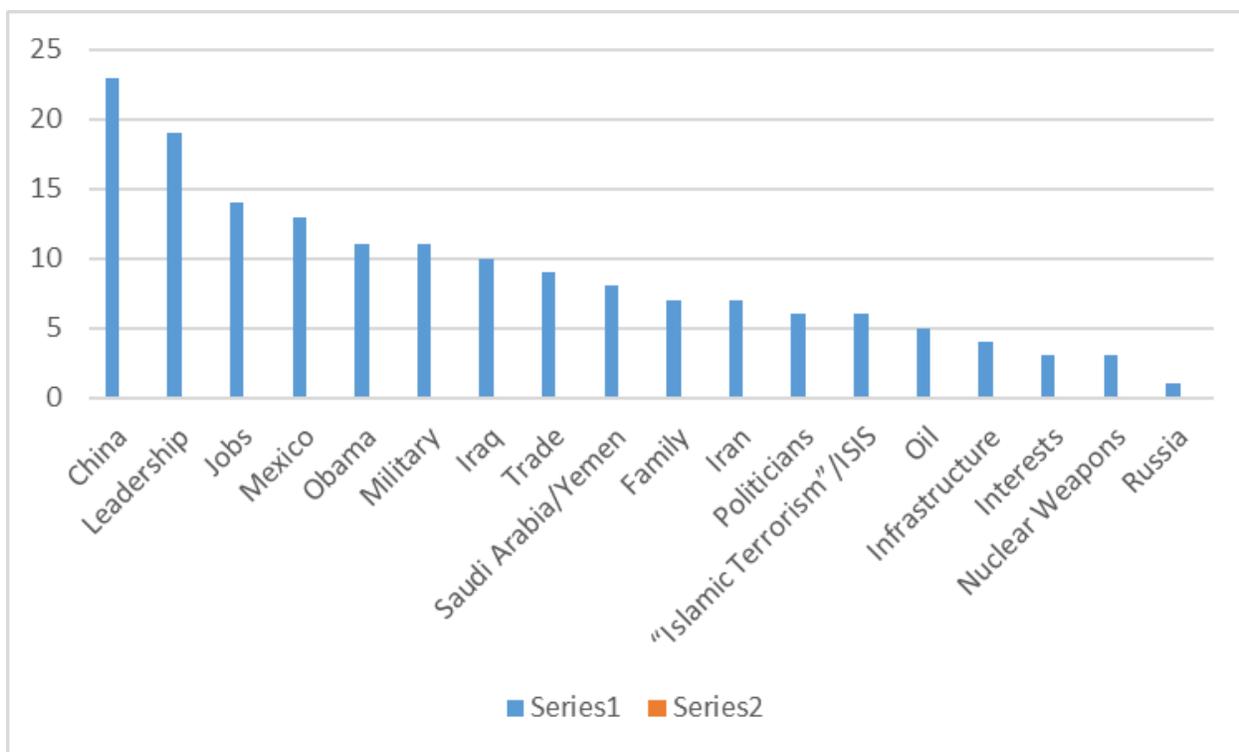
As shown in Table (4-2) above, China is what Trump mostly talked about in his speech (23) times, taking up (14.37%) from the total number of the times he talked about all of the topics. Second to

first comes the topic of leadership in the US, with a total of (19) times which makes (11.87%) of the entire speech. The third most important topic to Trump is Jobs which he mentions (14) times, using (8.75%) of the percentage of the speech. Mexico is the fourth mostly mentioned topic in the speech with (13) times of occurrence, occupying (8.12%) of the text. Obama and the Military are mentioned (11) times, which contributes to (6.87%) of the entire speech's percentage. Iraq is mentioned (10) times, claiming (6.25%). In the ninth position comes the topic of Trade which is mentioned (9) times, taking (5.62%) of the entire speech's space. The topic of Saudi Arabia/Yemen is mentioned (8) times which equals (5 %) of the entire speech. Trump brings up the topics of Family and Iran (7) times each, equaling to (4.37%), each. Politicians and "Islamic Terrorism" come next with a total of (6) times of occurrence, each, occupying (3.75%) of the speech for each of them. The topic of Oil occurs (5) times, taking up (3.12%). Infrastructure is mentioned (4) times, claiming (2.5%). Interests and Nuclear Weapons both occurred (3) times, achieving (1.87%). Finally, Russia is mentioned only once, occupying (0.62%) of the entire speech.

The chart below (Figure 4-2) illustrates the findings of the use of the topics in Trump's Announcement Speech.

**Figure 4-2**

*Frequency of Occurrence of the Topics in Trump's Announcement Speech*



It could be concluded that, as shown in Figure (4-2) above, Trump's Announcement Speech relied heavily on the tripod of the topics of China as an outside element, Jobs and unemployment in the United States as an inside element.

These topics serve as the yardstick on which the analyses of the next phases rely to eventually measure ideological (in)consistency in terms of what topics remain center focus and which ones become less important or entirely ignored, as well as to measure their polarity throughout the period of Trump's political system.

#### **4.2.1.3 Group Designation: Ingroup and Outgroup**

In this section of the analysis of ideological consistency of Donald Trump's discourse, the analysis focuses on investigating how polarity is portrayed in Trump's Announcement Speech in a way that presents him in a positive image and the others in a negative image. The analysis targets

what Trump considers as his ingroup (or those with whom he shares similar ideologies, attitude, and perspectives) and what he considers the outgroup (or those who he opposes, contradicts with and with whom he does not share the parallel ideologies, attitude, and perspectives). Therefore, for the sake of this analysis and based on the Acceptance Speech, the following table presents what is considered as Trump’s “Us” group and “Them” group.

**Table 4-3**

*Actors in Trump’s Announcement Speech*

No.	Us (In-Group)	Them (Outgroup)
1.	Trump (First Person Singular- “I”)	The Administration/Obama
2.	Republicans	Hillary Clinton
3.	The (American) People	The Democrats
4.	(Our) Citizens	The Illegal Immigrants
5.	Immigrants’ Victims	Mexico
6.	Police	China
7.	Law and Order Officials	Iran
8.	Laid-off workers	ISIS
9.	Workers	The Politicians (the Interests)
10.	“We”	The lobbyists

These actors are elicited from perusing the Announcement Speech to serve as the yardstick which is analyzed throughout the different phases of Trump’s discourse and against which the ideological consistency in each of the phases is measured. That is to say, in the analysis of the phases of the model, a polarity analysis is conducted to account for this ideological consistency- which in turn aims at exploring the process of power reproduction.

#### 4.2.1.4 Macro Analysis

This part of the analysis provides an overall analysis of each of the established topics in Trump's Announcement Speech. The significance of this analysis is to provide an outline to the language used around each of the topics in order to pinpoint how each topic is depicted ideologically. This is believed to successfully reflect how Trump shapes his discourse to serve his ideological purposes. The analyzed items are selected in terms of adjacency to the word which resembles the main topic (for example, China, Jobs, etc.).

China and the tariffs are what Trump mostly talks about in bringing up issues of economy, trade, tariffs and other problems with China- which he blames on the previous administration, i.e., Obama's administration. Therefore, he uses verbs with strongly negative denotations and connotations, such as China is "beating us" and "killing us". He also mentions "war" and "military" comparing China's military with the US military, giving favorability to the former. Another situation where he uses comparison is when he compares "their leaders" with the "our leaders"-again- the Chinese being in the upper hand. Eventually, Trump presents himself as the one who can win this battle (*"They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time"*).

Second to first comes the topic of Jobs and work in the U.S which Trump utilizes as a main provocation point against the previous administration. The co-text which Trump uses mostly is that "we need jobs", his ability to enhance "trade" and how others are "taking away" the jobs from the US. As such, he depicts himself within a framework which states that he is the one able to return the jobs (*"I'll bring back our jobs from China"*).

In the topic of Leadership, Trump states that "our country needs a truly great leader", making reference to his book "The Art of the Deal" as evidence that he is a successful leader (*"We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing,*

*can bring back our military, can take care of our vets*”). He also underestimates the others’ ability to be successful leaders through using adjectives like “cheerleader”, “negative force”, “stupid”, comparing between America’s need for a “new leadership” and the failure of the U.S leaders and other leaders such as China’s (“*their leaders are much smarter than our leaders*”).

Trump talks about the topic of infrastructure with mostly a need to “rebuild the country’s infrastructure”, underestimating America’s infrastructure and praising those of other countries, and this is, again, due to failed leadership at the time; therefore, he exports himself as the fixer (“*So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airport*”).

The topic of Mexico is in contexts such as building the wall, Ford, criminals, and the like, portraying it as thief that steals from the US and sends its “worst people”, “[Mexico] is stealing [*sic*] our jobs”. Again, this is because of Obama’s failure to stop that and encouraging immigration through his “immigration executive order”. Hence, he polarizes between the ingroup and the outgroup.

The topic of Saudi Arabia/Yemen are put under the same topic because they are mentioned simultaneously in the same segment. Saudi Arabi is represented as weak and “would not last” without the US support (“*Saudi Arabia without us is gone*”), and that it has the oil and should pay for their protections (“*Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships [...] They’ve got nothing but money*”). Yemen is shown as a part of Obama’s failure (“*You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up*”).

Obama and his healthcare plan are mostly ridiculed, mocked and presented as not competent enough to be the president of the United States (“*I think [Obama] he’ll be a great*

*cheerleader for the country. I think he'd be a great spirit."* [...] *I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare*"). This is part of his efforts to de-emphasize the outgroup's positive qualities and emphasizing the ingroup's positive qualities.

The US military is shown as weak and needs more money because China is spending more money on its military, and he presents himself as the savior, making reference to former famous US military leaders (*"I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy"*). Moreover, in talking about this topic, Trump implicitly mitigates Obama's ability to maintain the military (*"We need a leader that can bring back our [...] can bring back our military"*).

Interests is discussed in a twofold way. The first is when he talks about financial interest which he mainly aligns to contexts related to "ISIS" in comparison with himself (*"When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. [ISIS] don't have to pay interest"*) as well as to China's banking system (*"and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better"*). The second reference is when he talks about politicians who favor their personal benefit (*"people that are controlled by special interests"*); therefore, he paints the outgroup with a stained brush.

Iraq is brought up to shame the G.W. Bush administration, as the worst decision that the Bush administration made (*"I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, 'Is he intelligent?'"*), thus he belittles his political decisions and refers to him as someone who cost the US millions of dollars for nothing (*"We spent \$2 trillion in Iraq, \$2 trillion"*), which ended up in their enemy's hands (*"Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league"*).

When discussing the topic of Family, Trump positively refers to his father as a "nice person" who was "proud" of Trump who "earned" from his father, presenting himself as a

successful family man and a man who took hard decisions in order to build himself. He also refers to himself as a family person who cares about his family members (“*Jared, Laura and Eric, I’m very proud of my family. They’re a great family*”) which is an important aspect in the American life style. In doing so, Trump paints himself in a positive image to the public as a successful self-built man who can also succeed in running the US (“*I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens*”).

Trump uses the topic of Trade to continue his polarization efforts and stand against his outgroup’s trade policies (“*I’m going to tell you— thank you. I’m going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I’m totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons*”). At the same time, he continues his mitigation efforts and implies that his *they* do not have the required skills to run trade which *he* has (“*I’m a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you*”).

Iran is discussed in the frame of ridiculing the outgroup’s efforts to make a deal, showing it as next to ISIS in terms of having the oil and taking over the Middle East (“*So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don’t have, Iran has [...] Iran is going to take over the Middle East [...] Take a look at the deal he’s making with Iran*”). With this reference, Trump alludes to Iran as the outside threat which his outgroup helped building through their unsuccessful policies regarding this topic.

The Politicians are presented in an extremely negative framework which carries a presupposition that they have led America to be deprived of its “greatness” which they will not be able to restore (“*They will never make America great again. They don’t even have a chance*”). They are also depicted as “all talk, no action” and as being deprived of their authority by “lobbyists” *they’re controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully*). Trump’s belittlement frenzy carries on as to raise an exclamative question that draws on

the politicians' smartness (*"How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?"*). His dealing with this topic in such a verbally aggressive manner adds to polarized presentation in Trump's political discourse.

Trump uses the phrase "Islamic Terrorism" in his discourse to contribute to his Islamophobic ideology which negatively presents Islam and Muslims. This topic is mostly exploited to imply his outgroup's failures in the Middle East which helped in the rising and growing of such radical groups (*Islamic Terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them*). ISIS is presented as the enemy which his outgroup would not be able to defeat (*"How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen"*). Eventually, Trump presents himself as the only one who is able to defeat ISIS (*"Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody"*).

The topic of Oil is subjugated for the negative presentation of the outgroup, blaming the "not smart" leaders of the US for not taking advantage of oil in the Middle East and leaving it for ISIS (*"So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has [...] and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders"*). This is yet another topic that contributes to gap of polarization between *Us* and *Them*.

The topic of the Nuclear Weapons is mentioned mostly as a comparison between the US nuclear weapons which Trump sees as "not up to date" as those of the others (*"Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work [...] We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete"*). Trump also compares the US with Iran regarding this topic where he presents himself as the saver from the outside threat that is entailed by Iran's nuclear capabilities (*"I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons"*). In both examples, Trump refers to the failure in this topic as the result of the outgroup's

unsuccessful treatment, adding to the division between *their* bad qualities and *our* good qualities.

Finally, Russia is only mentioned once with a significantly vague language, but one which sounds to praise Russia as a progressed entity (“*But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything— everything, they got away with it again. And it’s impossible for our people here to compete*”).

#### **4.2.1.5 Micro Analysis**

This section of the analysis investigates the selected data for the discourse strategies utilized, their distribution to each of the designated topics in this phase, and how these are distributed in a way that creates a polarized discourse.

##### **4.2.1.5.1 Analysis of Discourse Strategies**

In order to linguistically validate the above group designation findings, this stage of the analysis provides a critical analysis of the language used with each of the topics mentioned above. This is the last part of analysis in the first phase and it focuses on investigating the Announcement Speech for the purpose of finding out what Discourse Strategies that Trump uses in employing his message. The following table displays the topics on which Trump focuses in his speech, the discourse strategies which he uses in each topic, and the Polarity analysis which investigates the use of these strategies in terms of Positive-Self Presentation (PSP) and Negative-Other Presentation (NOP), based on the information taken from the Group Designation analysis above. Therefore, Table (4-4) below shows the topic, the language used with it, the discourse strategies utilized in talking about the topic, and how the latter are used to create a polarized discourse.

**Table 4-4***Analysis of the Discourse Strategies in Trump's Announcement Speech*

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
China	1.	When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.	Intensification	NOP
	2.	China has our jobs	Nomination	NOP
	3.	When was the last time you heard China is killing us?	Intensification	NOP
	4.	I'll bring back our jobs from China	Perspectivization	PSP
	5.	We owe China \$1.3 trillion	Perspectivization	NOP
Jobs	6.	That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.	Argumentation	NOP
	7.	I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China	Nomination	NOP
	8.	We need a leader that can bring back our jobs	Intensification	NOP
	9.	I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that.	Intensification	PSP
	10.	I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money.	Perspectivization	PSP
Leadership	11.	Now, our country needs— our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote "The Art of the Deal."	Perspectivization	PSP
	12.	We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.	Predication	PSP
	13.	And we also need a cheerleader.	Predication	NOP
	14.	He [Obama] was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader.	Predication	NOP

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
	15.	He's not a leader. That's true. You're right about that.	Predication	NOP
Infrastructure	16.	Because a lot of people said, "He'll never run. Number one, he won't want to give up his lifestyle."	Perspectivization	PSP
	17.	Rebuild the country's infrastructure.	Intensification	
	18.	You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw.	Intensification	NOP
	19.	And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.	Predication	NOP
	20.	And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.	Predication	NOP
Interests	21.	They [ISIS] just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel. When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.	Nomination, Argumentation	NOP
	22.	They're [the politicians] controlled fully—they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully.	Nomination	NOP
	23.	So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better.	Nomination	NOP
	24.	Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.	Predication	NOP

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
	25.	And he'll say, "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest," because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money.	Perspectivization	PSP
Mexico	26.	When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically.	Intensification	NOP
	27.	Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.	Intensification	NOP
	28.	It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably— probably— from the Middle East. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.	Intensification	NOP
	29.	That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.	Intensification	NOP
	30.	I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan,	Nomination	PSP
Saudi Arabia/Yemen	31.	[Saudis] make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say "we're gonna protect." What are we doing? They've got nothing but money.	Perspectivization	NOP
	32.	But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They're gone.	Argumentation	PSP
	33.	But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble.	Predication	-

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
Oil	34.	Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.	Perspectivization	NOP
	35.	They [ISIS] don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.	Nomination	PSP
	36.	So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has. [...] But I said, "Don't hit Iraq," because you're going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.	Perspectivization	NOP
Obama	37.	We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.	Intensification	NOP
	38.	And that's what's happening. And it's going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in '16, 2016. Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses.	Predication	NOP
	39.	In fact, I'd love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing.	Predication	NOP
	40.	But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who's a doctor, and he said to me the other day, "Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It's a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now."	Perspectivization	NOP

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
	41.	We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be— and— and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up. Everybody got out— and they kept our equipment.	Predication	NOP
	42.	I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever.	Perspectivization	PSP
Military	43.	We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.	Predication	PSP
	44.	Now, our country could never do that because we'd have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn't let our country— we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port.	Predication, Intensification	NOP
	45.	They're building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China.	Predication	NOP
	46.	We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete.	Predication	NOP
Iraq	47.	They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.	Perspectivization	NOP
	48.	But I said, "Don't hit Iraq," because you're going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.	Perspectivization	NOP
	49.	We spent \$2 trillion in Iraq, \$2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they're great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers.	Intensification	NOP

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
	50.	And we have nothing. We can't even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it.	Predication	NOP
	51.	And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq.	Intensification	PSP
Family	52.	That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family.	Predication	PSP
	53.	By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Evanka did a great job. Did she do a great job?	Predication	PSP
	54.	Great. Jared, Laura and Eric, I'm very proud of my family. They're a great family.	Perspectivization	PSP
	55.	I started off— thank you— I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot.	Predication	PSP
Trade	56.	When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.	Intensification	PSP
	57.	I'm going to tell you— thank you. I'm going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I'm totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons.	Argumentation	-
	58.	So, we need people— I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible.	Argumentation	NOP

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
	59.	Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.	Predication	NOP
	60.	And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico.	Perspectivization	NOP
	61.	And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals—the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I'm building all over the world, and I love what I'm doing.	Intensification	NOP
Iran	62.	So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has. [...] Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.	Intensification Perspectivization	NOP
	63.	Take a look at the deal he's making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won't exist very long. It's a disaster, and we have to protect Israel. But...	Intensification, Predication	
	64.	I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons.	Perspectivization	NOP
Politicians	65.	Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us— believe me— to the promised land. They will not.	Predication	NOP
	66.	So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good. And that's what we have representing us. They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance. They're controlled fully—they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully.	Predication	NOP
	67.	How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?	Intensification	NOP

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
	68.	If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they're going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say, "You can't do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can't do that to Ford."	Perspectivization	PSP
	69.	And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now— it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running.	Intensification	NOP
"Islamic Terrorism" / ISIS	70.	Islamic Terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them.	Nomination, Predication	NOP
	71.	They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.	Intensification	NOP
	72.	So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has.	Nomination	NOP
	73.	You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China.	Predication	PSP
	74.	Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody.	Intensification	NOP
	75.	Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work.	Predication	NOP
76.	We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete.	Predication	PSP	

Topic	NO	Announcement Speech	Discourse Strategies	Polarity
	77.	I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal, who's just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won't be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you.	Predication	PSP
Russia	78.	But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything— everything, they [the administration] got away with it again. And it's impossible for our people here to compete.	Predication	NOP

As the table above shows, the total frequency of the Discourse Strategies used is (83), distributed by the total of all strategies, as detailed in the following table.

**Table 4- 5**

*Frequency of the Discourse Strategies in Trump's Announcement Speech*

No	Discourse Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Predication	29	34.93
2.	Intensification	22	26.50
3.	Perspectivization	18	21.69
4.	Nomination	9	10.85
5.	Argumentation	5	6.03
	Total	83	100

As shown Table (4-5) above, the strategy of Predication is the mostly used with frequency of occurrence of (29) times which equals (34.93%) of the time; Intensification comes next with (22) times of occurrence, occupying (26.50%) of the total use; then, Perspectivization occurs (18) times takin up (21.69%) of the overall use; Nomination is used (9) times which is about (10.85%) of the

entire speech; finally, Argumentation is the least used strategy with (5) times of occurrence (6.03%).

In the general view of the discourse, what this reveals is Trump's endeavor to assign discursive qualifications of the social actors in his discourse through relying mainly on Predication, then playing with the epistemic or deontic status of his discourse through intensification/mitigation, expressing involvement or distance from the topic being talked about through perspectivization, constructing social actors in his discourse through referential/nomination, and finally, using the strategy of Argumentation to either justify or question claims that he brings up in his discourse.

However, more specifically, each strategy is investigated as it is used with each of the presented topics. So, the following table presents where each of these strategies is used and the frequency of their occurrence in each topic.

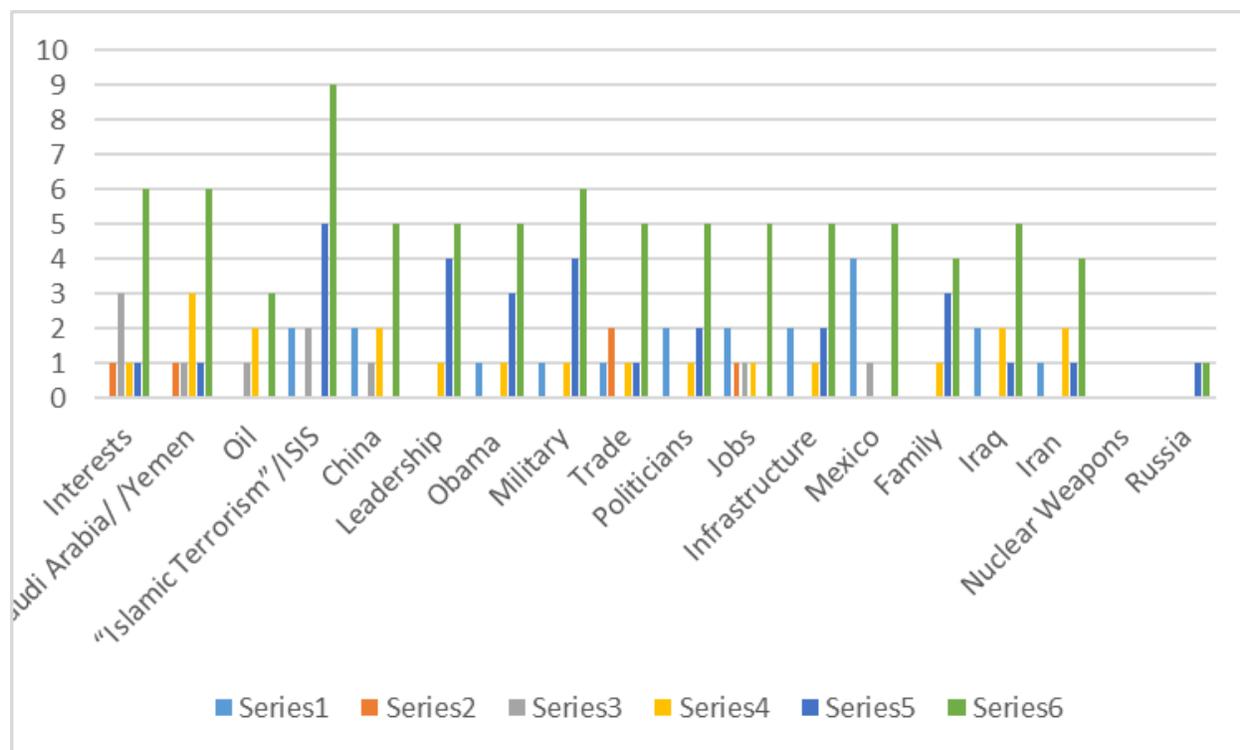
**Table 4-6***Distribution and Frequency of the Discourse Strategies in Trump's Announcement Speech*

No	Topic	Intensification	Argumentation	Nomination	Perspectivization	Predication	TOTAL
1.	Interests	0	1	3	1	1	6
2.	Saudi Arabia/ /Yemen	0	1	0	1	1	3
3.	Oil	0	0	1	2	0	3
4.	“Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS	2	0	2	0	5	9
5.	China	2	0	1	2	0	5
6.	Leadership	0	0	0	1	4	5
7.	Obama	1	0	0	1	3	5
8.	Military	1	0	0	1	4	6
9.	Trade	2	2	0	1	1	6
10.	Politicians	2	0	0	1	2	5
11.	Jobs	2	1	1	1	0	5
12.	Infrastructure	2	0	0	1	2	5
13.	Mexico	4	0	1	0	0	5
14.	Family	0	0	0	1	3	4
15.	Iraq	2	0	0	2	1	5
16.	Iran	2	0	0	2	1	5
17.	Nuclear Weapons	0	0	0	0	0	0
18.	Russia	0	0	0	0	1	1

The following table visually reflects the proportions of discourse strategies to the designated topics shown in the table above.

**Figure 4-3**

*Distribution of Discourse Strategies in Trump's Announcement Speech*



It may be noticed that the highest frequency of occurrence is (4) for the strategies of Intensification and Predication, followed by (3) for the strategies of Nomination and Perspectivization, and (2) for Argumentation. This overall estimation reveals the main strategies used by Trump in his Announcement Speech, which in turn may uncover the topics which he focuses on in his political discourse at this phase to win the elections.

The strategy of Intensification mostly occurs with the topic of Mexico (4) times, and occurs twice with the topics of China, Jobs, Infrastructure, Iraq, Iran, Politicians, and "Islamic Terrorism"/ISIS, and only once in Obama, Military, and Trade. What this reveals is Trump's reliance on intensifying the topic of Mexico which entails "illegal immigrants" mainly, and to lesser extent the other topics.

The strategy of Argumentation is used mostly with the topic of Trade, occurring twice, and only once in the topics of Jobs, Interest, and Saudi Arabia/Oil/Yemen. The strategy of Nomination mostly used with the topic of Interest (three times), twice with the topic if China, and once with the topics of Leadership, Infrastructure, Interest, Obama, Family, Trade, and politicians. This distribution reflects Trump’s endeavor to justify or question the claims or truths with these topics as required and in line with his ideologies.

As for the strategy of Perspectivization, it mostly occurs with the topic of Saudi Arabia/Oil/Yemen with (3) times of occurrence, followed by two times of occurrence with the topic of China/Tariffs, and once in the topics of Leadership, Infrastructure, Interest, Obama, Family, Trade, and Politicians. The use of this strategy gives insight to Trump’s position to these topics in terms of where he places himself (involved or distanced).

Lastly, the strategy of predication is mostly used in the topics of Leadership, Military, and Family (4 times) and to a lesser extent with Obama (3 times), twice with the topics of Trade, Politicians, and “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS, and only once with the topics of Infrastructure, Interest, Saudi Arabia/Oil/Yemen, Iraq, Iran, and Russia. Therefore, through this strategy, Trump assigns discursive qualifications to the social actors- mostly negative ones- to the topics which he discusses through this strategy.

#### **4.2.1.5.2 Ideological Analysis**

Table (4-7) clarifies the distribution of the discourse strategies in terms of polarity, i.e., Positive-Self Presentation (henceforth PSP) and Negative-Other Presentation (henceforth NOP). The table below pinpoints the said distribution.

**Table 4-7***Polarity through Discourse Strategies in Trump's Announcement Speech*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Discourse Strategy</b>	<b>NOP</b>	<b>Per.</b>	<b>PSP</b>	<b>Per.</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>Predication</b>	23	41.07	6	27.27
<b>2.</b>	<b>Intensification</b>	13	23.21	5	22.72
<b>3.</b>	<b>Perspectivization</b>	9	16.07	8	36.36
<b>4.</b>	<b>Nomination</b>	8	14.28	2	9.09
<b>5.</b>	<b>Argumentation</b>	3	5.35	1	4.54
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>56</b>	<b>99.98</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>99.98</b>

As Table (4-7) above presents, the majority of the strategies are used to negatively present the outgroup (56) occupying (72.72%) of the overall use of strategies as opposed to the (21) times of use to positively present the self, claiming only (27.27%). What this reveals is that Trump, at this phase, was more interested in pointing out the others as the bad side of the equation rather than present himself positively.

In this endeavor, Trump uses the strategy of Predication, the mostly used strategy occurs (23) times (41.07%) in NOP and only (6) times (27.27%) in PSP; Intensification is used (13) times, making (23.21%) for NOP and only (5) times (22.72%) for PSP, and it is the second mostly used strategy; in the third place comes the strategy of Perspectivization with (9) times of occurrence, using (16.07%) in NOP and (8) times in PSP, taking up (36.36%). The second to last is the strategy of Nomination which is used (8) times (14.28%) in NOP and only twice (9.09%) in PSP. Lastly, comes the strategy of Argumentation – the least used strategy- with (3) times (5.35%) of occurrence in NOP and only once (4.54%) in PSP.

### 4.2.2 Rapport Establishment Analysis

This is the second phase in the interdisciplinary approach (Input). This section is concerned with analyzing Trump's discourse to come up with how he creates a rapport with his audience. The following table reveals the frequency of the topics discussed in Trump's "Acceptance Speech".

**Table 4-8**

*Frequency of Topics in Trump's Acceptance Speech*

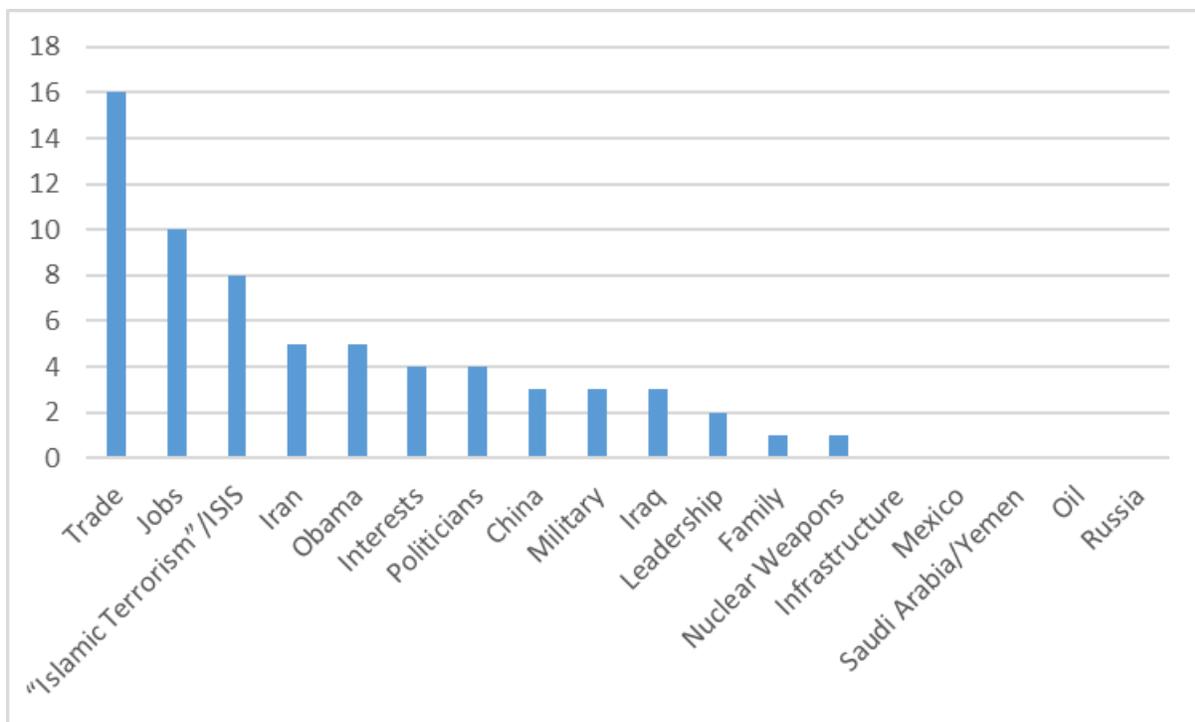
No.	Topic	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Trade	16	24.61
2.	Jobs	10	15.38
3.	"Islamic Terrorism"/ISIS	8	12.30
4.	Iran	5	7.69
5.	Obama	5	7.69
6.	Interests	4	6.15
7.	Politicians	4	6.15
8.	China	3	4.61
9.	Military	3	4.61
10.	Iraq	3	4.61
11.	Leadership	2	3.07
12.	Family	1	1.53
13.	Nuclear Weapons	1	1.53
14.	Infrastructure	0	0
15.	Mexico	0	0
16.	Saudi Arabia/Yemen	0	0
17.	Oil	0	0
18.	Russia	0	0
	Total	65	99.93

As the table presents, in Trump’s Acceptance speech, the first topic in terms of frequency is that of Trade (16) times, making (24.61%). The second topic is Jobs (10) times, claiming (15.38%) of the speech. Thirdly, comes the topic of “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS and Deals (8) times each, achieving 12.30% each. Iran and Obama come fourth (5 times each), equaling (7.69%), each. Interests and Politicians which somewhat refer to the same entity in Trump’s discourse occur (4) times, reaching (6.15%) each. China, the Military, and Iraq each occur (3) times, achieving (4.61%) of the entire speech. Leadership occurs twice, reaching (3.07%). Finally, Family and Nuclear Weapons occur only once, adding up to (1.53%), each.

The following graph visually illustrates the findings of the frequency of the topics in Trump’s Acceptance speech.

**Figure 4-4**

*Frequency of Topics in Trump’s Acceptance Speech*



As shown in the chart, at this phase, Trump relies heavily on the topic of Trade and “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS and Deals as the outside factors (or threats) that affect the American people’s lives which needs to be changed. In the inside, Trump relies mainly on Jobs as the threat that lurks around the corner and should be changed. Less focus is given to the rest of the topics, which is reflected through the drastic changes in the frequency of occurrence of the remaining topics. Hence, he targets his audience with matters that directly affect their lives.

The topics that are not found in Trump’s Acceptance Speech are Infrastructure, Mexico, Saudi Arabia/Yemen, Oil, and Russia. This is due to Trump’s emphasis on the topics that are more directly related to the American voter at this phase, rather than those which may lay far in their priority list.

#### 4.2.2.1 Context Analysis of the Acceptance Speech

In this part of the analysis, the Acceptance Speech is analyzed in terms of Hymes’ (1974) “SPEAKING” model so as to illustrate the overall theme and setting of the speech.

**Table 4-9**

*Context Analysis of Trump’s Acceptance Speech*

No	SPEAKING	The Selected Data
1	S	July 21, 2016.
2	P	Donald Trump.
3	E	Accept your nomination for the presidency of the United States.
4	A	A formal one-sided speech to an audience.
5	K	Enthusiastic and encouraging.
6	I	A spoken address given from a stage
7	N	Review the problems which threaten the country and gain support.
8	G	A speech given by a US nominee to accept their nomination to run for the US elections.

#### 4.2.2.2 Macro Analysis

In addressing China, Trump mainly uses this topic to highlight the polarization between himself and his outgroup, stating that his opponent “ [Hillary] *has supported virtually every trade agreement that has been destroying our middle class*”. He also makes a negative reference to China and its trade, presenting himself as the one who will stop it (“*I will make individual deals with individual countries. This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property*”). In doing so, Trump presents his opponent as the bad one and himself as the saver, focusing on the latter.

In the topic of Jobs, Trump purports that his plan will lead to prosperity (“*new economic policies will create millions of more jobs*”) and that he will put new outlines which would “*add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used to rebuild America*”. At the same time, Trump uses this topic also to depict his opponent group as the one which failed the US in terms of jobs, and specifically refers to Hillary’s plan as one which would reduce jobs (“*[This administration has] failed them [the American people] on jobs*”), making substantial specific negative references as to his opponent’s plan will lead to (*[Hillary’s] plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape from the tremendous cycle of poverty they are going through right now and make it almost impossible for them to join the middle class*). With that laid, Trump now presents himself as the saver of jobs and the American people (*I am going to bring our jobs back our jobs to Ohio and Pennsylvania and New York and Michigan and all of America and I am not going to let companies move to other countries, firing their employees along the way, without consequences. Not going to happen anymore*); hence, the polarized view of *Them* versus *Us* is fulfilled in his political discourse once again through this topic.

When he talks about Leadership, Trump focuses on the change that is needed to the leadership at the time (*A change in leadership is required to produce a change in outcomes*) where he presupposes that there needs to be a change in outcome. Moreover, Trump does not spare this topic for use of polarity, so he blames Obama's leadership for as many negative things as possible to present outgroup as negatively as possible (*My opponent has called for a radical 550 percent increase — think of this, this is not believable, but this is what is happening — a 550 percent increase in Syrian refugees on top of existing massive refugee flows coming into our country already under the leadership of president Obama*), as well as presenting his ingroup as the salvation for the American people (*Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace*), presupposing that the country is not safe, prosperous, or peaceful. Furthermore, when talking about his proposed plan, Trump makes implications to the topic of immigration (*We will be a country of generosity and warmth. But we will also be a country of law and order*) reiterating his strict policy about immigration.

As with the other topics raised in his Acceptance Speech, Trump uses the topic of Interest to defame the outgroup, portraying them as a selfish hurdle in the path of progress and only care about their benefits (*"A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation's most powerful special interests. That is because these interests have rigged our political and economic system for their exclusive benefit. Believe me. It is for their benefit. For their benefit*). Continuing his negative presentation of the outgroup, Trump indicates his opponent (Hillary Clinton) as being on the side of those special interests against the middle-class families who strive to make their living with no one to represent them except the new comer- Trump (*When that same Secretary of State rakes in millions of dollars trading access and favors to special interests and foreign powers, I know the time for action has come ... These families [of the*

*veterans] have no special interests to represent them. There are no demonstrators to protect them and none too protest on their behalf).*

Obama and his health care plan is the topic in which Trump explicitly demonizes his outgroup and presents it as negatively in two cases. First when Trump talks about Obamacare, Trump uses the word “disastrous” and that he would “repeal”, presupposing that this plan does not allow patients to choose their own doctors (“*We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare. You will be able to choose your own doctor again*”). Continuing his negative presentation of the outgroup, Trump also refers to Obama’s policy in Syria as “humiliating” and blaming him and his ingroup for the insecurity in the world (“*Another humiliation came when President Obama drew a red line in Syria and the whole world knew it meant absolutely nothing... America is far less safe and the world is far less stable than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy. I am certain it is a decision he truly regrets*”). What this does is create a negative image in the minds of the audience which is already filled with negative views about Trump’s outgroup. Therefore, Trump’s explicit discourse works as an emphasize of the negativity connotated with the *Them*.

A topic as sensitive as the Military may not be overlooked and may be fully exploited by the political discourse. Therefore, Trump uses this topic twice in his Acceptance Speech to mention how the Egyptian military was “forced” to retake the country from the “radical Muslims” which he blames Hillary Clinton for (“*After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region and the entire world. Libya is in ruins, and our ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of savage killers. Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim Brotherhood, forcing the military to retake control*”). The second time he mentions this topic is when he refers to the aftermath of “Islamic Terrorism’s” actions in France and the US (“*Once*

again, France is the victim of brutal Islamic terrorism. Men, women and children viciously mowed down. Lives ruined. Families ripped apart. A nation in mourning. The damage and devastation that can be inflicted by Islamic radicals has been proven over and over. At the World Trade Center, at an office party in San Bernardino, at the Boston Marathon, and a military recruiting center in Chattanooga, Tennessee. And many other locations). In the latter Trump demonstrates the outside enemy as “Radical Islam” and implicates to the necessity of him being elected to face this “enemy”.

Iraq is also mentioned in Trump’s Acceptance Speech where he refers to it as the failed example of his opponent’s policy (“We must abandon the failed policy of nation- building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed in Iraq, Libya, in Egypt, and Syria ... Iraq is in chaos. [...] After 15 years of wars in the Middle East, after trillions of dollars spent and thousands of lives lost, the situation is worse than it has ever been before”). As such, Trump puts them in the corner of negative image once again.

The topic of Family is mentioned twice in Trump’s discourse in which he aims to continue the negative presentation of his outgroup- in this case the immigrants (“One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years old and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 grade point average). Trump also uses this incident to blame another member of the outgroup, the administration at the time (*Her killer was then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law. I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders*”) where he also presents himself as the caring alternative to that administration.

Trump brings up the topic of Trade in a twofold contradictory way in which he presents the other in a negative way and himself in a positive way, focusing on numbers to do the former and on his campaign to do the latter (*“Our trade deficit in goods reached — think of this — our trade deficit is \$800 hundred billion dollars. Think of that. \$800 billion last year alone. We will fix that... It's been a signature message of my campaign from day one, and it will be a signature feature of my presidency from the moment I take the oath of office”*). To continue his efforts in positively showing himself as the replacement, Trump reiterates his “success” in life as an indication that he will succeed in being the president as well (*“I have made billions of dollars in business making deals. Now I'm going to make our country rich again. Using the greatest businesspeople of the world, I'm going to turn our bad trade agreements into great trade agreements”*); the repetition of the pronoun “I” in these sentences and the positive actions that are associated with it contribute to the emphasis of his good qualities as opposed to *their* bad ones.

To continue his negative presentation of the other, Trump uses the topic of Iran to remind his audience of the sensitive incident where US forces were held captive by Iran and how that did not prevent the administration at the time (his outgroup) from signing the deal (*“We all remember the images of our sailors being forced to their knees by their Iranian captors at gunpoint. This was just prior to the signing of the Iran deal, which gave back to Iran \$150 billion and gave us absolutely nothing. It will go down in history as one of the worst deals ever negotiated”*). Enduring in the same line, Trump criticizes Hillary’s reign as state secretary, presupposing that her taking this office led to the bad happenings in the Middle East and North Africa (*“In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map. Libya was stable. Egypt was peaceful. Iraq had seen a big reduction in violence. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Syria was somewhat under control”*). Therefore,

with this topic, Trump's polarization efforts are solely concerned with negatively presenting the outgroup.

Coming from a non-political background, Trump refers to the "politicians" with the third person or as one member of the outgroup that he prepares himself to fight (*"As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured those other nations will not treat America with respect. The respect that we deserve. The American people will come first once again."*). That is, he presupposes that him being elected president will lead America to be respected again. Therefore, he tries everything at his disposal to depict them negatively, and show himself as the light after the dark (*"I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good"*). Moreover, this topic is one of the most fiercely topics used to enlarge the gap between the groups where Trump confidently assures his audience that he will win and promises them of a new America, presupposing that it was not a country of law before that (*"On on January 20 of 2017, the day I take the oath of office, Americans will finally wake up in a country where the laws of the United States are enforced"*)..

The third most frequent topic in the Acceptance Speech is "Islamic Terrorism"/ISIS. He uses this topic mainly to add to the negative depiction of his outgroup as the inside threat (*"After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region and the entire world. Libya is in ruins, and our ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of savage killer"*), to contribute to his Islamophobic ideology by showing Islam as a 'growing outside threat' (*"To make life safe in America, we must also address the growing threats from outside the country. We are going to defeat the barbarians of ISIS. And we are going to defeat them bad"*), and to portrait himself and his ingroup as the solution for this inside and outside threat (*"Instead, we must work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out Islamic"*

*terrorism and doing it now, doing it quickly. We're going to win. We're going to win fast. This includes working with our greatest ally in the region, the state of Israel”*).

#### **4.2.2.3 Micro Analysis**

The microanalysis of this phase relies on van Dijk’s “Ideological Discourse Analysis” (1995), specifically, the “Discursive Strategies” which are used to figure out how they reflect Trump’s reliance on them to create a selective perception in his discourse at this phase, through denotating Fear, Anger, Blame, Demagogue, Hope, and Change. Finally, it investigates how the latter is used to create a polarized discourse which differentiates between the ingroup and the outgroup, favoring the former to the latter.

##### **4.2.2.3.1 Analysis of Discursive Strategies**

This section analyzes Trump’s “Acceptance Speech” which he addressed at Republican National Convention (RNC) on July 21, 2016, in terms van Dijk’s Ideological Discourse Analysis’ Discursive Strategies (1995b): Negative Lexicalization, Hyperbole, Compassion Move, Apparent Altruism, Apparent Honesty, Negative Comparison, Generalization, Concretization, Alliteration, Warning, Norm and Value Violation, and Presupposition. Then, it investigates how these strategies are used to create a selective perception to reach the sense of consubstantiality with the audience, focusing on the denotations of: Anger, Fear, Blame, Demagogue, Hope, and Change. The topics are searched through the ‘search tool’ in Microsoft Word.

**Table 4-10***Analysis of Rapport Establishment in Trump's Acceptance Speech*

Topic	NO	Acceptance Speech	Discursive Strategy	Selective Perception
China	1.	[Hillary] supported NAFTA, and she supported China's entrance into the world trade organization. Another one of her husband's colossal mistakes and disasters. She supported the job killing trade deal with South Korea.	Negative Lexicalization	Anger/ Blame
	2.	I will make individual deals with individual countries [...] This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property, along with their illegal product dumping, and their devastating currency manipulation.	Negative Lexicalization	Hope
	3.	Our horrible trade agreements with China, and many others, will be totally renegotiated.	Negative Lexicalization	Hope
Jobs	4.	With these new economic policies, trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country. This new wealth will improve the quality of life for all Americans. We will build the roads, highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, and the railways of our tomorrow. This, in turn, will create millions of more jobs.	Hyperbole	Hope
	5.	On the economy, I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used to rebuild America.	Hyperbole	Hope
	6.	But his supporters will join our movement, because we will fix his biggest issue: Trade deals that strip our country of jobs and the distribution of wealth in the country.	Negative Comparison	Hope
	7.	This administration has failed America's inner cities. Remember, it has failed America's inner cities. It's failed them on education. It's failed	Negative Lexicalization	Change

Topic	NO	Acceptance Speech	Discursive Strategy	Selective Perception
		them on jobs. It's failed them on crime. It's failed them in every way and on every single level.		
	8.	Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape from the tremendous cycle of poverty they are going through right now and make it almost impossible for them to join the middle class.	Negative Lexicalization	Fear
	9.	I have a different vision for our workers. It begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat — of which there are many.	Compassion Move	Hope
	10.	America has lost nearly-one third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the enactment of disastrous trade deals supported by bill and Hillary Clinton. Remember, it was Bill Clinton who signed NAFTA, one of the worst economic deals ever made by our country. Or frankly, any other country. Never ever again.	Norm and Value Violation	Blame/ Fear
	11.	I am going to bring our jobs back our jobs to Ohio and Pennsylvania and New York and Michigan and all of America and I am not going to let companies move to other countries, firing their employees along the way, without consequences. Not going to happen anymore.	Presupposition	Hope
	12.	America is one of the highest-taxed nations in the world. Reducing taxes will cause new companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country. Believe me. It will happen and it will happen fast.	Presupposition	Hope/ Change

Topic	NO	Acceptance Speech	Discursive Strategy	Selective Perception
	13.	I have visited the laid-off factory workers, and the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals. These are the forgotten men and women of our country, and they are forgotten, but they will not be forgotten long. These are people who work hard but no longer have a voice. I am your voice.	Compassion Move	Demagogue
	14.	Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment for our citizens, especially for African-American and Latino workers. We are going to have an immigration system that works, but one that works for the American people.	Compassion Move/Warning	Hope
	15.	I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers, or that diminishes our freedom and Independence. We will never ever sign bad trade deals. America first again. American first.	Apparent Altruism	Hope
	16.	My opponent, on the other hand, wants to put the great miners and steelworkers of our country out of work and out of business. That will never happen with Donald J trump as president. Our steelworkers and are miners are going back to work again.	Negative Comparison/ Warning	Anger Hope
	17.	My dad, Fred Trump, was the smartest and hardest working man I ever knew. I wonder sometimes what he'd say if he were here to see this tonight. It's because of him that I learned, from my youngest age, to respect the dignity of work and the dignity of working people.	Compassion Move	Demagogue
Leadership	18.	But Hillary Clinton's legacy does not have to be America's legacy. The problems we face now — poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad — will last only as long as	Warning	Change

Topic	NO	Acceptance Speech	Discursive Strategy	Selective Perception
		we continue relying on the same politicians who created them. A change in leadership is required to produce a change in outcomes.		
	19.	My opponent has called for a radical 550 percent increase — think of this, this is not believable, but this is what is happening — a 550 percent increase in Syrian refugees on top of existing massive refugee flows coming into our country already under the leadership of president Obama.	Concretization	Fear
	20.	Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace. We will be a country of generosity and warmth. But we will also be a country of law and order.	Presupposition	Hope
	21.	Our convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country.	Warning	Fear
	22.	The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its citizens. Any government that fails to do so is a government unworthy to lead.	Presupposition	Change
Interests	23.	A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation's most powerful special interests. That is because these interests have rigged our political and economic system for their exclusive benefit. Believe me. It is for their benefit. For their benefit.	Negative Lexicalization	Anger

Topic	NO	Acceptance Speech	Discursive Strategy	Selective Perception
	24.	When that same Secretary of State rakes in millions of dollars trading access and favors to special interests and foreign powers, I know the time for action has come.	Concretization	Change
	25.	Of all my travels in this country, nothing has affected me more, nothing even close than the time I have spent with the mothers and fathers who have lost their children to violence spilling across our borders, which we can solve. We have to solve it. These families have no special interests to represent them. There are no demonstrators to protect them and none too protest on their behalf.	Compassion Move / Presupposition	Demagogue
Obama	26.	We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare. You will be able to choose your own doctor again.	Negative Lexicalization	Hope
	27.	The budget is no better. President Obama has almost doubled our national debt to more than \$19 trillion, and growing.	Concretization	Anger/ Blame
	28.	Another humiliation came when President Obama drew a red line in Syria and the whole world knew it meant absolutely nothing.	Negative Lexicalization	Anger
	29.	America is far less safe and the world is far less stable than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy. I am certain it is a decision he truly regrets.	Negative Comparison	Blame/ Fear
Military	30.	Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim Brotherhood, forcing the military to retake control. Iraq is in chaos. Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons. [...] After 15 years of wars in the Middle East, after trillions of dollars spent and thousands of lives lost, the situation is worse than it has ever been before.	Negative Comparison	Blame

Topic	NO	Acceptance Speech	Discursive Strategy	Selective Perception
Iraq	31.	We must abandon the failed policy of nation-building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed in Iraq, Libya, in Egypt, and Syria.	Negative Lexicalization	Change
	32.	[With Hillary in office] Iraq is in chaos.	Presupposition	Blame
Family	33.	One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years old and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 grade point average. Her killer was then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law. I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders.	Compassion Move	Demagogue/ Fear
Trade	34.	Our trade deficit in goods reached — think of this — our trade deficit is \$800 hundred billion dollars. Think of that. \$800 billion last year alone. We will fix that.	Concretization	Anger/ Hope
	35.	Now I'm going to make our country rich again. Using the greatest businesspeople of the world, I'm going to turn our bad trade agreements into great trade agreements.	Hyperbole	Hope
Iran	36.	We all remember the images of our sailors being forced to their knees by their Iranian captors at gunpoint. This was just prior to the signing of the Iran deal, which gave back to Iran \$150 billion and gave us absolutely nothing. It will go down in history as one of the worst deals ever negotiated	Negative Lexicalization / Presupposition	Anger

Topic	NO	Acceptance Speech	Discursive Strategy	Selective Perception
	37.	In 2009, pre-Hillary, [...] <i>Iran</i> was being choked by sanctions.	Presupposition	Anger
Politicians	38.	As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect. The respect that we deserve. The American people will come first once again.	Negative Comparison	Change
	39.	I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good.	Compassion Move	Anger
	40.	Tonight, I want every American whose demands for immigration security have been denied and every politician who has denied them to listen very closely to the words I am about to say: On January 20 of 2017, the day I take the oath of office, Americans will finally wake up in a country where the laws of the United States are enforced.	Apparent Altruism/Pre supposition	Hope
	41.	We are going to ask every department head and government to provide a list of wasteful spending projects that we can eliminate in my first 100 days. The politicians have talked about this for years, but I'm going to do it.	Apparent Altruism/Nega tive Comparison	Hope
“Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS	42.	Once again, France is the victim of brutal Islamic Terrorism. Men, women and children viciously mowed down. Lives ruined. Families ripped apart. A nation in mourning. The damage and devastation that can be inflicted by Islamic radicals has been proven over and over.	Negative Lexicalization	Fear
	43.	Only weeks ago, in Orlando, Florida, 49 wonderful Americans were savagely murdered by an Islamic terrorist. This time, the terrorist targeted LGBTQ community.	Concretization	Anger

Topic	NO	Acceptance Speech	Discursive Strategy	Selective Perception
	44.	Instead, we must work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out Islamic Terrorism and doing it now, doing it quickly. We're going to win. We're going to win fast. This includes working with our greatest ally in the region, the state of Israel.	Apparent Honesty	Change
	45.	In 2009, pre-Hillary, <i>ISIS</i> was not even on the map.	Presupposition	Anger
	46.	After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region and the entire world. Libya is in ruins, and our ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of savage killers. Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim Brotherhood, forcing the military to retake control.	Negative Comparison / Presupposition	Change
	47.	To make life safe in America, we must also address the growing threats from outside the country. We are going to defeat the barbarians of ISIS. And we are going to defeat them bad.	Apparent Altruism	Hope
Nuclear	48.	Iraq is in chaos. Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons.	Warning	Fear

With that provided, the following table presents the frequency of the Discursive Strategies used in the selected data and their percentage.

**Table 4-11***Frequency and Percentage of Discursive Strategies in Trump's Acceptance Speech*

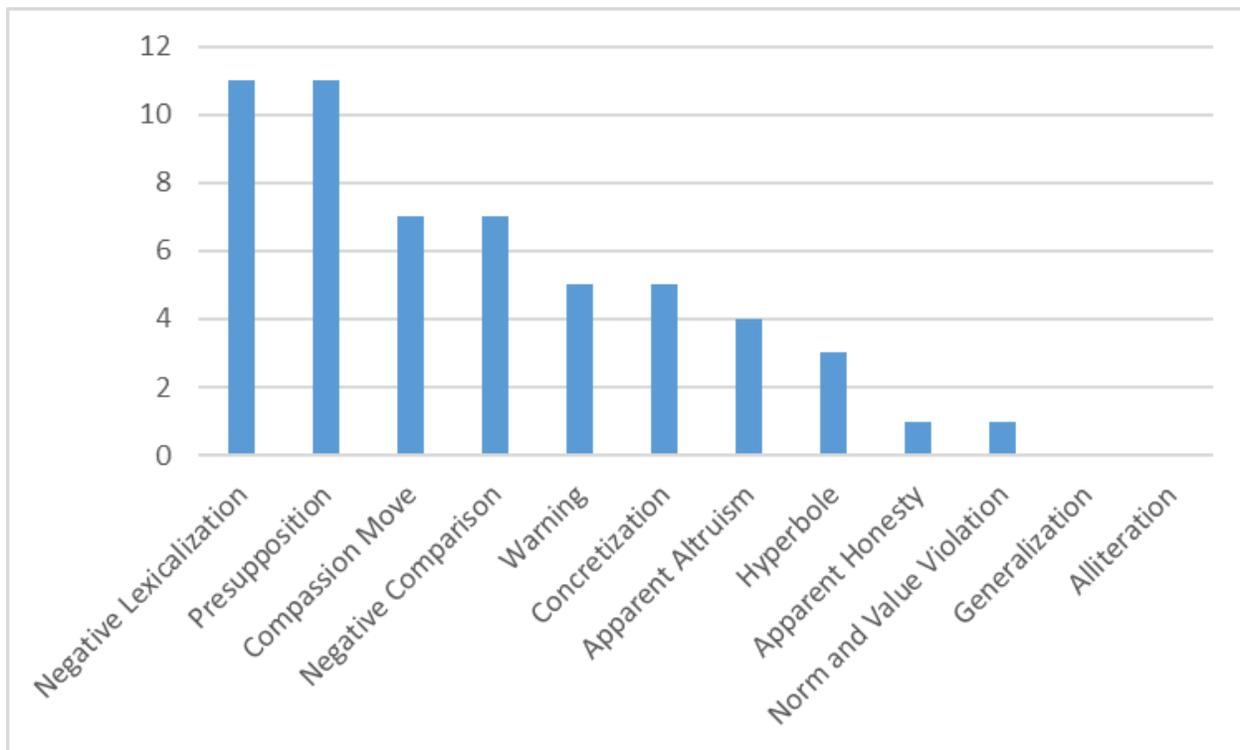
<b>No.</b>	<b>Discursive Strategy</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1.	Negative Lexicalization	11	20
2.	Presupposition	11	20
3.	Compassion Move	7	12.72
4.	Negative Comparison	7	12.72
5.	Warning	5	9.09
6.	Concretization	5	9.09
7.	Apparent Altruism	4	7.27
8.	Hyperbole	3	5.45
9.	Apparent Honesty	1	1.81
10.	Norm and Value Violation	1	1.81
11.	Generalization	0	0
12.	Alliteration	0	0
TOTAL		55	99.96

As the table above shows, Trump's main dependence is on the strategies of Negative Lexicalization and Presupposition, with (11) times of occurrence each, making (20 %), each; next in line is the strategies of Compassion Move and Negative Comparison with (7) times of occurrence each (each one makes 12.72%); third, Trump's discourse makes use of the strategies of Warning and Concretization (5 times each) which take up (9.09%), each, of the entire speech; Apparent Altruism is mentioned (4) times of occurrence, making up (7.27%) of the speech; Hyperbole is used (3) times, claiming the percentage of (5.45%); and finally, both Apparent Honesty and Norm and Value Violation are used only once each, using only (1.81%) each. The strategies of Generalization and Alliteration are not found in Trump's Acceptance Speech.

The following graph illustrates the findings of the analysis of Discursive Strategies visually.

**Figure 4-5**

*Frequency of Discursive Strategies in Trump's Acceptance Speech*



What this reveals about Trump's discourse at this phase is his significant reliance on the strategies of Negative Lexicalization and Presupposition for the purpose of negatively presenting the outgroup through using these strategies mostly address *Them*. Compassion Move and Negative Comparison come next in occurrence yet they differ from the first two in that they are mostly used to present his ingroup positively. Apparent Altruism, Concretization, and Warning are used contradictorily: the first is used to for the ingroup's favor, the second is used against the outgroup (mostly presenting numbers to condemn the outgroup), and the third is used to warn against the outgroup and to keep the ingroup in power. Hyperbole and Apparent Honesty are used to positively portray the ingroup through exaggerated promises and stating 'what should be done', respectively.

Finally, Norm and Value Violation is used once to blame Hillary for what her husband did in the past, which is something unprecedented in terms of this type of discourse and context.

The following table presents the distribution of the discursive strategies found in Trump's acceptance speech.

**Table 4-12**

*Distribution of Discursive Strategies to the Topics in Trump's Acceptance Speech*

No.	Topic	Negative Lexicalization	Hyperbole	Presupposition	Compassion Move	Negative Comparison	Warning	Apparent Altruism	Concretization	Apparent Honesty	Norm and Value Violation
1.	China	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Jobs	2	2	2	4	2	1	1	0	0	1
3.	Leadership	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
4.	Interests	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
5.	Obama	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
6.	Military	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Iraq	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Family	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Trade	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
10.	Iran	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Politicians	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0
12.	“Islamic Terrorism” /ISIS	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	0
13.	Nuclear Weapons	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

As shown in the table above, China is only discussed through the strategy of Negative Lexicalization. Jobs is more distributed and it is tackled through Compassion Move (4), then equally through Negative Lexicalization, Hyperbole, and Presupposition (2) each, and only once through Warning, Apparent Altruism, and Norm and Value Violation which reflects the topics interest to Trump and how significant it is in his agenda. Leadership is discussed mostly through Presupposition and Warning (2) each, and only once through Concretization. Being a highlight in Trump's Acceptance Speech, Interests is addressed evenly through Negative Lexicalization, Presupposition, Compassion Move, and Concretization (1) each. Obama is addressed mostly through Negative Lexicalization (2) and once through Negative Comparison and Concretization. The topic of Military is addressed only through Negative Comparison (1) which sets it low in terms of priority in Trump's agenda. Iraq is discussed only through Negative Lexicalization and Presupposition, once each. Family is used only once through Compassion Move. Trade is also tackled only once through Negative Lexicalization. Iran is discussed mostly through Presupposition (2) and only once through Negative lexicalization. The topic of Politicians is addressed through Negative Comparison and Apparent Altruism (2 each), and only once via Compassion Move. The topic of "Islamic Terrorism"/ISIS is discussed mostly through Presupposition (2), and equally through Negative Lexicalization, Negative Comparison, Apparent Altruism, Concretization, and Apparent Honesty (once each). Nuclear Weapons is tackled only once through Warning.

#### **4.2.2.3.2 Analysis of Selective Perception**

The following table presents the denotations of Selective Perception conveyed by the use of the above discursive strategies.

**Table 4-13**

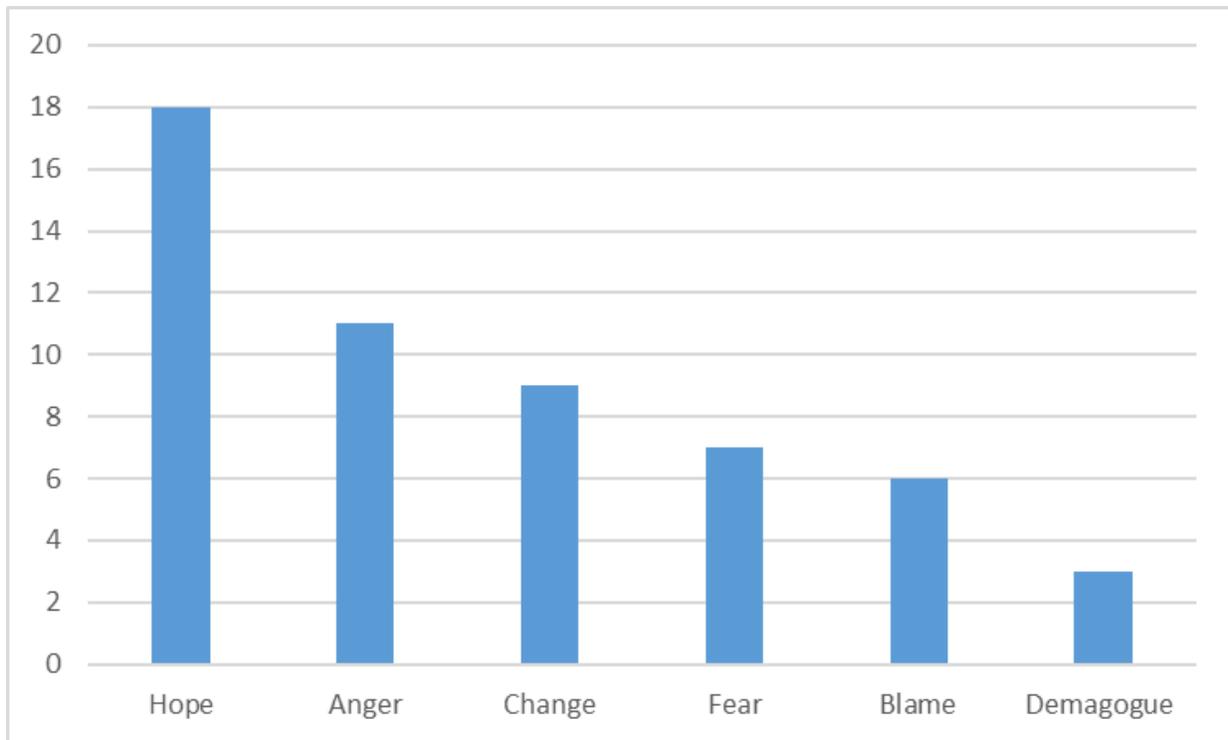
*Frequency of Selective Perception's Denotations in Trump's Acceptance Speech*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Denotation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1.	Hope	18	32.72
2.	Anger	11	20
3.	Change	9	16.36
4.	Fear	8	14.54
5.	Blame	6	10.90
6.	Demagogue	3	5.46
	<b>TOTAL</b>	55	99.98

As the table above demonstrates, the mostly used denotation is Hope with (18) times using up (32.72%) in the speech; Anger occurs (11) times, claiming (20%); Change comes third with (9) times, achieving the percentage of (16.36%); Fear follows with (8) times of occurrence, taking (14.54 %); Blame is used (6) times, using (10.90%); and finally, the denotation of Demagogue is used (3) times, occupying (5.45%) of the Acceptance Speech of Trump. The following graph illustrates the findings of the analysis of selective perception.

**Figure 4-6**

*Frequency of Selective Perception Denotations in Trump's Acceptance Speech*



It is evident from both the table and chart above that Trump relies heavily on the Hop in the first place to denote that there is hope for the people. Second he relies on anger to infuriate the people against the outgroup. Third, he uses Change to instigate the public to vote for him as the change that the US needs to be better. Second to last comes the Blame where he uses it to blame the outgroup. Finally, he relies on demagogue the least which means he uses some emotional situations to gain popularity.

With that provided, at this point the analysis approaches the distribution of how Selective Perception denotations are used to with each of the topics discussed at this phase to arrive at the significance. Since the aim is to reach how SP is achieved through DS (which has been established above), the following table presents the distribution Selective Perception in each topic.

**Table 4-14***Distribution and Frequency of Selective Perception Denotations to Designated Topics*

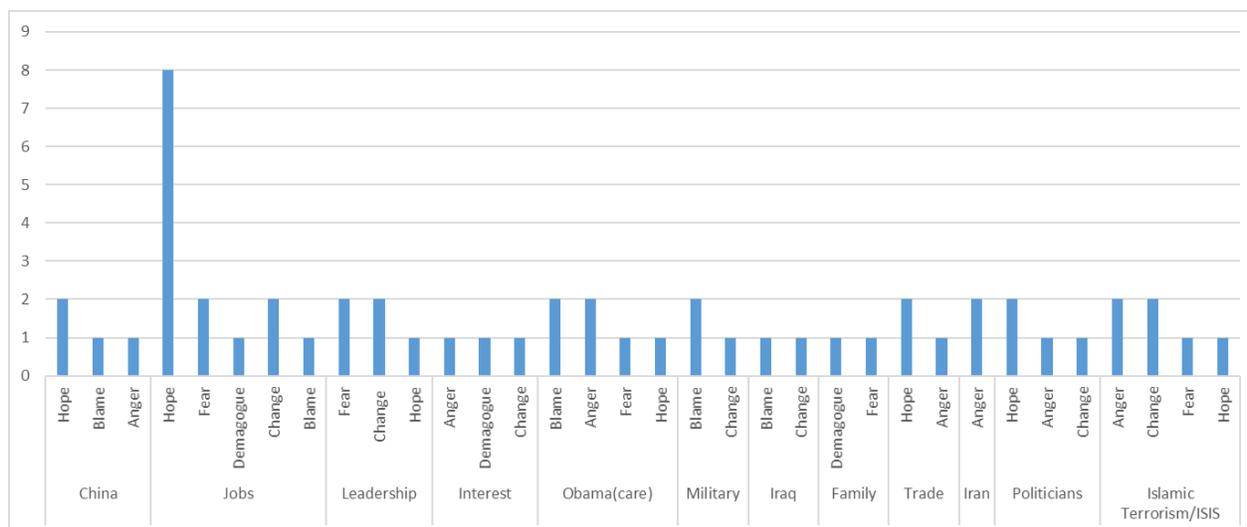
<b>No</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>SP Denotation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>China</b>	Hope	2
		Blame	1
		Anger	1
<b>2.</b>	<b>Jobs</b>	Hope	8
		Fear	2
		Demagogue	1
		Change	2
		Blame	1
<b>3.</b>	<b>Leadership</b>	Fear	2
		Change	2
		Hope	1
<b>4.</b>	<b>Interest</b>	Anger	1
		Demagogue	1
		Change	1
<b>5.</b>	<b>Obama</b>	Blame	2
		Anger	2
		Fear	1
		Hope	1
<b>6.</b>	<b>Military</b>	Blame	2

		Change	1
<b>7. Iraq</b>		Blame	1
		Change	1
<b>8. Family</b>		Demagogue	1
		Fear	1
<b>9. Trade</b>		Hope	2
		Anger	1
<b>10. Iran</b>		Anger	2
		Hope	2
<b>11. Politicians</b>		Anger	1
		Change	1
		Anger	2
<b>12. “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS</b>		Change	2
		Fear	1
		Hope	1
		Change	1

Based on the table above, the following chart illustrates the distribution of each SP denotation used to its designated topic.

**Figur 4-7**

*Distribution of Selective Perception Denotations to the Designated Topics*



As the table above shows and as illustrated by the chart, with the topic of China, Trump uses Hope (2) mostly to convey that he is the one that would change the situation, then he uses Blame and Anger (once each) to hold the outgroup responsible and to arouse the audience's fury, respectively. With Jobs, Trump relies heavily on Hope (8 times) reflecting himself as the hope for this problem, then significantly lesser on Fear, Demagogue (once), and Change (twice) to provoke people's fear of what would happen if he is not elected, manipulating their emotions, and push them to change, respectively; lastly, he uses Blame (once) to throw responsibility on the outgroup.

In discussing Leadership, Trump focuses equally on Fear and Change (twice each) to raise people's fear of the administration at the time and push them to change it; and he relies on Hope once to present himself as the alternative better leader. In Interest, Trump uses Anger, Demagogue and Change equally (once each) to drive the audience's anger towards the 'special interests' (i.e., politicians), manipulate their emotions by pointing out a specific emotional example, and eventually asking people to change the situation by electing him. In talking about Obama, Trump conveys Blame and Anger equally (twice each) in order to throw blame at the outgroup and affect

their anger feelings towards it; he also uses fear and Hope once warn against the outgroup and to present himself as the good replacement.

In discussing the Military, Trump uses Blame twice to hold the outgroup accountable for the bad that has inflicted the ‘greatest military’, and he uses Change (once) to affect people into change the Democratic administration at the time. In Iraq, Trump relies equally on Blame and Change (once each) to convey to the audience that the outgroup is the to be blamed for what happened there and asks them to change the situation by changing through voting for him. The topic of family is used for two purposes: manipulating emotions through Demagogue and arising people’s worries through Fear (once each).

In Trade, Trump draws on Hope (twice) presenting himself as the hope for this topic, and Anger (once) to provoke people’s fury. In discussing Iran, Trump relies solely on Anger (twice) to depict the outgroup as the one responsible for allowing Iran to subdue the US. When he talks about politicians, Trump presents himself as the Hope (twice) to replace them, then increasing the audience’s feelings of hate towards them and asking them to replace them through Anger and Change (once each), respectively.

Finally, in bringing up the topic of “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS, Trump warns the audience through Anger (twice) and asking them to replace the current administration at the time (the outgroup) through Change (twice), fortifying that through Fear (once), and Hope (once) to present himself as the saver.

#### **4.2.2.3 Ideological Analysis**

The significance of the distribution of the denotations of Selective Perception lies in its even distribution. That is, Anger, Fear, and Blame are mostly used to portray the negative image

of the outgroup, whereas Change, Demagogue, and Hope are used to present the ingroup positively, as shown in the following table.

**Table 4-15**

*Distribution of Ideological Polarity in Trump's Acceptance Speech*

<b>NO</b>	<b>Polarization</b>	<b>SP Denotation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>1</b>		Anger	11	24
<b>2</b>	Negative Other Presentation	Fear	7	
<b>3</b>		Blame	6	
<b>4</b>		Demagogue	3	30
<b>5</b>	Positive Self Presentation	Hope	18	
<b>6</b>		Change	9	

Anger is mostly attributed to addressing the Obama administration, Hillary Clinton, the Politicians, the 'special interests', Trade, and "Islamic Terrorism"/ISIS.

Fear is used to address the topics of Hillary Clinton, (Islamic) terrorism, Obama's and decisions, immigrants. Blame is used specifically to address Hillary Clinton, Obama and illegal immigrants. Change is used to address the outgroup, specifically Hillary Clinton (as Secretary of State) and the Democratic administration at the White House. Demagogue is used to talk about specific examples of workers families who got laid off (the topic of Jobs) and the family if the victims of the immigration system set by the Democrats. Finally, Hope is the mostly used denotation in Selective Perception, which is allocated to positively addressing Trump's ingroup as the only salvation to save the US by voting for him in the elections.

A more detail-seeking question might be raised at this point as to how each of the discursive strategies used to convey what specific denotation of selective perception. To answer this question, the following table provides the proportion of each discursive to each SP denotation.

**Table 4-16**

*Distribution of Discursive Strategies to Selective Perception Denotations in Trump's Acceptance Speech*

<b>Discursive Strategy</b>	<b>Anger</b>	<b>Fear</b>	<b>Blame</b>	<b>Change</b>	<b>Demag.</b>	<b>Hope</b>
<b>Negative</b>	4	1	1	2	0	3
<b>Lexicalization</b>						
<b>Hyperbole</b>	0	0	0	0	0	3
<b>Compassion Move</b>	1	1	0	0	1	2
<b>Apparent Altruism</b>	0	0	0	0	0	4
<b>Apparent Honesty</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0
<b>Negative</b>	1	1	2	2	0	3
<b>Comparison</b>						
<b>Concretization</b>	3	1	1	1	0	0
<b>Warning</b>	1	1	1	0	1	2
<b>Norm and Value</b>	0	0	1	0	0	0
<b>Violation</b>						
<b>Presupposition</b>	3	0	1	3	1	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	13	5	7	9	3	21

As the table shows, the strategy of NL conveys mostly Anger (4), then Hope (3), Change (2), and both Fear and Blame only once each. The strategy of Hyperbole conveys the denotation of Hope (3) only. The strategy of Compassion Move denotes the denotation of hope mostly (2) and the denotations Anger, Fear, and Demagogue equally (once). The strategy of Apparent Altruism is

used to convey only Hope (4). The strategy of Apparent Honesty is used to denote the sense of change alone (once). The strategy of Negative Comparison denotes the sense of Hope most of the time (3), Blame and Change to a lesser extent (2 each), and Anger and fear (once each). Concretization is used mostly to convey anger (3) and fear, blame and change (once each). Warning is used to denote hope (2) and anger, fear, blame and demagogue (once each). Norm and Value Violation is used once to convey blame. Finally, the strategy of Presupposition is used mainly to denote hope (4), then anger and change (3 each), and blame and demagogue (once each).

What this uncovers is Trump's reliance on conveying that he is the hope to the American people mostly through the strategies of Apparent Alliteration and Presupposition mainly, then by relying on exaggerated terms and making negative comparisons that show the outgroup in a positive framework, and through raising compassions through CM and warning his audience against keeping his outgroup in power. The second SP denotation that Trump uses in his discourse is that of Anger for which he uses the discursive strategies of Negative Lexicalization for the most part, attributing negative traits to the topics that negatively present the outgroup. Secondly, through the strategies of Concretization and Presupposition, presenting numbers and presupposing things that both work on contributing to the negative image of the outgroup. and to a significantly lesser extent on Compassion Move, Negative Comparison, and Warning.

The third denotation used is Change, which is signified mainly through presupposing negative traits of the outgroup, then through negatively lexicalizing and comparing the outgroup to other things of positive nature, and lastly through proposing apparent truths (AH) and numbers that do not serve the outgroup's positive face. Blame is used mostly by negatively comparing the outgroup, and equally using negative lexical items, concretizing numbers, warning the audience,

violating the norms and values of political discourse and its context, and presupposing acts of negative nature.

The sense of Fear is used second to last in Trump's Acceptance Speech, equally through negative lexical items that frame the outgroup, negatively comparing the outgroup to the ingroup, concretizing numbers that stand against the outgroup, and warning the audience of the outgroup. Demagogue is the least used denotation of selective perception, through arising the audience's compassion for the ingroup's favor, warning against the outgroup's uncompassionate behaviors, and presupposing the outgroup's negative traits.

#### **4.2.3 Decisions and Actions Analysis**

This is the third phase in the interdisciplinary approach ('Decisions and Actions'). This section is concerned with analyzing Trump's discourse to come up with how he creates and instills certain ideologies or deters them. The selected data for this phase is Trump's (2020) State of the Union. The following table presents the frequency of the topics which occurred in Trump's (2020) SOTU speech.

**Table 4-17***Frequency of Topics in Trump's SOTU Speech*

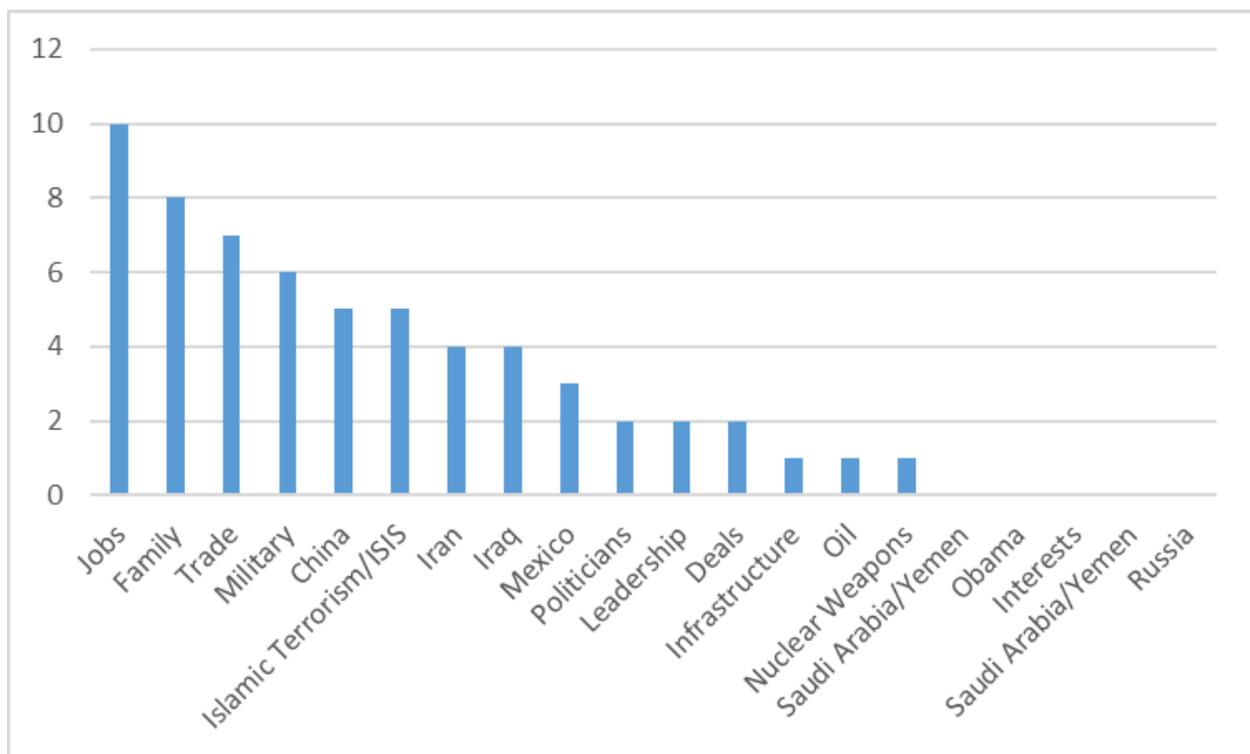
<b>No.</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per.</b>
1.	Jobs	10	16.39
2.	Family	8	13.11
3.	Trade	7	11.47
4.	Military	6	9.83
5.	China	5	8.19
6.	“Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS	5	8.19
7.	Iran	4	6.55
8.	Iraq	4	6.55
9.	Mexico	3	4.91
10.	Politicians	2	3.27
11.	Leadership	2	3.27
12.	Deals	2	3.27
13.	Infrastructure	1	1.63
14.	Oil	1	1.63
15.	Nuclear Weapons	1	1.63
16.	Obama	0	0
17.	Interests	0	0
18.	Saudi Arabia/Yemen	0	0
19.	Russia	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	61	99.89

As the table shows, in his SOTU speech, Trump's main focus is on the topic of Jobs (10) times, reaching (16.39%). Then, the topic of Family is brought back (8) times, claiming (13.11%). Trade comes third with (7) times frequency, making (11.47%).

The topic of Military occurs (6) times, reaching (9.83%). China and “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS are the sixth most mentioned topics in Trump’s SOTU speech (5 times, each), adding up to (8.19%), each. Iran and Iraq are equally mentioned (4) times, making (6.55%) of the entire speech. Mexico is brought back to the surface with (3) times of occurrence, making (4.91%). The topics of Politicians, Leadership, and Deals each occur twice, making (3.27%) each. Finally, the each of the topics of Infrastructure, Oil and Nuclear Weapons occur only once, claiming (1.63%).

**Figure 4-8**

*Frequency of Topics in Trump’s SOTU Speech*



What the above graph reveals is Trump’s dependence on Jobs as an inside factor. The topic of family increases at this level which could be for its use as a sensitive topic in the American context. Trade is brought up here more than five times, making the third most mentioned topic in

this discourse. The topics which are not mentioned at this phase are Obama, Interests, Saudi Arabia/Yemen, and Russia.

#### 4.2.3.1 Context Analysis of the SOTU Speech

In this part of the analysis, the SOTU speech is analyzed in terms of Hyme's (1974) "SPEAKING" model so as to illustrate the overall theme and setting of the speech. The SOTU speech is an annual speech given by the president of the United States to the Congress in order to show the state of the country and what it needs in terms of the budget, economy, agenda, etc. as well as the president's legislative proposals and priorities (Ben's Guide to US Government, 2009). The following table presents the Hyme's context analysis of the SOTU speech.

**Table 4-18**

*Context Analysis of Trump's SOTU Speech*

No.	SPEAKING	The Selected Data
1	S	2 February 2020.
2	P	Donald Trump.
3	E	Address the US Congress and people about the overall status of the US.
4	A	A formal one-sided speech to the Congress and audience.
5	K	Enthusiastic and encouraging.
6	I	A spoken address given from a stage
7	N	Review the achievements of Trump's administration.
8	G	A speech given by a the US president to urge the Congress to pass bills that benefit the administration at the time.

The (2020) STOU is selected as the data for analysis due to its constructive shape and significance. For, one of the aims of the STOU is to allow the president to present what he has

done in a year before the congress, i.e., the decisions and actions which he has taken. The reason behind choosing the last SOTU speech is that it allows the research to provide for the change which may have taken place through following the timeline of the entire presidency. Thus, the following section analyzes the SOTU speech qualitatively in terms of Negative-Other Presentation (NOP) and Positive-Self Presentation (PSP). Van Dijk's SCA is used here because it is the model which provides a link for the gap between discourse and society. Therefore, power reproduction at this phase may be analyzed and tested.

#### 4.2.3.2 Macro Analysis

At this phase, Trump's discourse is that of an authority that addresses the congress as well as the public. He discusses the topic of China more explicitly as a thief that steals from the US which he stopped (*"I also promised our citizens that I would impose tariffs to confront China's massive theft of America's jobs. Our strategy has worked."*), presenting his group's 'strategies as the stopper of that 'thief'. Taking advantage of the topic, he benefits himself with a positive presentation (*"Days ago, we signed the groundbreaking new agreement with China that will defend our workers, protect our intellectual property, bring billions and billions of dollars into our treasury"*). Moreover, he also presents himself as the good negotiator which could convince the Chinese president to be in good terms with the US and to like what Trump's administration does (*"we have perhaps the best relationship we've ever had with China, including with President Xi. They respect what we've done because"*). As such, his discourse in this regard serves a twofold purpose: negatively present the outgroup and positively present himself and his ingroup.

When he talks about the topic of Jobs, Trump addresses his achievements as exaggeratedly as possible (*"Jobs are booming, incomes are soaring, poverty is plummeting, crime is falling, confidence is surging, and our country is thriving and highly respected again"*). Trump also makes

an implicit comparison with his predecessor through this topic (“*Since my election, we have created seven million new jobs — five million more than government experts projected during the previous administration*”), using it as an occasion to negatively compare himself (and his ingroup) with the outgroup.

In terms of tackling Leadership, Trump mentions this topic in a form of presupposition that leadership in the US was lost and he and his ingroup were able to bring it back (“*As we restore American leadership throughout the world, we are once again standing up for freedom in our hemisphere. That’s why my administration reversed the failing policies of the previous administration on Cuba.*”). Moreover, within this topic, he includes the killing of the leader of ISIS as one of his administration’s accomplishments (“*Three years ago, the barbarians of ISIS held over 20,000 square miles of territory in Iraq and Syria. Today, the ISIS territorial caliphate has been 100 percent destroyed, and the founder and leader of ISIS — the bloodthirsty killer known as al-Baghdadi — is dead.*”), benefiting from the negative sentiment that the American people have towards this topic to serve his positive presentation.

In expounding the topic of Military, Trump highlights the expenditures to the military’s budget which his administration spent and the purchases they made to guard America (“*To safeguard American liberty, we have invested a record-breaking \$2.2 trillion in the United States military. We have purchased the finest planes, missiles, rockets, ships and every other form of military equipment, and it’s all made right here in the USA.*”), hence, implicating that he improved the military. He also makes reference to one of the operations in Iraq as retaliation for a lost soldiers, which he uses to reach the his audience’s emotions (“*And that’s why, last month, at my direction, the US military executed a flawless precision strike that killed Suleimani and terminated his evil reign of terror forever.*”). Continuing his demagogue strategy, Trump also refers to the

families of the US army soldiers (*“War places a heavy burden on our nation’s extraordinary military families, especially spouses like Amy Williams from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and her two children — 6-year-old Elliana and 3-year-old Rowan”*) with which he relates himself as the caring and loving president.

In discussing Iraq, Trump focuses on ISIS and a US army soldier who lost his life there (*“One of these American heroes was Army Staff Sgt. Christopher Hake. On his second deployment to Iraq in 2008, Sergeant Hake wrote a letter to his 1-year-old son, Gage: “I will be with you again,” [...] the deadly roadside bomb that took Chris’s life”*), highlighting the emotional background of these stories and using them to manipulate the public’s emotions for his favor.

The topic of Family is used with a significantly high frequency where the focus is drawn to the military families, (*“War places a heavy burden on our nation’s extraordinary military families”*) and “the American” working-class families [...] *Almost every American family knows the pain when a loved one is diagnosed with a serious illness [...] Now I call on the Congress to pass the bipartisan Advancing Support for Working Families Act, extending family leave to mothers and fathers all across our nation*). This focus touches those middle-class public which represent a high percentage of the voters; therefore, Trump moves around this topic significantly more than other topics, to portray himself as the saver that strives to cater for the poor and those that have no voice.

As for the topic of Trade, Trump emphasizes his achievements in trade deals, presupposing that the previous administrations were not able to do the positive deals which he accomplished (*“From the instant I took office, I moved rapidly to revive the US economy — slashing a record number of job-killing regulations, enacting historic and record-setting tax cuts, and fighting for fair and reciprocal trade agreements”*). He also mentions this topic as the main reason he decided

to nominate for presidency (*In fact, unfair trade is perhaps the single biggest reason that I decided to run for President. Following NAFTA's adoption, our nation lost one in four manufacturing jobs.*”), presenting himself as the only one that could solve this issue of all past administrations, as well as making the first deal that gained unprecedented support (*“This is the first major trade deal in many years to earn the strong backing of America's labor unions”*). What this creates is a one-sided positive image that puts him and his ingroup in an entirely good context of achievements.

In dealing with the topic of Iran, Trump makes reference to Iranian regime as a butchery (*“Suleimani was the Iranian regime's most ruthless butcher, a monster who murdered or wounded thousands of American service members in Iraq.”*), Iran's revolution (*“recent months, we have seen proud Iranians raise their voices against their oppressive rulers. The Iranian regime must abandon its pursuit of nuclear weapons; stop spreading terror, death, and destruction; and start working for the good of its own people.”*), and the sanctions which he imposed on Iran (*“Because of our powerful sanctions, the Iranian economy is doing very, very poorly. We can help them make a very good and short-time recovery.”*). What this mixture does is highlight Trump's ability to get rid of Iran's negative effect of the outgroup by imposing sanctions and warning them of more and showing sympathy for the Iranian people who revolt against the regime. As such, he depicts the rate of (in)acceptability to the public, and showing that he has the upper hand in dealing with this outside threat. All this aims to serve his positive public image and brings him more supporters.

In discussing the topic of Politicians, Trump's emphasis shifts towards restricting *them* in a negative area by indicating that they are not capable of replacing bad deals and not keeping their promises, but he came along to replace this (*“Many politicians came and went, pledging to change or replace NAFTA, only to do so, and then absolutely nothing happened. But unlike so many who came before me, I keep my promises. We did our job.”*). He also shows the outgroup as providing

a safehouse for the criminals (*“Tragically, there are many cities in America where radical politicians have chosen to provide sanctuary for these criminal illegal aliens.”*). Hence, Trump creates an unprecedented perspective that is given by a president- i.e., negatively presenting politicians. What this does is that it creates a new attitude and orientation in the political system of the United States- an *anti-politicians orientation*.

“Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS is yet another topic that Trump uses to raise his work regarding keeping the inside secure by fighting “Islamic Terrorism”- the outside enemy, which also reiterates his Islamophobic ideology via using such a phrase (*“My administration is also strongly defending our national security and combating radical Islamic Terrorism”*), retaking Iraq and Syria from ISIS and killing its leader (*“Three years ago, the barbarians of ISIS held over 20,000 square miles of territory in Iraq and Syria. Today, the ISIS territorial caliphate has been 100 percent destroyed, and the founder and leader of ISIS — the bloodthirsty killer known as al-Baghdadi — is dead”*), and to highlight the atrocities of ISIS by focusing on a specifying an example of ISIS victims (*“We are joined this evening by Carl and Marsha Mueller. After graduating from college, their beautiful daughter Kayla became a humanitarian aid worker [...] In 2013, while caring for suffering civilians in Syria, Kayla was kidnapped, tortured, and enslaved by ISIS, and kept as a prisoner of al-Baghdadi himself. After more than 500 horrifying days of captivity, al-Baghdadi murdered young, beautiful Kayla. She was just 26 years old*), using this demonstrative story to back the first two arguments about this topic, as well as to touch on a significant aspect of convincing- i.e., emotions. This also contributes to representing him in a positive caring image.

As for the topic of Deals, Trump re-emphasizes what he did during his presidency with the NAFTA deal as the only one of all politicians who was able to fix this problem (*“Following NAFTA’s adoption, our nation lost one in four manufacturing jobs [...] But unlike so many who*

*came before me, I keep my promises. We did our job*") and highlighting it as the most significant deal in the history of deals (*'This is the first major trade deal in many years to earn the strong backing of America's labor unions'*), depicting himself and his group in an extremely positive frame that supports the working class.

Mexico is another topic that Trump uses for his own advantage, raising the topic of the deal signed with Mexico as most fair in the history of the relation (*"Six days ago, [...] I signed the brand-new US-Mexico-Canada Agreement into law. The USM.C.A. will create nearly 100,000 new high-paying American auto jobs, and massively boost exports for our farmers, ranchers, and factory workers We will have that: fairness and reciprocity. And I say that, finally, because it's been many, many years that we were treated fairly on trade"*), he also mentions the reduction of "illegal immigration" and the wall that he promised to build across the US borders in his campaign (*"Very importantly, we entered into historic cooperation agreements with the governments of Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. As a result of our unprecedented efforts, illegal crossings are down 75 percent since May, dropping eight straight months in a row. And as the wall rapidly goes up, drug seizures rise, and the border crossings are down, and going down very rapidly*), which is mentioned in an effort to deliver a message to his audience that he kept his promises, even though the wall was still in its inception phase and he did not complete it as he promised.

When Trump talks about the topic of Oil, he makes reference, again, to how he improved the oil industry in the US and made it independent in terms of energy (*"Thanks to our bold regulatory reduction campaign, the United States has become the No. 1 producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world, by far. With the tremendous progress we have made over the past three years, America is now energy independent, and energy jobs, like so many other elements of our*

country, are at a record high. We are doing numbers that no one would have thought possible just three years ago.”), and emphasizes that America is the source of oil (“*America is the place where anything can happen. America is the place where anyone can rise. And here, on this land, on this soil, on this continent, the most incredible dreams come true*”), thus implying that he is the one able to preserve it.

Finally, Trump talks about the topic of Infrastructure with least significance by indicating a bill to rebuild the highway (“*We must also rebuild America’s infrastructure. I ask you to pass Senator John Barrasso’s highway bill to invest in new roads, bridges, and tunnels all across our land*”) which contradicts his promise to rebuild the American infrastructure at the first two phases. This explains why Trump does not focus on this topic as much as he does with other topics. Here, he abides by the strategy of de-emphasizing his bad things.

#### **4.2.3.3 Micro Analysis**

At this section of the analysis the SOTU is analyzed in terms of the Epistemic Critical Discourse Analysis strategies which are proposed by van Dijk’s (2011) “Discourse, Knowledge, Power and Politics”, i.e., Topics, Local Coherence, Actor Description, Description (Level, Detail and Precision), Implication/Implicatures/Presupposition, Evidentiality, Metaphor, Modalities, and Argumentation. The reason behind the use of this model for this phase is because van Dijk (2011) describes it as typical for the analysis of such data (political speeches and debates), and also because it investigates the discourse from different aspects; hence, it reflects an overall more credible analysis of the selected data for this phase. The following presents the frequency and distribution of these strategies.

**Table 4-19**

*Analysis of Trump’s 2020 SOTU Speech*

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
China	1.	I also promised our citizens that I would impose tariffs to confront <b>China’s massive theft of America’s jobs</b> . Our strategy has worked. Days ago, we signed the groundbreaking new agreement with China that will defend our workers, protect our intellectual property, bring billions and billions of dollars into our treasury, and open vast new markets for products made and grown right here in the USA.	Opinion	Vague	Implication	Metaphor		Probability	Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	Downgrading
	2.	For decades, <b>China has taken advantage</b> of the United States. Now we have changed that, but, at the same time, we have perhaps the best relationship we’ve ever had with China, including with President Xi. They respect what we’ve done because, quite frankly, they <b>could never</b> really believe that they were able to get away with what they were doing year after year, decade after decade, without someone in our country stepping up and saying, “That’s enough.”.	Opinion	Vague	Presupposition			Impossibility	Implicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause/Active	Downgrading

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	3.	Protecting Americans’ health also means fighting infectious diseases. <b>We are coordinating with the Chinese government</b> and working closely together on the coronavirus outbreak in China. My administration <b>will</b> take all necessary steps to safeguard our citizens from this threat.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication			Certainty	Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
Jobs	4.	Three years ago, we launched the great American comeback. Tonight, I stand before you to share the incredible results. <b>Jobs are booming</b> , incomes are soaring, poverty is plummeting, crime is falling, confidence is surging, and our country is thriving and highly respected again. America’s enemies are on the run, America’s fortunes are on the rise, and America’s future is blazing bright.	Opinion	Specific	Presupposition	Metaphor			Implicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause/Active	
	5.	Since my election, <b>we have created seven million new jobs</b> — five million more than government experts projected during the previous administration.	Opinion	Vague	Implication		No Source		Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
	6.	The <b>unemployment rate for women reached the lowest level in almost 70 years</b> . And, last year, women filled 72 percent of all new jobs added.	Opinion	Vague	Implication				Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	7.	<p><b>Jobs and investments are pouring into 9,000</b> previously neglected neighborhoods thanks to Opportunity zones, a plan spearheaded by Senator Tim Scott as part of our great Republican tax cuts. In other words, wealthy people and companies are pouring money into poor neighborhoods or areas that haven't seen investment in many decades, creating jobs, energy, and excitement. This is the first time that these deserving communities have seen anything like this. It's all working.</p>	Opinion	Specific	Implication/ Presupposition	Metaphor			Explicit	Euphemism	Dependent Clause	
	8.	<p>Thanks to <b>our</b> bold regulatory reduction campaign, the <b>United States has become the No. 1 producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world</b>, by far. With the tremendous progress we have made over the past three years, America is now energy independent, and energy jobs, like so many other elements of our country, are at a record high. We are doing numbers that no one <b>would have</b> thought possible just three years ago.</p>	Opinion	Specific	Implication			Impossibility	Implicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	9.	Six days ago, <b>I replaced NAFTA</b> and signed the brand-new US-Mexico-Canada Agreement into law. The USM.C.A. <b>will create nearly 100,000 new high-paying American auto jobs</b> , and massively boost exports for our farmers, ranchers, and factory workers. It will also bring trade with Mexico and Canada to a much higher level, but also to be a much greater degree of fairness and reciprocity. We <b>will</b> have that: fairness and reciprocity. And I say that, finally, because it's been many, many years that we were treated fairly on trade.	Opinion	Vague	Implication	Definition		Certainty	Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
	10.	I also promised our citizens that <b>I would</b> impose tariffs to confront China's massive theft of <b>America's jobs</b> . Our strategy has worked. Days ago, we signed the groundbreaking new agreement with China that will <b>defend our workers</b> , protect our intellectual property, bring billions and billions of dollars into our treasury, and open vast new markets for products made and grown right here in the USA.	Opinion	Vague	Implication	Metaphor		Promise	Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	Downgrading

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	11.	My <b>administration</b> is determined to give <b>our citizens</b> the opportunities they need regardless of age or background. Through <b>our</b> Pledge to American <b>Workers</b> , over 400 companies <b>will</b> also <b>provide new jobs</b> and education opportunities to almost 15 million Americans.	Opinion	Vague	Implication			Certainty	Explicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause	
	12.	From the instant <b>I took office</b> , <b>I</b> moved rapidly to revive the US economy — <b>slashing a record number of job-killing regulations</b> , enacting historic and record-setting tax cuts, and fighting for fair and reciprocal trade agreements. <b>Our agenda is relentlessly pro-worker</b> , pro-family, pro-growth, and, most of all, pro-American. Thank you. We are advancing with unbridled optimism and lifting our citizens of every race, color, religion and creed very, very high.	Knowledge	Vague	Presupposition	Metaphor			Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
	13.	Workers without a high school diploma have achieved the lowest unemployment rate recorded in US history. <b>A record number of young Americans</b> are <b>now</b> employed.	Opinion	Vague	Implication				Explicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	14.	In eight years <b>under the last administration</b> , over <b>300,000</b> working-age people <b>dropped out</b> of the work force. In just three years of <b>my administration</b> , <b>3.5 million people</b> — working-age people — <b>have joined the work force</b> .	Opinion	Vague	Presupposition/ Implication		No Source		Explicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause	Downgrading
	15.	Since <b>my election</b> , the net worth of the bottom half of wage <b>earners has increased by 47 percent</b> — three times faster than the increase for the top 1 percent. After decades of flat and falling incomes, wages are rising fast — and, wonderfully, they are rising fastest for <b>low-income workers</b> , who have seen a 16 percent pay increase since my election. This is a blue-collar boom.	Opinion	Vague	Implication	Metaphor	No Source		Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	16.	Six days ago, <b>I replaced</b> NAFTA and signed the brand-new US-Mexico-Canada Agreement into law. The USM.C.A. <b>will create nearly 100,000 new high-paying</b> American auto jobs, and massively boost exports for our farmers, ranchers, and factory workers. It will also bring trade with Mexico and Canada to a <b>much higher level</b> , but also to be a much greater degree of fairness and reciprocity. We will have that: fairness and reciprocity. And I say that, finally, because it's been many, many years that we were treated fairly on trade.	Opinion	Specific	Implication	Definition	No Source	Certainty	Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
Leadership	17.	As <b>we restore</b> American leadership throughout the world, we are once again standing up for freedom in our hemisphere. That's why <b>my administration</b> reversed the failing policies of the previous administration on Cuba.	Opinion	Vague	Presupposition	Metaphor			Implicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	Downgrading

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	18.	With every action, <b>my administration</b> is restoring the rule of law and <b>reasserting the culture of American freedom. Working with Senate Majority Leader</b> Mitch McConnell — thank you, Mitch and his colleagues in the Senate, we have confirmed a record number of 187 new federal judges to uphold our Constitution as written. This includes two brilliant new Supreme Court justices, Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh. Thank you. And we <b>have</b> many in the pipeline.	Opinion	Vague	Presupposition/ Implication	Metaphor			Explicit		Dependent Clause	
	19.	<b>Today, the ISIS territorial caliphate has been 100 percent destroyed,</b> and the founder and leader of ISIS — the bloodthirsty killer known as al-Baghdadi — is dead.	Opinion	Specific	Implication	Definition	NO SOURCE		Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	Downgrading
Military	20.	To safeguard American liberty, <b>we have invested</b> a record-breaking \$2.2 trillion in the United States military. <b>We have purchased</b> the finest planes, missiles, rockets, ships and every other form of military equipment, and it's all made right here in the USA.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication				Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
	21.	And that's why, last month, <b>at my direction,</b> the <b>US military executed</b> a flawless precision strike that killed Suleimani and terminated his evil reign of terror forever.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication				Explicit		Ic/Active	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	22.	I am thrilled to report to you tonight that our economy is the best it has ever been. <b>Our military is completely rebuilt</b> , with its power being unmatched anywhere in the world — and it’s not even close.	Opinion	Vague	Implication	Metaphor			Implicit		Ic/Passive	
Iraq	23.	Three years ago, the barbarians of ISIS held over 20,000 square miles of territory in <b>Iraq</b> and Syria.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication	Metaphor			Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
	24.	One of these American heroes was Army Staff Sgt. Christopher Hake. On his second deployment to Iraq in 2008, Sergeant Hake wrote a letter to his 1-year-old son, Gage: “I will be with you again,” he wrote to Gage. “I will teach you to ride your first bike, build your first sand box, watch you play sports, and see you have kids also. I love you son. Take care of your mother. I am always with you. Daddy.”	Knowledge	Specific	Implication				Explicit		Dependent Clause	Downgrading
	25.	The terrorist responsible for killing Sergeant Hake was Qassim Suleimani, who provided the deadly roadside bomb that took Chris’s life. Suleimani was the Iranian regime’s most ruthless butcher, a monster who murdered or wounded thousands of American service members in Iraq.	Unknown	Specific	Implication	Metaphor			Explicit		Dependent Clause	Downgrading

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES										
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon	
Family	26.	War places a heavy burden on our nation's extraordinary military <b>families</b> , especially spouses like Amy Williams from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and her two children — 6-year-old Elliana and 3-year-old Rowan. Amy works full-time and volunteers countless hours helping other military families [...] Amy, your family's sacrifice makes it possible for all of our families to live in safety and in peace, and we want to thank you. Thank you, Amy.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication	Metaphor				Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	Downgrading
	27.	<b>Opportunity zones</b> are helping Americans like Army veteran Tony Rankins from Cincinnati, Ohio. After struggling with drug addiction, Tony lost his job, his house and his family. He was homeless. But then Tony found a construction company that invests in opportunity zones. He is now a top tradesman, drug-free, reunited with his family, and he is here tonight. Tony, keep up the great work. Tony. Thank you, Tony.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication/ Presupposition	Definition				Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	28.	Almost every <b>American family knows the pain</b> when a loved one is diagnosed with a serious illness. Here tonight is a special man, beloved by millions of Americans who just received a Stage 4 advanced cancer diagnosis. This is not good news, but what is good news is that he is the greatest fighter and winner that you <b>will</b> ever meet. Rush Limbaugh, thank you for your decades of tireless devotion to our country.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication			Certainty	Implicit	Hyperbole	Ic/Active	
	29.	As <b>we support</b> America’s moms and dads, <b>I</b> was recently proud to sign the law providing new parents in the federal work force paid family leave, serving as a model for the rest of the country.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication	Definition			Implicit		Dependent Clause	
	30.	Now <b>I call</b> on the Congress to pass the bipartisan Advancing Support for Working Families Act, extending family leave to mothers and fathers all across our nation.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication	Metaphor			Implicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	31.	Rocky was at a gas station when this vile criminal fired eight bullets at him from close range, murdering him in cold blood. Rocky left behind a devoted family, including his brothers, who loved him more than anything else in the world. One of his grieving brothers is here with us tonight. Jody, would you please stand? Jody, thank you. Jody, our hearts weep for your loss, and <b>we will not rest until you have justice.</b>	Knowledge	Specific	Presupposition	Metaphor		Request/ Certainty	Explicit		Dependent Clause	
Trade	32.	From the instant I took office, <b>I</b> moved rapidly to revive the US economy — slashing a record number of job-killing regulations, enacting historic and record-setting tax cuts, and fighting for fair and reciprocal <b>trade agreements.</b>	Opinion	Vague	Presupposition/ Implication	Metaphor			Implicit		Dependent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	33.	<p><b>One of the biggest promises I made to the American people was to replace the disastrous NAFTA trade deal.</b> In fact, <b>unfair trade</b> is perhaps the single biggest reason that <b>I decided</b> to run for President. Following NAFTA’s adoption, our nation lost one in four manufacturing jobs. Many politicians came and went, pledging to change or replace NAFTA, only to do so, and then absolutely nothing happened. But unlike so many who came before me, I keep my promises. We did our job.</p>	Opinion	Specific	Presupposition/Implication	Metaphor			Implicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause/ Active	
	34.	<p>This is the first major <b>trade deal</b> in many years to earn the strong backing of America’s labor unions.</p>	Opinion	Specific	Implication	Definition			Implicit	Hyperbole	Ic/Active	
Iran	35.	<p>Suleimani was the Iranian regime’s most ruthless butcher, a monster who murdered or wounded thousands of American service members in Iraq.</p>	Unknown	Specific	Implication	Definition			Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	36.	In recent months, we have seen proud Iranians raise their voices against their oppressive rulers. <b>The Iranian regime must abandon its pursuit of nuclear weapons</b> ; stop spreading terror, death, and destruction; and start working for the good of its own people.	Knowledge	Specific	Presupposition			Obligation	Explicit		Independent Clause	Downgrading
	37.	Because of <b>our powerful sanctions</b> , the Iranian economy is doing very, very poorly. We can help them make a very good and short-time recovery. It can all go very quickly, but perhaps they are too proud or too foolish to ask for that help. We are here. Let's see which road they choose. It is totally up to them.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication	Metaphor			Explicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause	
Politicians	38.	Many politicians came and went, pledging to change or replace NAFTA, only to do so, and then absolutely nothing happened. But unlike so many who came before me, <b>I keep my promises</b> . We did our job.	Knowledge	Generic	Presupposition				Implicit		Independent Clause	
	39.	Tragically, there are many cities in America where <b>radical politicians</b> have chosen to provide sanctuary for these criminal illegal aliens.	Opinion	Generic	Presupposition	Metaphor			Implicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
Islamic	40.	<b>My administration</b> is also strongly <b>defending our national security</b> and combating radical Islamic Terrorism.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication	Definition			Implicit		Dependent Clause	
	41.	Three years ago, the <b>barbarians of ISIS held</b> over 20,000 square miles of territory in Iraq and Syria. <b>Today</b> , the ISIS territorial caliphate has been 100 percent destroyed, and the founder and leader of ISIS — the bloodthirsty killer known as al- <b>Baghdadi</b> — <b>is dead</b> .	Knowledge	Specific	Implication	Metaphor			Explicit	Hyperbole	Independent Clause	
	42.	In 2013, while caring for suffering civilians in Syria, Kayla was kidnapped, tortured, and enslaved by ISIS, and kept as a prisoner of al-Baghdadi himself. After more than 500 horrifying days of captivity, al-Baghdadi murdered young, beautiful Kayla. She was just 26 years old.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication				Explicit	Hyperbole	Dc/Passive	Downgrading
Mexico	43.	<b>I signed</b> the brand-new US-Mexico-Canada Agreement into law. [...] It will also bring trade with Mexico and Canada to a much higher level, but also to be a much greater degree of fairness and reciprocity.	Opinion	Vague	Implication			Certainty	Implicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	

Topic	No	SOTU	ECA STRATEGIES and TECHNIQUES									
			Actor Description	Level of Description and	Implication Presupposition	Definition/ Metaphor	Evidentiality	Modality	Argumentation.	Rhetorical Devices	Grammar.	Lexicon
	44.	Very importantly, <b>we entered into historic cooperation</b> agreements with the governments of Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. As a result of our unprecedented efforts, illegal crossings are down 75 percent since May, dropping eight straight months in a row. And as the wall rapidly goes up, drug seizures rise, and the border crossings are down, and going down very rapidly.	Opinion	Vague	Implication	Metaphor			Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
Oil	45.	Thanks to <b>our bold regulatory</b> reduction campaign, the United States has become the No. 1 producer <b>of oil</b> and natural gas anywhere in the world, by far.	Opinion	Vague	Implication	Metaphor	No Source		Explicit	Hyperbole	Dependent Clause	
Infrastructure	46.	We <b>must</b> also rebuild America's infrastructure. <b>I ask</b> you to pass Senator John Barrasso's highway bill to invest in new roads, bridges, and tunnels all across our land.	Knowledge	Specific	Implication			Obligation	Explicit		Dependent Clause	

The following table concludes the results of the findings in the above table in terms of the frequency of each of the ECA techniques and strategies.

**Table 4-20**

*Frequency of ECA Techniques and Strategies in Trump's 2020 SOTU Speech*

<b>ECA Strategies and Techniques</b>		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Actor Description</b>	Opinion	25	44
	Knowledge	19	
<b>LDP</b>	Specific	26	46
	Vague	18	
	Generic	2	
<b>Implication</b>		38	38
<b>Presupposition</b>		14	14
<b>Metaphor</b>		21	21
<b>Definition</b>		8	8
<b>Modality</b>	Certainty	7	14
	Obligation	2	
	Impossibility	2	
	Probability	1	
	Promise	1	
	Request	1	
<b>Argumentation</b>	Explicit	31	46
	Implicit	15	
<b>Rhetorical Devices</b>	Hyperbole	33	34
	Euphemism	1	
<b>Grammar</b>	Dependent Clause	31	46
	Independent Clause	15	
<b>Lexicon</b>	Downgrading Words	11	11

The frequency of occurrence of each technique and strategy varies in relation to the topics discussed. The Actor Description occurs (44) times in which Opinion is used (25) times and

Knowledge (19) times, which means that most of Trump's statements are not based on solid evidence, but on his own subjective opinions.

LDP occurs (46) times in which the provided information is found to be Specific (26) times, Vague (18) times, and Generic (2) times, which makes it clear that Trump aims to give as detailed and specific examples as possible.

In the column of Implication and Presupposition, the first is used (38) times and the latter is used (14) times; the interesting finding about this part is that Trump uses Implication to refer to his (group's) positive acts and uses Presupposition mostly to refer to his opponents' negative acts. As for Definition and Metaphor, the former is used (8) times and Metaphor (21) times, which makes Trump's speech more appealing to the audience and less strict.

In Modality, the frequency of occurrence is (14) times in which Certainty is used (7) times, Obligation and Impossibility are used twice, and Probability, Promise, and Request are used only once each. This result reflects Trump's determination tone in his speech about things which he takes as solid facts.

Argumentation occurs (46) times, and it is divided into (31) Explicit and (15) Implicit arguments, which contributes to his discussion about the topics under discussion.

The Rhetorical Devices are used (34) times in which the majority is given to Hyperbole (33) times, whereas Euphemism is used only once, which gives a clear image about Trump's speech being replete with hyperbolic expressions.

As for Grammar, the total is (46) in which Dependent Clauses are used (31) times and Independent (Active) Clauses are used (15) times, reflects Trump's interest in other things than the topics under discussion which mostly contribute to his positive image.

Lastly, in Lexicon, (11) Downgrading terms are used, mostly to negatively present the outgroup.

The following table demonstrates the distribution of each of the techniques in relation to the designated topics.

Table 4-21

*Distribution of ECA Strategies and Techniques in Relation to the Designated Topics*

No	Topic	Actor Description		LDP			Implication	Presupposition	Definition	Metaphor	Modality						Argumentation		Rhetorical Devices		Grammar		Lexicon
		Opinion	Knowledge	Vague	Specific	Generic					Certainty	Obligation	Impossibility	Promise	Request	Probability	Explicit	Implicit	Euphemism	Hyperbole	Independent Clause (Active)	Dep. Clause	Downgrading Words
1.	China	2	1	2	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	3	1	2	2
2.	Jobs	12	1	9	4	0	11	4	1	5	3	0	1	1	0	0	11	2	1	12	4	9	2
3.	Leadership	3	0	2	1	0	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	3	2
4.	Military	1	1	1	2	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	2	1	0
5.	Iraq	0	2	0	3	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	3	2
6.	Family	0	6	0	6	0	5	2	2	3	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	0	4	1	5	1
7.	Trade	3	0	1	2	0	3	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	2	7	0
8.	Iran	0	2	0	3	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	2	1	1
9.	Politicians	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	0
10.	“Islamic Terrorism”	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	2	1
11.	Mexico	2	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	2	0
12.	Oil	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
13.	Infrastructure	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0

As evident from the table above, there is a significant variation in the use of the strategies and techniques when it comes to the topics addressed at this phase of the political system, as detailed in the following sections

#### 4.2.3.3.1 Actor Description

The following table details the frequency and destitution of the technique of Actor Description

**Table 4-22**

*Distribution of Actor Description in Trump's 2020 SOTU Speech*

No	Topic	Actor Description		Total
		Opinion	Knowledge	
1.	Jobs	12	1	13
2.	Family	0	6	6
3.	China	2	1	3
4.	Leadership	3	0	3
5.	Trade	3	0	3
6.	“Islamic Terrorism”	0	3	3
7.	Military	1	2	3
8.	Iraq	0	2	2
9.	Iran	0	2	2
10.	Politicians	1	1	2
11.	Mexico	2	0	2
12.	Oil	1	0	1
13.	Infrastructure	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>		26	18	44

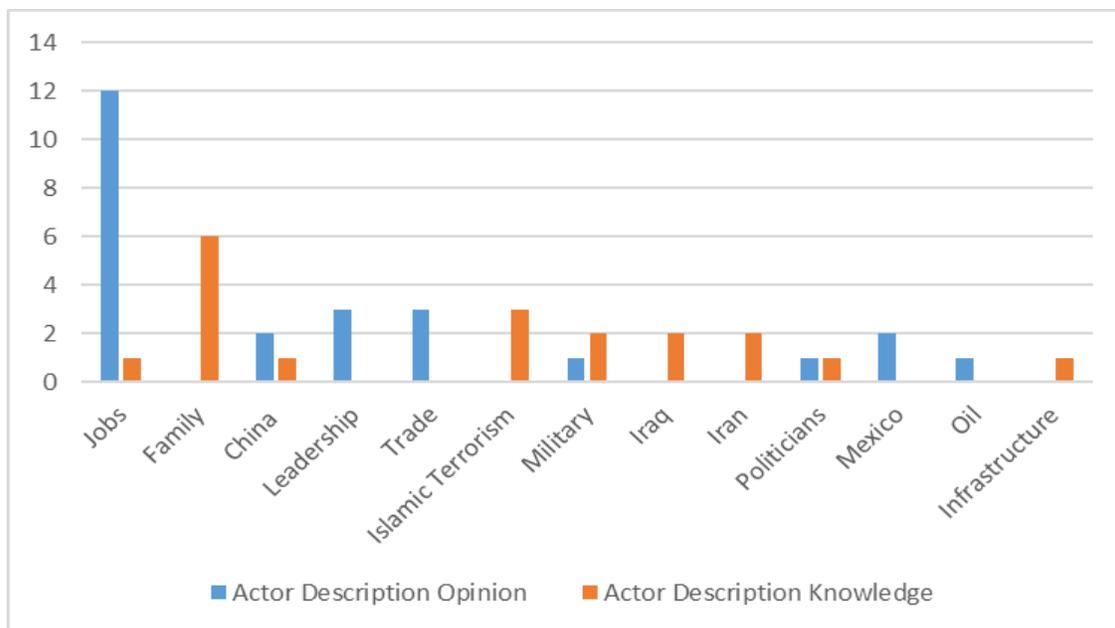
As shown, when he talks about Jobs, Trump relies mainly on Opinion (12 times) and uses knowledge only once, rendering his speech regarding this topic as merely subjective and not one

which is based on shared knowledge. Secondly, comes the topic of Family in which knowledge is the only type used (6 times). With the topic of China, Opinion is used twice and Knowledge is used only once. When he talks about Leadership, Trump relies solely on Opinion (3 times). Trade is addressed through Opinion only (3 times) in each of the two topics. With ‘Islam Terrorism’, Trump relies only on Knowledge (3 times). In addressing the topic of Military, Trump depends on Opinion only once and on Knowledge twice. With the topic of politicians, he uses both equally, only once each. With Iraq and Iran, he uses only Knowledge, twice each. With Mexico, Trump uses only Knowledge (twice). Finally, with the topics of Oil and Infrastructure, Opinion is the only technique used, once each.

The following table demonstrates the findings of the Actor Description analysis visually.

**Figure 4-9**

*Distribution of Actor Description in Trump’s 2020 SOTU.*



The revelation which could be concluded from the above distribution in the analyzed data is that Trump tends to mostly employ his own opinion rather than the shared knowledge of proven facts

when he talks about Jobs to a great extent, China, Leadership, Trade, Mexico, Oil, and Infrastructure. The reason behind this is believed to relate to the importance of these topics as an inside element which directly touches the lives of the American people, thus he tries everything at his endeavor to put himself in a good framework when he addresses these topics. On the other hand, with less significant topics, Trump either relies solely on Knowledge (as in Family, “Islamic Terrorism”, Iraq, and Iran) or he use the two types equally (as in Military and Politicians). This is believed to be so because these topics are of less interest to the public, so Trump tries not to be subjective in them as much as possible.

#### 4.2.3.3.2 Level of Description and Precision

The following table shows the level of description and precision (LDP) with which Trump talks about the designated topics in his SOTU.

**Table 4-23**

*Distribution of Level of Description in Trump’s 2020 SOTU Speech*

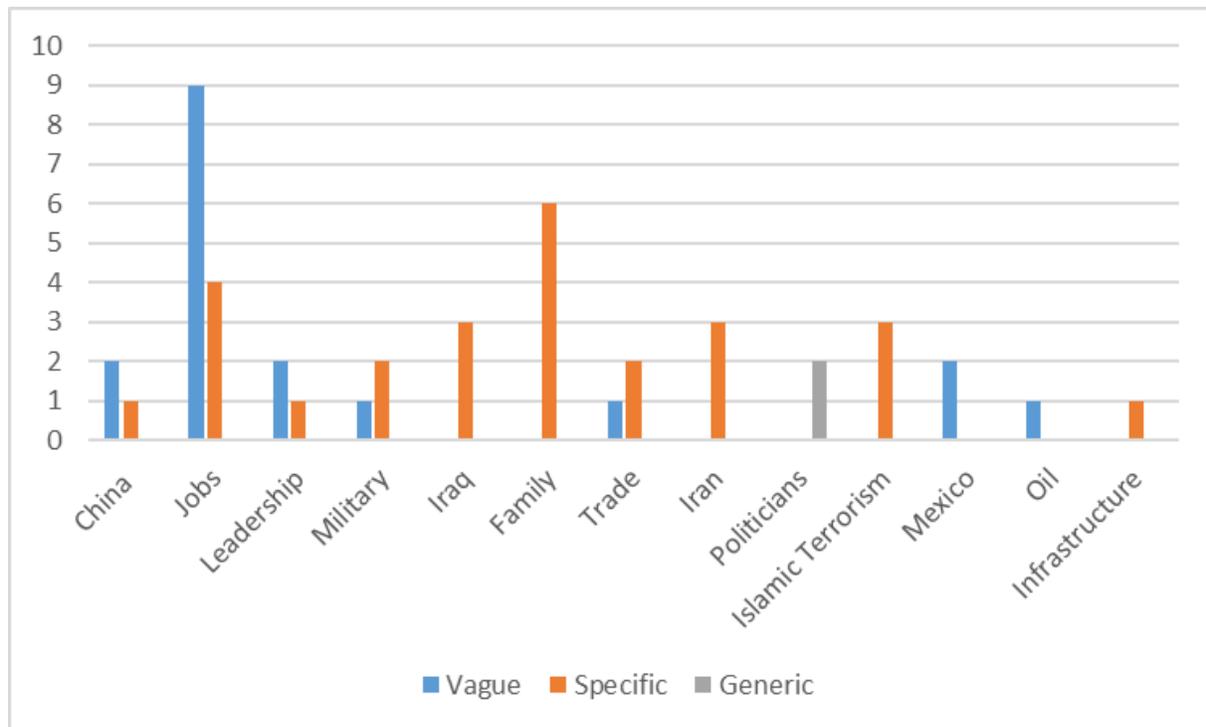
No	Topic	Level of Description			TOTAL
		Vague	Specific	Generic	
1.	Jobs	9	4	0	13
2.	Family	0	6	0	6
3.	China	2	1	0	3
4.	Leadership	2	1	0	3
5.	Military	1	2	0	3
6.	Iraq	0	3	0	3
7.	Trade	1	2	0	3
8.	Iran	0	3	0	3
9.	“Islamic Terrorism”	0	3	0	3
10.	Politicians	0	0	2	2
11.	Mexico	2	0	0	2
12.	Oil	1	0	0	1
13.	Infrastructure	0	1	0	1
<b>TOTLA</b>		18	26	2	46

As the table above shows, in talking about Jobs, Trump utilizes mainly the Vague level of description (9 times) to a great extent, and to a lesser extent with China, Leadership, and Mexico (twice each). With the topic of Oil, he relies only on the technique of Vague description (once). Nevertheless, Specific descriptions are found with other topics, i.e., Family (6 times), Jobs (4 times), Iraq, Iran, and “Islamic Terrorism” (3 times, each), Military and Trade (twice, each), and only once with China, Leadership, and Infrastructure. Generic description is used twice with the topic of Politicians (twice).

The following figure draws these findings in a graph.

**Figure 4-10**

*Distribution of Level of Description in Trump’s 2020 SOTU Speech*



The result to be uncovered from this chart is that since Jobs is of utmost importance for the public, it is the one which mostly exploited for vague information due to Trump’s inability to provide clear and specific information about this topic without risking his positive self-presentation. The

same, to a lesser extent, is done with other significant topics as China, Leadership, and Mexico. This is believed to be due to Trump’s inability to provide rational, clear, and specific descriptions of these topics which are important to the public in one way or another, especially with Jobs.

On the contrary, with less touching topics, specific details are provided with Family, some aspects of the topic of Jobs, Iraq, Iran, “Islamic Terrorism”, Military, Trade, China, Leadership, and Infrastructure where the risk is less and where some details may be highlighted as achievements.

#### 4.2.3.3.3 Implication and Presupposition

The table below presents the analyzed data in terms of how Implication and Presupposition are distributed among the designated topics in Trump’s 2020 SOTU speech.

**Table 4-24**

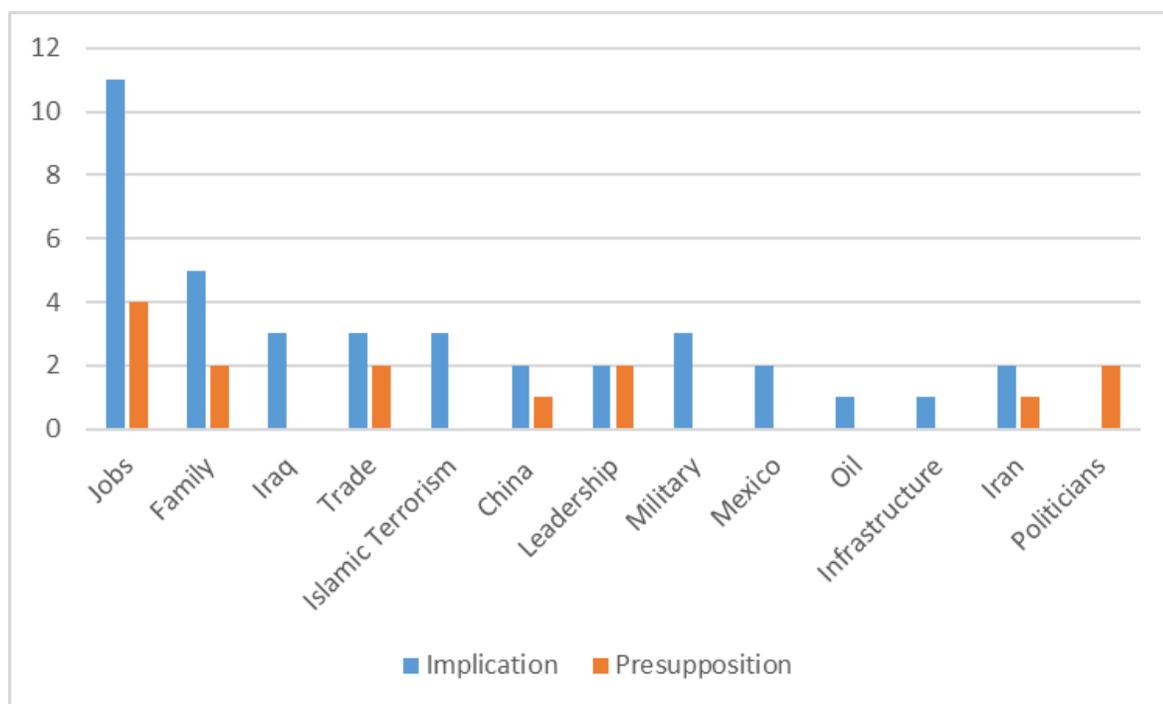
*Distribution of Implication and Presupposition in Trump’s 2020 SOTU speech*

No.	Topic	Implication	Presupposition	Total
1.	Jobs	11	4	15
2.	Family	5	2	7
3.	Iraq	3	0	3
4.	Trade	3	2	5
5.	“Islamic Terrorism”	3	0	3
6.	China	2	1	3
7.	Leadership	2	2	4
8.	Military	3	0	3
9.	Mexico	2	0	2
10.	Oil	1	0	1
11.	Infrastructure	1	0	1
12.	Iran	2	1	3
13.	Politicians	0	2	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	38	14	52

As shown in the table above, these two strategies are used mostly with the topic of Jobs, Implication (11) and Presupposition (4). Secondly comes the topic of Family where Implication is used (5) times and Presupposition only twice. In the third place comes Iraq for which Implication is the only strategy used (3 times). In Trade, Trump uses Implication (3) times and Presupposition slightly less (twice). In discussing “Islamic Terrorism”, Trump relies solely on Implication (3 times). In addressing China and Iran, he uses Implication twice and Presupposition only once, for each topic. In Leadership, Trump’s speech equally uses Implication and Presupposition, twice each. Military and Iran are both mentioned (3) times, yet with the former, Trump relies entirely on Implication (3 times), whereas in the latter, he uses Implication twice and Presupposition once. Mexico is talked about only through Implication (2 times). The topic of Politicians is mentioned merely through Presupposition (twice). Lastly the topics of Oil and Infrastructure are talked about only through Implication, once each.

**Figure 4-11**

*Distribution of Implication and Presupposition in Trump’s 2020 SOTU speech.*



As detailed in the graph above, the total number of Implication used is (38) while Presupposition is significantly lower (14), reflecting Trump’s intent to focus on his positive acts (for which he uses Implication) more than focusing on showing the others wrong and bad (for which he uses Presupposition). With that provided, the results of the analysis may be explained through this premises; thus, in addressing most of the topics, Trump relies on Implication in order to show himself (as well as his group) in a positive image, except Leadership in which it is uses for the two purposes (i.e., positive self-presentation and negative-other presentation) and Politicians which Trump uses only to show the negativity of the outgroup.

#### 4.2.3.3.4 Definition and Metaphor

The following table shows the distribution of Definition and Metaphor in Trump’s, 2020 SOTU speech.

**Table 4-25**

*Distribution of Definition and Metaphor in Trump’s 2020 SOTU speech.*

No	Topic	Definition	Metaphor	TOTAL
1.	Jobs	2	5	7
2.	Family	2	3	5
3.	Leadership	1	2	3
4.	Trade	1	2	3
5.	Iraq	0	2	2
6.	Iran	1	1	2
7.	“Islamic Terrorism”	1	1	2
8.	China	0	1	1
9.	Military	0	1	1
10.	Mexico	0	1	1
11.	Oil	0	1	1
12.	Politicians	0	1	1
13.	Infrastructure	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>		8	21	29

As presented in the table, the topic with which these two strategies are used the most is Job, with Metaphor being the mostly used (5 times) and Definition only twice. Secondly, Family is discussed through Metaphor (3 times) and Definition (only once). Leadership and Trade are addressed through Metaphor (3 times) and Definition (only once). Leadership and Trade are addressed through Metaphor twice and Definition only once. Iraq is discussed only through Metaphor (twice). Iran and “Islamic Terrorism” are talked about equally through Definition (once) and Metaphor (once), each. The topics of China, Military, Mexico and Oil each is addressed through Metaphor alone (once each). The topics of Politicians is addressed only through metaphor (once). Finally, Infrastructure is not addressed through these two strategies.

The following diagram illustrates the findings Definition and Metaphor in Trump’s 2020 SOTU visually.

**Figure 4-12**

*Distribution of Definition and Metaphor in Trump’s 2020 SOTU Speech*

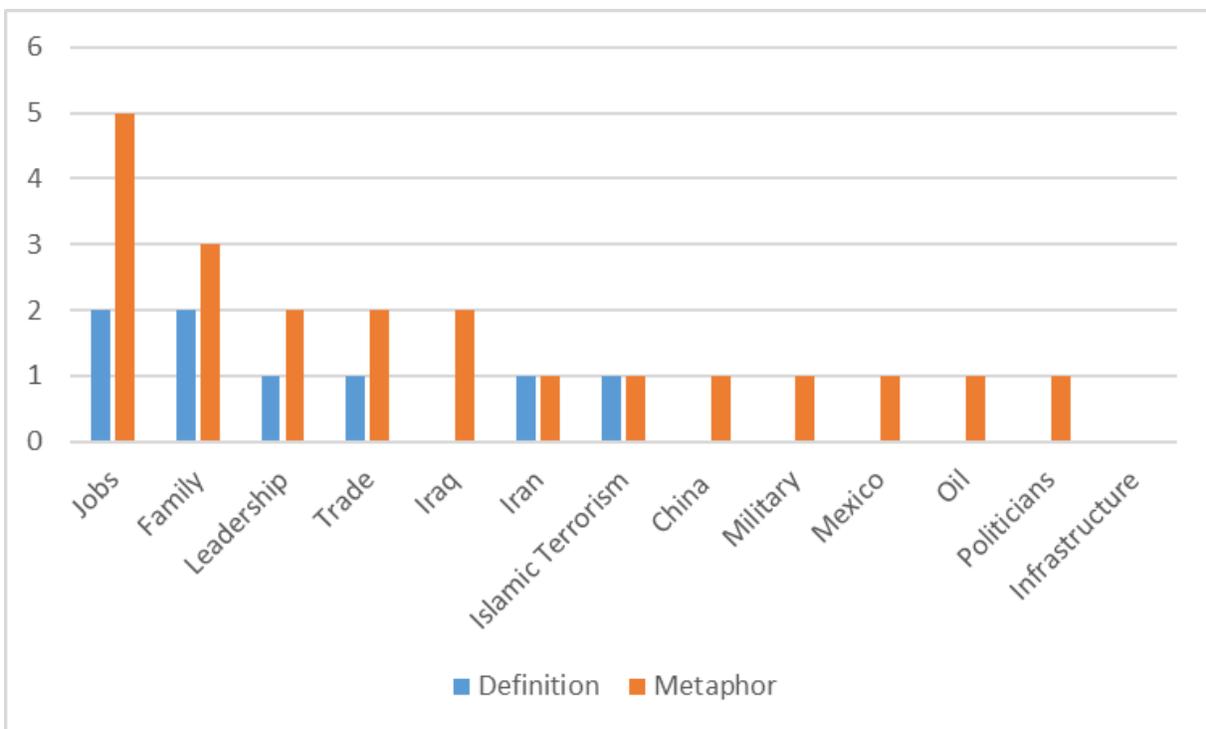


Figure (4-12) above shows that Metaphor is relied on mostly in Trump’s discourse, conveying his intent to paint certain topics and make them more acceptable by the audience. The fact that he uses this strategy more than once with Jobs, Family, Leadership Trade, and Iraq reflects his interest in portraying these topics in a vivid way to his audience, especially the first topic. The use of these two strategies equally with the topics of Iran and “Islamic Terrorism” explains Trump’s interest in these two topics as second in priority and topics which he aims to clearly define and present to his audience. Moreover, using only this strategy with the topics of China, Military, Mexico, and Oil makes these topics also important, in a second place in terms of priority.

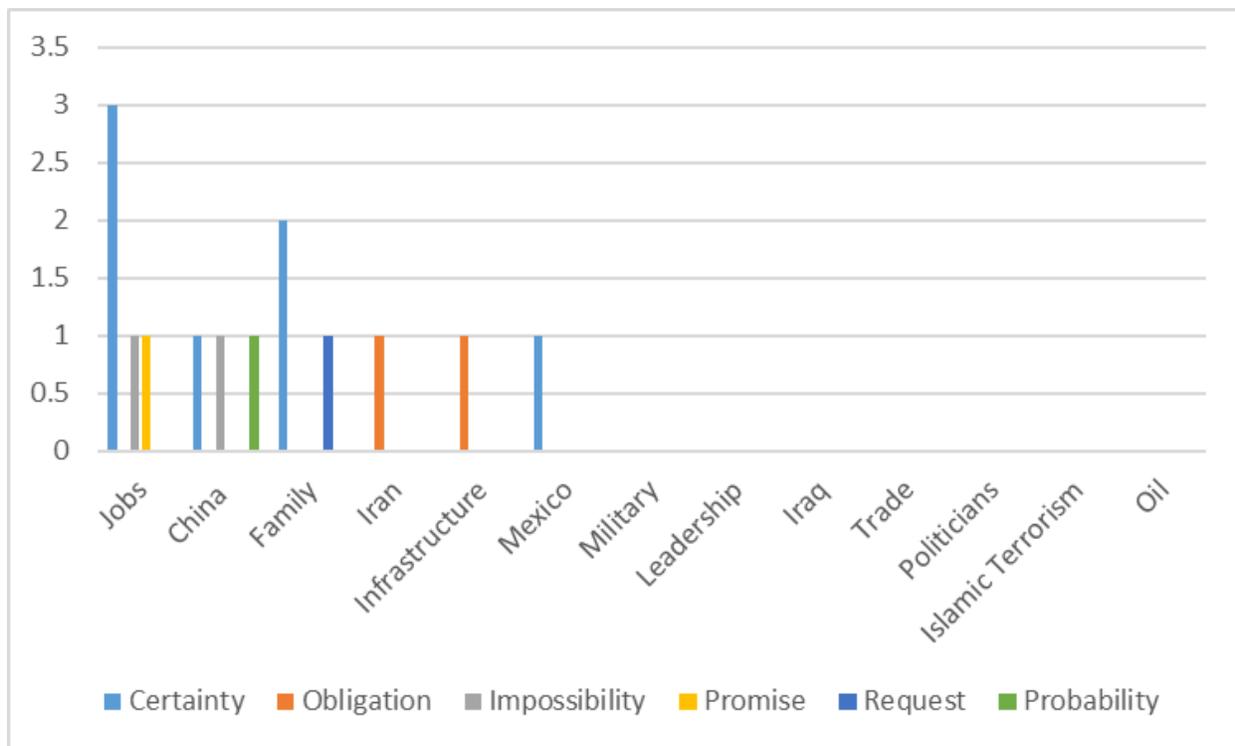
#### **4.2.3.3.5 Modality**

The following table shows the distribution of Modality in Trump’s 2020 SOTU speech.

**Table 4-26***Distribution of Modality in Trump's 2020 SOTU speech.*

No	Topic	Modality						TOTAL
		Certainty	Obligation	Impossibility	Promise	Request	Probability	
1.	Jobs	3	0	1	1	0	0	5
2.	China	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
3.	Family	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
4.	Iran	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
5.	Infrastructure	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
6.	Mexico	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
7.	Military	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Leadership	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Trade	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Politicians	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	“Islamic Terrorism”	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Oil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>		7	2	2	1	1	1	14

As the table shows, Jobs is the topic with which Trump uses most of his modality denotations, divided into Certainty (3 times), Impossibility, and Promise (once each). Secondly, comes the topic of China where he divides the modality denotations into once for each of Certainty, Impossibility, and Probability. Family comes third which is also discussed through Certainty (2 times) and Request (once). Iran Infrastructure are talked about only through Obligation (once each). Finally, Mexico is addressed once through Certainty. The topics of Military, Leadership, Iraq, Trad, Politicians, “Islamic Terrorism”, and Oil are not dealt with via these denotations of modality. The following diagram illustrates Modality findings in Trump's 2020 SOTU visually.

**Figure 4-13***Distribution of Modality in Trump's SOTU Speech*

The findings of Trump's modality results direct the attention towards how Trump talks about the designated topics which lie within the first circle of priority to him in his speech. Therefore, Trump talks about Jobs in a threefold way: he is certain about how well things are going in this topic, it is impossible for something bad to happen, and he promises more advances in jobs in the future (a call for the public to re-elect him). When he addresses China, Trump says that he is certain about his behavior with them will be beneficial, that no one has been close to what he achieved with them in the past, and that they have possibly not seen anything like him and his way of dealing before. With Family, Trump presents himself as certain of the good future for the American families, and uses one request with one of the attending families. Finally, when he talks about Iran and Infrastructure, he uses obligation to make Iran change its policy and to oblige the congress to pass a bill to develop the infrastructure in the US.

#### 4.2.3.3.6 Argumentation

The following table shows the distribution of Argumentation in Trump's 2020 SOTU speech.

**Table 4-27**

*Distribution of Argumentation in Trump's 2020 SOTU speech.*

No	Topic	Argumentation		TOTAL
		Explicit	Implicit	
1.	Jobs	11	2	13
2.	Family	3	3	6
3.	China	2	1	3
4.	Leadership	2	1	3
5.	Military	2	1	3
6.	Iraq	3	0	3
7.	Iran	3	0	3
8.	Trade	0	3	3
9.	“Islamic Terrorism”	2	1	3
10.	Politicians	0	2	2
11.	Mexico	1	1	2
12.	Oil	1	0	1
13.	Infrastructure	1	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>		31	15	46

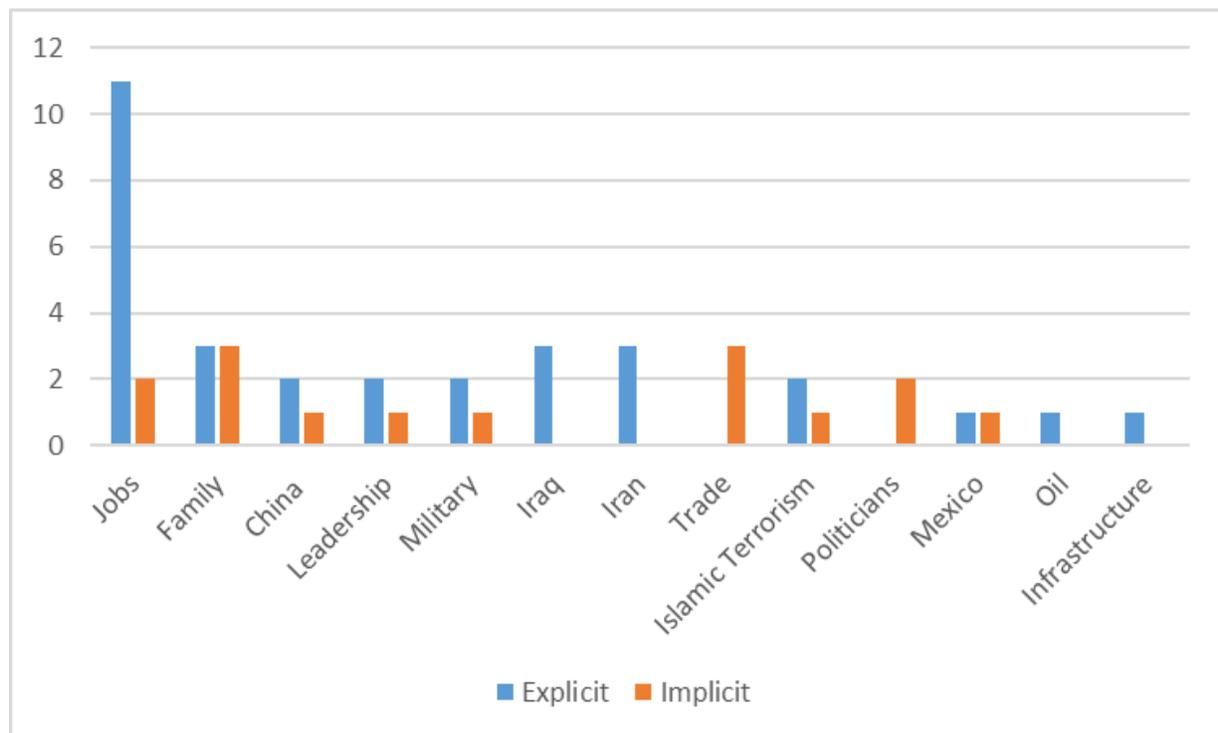
As detailed in the table above, Trump uses the strategy of Argumentation mostly with the topic of Jobs, (11) Explicit and (2) Implicit. With Family, Trump uses the two types equally, (3) for each one. With China, Leadership, and Military, however, Trump uses Explicit Argumentation slightly more (twice) than Implicit (once), for each topic. With Iraq and Iran, Trump's Argumentation is only Explicit (3), unlike Trade which is addressed with Implicit argumentation (3 times). “Islamic Terrorism” and Politicians are addressed contradictorily, the former twice through Explicit and once Implicit argumentation, while the latter is addressed through only Implicit argumentation (twice). Mexico is addressed using an equal number of occurrences for each type of argumentation

(once Explicit and once Implicit). Finally, Oil and Infrastructure are both addressed using only (once) Explicit argumentation each.

The following diagram visually illustrates the findings of Argumentation in Trump’s 2020 SOTU.

**Figure 4-14**

*Distribution of Argumentation in Trump’s SOTU Speech*



As the graph shows, Explicit Argumentations are used mostly in Trump’s SOTU speech, compared with Implicit ones. What this means is that, in most of the times, Trump uses obvious premises for his arguments which, if taken in consideration with the types Actor Description and LDP, should serve his own benefit (which is to be decided in the discussion of the Results). Thus, he relies on Explicit argumentations in discussing, first: Jobs, secondly: Family, China, Leadership, Military, Iraq, Iran, “Islamic Terrorism”, and thirdly: Mexico, Oil, and Infrastructure. On the other hand, Implicit Argumentation is used with Family, Trade, and Politicians which are of second priority,

leading Trump to use unclear premises in his speech so as to over his potential failure in these topics.

#### 4.2.3.3.7 Rhetorical Devices

The following table shows the distribution of Rhetorical Devices in Trump's, 2020 SOTU speech.

**Table 4-28**

*Distribution of Rhetorical Devices in Trump's 2020 SOTU speech.*

No	Topic	Rhetorical Devices		TOTAL
		Euphemism	Hyperbole	
1.	Jobs	1	12	13
2.	Family	0	4	4
3.	China	0	3	3
4.	Leadership	0	2	2
5.	Trade	0	2	2
6.	Iran	0	2	2
7.	“Islamic Terrorism”	0	2	2
8.	Mexico	0	2	2
9.	Military	0	1	1
10.	Iraq	0	1	1
11.	Politicians	0	1	1
12.	Oil	0	1	1
13.	Infrastructure	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>		1	33	34

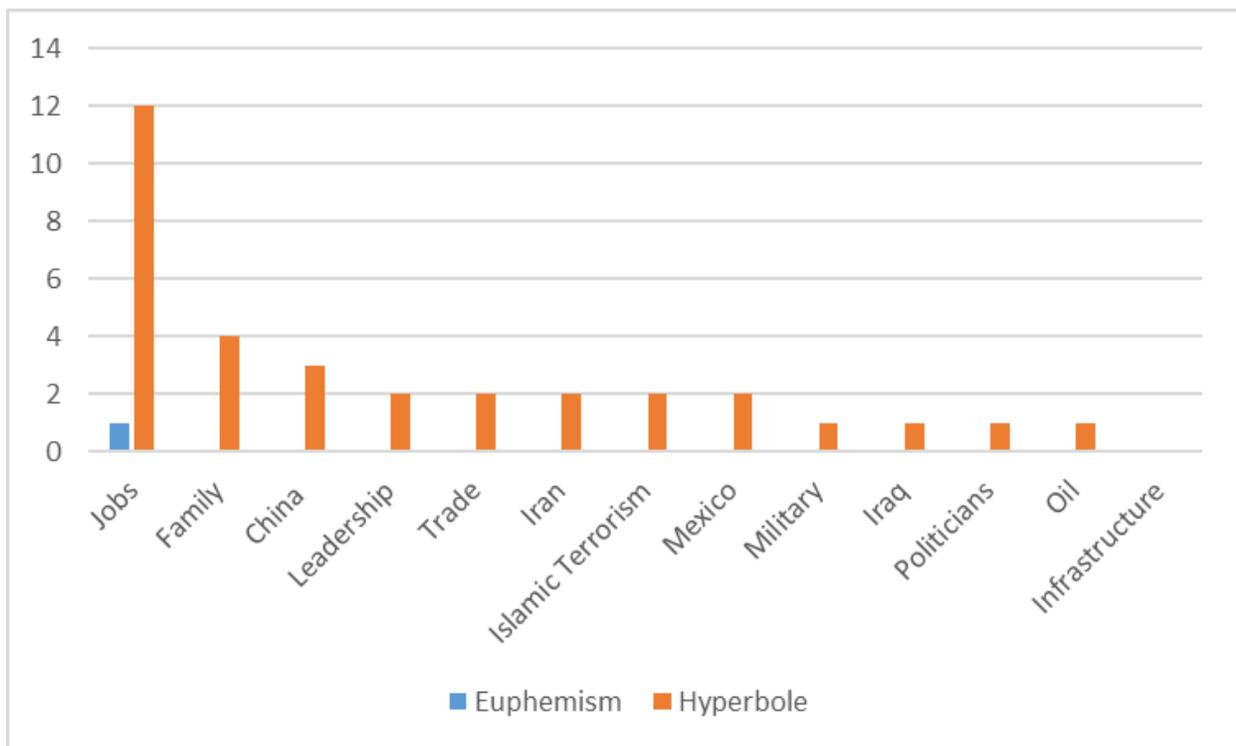
As shown in the Table (4-28) above, Trump's SOTU is replete with hyperbolic expressions and statements, the most of which is used to discuss Jobs (12), followed by Family (4), China (3), then

it is used twice with each of the topics of Leadership, Trade, Iran, “Islamic Terrorism”, and Mexico. On a fourth level, Hyperbole is used once to discuss Military, Iraq, Politicians, and Oil. Euphemism, on the other hand, is used only once with Jobs. Neither strategy is used with the topic of Infrastructure.

The following diagram visually illustrates the findings of Rhetorical Devices in Trump’s 2020 SOTU.

**Figure 4-15**

*Distribution of Rhetorical Devices in Trump’s SOTU speech*



Trump’s almost entire dependence on Hyperbole reveals the fact that there are certain elements that aims to focus on and present more than others. That is why he uses this strategy with Jobs mostly in order to present to the public that he has achieved good results in this topic. With Family, Trump’s hyperbolic language here achieves the negative presentation of the outgroup mostly. With

China, Trump hyperbolically expresses his relation with the Chinese president and the good results that have come out of his policies regarding China. With Leadership, his hyperbole focuses on his opponents, with Trade on his positive achievements, with Iran on his sanctions, with “Islamic Terrorism” on his fighting of extremism and the danger from the outside, with Mexico on his deal and his policies on immigration. The third level focuses on Military to highlight how powerful it has become under his administration, with Iraq on how ISIS has taken large parts of it (which he later recovered, as he purports), with Politicians on how they do not keep their promises, and with Oil on how the US became the no 1 producer of Oil and Gas.

#### 4.2.3.3.8 Grammar

The following table shows the distribution of the Independent and Dependent clauses used in Trump’s, 2020 SOTU speech.

**Table 4-29**

*Distribution of Grammar in Trump’s 2020 SOTU speech.*

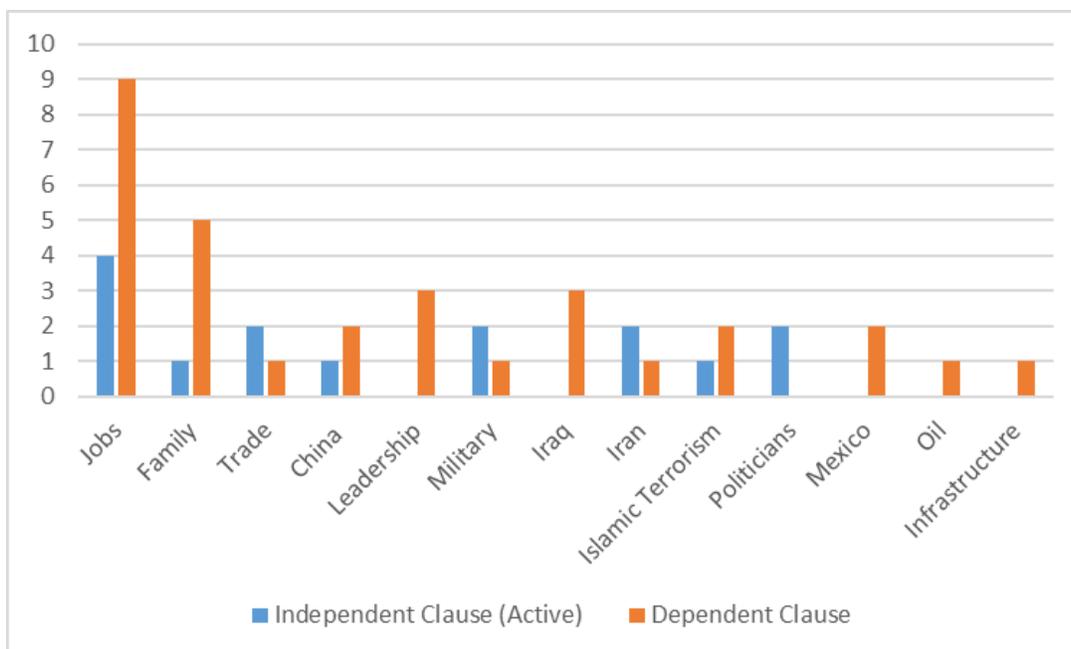
No	Topic	Grammar		TOTAL
		Independent Clause (Active)	Dependent Clause	
1.	Jobs	4	9	13
2.	Family	1	5	6
3.	Trade	2	1	3
4.	China	1	2	3
5.	Leadership	0	3	3
6.	Military	2	1	3
7.	Iraq	0	3	3
8.	Iran	2	1	3
9.	“Islamic Terrorism”	1	2	3
10.	Politicians	2	0	2
11.	Mexico	0	2	2
12.	Oil	0	1	1
13.	Infrastructure	0	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>		15	31	46

As the table shows, the Dependent Clause is the mostly used type of clauses in Trump’s SOTU, reaching its highest number of occurrences in Jobs (9) Dependent Clause and (4) Independent Clause, Family (5) Dependent Clause and (1) Independent Clause, Trade (2) Independent Clause and (1) Dependent Clause, China and “Islamic Terrorism” (2) Dependent Clause and (1) Independent Clause, Leadership and Iraq (3) Dependent Clause and (0) Independent Clause, Military and Iran (1) Dependent Clause and (2) Independent Clause, Politicians (0) Dependent Clause and (2) Independent Clause, Mexico (2) Dependent Clause and (0) Independent Clause, and Oil and Infrastructure (1) Dependent Clause and (0) Independent Clause, each.

The following diagram visually illustrates the findings of Grammar in Trump’s 2020 SOTU.

**Figure 4-16**

*Distribution of Grammar in Trump’s SOTU speech*



As the figure shows, the Dependent Clause is the mostly used type of clauses in Trump’s SOTU which conveys that where he is supposed to be addressing the topics at hand clearly and in an

active manner, he instead used them as subordinate clauses for the most part. This is due to his strategy which aims to distract the audience from the main topic and direct them towards other minor things. This is mostly done with the topics of Jobs in the first place due to the significance of this topic on the elections, thus he avoided addressing it straightforwardly. The same is done with the topics of Trade, Family, Leadership, Iraq, China, “Islamic Terrorism”, and Mexico, where he avoids talking directly about what achievements are done in these topics, thus he puts them in a subordinate, rather than superordinate, structure positions.

#### 4.2.3.3.9 Lexicon

The following table shows the distribution of Lexicon in Trump’s, 2020 SOTU speech.

**Table 4-30**

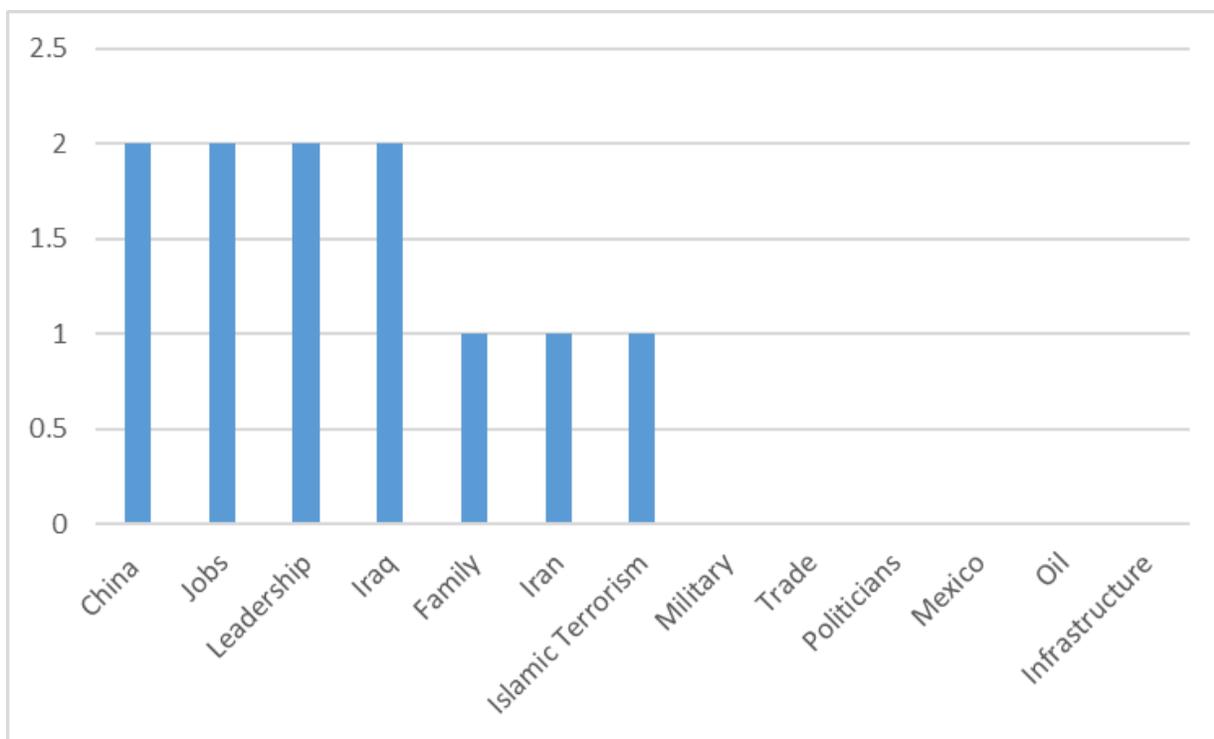
*Distribution of Lexicon in Trump’s 2020 SOTU speech.*

No	Topic	Lexicon	TOTAL
		Downgrading Words	
1.	China	2	2
2.	Jobs	2	2
3.	Leadership	2	2
4.	Iraq	2	2
5.	Family	1	1
6.	Iran	1	1
7.	“Islamic Terrorism”	1	1
8.	Military	0	0
9.	Trade	0	0
10.	Politicians	0	0
11.	Mexico	0	0
12.	Oil	0	0
13.	Infrastructure	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>		11	11

As can be seen from the table above, downgrading terms and expressions are used twice with the topics of China, Jobs, Leadership, and Iraq, twice each; and only once with the topics of Family, Iran, and “Islamic Terrorism”. The following diagram visually illustrates the findings of Grammar in Trump’s 2020 SOTU.

**Figure 4-17**

*Distribution of Lexicon in Trump’s SOTU Speech*



As the graph shows, these are used in two of the most important topics in Trump’s SOTU, mainly to downgrade the outgroup, contributing to their negative image presentation.

#### 4.2.3.4 Ideological Analysis

Polarity, at this phase is achieved differently, depending on the strategies and techniques used, as follows.

**Table 4 -31**

*Distribution of Polarization in Trump's 2020 SOTU Speech*

<b>Strategies</b>		<b>PSP</b>	<b>NOP</b>
<b>Actor</b>	Opinion	25	2
<b>Description</b>	Knowledge	16	2
<b>LDP</b>	Vague	17	1
	Specific	22	2
	Generic	0	1
<b>Implication</b>		38	0
<b>Presupposition</b>		9	4
<b>Definition</b>		7	0
<b>Metaphor</b>		19	2
<b>Modality</b>	Certainty	6	1
	Obligation	1	1
	Impossibility	1	1
	Promise	1	0
	Request	0	1
	Probability	1	0
<b>Argumentation</b>	Explicit	28	2
	Implicit	12	2
<b>Rhetorical Devices</b>	Euphemism	1	0
	Hyperbole	31	2
<b>Grammar</b>	INDEPENDENT CLAUSE	9	3
	DEPENDENT CLAUSE	30	1
<b>Lexicon</b>		9	2
<b>TOTAL</b>		238 (88.80%)	30 (11.20%)

What this means is that, at this phase, Trump's aim was to present himself and ingroup in a positive way more than showing others negatively. In this endeavor, Trump relies mainly on Implication

(38 times), Hyperbole (31 times), Direct Clauses (30 times), Explicit argumentations (28 times), Opinion (25 times), Specific descriptions (22 times), Metaphorical expressions (19 times), Vagueness (17 times), Knowledge (16 times), Implicit argumentations (12 times), equally on Presupposition, Indirect Clause, and downgrading Lexicon (9 times each), Definitions (7 times), Certainty (6 times), and equally on Obligation, Impossibility, Promise, Probability, and Euphemism (once each).

In NOP, the numbers drastically change. For, he relies mainly on Presupposition (4 times) in the first place, then on Independent Clause (3 times) in the second place, then he uses, equally, Opinion, Knowledge, Specific, Metaphor, Explicit, Implicit, and Downgrading Lexicon (twice each), and the rest of the strategies and techniques (Vague, Generic, Certainty, Obligation, Impossibility, Request, and Dependent Clause) are used only once in the discourse of this phase.

The reflection from these results points towards Trump's focus on presenting himself and his ingroup positively before the Congress, rather than focusing on the outgroup's negatives. With this, his aim is to convey to the public which would later be his voters that he has achieved what he promised in his Acceptance Speech.

#### **4.2.4 Output: Ideological (In)Consistency Analysis**

The overall analysis of the selected data reveals drastic changes in terms of dealing with the ingroup and the outgroup at the different phases of the political system. He polarizes his speech in a certain way according to the phase under purview, as shown in the following table.

**Table 4-32***Frequency and Distribution of PSP and NOP across the Phases*

<b>Phase</b>	<b>PSP</b>	<b>PSP Total</b>	<b>Per.</b>	<b>NOP</b>	<b>NOP Total</b>	<b>Per.</b>
<b>Phase 1</b>	18	285	6.31%	37	91	40.65%
<b>Phase 2</b>	29	285	10.17%	24	91	26.37%
<b>Phase 3</b>	238	285	83.50%	30	91	32.96%
<b>Total Per.</b>			75.79%			24.20%

The total ideological analysis reveals that Trump mainly relies on the positive presentation of the self (285 times) occupying (75.79%) of the data, and significantly less so on the negative presentation of the other (91 times) taking up (24.20%) of the three selected speeches. However, Trump's emphasis varies between the first phase and the second and third phases.

Therefore, at phase 1 Trump's focus is on the negative presentation of the outgroup (37 times) achieving (40.65%) rather than the positive presentation of the ingroup (18 times) claiming only (6.31%). This is believed to be due to the fact that, in his Announcement speech, Trump's energy was focused on blaming the system at the time (his outgroup) in order to bring together the public that despised that system, and be their speaking platform.

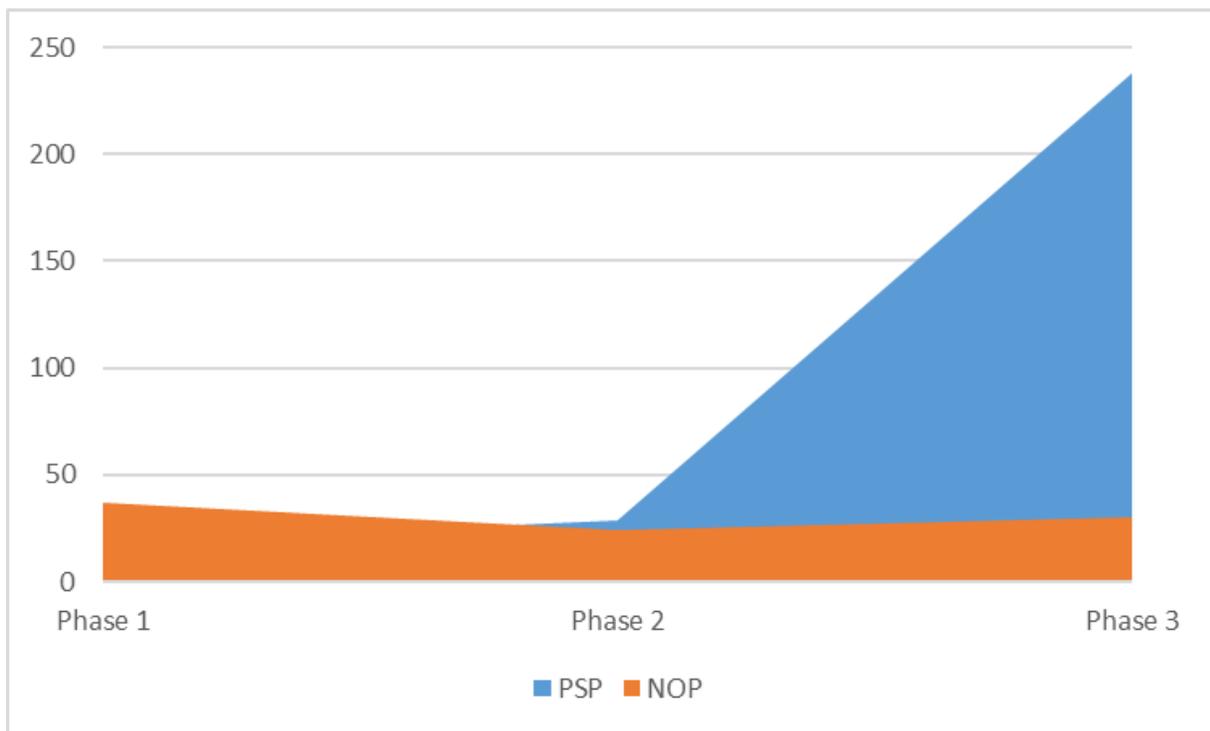
With that established, Trump contradicts this strategy at phase 2 where the two groups are dealt with slightly differently, favoring the PSP (29 times) taking up (10.17%) for the ingroup over NOP of the outgroup which occurs (24) times, making (26.37%). This is so because, at this point, it is necessary for Trump to blame not only the others but to present to the audience that he established how he would be different.

At phase 3, however, Trump's focus was entirely on showing himself (and his ingroup) positively (238 times), occupying (83.50%), almost entirely neglecting the outgroup's negative

presentation which occurs only (30) times, making (32.96%). The reason for this polarization is that his term was in its final days and, in order to gain the trust for another term, Trump had to focus on showing his ‘good’ deeds more than focusing on the outgroup’s ‘bad’ deeds. The following graph presents the fluctuation of these data visually.

**Figure 4-18**

*Fluctuation of Frequency of PSP and NOP in Trump’s Discourse*



As evident in the graph, the change in positive self-presentation may be clearly seen beyond phase 2 to reach its highest level in phase 3 for the reasons stated above. Trump is almost entirely consistent in his negative presentation of the outgroup, though he chose to highlight some elements and events and ignore others in the different phases of his discourse.

### 4.3 Discussion of the Results

The following table presents the frequency and distribution of the topics in the designated phases.

**Table 4-33**

*Frequency and Distribution of Topics across the Phases*

No.	Topics	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Total
1.	Jobs	14	10	10	34
2.	Trade	9	16	7	32
3.	China	23	3	5	31
4.	Leadership	19	2	2	23
5.	Military	11	3	6	20
6.	“Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS	6	8	5	19
7.	Iraq	10	3	4	17
8.	Family	7	1	8	16
9.	Mexico	13	0	3	16
10.	Obama	11	5	0	16
11.	Iran	7	5	4	16
12.	Deals	3	8	2	13
13.	Saudi Arabia/Yemen	8	0	0	12
14.	Oil	3	0	1	4
15.	Politicians	6	4	2	12
16.	Interests	3	4	0	7
17.	Infrastructure	4	0	1	5
18.	Nuclear weapons	3	1	1	5
19.	Russia	1	0	0	1

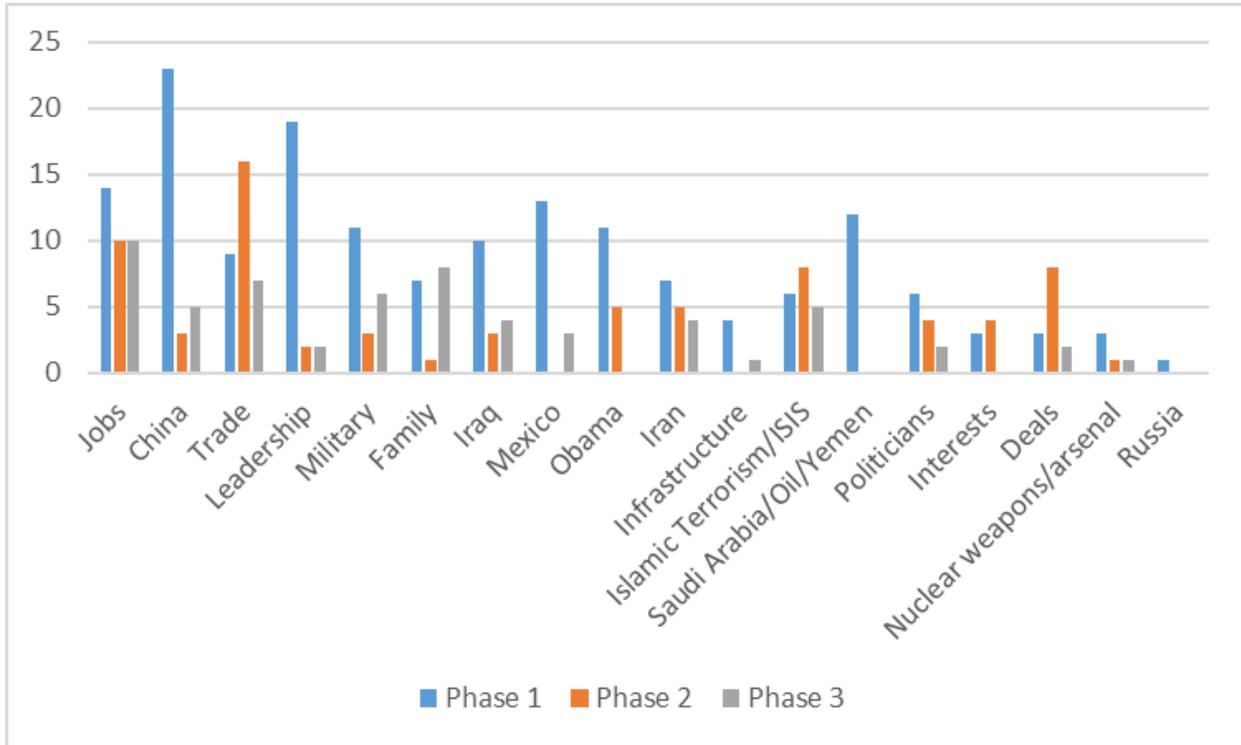
As evident in the table, the most frequently occurring topic throughout the three phases is that of Jobs (34) times, divided into (14) in phase 1, (10) in phase 2 and three. Second to first comes the topic of Trade (32) times, divided in to (9) in phase 1, (16) in phase 2, and (7) in phase 3. The third

topic is China, with a total of (31) times, occurring (23) times in phase 1, (16) times in phase 2, and (7) times in phase 3. In the fourth place is the topic of Leadership (23) times, divided into (19) times in phase 1, and twice in each of phase 2 and 3. Military comes fifth with a total of (20) times, divided into (11) times in phase 1, (3) phase 2, and (6) in phase 3. The topic of “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS comes in the sixth place with (19) times of occurrence divided into (6) in phase 1, (8) in phase 2, and (5) in phase 3. After that, comes the topic of Iraq (17 times), divided into (10) in phase 1, (3) in phase 2, and only (4) in phase 3. The topic of Family fluctuates throughout the phases, occurring (16), divided into (7) in phase 1, only once in phase 2, and (8) in phase 3.

Mexico occurs only in phase 1 and phase 3, with a total of occurrence of (16) times, yet it is not found in phase 2. Obama also occurs (16) times, divided into (11) in phase 1 and (5) in phase 2, and it does not occur in phase 3. Similarly, Iran scores (16) times of occurrence in total, divided into (7) in phase 1, (5) in phase 2, and (4) in phase 3. The topic of Deals occurs (13) times, divided into (3) times in phase 1, (8) in phase 2, and only (2) in phase 3. Saudi Arabia/Yemen occurs (6) times only in phase 1, but it is not found in the other two phases. Politicians occurs (12) times, divided (6) in phase 1, (4) in phase 2, and only twice in phase 3. Interests occurs (7) times across the phases, divided into (3) in phase 1, and (4) in phase 2, and it is not found in phase 3. Infrastructure is mentioned (5) times, divided into (4) in phase 1, and once in phase 3, yet it is not found in phase 2. Nuclear Weapons is mentioned a total of (5) times, divided into (3) times in phase 1 and only once in each of phases 2 and 3. Lastly, Russia is mentioned only once in phase 1. The topic of Oil is mentioned (4) times in total, divided into only (3) times in phase 1 and only once in phase 3. The following graph illustrates the distribution of the topics across the three phases.

**Figure 4-19**

*Distribution of Topics in Trump's Discourse across the Phases*



From table (4-33), it is safe to say that the topics that Trump uses in his discourse are categorized in terms of their existence (inside the US or outside the US) and in terms of their frequency into three categories: Category 3 (1-4 mentions), Category 2 (5-9 mentions), and Category 1 (10 and above mentions), as shown in the following table.

**Table 4-34***Categorization of Topics across the Phases*

	<b>Existence</b>	<b>Category 1</b>	<b>Category 2</b>	<b>Category 3</b>
<b>Phase 1: Pre-input</b>	<b>Outside</b>	China; Mexico	KSA/Yemen; Iraq	Iran; “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS; Nuclear Weapons; Foreign Deals; Oil
	<b>Inside</b>	Jobs; Leadership; Infrastructure	Obama; Military; Interest	Politicians; “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS; Nuclear Weapon
<b>Phase 2: Input</b>	<b>Outside</b>		“Islamic Terrorism”; Deals; Iran	China; Iraq
	<b>Inside</b>	Trade; Jobs	Obama	Interests; Politicians; Military; Leadership; Family
<b>Phase 3: Decisions and Actions</b>	<b>Outside</b>		Trade	Iraq; Iran; Mexico; “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS
	<b>Inside</b>	Jobs	Family; Military	Politicians; Leadership; Infrastructure; Oil; Nuclear Weapons

At the content establishment phase, the topics may be distinguished into three categories in terms of importance. Great emphasis is laid on the topics of China, Jobs, Leadership, Infrastructure, and Mexico; the second category contains Saudi Arabia/Yemen, Obama, Military, Interest, Iraq, and Family; and, in the third category is Trade, Iran, Politicians, “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS, Nuclear

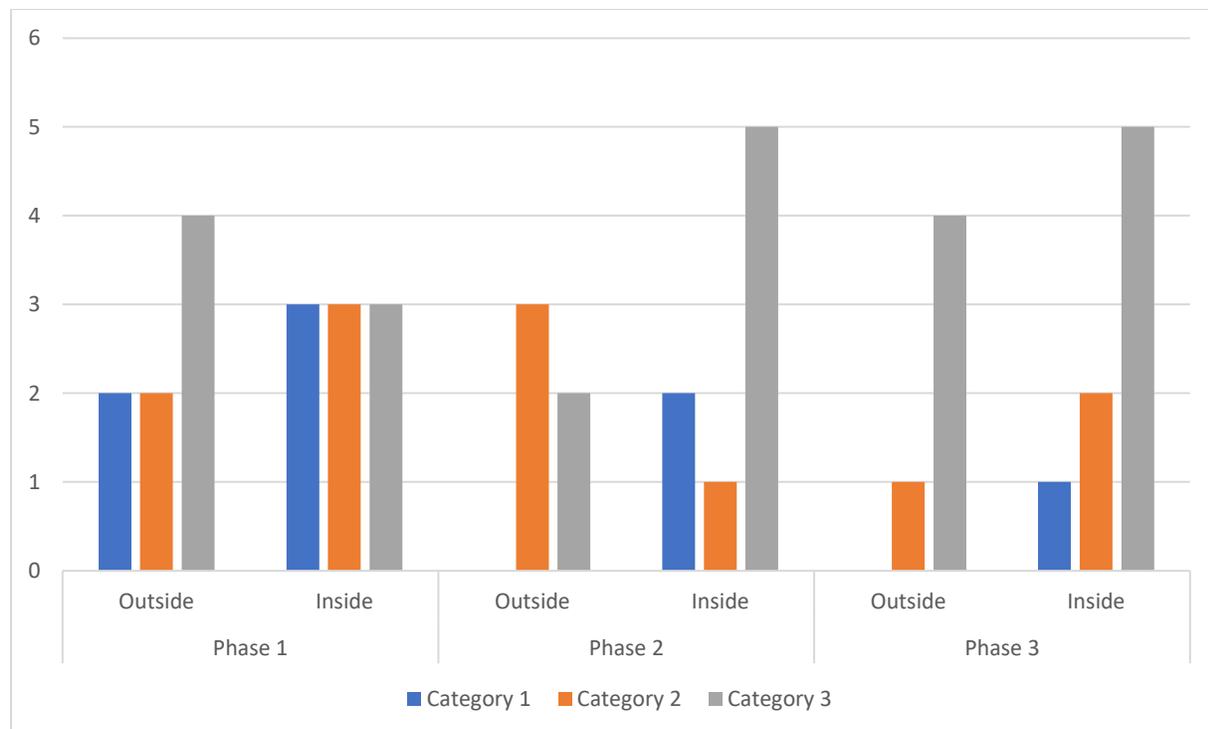
Weapons, Trade, and Russia. This reflects Trump’s interest in mixing between outside factors and inside factors in his discourse at this level, in each of the categories.

As the table shows, at phase 1 Trump uses the two factors equally at this phase, (9) outside factors and (9) inside factors. Interestingly, Russia’s mention at this phase is the least (only once) and in a significantly vague way that may not be decided as either outside or inside factor. The following graph illustrates the results of the categorization of the topics.

At the third (Decisions and Actions) Phase, Trump’s discourse solely focused on Jobs as the first category topic, then Family, Trade, Military, and China as the second category topics, and Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Politicians, Leadership, “Islamic Terrorism”/ISIS, Infrastructure, Oil, and Nuclear Weapons as the third category topics.

**Figure 4-20**

*Distribution of Categorized Topics in the Phases of Trump’s Political Discourse*



The graph shows that Trump's strategy fluctuated moving along the three phases. In the first phase, he uses both types of factors but leaning more towards the inside factors; in the second phase less use of outside factors may be noticed (which lack Category 1 elements) in opposition to the inside factors which uses the three categories variationally; in the third phase, Trump draws on the inside factors more than the outside which lacks the first category elements.

This is justified by Trump ideology which focuses on problems that are within the borders of the United States rather than those abroad, as these problems are the ones in which the US citizen is more interested, and thus, would ensure Trump receiving more votes in the elections.

#### **4.3.1 Discussion of Content Establishment Results**

The macro analysis of this phase leads to Trump's polarity efforts, emphasizing the outgroup's negatives and the in-group's positives. This is fortified by the use of the discourse strategies used in the Announcement Speech, on which the emphasis is laid on Predication to assign discursive qualifications of the social actors. Then, through Intensification//Mitigation, Trump uses the epistemic status to play with the illocutionary force of the topics of Mexico, China, Jobs, Infrastructure, Iraq, Iran, Politicians, and Islamic, due to the significance of these topics to the US elector. Through Perspectivization, Trump places himself (and his ingroup) as far (or as close) as possible to ideological perspectives of the topics of Saudi Arabia/Yemen, Oil, China, Leadership, Infrastructure, Interest, Obama, Family, Trade, and Politicians.

Trump also constructs the social actors in his speech discursively to tackle the topics of Interests, China, Leadership, Infrastructure, Interest, Obama, Family, Trade, and politicians. Finally, Argumentation is used to persuade Trump's audience of his claims and 'truth' regarding the topics of Trade, Jobs, Interests, Oil, and Saudi Arabia/Yemen. Therefore, these strategies are used proportionately to serve the purpose of polarity between the ingroup and the outgroup, where

they are mainly used to emphasize the outgroup's bad qualities and to a significantly less extent show the ingroup's good qualities, playing on the game of humility.

#### **4.3.2 Discussion of Rapport Establishment Results**

At the Rapport Establishment phase, Trump's interest seems to completely move away from topics of Infrastructure, Mexico, Saudi Arabia/Oil/Yemen, nuclear weapons, and Russia. Instead, he drives his focus towards Trade, Jobs, and "Islamic Terrorism"/ISIS for the most part. He focuses more on those topics to draw a dividing line between the inside and outside factors and threats, emphasizing the former due to their nature which directly links to the US citizens. The Macro Analysis also reveals that Trump's discourse is polarized towards depicting the ingroup and himself with positive traits, laying heavy emphasis on that, and portraying the outgroup as negatively as possible.

At the Micro Analysis level, Trump's Acceptance Speech is replete with the discursive strategies of Negative Lexicalization and Presupposition which function as denotations for the negative presentation of the outgroup, whereas Compassion Move and Negative Comparison serve the opposite function of presenting the ingroup positively. Apparent Altruism serves as a mirror that reflects the ingroup's positive behaviors, Concretization brings out the numbers that negatively serve the outgroup, and Warning is used to intimidate the public against the damage that the outgroup would do if they won the elections. To contribute more to the positive presentation of the self, Trump uses Hyperbole and Apparent Honesty to exaggerate things about his ingroup and to state the obvious especially when it comes to negative things done by the outgroup. Finally, in an unprecedented way, Trump violates the norms and values through Norm and Value Violation when he shames Hillary Clinton for something that was not committed by her.

Through these strategies, Trump succeeded in creating consubstantiality with his audience simply by relying on denotations that helped him in selectively presenting his discourse: Anger, Fear, Blame, Hope, Demagogue, and Change. These six denotations are used evenly, serving the ideology of a polarized view between the ingroup and the outgroup. As such, Anger, Fear and Blame are used to negatively present the outgroup, whereas Hope, Demagogue, and Change are used to attribute the good qualities with the ingroup and the self. This is the reason that these strategies are used with certain topics more than others, as with Hope which is used with China, Jobs, Trade, and Politicians which are four extremely important problems in Trump's discourse for which he designates himself (and his ingroup) as the hoped solution for; Fear and Change are interchangeably used with the topics of Leadership and "Islamic Terrorism" which are topics from the two types Inside and Outside, respectively where Trump aims to draw fear of the US leadership at the time as well as intimidate the people of the lurking fear of "Islamic Terrorism", which is, according to him, why a change in the leadership is needed.

For a similar reason, Blame and Anger are used with the topic of Obama to hold him and his administration (ingroup) responsible for all that is bad that happened in the US, raging the public towards Them, and for that same reason anger is used with "Islamic Terrorism", which Trump blames Obama and Hillary for. Trump also uses Blame when discussing the Military whose degradation is said to be caused by Obama as well.

#### **4.3.3 Discussion of Decisions and Actions Results**

The Macro analysis of this phase contributes to the same ideology that Trump started with in the first phase, yet the emphasis here is on positively presenting himself and less on the negative presentation of the others. Thus, he speaks of his achievements on the levels of China where he made a 'great deal', Jobs which he describes as 'booming' during his administration, the

improvements to the Military that he made, getting rid of ISIS leader, making things better with the Mexican border, and so on. In doing so, Trump utilizes more implicit polarization with the outgroup and less explicit ones, more generic references and less explicit specific references (such as “the previous administration(s)” instead of Obama, Hillary, etc.) than in the previous phases. With that provided, the question is how was he able to shift his strategy of explicit blame into implicit one, focusing on his own achievements rather than the negative things of the *others*?

The answer is that in his SOTU, Trump relies mainly on opinionated views rather than common knowledge in discussing Jobs, Leadership, Trade, Military, Mexico, and Oil. In terms of the level of details, Trump uses mostly vague information in talking about Jobs, China, Leadership, Mexico, and Oil. He also uses implication more than presupposition with most of the topics to implicitly refer to his good deeds during his time as a president, as well as his ingroup’s (such as his wife’s positive acts). In almost all of the topics (except Politicians and Infrastructure), Trump uses metaphor, especially with Jobs so as to make his discourse as close as possible to the mental models of the public. Modality is also made use of, mainly through certainty to talk about Jobs as something which he is sure was improved, leading the public to think positively of him as a president, and Impossibility to talk about the Military which he enhanced to a point where it has become impossible to defeat. Trump explicitly argues his own beliefs and aims to make the public align theirs with his, hyperbolic language to state his achievements, and dependent clauses with the most significant topic in any elections, Jobs. Downgrading words are used with the same topic to refer to the outgroup, and they are also used to refer to China as a thief that steals from the US.

#### **4.3.4 Discussion of Ideological (In)Consistency Results**

Trump’s ideology that focuses on positively presenting his own group and his inconsistent dealing with certain topics led to a new orientation in the socio-political space of the US that led

to new political movements that favors neither party (Republican or Democratic) completely. This unprecedented event raised people's anger when Trump did not win the elections, and eventually led them to storm the Congress, causing a guard to be killed. This new movement is later called Trumpism which is expected to show up in future elections as a new propaganda that promotes for some candidates that uphold such ideologies.

#### **4.3.5 Discussion of Output Results**

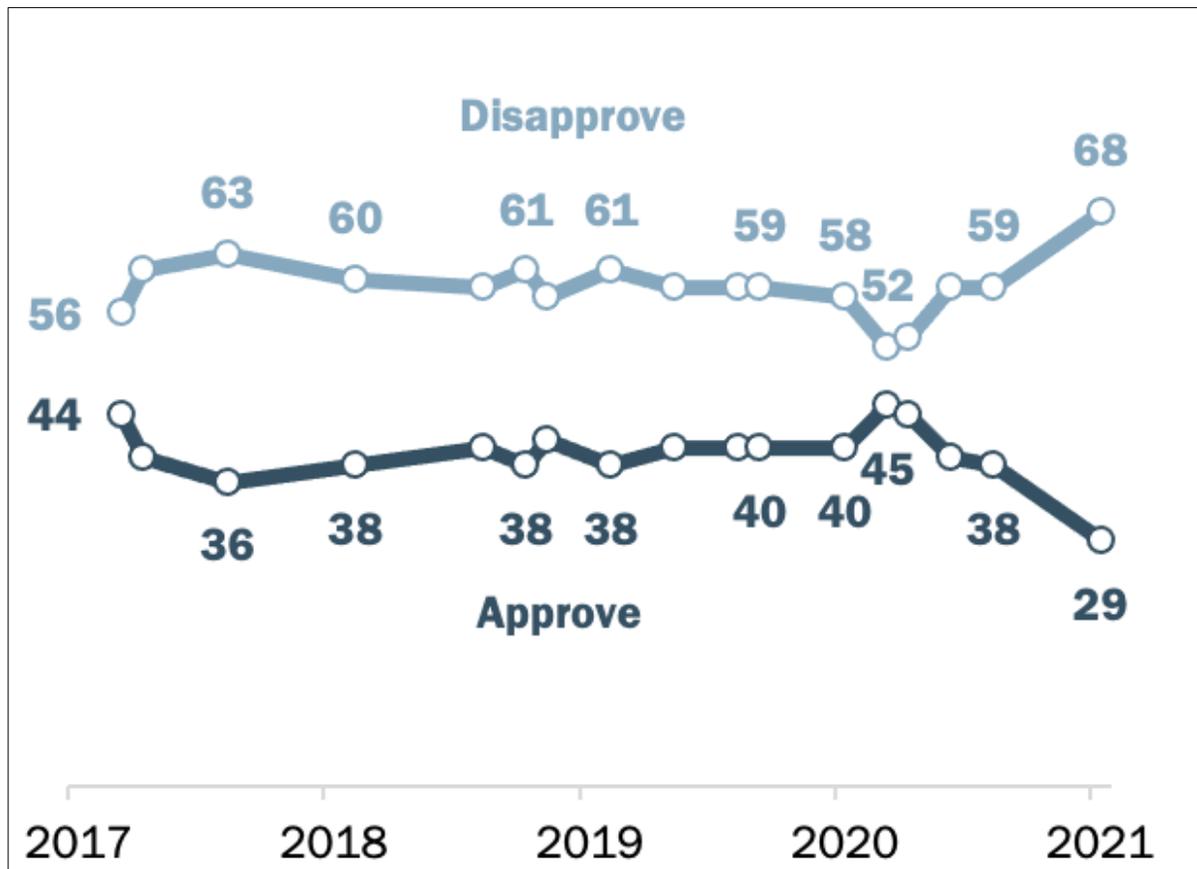
With Trump's discourse, consistency varies in relation to the topics discussed in the cycle of his political system. That is, when compared to the first phase, Trump's discourse seems to have deviated from certain topics, reduced the occurrence of others, and remained consistent with a small number of topics (as shown in Table 4-32). The rate of inconsistency, however, occurred in 14 out of 19 topics, i.e., China, Leadership, Military, Iraq, Mexico, Obama, Deals, Saudi Arabia/Yemen, Oil, Politicians, Interests, Infrastructure, Nuclear Weapons, and Russia. In percentage, this makes (73.68%) of the entire number of topics. On the other hand, Trump's discourse remains almost entirely consistent with the topics of Jobs, "Islamic Terrorism"/ISIS, and Iran which makes (15.78%) of the overall number of topics. Finally, he fluctuated the topics of Trade and Family, increasing and decreasing them along the three phases, making (10.52%) of the entire occurrence of topics.

In terms of the ideological analysis, Trump's discourse remains consistent in almost entirely equalizing the PSP and NOP in phase 1 and Phase 2; yet, he shifts to focus entirely on PSP in phase 3 (as shown in Table 4-31). With that provided, it is safe to say that Trump's discourse is mostly inconsistent and tends to focus on matters only when they serve his benefit. This way of dealing with the designated topics was successful in assisting Trump win the elections, but did not succeed in bringing more votes for the second term, other than the ones

that already supported him in the first run. In fact, this is supported by his approval rate which decreased towards the end of his reign, as shown in the figure (4-21) below.

**Figure 4-21**

*Trump's Approval Rate (Keeter, 2021).*



Moreover, his unprecedented discourse which focuses on the explicit negative presentation of the *Oher* encouraged the emergence of a new socio-political orientation which later came to be known as “Trumpism”. According to Collins Dictionary, Trumpism involves policies that call for the “rejection of the current political establishment and the vigorous pursuit of American national interests”.

Nevertheless, Trump's mostly inconsistent political discourse made portions of the upholders of this new orientation to take their own way. This invigorated calls for "America First" that adopts neither Trump's nor the opposite discourse, but a new orientation that favors neither the Republican nor the Democratic ideologies entirely. This is upheld by the conservative public, stemming from Trump's slogan ('Make America Great Again') and stands against 'illegal immigration', fearful of Islam and socialism, promotes hatred towards politicians, calls for the right to own fire arms, encourage leaving the middle east, and sees Trump as a good leader for the US, among others. As a matter of fact, the name itself comes from the "America First Committee" which stood against the US intervention in the Second World War ("The Editors", par. 1). One of the supporters of this orientation is Teddy Daniels who adopts the "America First" slogan as his campaign to run for the congress (Teddy Daniels.com).

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

This chapter consists of three sections, the first of which explores the conclusions of the study, the second section presents some recommendations instituted on the outcomes of the study, and the third section offers suggestions for further future studies.

#### 5.1 Conclusions

Having analyzed the selected data for this study through the suggested interdisciplinary eclectic approach, it is concluded that ideological (in)consistency may be analyzed in the different phases of the life of a political system through adopting different strategies at each of the phases of that political system.

1. The analysis of Trump's political discourse reveals that Trump's ideology relies mainly on the increasingly consistent positive self-presentation and the fluctuating negative other-presentation. In other words, in terms of presenting his ingroup, Trump's efforts increased throughout the three phases; however, the negative presentation of the outgroup was fluctuating (consistent with some topics and inconsistent with others). Nevertheless, this consistent-fluctuating ideology in Trump's political discourse led to substantial socio-political changes, represented by the rise of new movements, i.e., 'Trumpism' and 'America First'. Trump's consistent ideology in terms of the negative presentation of Islam (Islamophobic ideology) and the politicians influenced these new socio-political movements to uphold this ideology.
2. Regarding the first hypothesis (*Trump uses discourse strategies at the Content Establishment Phase that are significant in drawing upon events from the past for the*

*purpose of forming content which aligns with the Trump's ideological orientation*), it is validated through Trump's use of the strategies of Predication, Intensification/Mitigation, Perspectivization, Nomination, and Argumentation which are used with different proportions with the designated topics to establish his ideologies and attitudes in the political system, setting the ground for the upcoming discourse in later phases.

3. As for the second hypothesis (*Discourse strategies are distributed in a non-haphazard way which aims at highlighting certain topics and mitigating others to serve the purpose of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation*), it is confirmed that the distribution of these strategies serves the polarized view in Trump's discourse because these same strategies are used, interchangeably, as tools for the positive presentation of the self and the negative presentation of the others, varying from one topic to another. Their use in this context focuses mostly on the negative presentation of the *other*, especially Predication and Intensification. This strategy succeeded in bringing Trump's supporters who are unsatisfied with Trump's outgroup, and thus established a pro-Trump base.
4. The third hypothesis (*At the Rapport Establishment phase, consubstantiality is achieved through assigning certain discursive strategies to convey specific denotations in the audiences' mental models*) is verified by Trump's reliance on the discursive strategies of Negative Lexicalization, Presupposition, Compassion Move, Negative Comparison, Apparent Altruism, Concretization, Warning, Hyperbole, Apparent Honest and Norm and Value Violation. These strategies are used mostly to serve the polarized ideological discourse in terms of manipulating the emotions of the audience in a way that makes them mad, fearful, hopeful, among others. The distribution of these strategies to the designated topics reveals that their use significantly focuses on the topic of Jobs which uses all the

strategies except Concretization and Apparent Honesty. This reflects the importance of this topic to Trump, specifically in this phase.

5. Regarding the fourth hypothesis (*Through the denotations of selective perception, polarity is made possible by linking the negative denotations with the outgroup's actions and the positive denotations with the ingroup's actions*), it is confirmed that the discursive strategies are used meticulously to create a polarized discourse of *Us* versus *Them* being good and bad, respectively. This is achieved by relating these strategies with lexical items that convey denotations of *anger, fear, blame, demagogue, hope, and change* to create a polarized selective perception through which the first three denotations are used to negatively present the outgroup, and the second three are used for the purpose of positive presentation of the ingroup. Moreover, the mostly used denotations in Trump's discourse at this phase is hope, which he uses to depict himself as the needed hope for US.
6. The fifth hypothesis (*Trump's ideological presentation remains consistent in the selected discourse at the Decisions and Actions phase*) is partially verified because, through the presentation of the topics at the Decisions and Actions phase, Trump discusses some topics with the same amount whereas other topics are less frequent or do not occur at all in this phase. This means that his ideological priority changes in this phase due to the end of his administration, so he focuses more on presenting himself and his ingroup positively.
7. As for the sixth hypothesis (*At the Decisions and Actions phase, polarization is achieved via discourse that implicates, presupposes, and vaguely explains the information, leading to a polarized discourse*), it is confirmed that the epistemic strategies and techniques of discourse used at this phase are polarized mostly for the positive presentation of the self and significantly less so for the negative presentation of the others. This is because of the nature

of the speech at this phase which addresses the Congress of the U.S. as well as the time which is the end of his term as a president. Therefore, Trump, in this speech, wants to gain the support of the Congress as well as the people, even those who may not have supported him at the time. The PSP/NOP amount allocated for topics in this phase are found to be significantly different from the first two phases, which reflects a change in Trump's ideological priorities. Epistemic discourse strategies are found in use to achieve Trump's purpose: using opinion instead of facts and shared knowledge when discussing extremely important topics (such as Jobs); using vague description to talk about important topics; relying on implications to positively present himself and presupposition to negatively present the others when discussing the assigned topics; using metaphors, the active structures, and assertive language and certainty to discuss some topics; relying on explicit argumentation more than implicit ones to state his opinions as beliefs which should be upheld; drawing on exaggerated and hyperbolic expressions of knowledge mostly to positively present himself and his ingroup, and using downgrading words where needed to negatively present *Them*.

8. The analysis contributes to the *partial validation* of the seventh hypothesis (*Trump's ideological consistency affects the socio-political status of the U.S., rendering new orientations towards the emphasized discussed in Trump's political discourse*) as the output phase reveals that Trump's *consistent-fluctuating* (rather than consistent) ideologies developed a new socio-political orientation that adopts Trump's policies. The new ideologies call for an end for the US interventions in matters outside the US and supports most of the conservative party's policies, such as the right to carry firearms, to stand against illegal immigration, fear of Islam, etc. Just like Trump, they stand against the politicians

and see their special interests as the reason for the deterioration in the economic status of the US.

9. Another substantial conclusion made from Trump's political discourse makes it clear that the frequency of the topics raised in each phase categorizes these topics in terms of their significance. These topics are also organized in a way that reflects their existence as either within the US (inside factors) or abroad (outside factors). Trump manipulates these topics in his discourse to serve the purpose of polarization at each phase. This allows him to bring some topics to the surface to serve the denotations of fear, anger, etc. or neglect them to avoid potential consequences such as the case with the topic of Russia.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

In the light of the obtained results and conclusions, the following recommendations are put forward:

1. More true interdisciplinary studies (as opposed to relying only on the disciplinary theories) in the field of CDS are necessary to arrive at the bigger picture of the effect of discourse on society and power reproduction. Without it, the analyst would be confined by the restrictions put by the discipline and it would be challenging to actually test the effect of discourse in real life. Connecting theories from different disciplines leads to more trustworthy results and credibility.
2. It is also recommended that ideological (in)consistency be studied at the level of media discourse in relation to event changes and how these may influence how media report these events.
3. It is recommended that such studies be used to provide a hindsight to politicians when they decide to enter the political field. This may serve them right in terms of allowing them to see

where others failed and succeeded. Thus, they may avoid potential failure and follow the steps of successful procedure.

### **5.3 Suggestions for Further Studies**

1. Another interdisciplinary approach which combines theories from psychology, sociology, etc. is needed to cover the psychological, sociological, etc. aspects of the effect of political discourse.
2. A study that investigates other political systems, such as the British, the Canadian, etc., with the same or similar approaches is needed to better determine the applicability of interdisciplinary approaches to the analysis of political discourse.
3. There might be a need for an extensive interdisciplinary critical study at the level of the public in terms of whether their orientations are affected by the political figure they follow. Such a study may make use of psychological or sociological theories in its endeavor in a way that achieves interdisciplinarity.

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## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix 1: Full Transcript of Trump's Announcement Speech

Wow. Whoa. That is some group of people. Thousands.

So nice, thank you very much. That's really nice. Thank you. It's great to be at Trump Tower. It's great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it's an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody's expectations. There's been no crowd like this.

And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs.

They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.

Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.

When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time.

When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically.

The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.

Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.

But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people.

It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably— probably— from the Middle East. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.

Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them.

They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel. When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.

So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has. And in 19— and I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said— and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever. But I said, "Don't hit Iraq," because you're going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.

We spent \$2 trillion in Iraq, \$2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they're great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers.

And we have nothing. We can't even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it.

Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees— these are big vehicles— were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy took them.

Last quarter, it was just announced our gross domestic product— a sign of strength, right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It's never below zero.

Our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate.

And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it.

That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.

But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it's a statistic that's full of nonsense.

Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work.

It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don't know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, "That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don't know what they're doing. They don't know what they're doing."

We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.

Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it's virtually useless. It's virtually useless. It is a disaster.

And remember the \$5 billion website? \$5 billion we spent on a website, and to this day it doesn't work. A \$5 billion website.

I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me \$3. \$5 billion website.

Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us— believe me— to the promised land. They will not.

As an example, I've been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. And they're wonderful people. I like them. They all want me to support them. They don't know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I'm meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don't know— "Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?"

I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They're killing us.

But you don't hear that from anybody else. You don't hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches.

I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, “What’s going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don’t need the rhetoric. I want a job.”

And that’s what’s happening. And it’s going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in ’16, 2016. Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I’d say, you what, if he wants to— I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he’d like to play, that’s fine.

In fact, I’d love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing.

But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who’s a doctor, and he said to me the other day, “Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It’s a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now.”

We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be— and— and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it.

So I’ve watched the politicians. I’ve dealt with them all my life. If you can’t make a good deal with a politician, then there’s something wrong with you. You’re certainly not very good. And that’s what we have representing us. They will never make America great again. They don’t even have a chance. They’re controlled fully— they’re controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully.

Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They’re great. But you know what? it won’t happen. It won’t happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it’s destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

Now, our country needs— our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote “The Art of the Deal.”

We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.

And we also need a cheerleader.

You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, “Well, the one thing, I think he’ll do well. I think he’ll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he’d be a great spirit.”

He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader.

He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right about that.

But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He’s been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It’s not great again.

We need— we need somebody— we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that.

And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They’re saying, “Dad, you’re going to do something that’s going to be so tough.”

You know, all of my life, I’ve heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can’t happen. And yet that’s the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.

So ladies and gentlemen...I am officially running... for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.

It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people.

We have people that aren’t working. We have people that have no incentive to work. But they’re going to have incentive to work, because the greatest social program is a job. And they’ll be proud, and they’ll love it, and they’ll make much more than they would’ve ever made, and they’ll be— they’ll be doing so well, and we’re going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.

I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that.

I’ll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I’ll bring back our jobs, and I’ll bring back our money.

Right now, think of this: We owe China \$1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better.

How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?

I'm going to tell you— thank you. I'm going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I'm totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons.

Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator.

He's the one that did Bergdahl. We get Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there.

We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That's the negotiator we have.

Take a look at the deal he's making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won't exist very long. It's a disaster, and we have to protect Israel. But...

So we need people— I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible.

Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.

So, here's a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again.

But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything— everything, they got away with it again. And it's impossible for our people here to compete.

So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who's a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He's very upset. I said, "What's your problem?"

He said, "You know, I make great product."

And I said, "I know. I know that because I buy the product."

He said, "I can't get it into China. They won't accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it."

I said, "Oh, wait a minute, that's terrible. Does anyone know this?"

He said, "Yeah, they do it all the time with other people."

I said, "They send it back?"

"Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They're not supposed to be doing that. I told them."

Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there.

Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing's secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing.

Hey, I'm not saying they're stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for— I just sold an apartment for \$15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable.

I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, "Oh, you don't like China?"

No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can't sustain ourself with that. There's too much— it's like— it's like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That's the difference between China's leaders and our leaders.

They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China. We're rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they're all over the place.

We have all the cards, but we don't know how to use them. We don't even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don't understand the game. We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly.

Now they're going militarily. They're building a military island in the middle of the South China sea. A military island. Now, our country could never do that because we'd have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn't let our country— we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port.

They're building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China.

And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico.

So this man tells me about the manufacturing. I say, "That's a terrible story. I hate to hear it."

But I have another one, Ford.

So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It's going in and that's going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people.

All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they're not going to Tennessee. They're gonna spend their \$1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good.

Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a \$2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. \$2.5 billion, it's going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company.

So I announced that I'm running for president. I would...

... one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in— and I wouldn't even use— you know, I have— I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones.

You get a lot of them that are overrated. They're not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffaloed. But they're not good.

But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well.

But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice \$2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border."

And you say to yourself, "How does that help us," right? "How does that help us? Where is that good"? It's not.

So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's it.

Now, here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they're going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say, "You can't do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can't do that to Ford."

And guess what? No problem. They're going to build in Mexico. They're going to take away thousands of jobs. It's very bad for us.

So under President Trump, here's what would happen:

The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he'd want to be cool, and he'll wait until the next day. You know, they want to be a little cool.

And he'll say, "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest," because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money.

I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not using donors. I don't care. I'm really rich. I (inaudible).

And by the way, I'm not even saying that's the kind of mindset, that's the kind of thinking you need for this country.

So— because we got to make the country rich.

It sounds crass. Somebody said, "Oh, that's crass." It's not crass.

We got \$18 trillion in debt. We got nothing but problems.

We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete.

We've got nothing. We've got Social Security that's going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn't bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I'm not going to cut it at all; I'm going to bring money in, and we're going to save it.

But here's what's going to happen:

After I'm called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I'm called by all of the special interests and by the— the donors and by the lobbyists— and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero— I'll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He'll say, "Please reconsider," I'll say no.

He'll say, "Mr. President, we've decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we're not going to build it in Mexico." That's it. They have no choice. They have no choice.

There are hundreds of things like that. I'll give you another example.

Saudi Arabia, they make \$1 billion a day. \$1 billion a day. I love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say "we're gonna protect." What are we doing? They've got nothing but money.

If the right person asked them, they'd pay a fortune. They wouldn't be there except for us.

And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up. Everybody got out— and they kept our equipment.

They always keep our equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right? They always keep our equipment. We ought to send some real junk, because, frankly, it would be— we ought to send our surplus. We're always losing this gorgeous brand-new stuff.

But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They're gone.

And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now— it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running.

But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, "Is he intelligent?"

Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question.

How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna— how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can't. They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.

But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.

There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money. We're dying. We're dying. We need money. We have to do it. And we need the right people.

So Ford will come back. They'll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, that's based on competence.

Somebody said — thank you, darlin'.

Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person."

That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family.

By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Ivanka did a great job. Did she do a great job?

Great. Jared, Laura and Eric, I'm very proud of my family. They're a great family.

So the reporter said to me the other day, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?"

I said, "I don't know." I said, "I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person."

But, I said, "This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. And they're tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries. But we're becoming a third world country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything. So one of the things I did, and I said, you know what I'll do. I'll do it. Because a lot of people said, "He'll never run. Number one, he won't want to give up his lifestyle."

They're right about that, but I'm doing it.

Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth.

So I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job.

I started off— thank you— I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot.

But he used to say, "Donald, don't go into Manhattan. That's the big leagues. We don't know anything about that. Don't do it."

I said, "I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I've gotta do it."

And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals— the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west

side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I'm building all over the world, and I love what I'm doing.

But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, "Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he's private and he's probably not as successful as everybody thinks."

So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever going to know unless I run, because I'm really proud of my success. I really am.

I've employed—I've employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything.

So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it's big and complex, and they've put together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the government, and we don't [use] extensions or anything. We'll be filing it right on time. We don't need anything.

And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, "He had assets of \$9 billion." So I said, "No, that's the wrong number. That's the wrong number. Not assets."

So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It's real estate. You know, it's real estate.

It's labor, and it's unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren't in unions, and it's all over the place and building all over the world.

And I have assets— big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected— 9 billion 240 million dollars.

And I have liabilities of about \$500 million. That's long-term debt, very low interest rates.

In fact, one of the big banks came to me and said, "Donald, you don't have enough borrowings. Could we loan you \$4 billion"? I said, "I don't need it. I don't want it. And I've been there. I don't want it."

But in two seconds, they give me whatever I wanted. So I have a total net worth, and now with the increase, it'll be well-over \$10 billion. But here, a total net worth of—net worth, not assets, not— a net worth, after all debt, after all expenses, the greatest assets— Trump Tower, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, Bank of America building in San Francisco, 40 Wall

Street, sometimes referred to as the Trump building right opposite the New York— many other places all over the world.

So the total is \$8,737,540,00.

Now I'm not doing that...

I'm not doing that to brag, because you know what? I don't have to brag. I don't have to, believe it or not.

I'm doing that to say that that's the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking.

We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

So I put together this statement, and the only reason I'm telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years— you know, we're at \$8 trillion now. We're soon going to be at \$20 trillion.

According to the economists— who I'm not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they're saying— that \$24 trillion— we're very close— that's the point of no return. \$24 trillion. We will be there soon. That's when we become Greece. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.

So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare.

I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.

Mark my words.

Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody.

I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around.

I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal, who's just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won't be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you.

I will immediately terminate President Obama's illegal executive order on immigration, immediately.

Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.

Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump," and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn't want guns. And now since this happened"— it's up in the prison area— "my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We're ready to start shooting."

I said, "Very interesting."

So protect the Second Amendment.

End— end Common Core. Common Core should— it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. He's weak on immigration. He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can't do it. We have to end education has to be local.

Rebuild the country's infrastructure.

Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought.

I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad.

You know, we're building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we're converting it into one of the world's great hotels. It's gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after— or one of them, but I think the most highly

sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it.

Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we're really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I'll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built.

So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw.

You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.

Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it.

Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that's being lost.

Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

Reduce our \$18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we're in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what's happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated.

Be careful of a bubble because what you've seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful.

And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important.

Sadly, the American dream is dead.

But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again.

Thank you. Thank you very much.

## **Appendix 2: Full Transcript of Donald Trump's Acceptance Speech**

Friends, delegates and fellow Americans: I humbly and gratefully accept your nomination for the presidency of the United States.

Who would have believed that when we started this journey on June 16, last year, we — I say we because we are a team — would have received almost 14 million votes, the most in the history of the Republican party?

And that the Republican Party would get 60 percent more votes than it received eight years ago. Who would have believed it? The Democrats on the other hand, received 20 percent fewer votes than they got four years ago, not so good.

Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace. We will be a country of generosity and warmth. But we will also be a country of law and order.

Our convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country.

Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities. Many have witnessed this violence personally. Some have even been its victims.

I have a message for all of you: The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon — and I mean very soon come to an end. Beginning on January 20th 2017, safety will be restored.

The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its citizens. Any government that fails to do so is a government unworthy to lead.

It is finally time for a straightforward assessment of the state of our nation. I will present the facts plainly and honestly. We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore.

So if you want to hear the corporate spin, the carefully-crafted lies, and the media myths — the Democrats are holding their convention next week. Go there.

But here, at our convention, there will be no lies. We will honor the American people with the truth, and nothing else.

These are the facts:

Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed by this administration's rollback of criminal enforcement.

Homicides last year increased by 17% in America's fifty largest cities. That's the largest increase in 25 years.

In our nation's capital, killings have risen by 50 percent. They are up nearly 60 percent in nearby Baltimore.

In the president's hometown of Chicago, more than 2,000 have been the victims of shootings this year alone. And almost 4,000 have been killed in the Chicago area since he took office.

The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50 percent compared to this point last year.

Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our country, are tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens.

The number of new illegal immigrant families who have crossed the border so far this year already exceeds the entire total of 2015.

They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources.

One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years old and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 grade point average. Her killer was then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law. I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders.

What about our economy? Again, I will tell you the plain facts that have been edited out of your nightly news and your morning newspaper:

Nearly four in 10 African-American children are living in poverty, while 58% of African-American youth are now not employed.

2 million more Latinos are in poverty today than when the president took his oath of office eight years ago.

Another 14 million people have left the workforce entirely.

Household incomes are down more than \$4,000 since the year 2000. That is 16 years ago.

Our trade deficit in goods reached — think of this — our trade deficit is \$800 hundred billion dollars. Think of that. \$800 billion last year alone. We will fix that.

The budget is no better. President Obama has almost doubled our national debt to more than \$19 trillion, and growing.

Yet, what do we have to show for it? Our roads and bridges are falling apart, our airports are in third world condition, and 43 million Americans are on food stamps.

Now let us consider the state of affairs abroad. Not only have our citizens endured domestic disaster, but they have lived through one international humiliation after another. One after another.

We all remember the images of our sailors being forced to their knees by their Iranian captors at gunpoint. This was just prior to the signing of the Iran deal, which gave back to Iran \$150 billion and gave us absolutely nothing. It will go down in history as one of the worst deals ever negotiated.

Another humiliation came when President Obama drew a red line in Syria and the whole world knew it meant absolutely nothing.

In Libya, our consulate, the symbol of American prestige around the globe was brought down in flames.

America is far less safe and the world is far less stable than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy. I am certain it is a decision he truly regrets.

Her bad instincts and her bad judgment, something pointed out by Bernie Sanders are what caused the disasters unfolding today. Let's review the record.

In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map. Libya was stable. Egypt was peaceful. Iraq had seen a big reduction in violence. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Syria was somewhat under control.

After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region and the entire world. Libya is in ruins, and our ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of savage killers. Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim Brotherhood, forcing the military to retake control. Iraq is in chaos. Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons. Syria is engulfed in a civil war and a refugee crisis that now threatens the West. After 15 years of wars in the Middle East, after trillions of dollars spent and thousands of lives lost, the situation is worse than it has ever been before.

This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: Death, destruction and terrorism and weakness.

But Hillary Clinton's legacy does not have to be America's legacy. The problems we face now — poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad — will last only as long as we continue relying on the same politicians who created them. A change in leadership is required to produce a change in outcomes.

Tonight, I will share with you for action for America. The most important difference between our plan and that of our opponents, is that our plan will put America first. Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo.

As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect. The respect that we deserve. The American people will come first once again.

First, my plan will begin with safety at home which means safe neighborhoods, secure borders, and protection from terrorism. There can be no prosperity without law and order.

On the economy, I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used to rebuild America.

A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation's most powerful special interests. That is because these interests have rigged our political and economic system for their exclusive benefit. Believe me. It is for their benefit. For their benefit.

Big business, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent because they know she will keep our rigged system in place. They are throwing money at her because they have total control over every single thing she does. She is their puppet, and they pull the strings. That is why Hillary Clinton's message is that things will never change. Never ever.

My message is that things have to change and they have to change right now. Every day I wake up determined to deliver a better life for the people all across this nation that had been ignored, neglected and abandoned.

I have visited the laid-off factory workers, and the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals. These are the forgotten men and women of our country, and they are forgotten, but they will not be forgotten long. These are people who work hard but no longer have a voice. I am your voice.

I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good.

I have no patience for injustice. No tolerance for government incompetence. When innocent people suffer, because our political system lacks the will, or the courage, or the basic decency to enforce our laws, or worse still, has sold out to some corporate lobbyist for cash I am not able to look the other way. And I won't look the other way.

And when a Secretary of State illegally stores her emails on a private server, deletes 33,000 of them so the authorities can't see her crime, puts our country at risk, lies about it in every different form and faces no consequence — I know that corruption has reached a level like never ever before in our country.

When the FBI director says that the Secretary of State was "extremely careless" and "negligent" in handling our classified secrets, I also know that these terms are minor compared to what she actually did. They were just used to save her from facing justice for her terrible, terrible crimes.

In fact, her single greatest accomplishment may be committing such an egregious crime and getting away with it, especially when others who have been far less have paid so dearly.

When that same Secretary of State rakes in millions of dollars trading access and favors to special interests and foreign powers, I know the time for action has come.

I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people that cannot defend themselves.

Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it. I have seen firsthand how the system is rigged against our citizens, just like it was rigged against Bernie Sanders. He never had a chance.

But his supporters will join our movement, because we will fix his biggest issue: Trade deals that strip our country of jobs and the distribution of wealth in the country.

Millions of Democrats will join our movement, because we are going to fix the system so it works fairly and justly for each and every American.

In this cause, I am proud to have at my side the next Vice President of the United States: Governor Mike Pence of Indiana. And a great guy. We will bring the same economic success to America that Mike brought Indiana, which is amazing. He is a man of character and accomplishment. He is the right man for the job.

The first task for our new administration will be to liberate our citizens from the crime and terrorism and lawlessness that threatens their — our communities.

America was shocked to its core when our police officers in Dallas were so brutally executed. Immediately after Dallas, we have seen continued threats and violence against our law enforcement officials. Law officers have been shot or killed in recent days in Georgia, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas, Michigan and Tennessee.

On Sunday, more police were gunned down in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Three were killed, and three were very badly injured. An attack on law enforcement is an attack on all Americans.

I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our police: When I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order to our country.

I will work with, and appoint, the best prosecutors and law enforcement officials in the country to get the job properly done. In this race for the White House, I am the law and order candidate.

The irresponsible rhetoric of our president, who has used the pulpit of the presidency to divide us by race and color, has made America a more dangerous environment than frankly, I have ever seen and anybody in this room has ever watched or seeing.

This administration has failed America's inner cities. Remember, it has failed America's inner cities. It's failed them on education. It's failed them on jobs. It's failed them on crime. It's failed them in every way and on every single level.

When I am president, I will work to ensure that all of our kids are treated equally, and protected equally. Every action I take, I will ask myself: Does this make life better for young Americans in Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, and Ferguson who have really come in every way, have the same right to live out their dreams as any other child in America?

To make life safe in America, we must also address the growing threats from outside the country. We are going to defeat the barbarians of ISIS. And we are going to defeat them bad.

Once again, France is the victim of brutal Islamic terrorism. Men, women and children viciously mowed down. Lives ruined. Families ripped apart. A nation in mourning. The damage and devastation that can be inflicted by Islamic radicals has been proven over and over. At the World Trade Center, at an office party in San Bernardino, at the Boston Marathon, and a military recruiting center in Chattanooga, Tennessee. And many other locations.

Only weeks ago, in Orlando, Florida, 49 wonderful Americans were savagely murdered by an Islamic terrorist. This time, the terrorist targeted LGBTQ community.

No good. And we're going to stop it. As your president, I will do everything in my power to protect our LGBTQ citizens from the violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology. Believe me. And I have to say as a Republican, it is so nice to hear you cheering for what I just said. Thank you.

To protect us from terrorism, we need to focus on three things.

We must have the best, absolutely the best, gathering of intelligence anywhere in the world. The best.

We must abandon the failed policy of nation- building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed in Iraq, Libya, in Egypt, and Syria.

Instead, we must work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out Islamic terrorism and doing it now, doing it quickly. We're going to win. We're going to win fast. This includes working with our greatest ally in the region, the state of Israel.

Recently I have said that NATO was obsolete. Because it did not properly cover terror. And also that many of the member countries were not paying their fair share. As usual, the United States has been picking up the cost. Shortly thereafter, it was announced that NATO will be setting up a new program in order to combat terrorism. A true step in the right direction.

Lastly, and very importantly, we must immediately suspend immigration from any nation that has been compromised by terrorism until such time as proven vetting mechanisms have been put in place. We don't want them in our country.

My opponent has called for a radical 550 percent increase — think of this, this is not believable, but this is what is happening — a 550 percent increase in Syrian refugees on top of existing massive refugee flows coming into our country already under the leadership of president Obama.

She proposes this despite the fact that there's no way to screen these refugees in order to find out who they are or where they come from. I only want to admit individuals into our country who will support our values and love our people. Anyone who endorses violence, hatred or oppression is not welcome in our country and never ever will be.

Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment for our citizens, especially for African-American and Latino workers. We are going to have an immigration system that works, but one that works for the American people.

On Monday, we heard from three parents whose children were killed by illegal immigrants Mary Ann Mendoza, Sabine Durden, and my friend Jamiel Shaw. They are just three brave representatives of many thousands who have suffered so greatly.

Of all my travels in this country, nothing has affected me more, nothing even close than the time I have spent with the mothers and fathers who have lost their children to violence spilling across our borders, which we can solve. We have to solve it. These families have no special interests to represent them. There are no demonstrators to protect them and none too protest on their behalf.

My opponent will never meet with them, or share in their pain. Believe me. Instead, my opponent wants sanctuary cities. But where was sanctuary for Kate Steinle? Where was sanctuary for the children of Mary Ann, Sabine and Jamiel? Is so sad to even be talking about this. We can solve it so quickly. Where was sanctuary for all the other Americans who have been so brutally murdered, and who have suffered so horribly? These wounded American families have been alone. But they are not alone any longer.

Tonight, this candidate and this whole nation stand in their corner to support them, to send them our love, and to pledge in their honor that we will save countless more families from suffering the same awful fate.

We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities.

I have been honored to receive the endorsement of America's Border Patrol agents, and will work directly with them to protect the integrity of our lawful, lawful, immigration system.

By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will stop the cycle of human smuggling and violence. Illegal border crossings will go down. We will stop it. It will not be happening very much anymore. Believe me.

Peace will be restored by enforcing the rules for the millions who overstay their visas, our laws will finally receive the respect they deserve.

Tonight, I want every American whose demands for immigration security have been denied and every politician who has denied them to listen very closely to the words I am about to say: On January 20 of 2017, the day I take the oath of office, Americans will finally wake up in a country where the laws of the United States are enforced.

We are going to be considerate and compassionate to everyone. But my greatest compassion will be for our own struggling citizens.

My plan is the exact opposite of the radical and dangerous immigration policy of Hillary Clinton. Americans want relief from uncontrolled immigration. Which is what we have now. Communities want relief. Yet Hillary Clinton is proposing mass amnesty, mass immigration, and mass lawlessness.

Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape from the tremendous cycle of poverty they are going through right now and make it almost impossible for them to join the middle class.

I have a different vision for our workers. It begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat — of which there are many.

It's been a signature message of my campaign from day one, and it will be a signature feature of my presidency from the moment I take the oath of office. I have made billions of dollars in business making deals. Now I'm going to make our country rich again. Using the greatest businesspeople of the world, I'm going to turn our bad trade agreements into great trade agreements.

America has lost nearly-one third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the enactment of disastrous trade deals supported by Bill and Hillary Clinton. Remember, it was Bill Clinton who signed NAFTA, one of the worst economic deals ever made by our country. Or frankly, any other country. Never ever again.

I am going to bring our jobs back our jobs to Ohio and Pennsylvania and New York and Michigan and all of America and I am not going to let companies move to other countries, firing their employees along the way, without consequences. Not going to happen anymore.

My opponent, on the other hand, has supported virtually every trade agreement that has been destroying our middle class. She supported NAFTA, and she supported China's entrance into the world trade organization. Another one of her husband's colossal mistakes and disasters. She supported the job killing trade deal with South Korea. She she supported the Trans-Pacific Partnership which will not only destroy our manufacturing but it will make America subject to the rulings of foreign governments. And it is not going to happen.

I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers, or that diminishes our freedom and Independence. We will never ever sign bad trade deals. America first again. American first.

Instead, I will make individual deals with individual countries. No longer will we enter into these massive transactions with many countries that are thousands of pages long and which no one from

our country even reads or understands. We are going to enforce all trade violations against any country that cheats. This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property, along with their illegal product dumping, and their devastating currency manipulation. They are the greatest that ever came about, they are the greatest currently manipulators ever.

Our horrible trade agreements with China, and many others, will be totally renegotiated. That includes renegotiating NAFTA to get a much better deal for America and will walk away if we don't get that kind of a deal. Our country is going to start building and making things again.

Next comes the reform of our tax laws, regulations and energy rules. While Hillary Clinton plans a massive, and I mean massive, tax increase, I have proposed the largest tax reduction of any candidate who has run for president this year, Democrat or Republican. Middle-income Americans will experience profound relief, and taxes will be greatly simplified for everyone. I mean everyone.

America is one of the highest-taxed nations in the world. Reducing taxes will cause new companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country. Believe me. It will happen and it will happen fast.

Then we are going to deal with the issue of regulation, one of the greatest job killers of them all. Excessive regulation is costing our country as much as \$2 trillion a year, and we will end it very quickly.

We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy. This will produce more than \$20 trillion in job-creating economic activity over the next four decades.

My opponent, on the other hand, wants to put the great miners and steelworkers of our country out of work and out of business. That will never happen with Donald J trump as president. Our steelworkers and are miners are going back to work again.

With these new economic policies, trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country. This new wealth will improve the quality of life for all Americans. We will build the roads, highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, and the railways of our tomorrow. This, in turn, will create millions of more jobs.

We will rescue kids from failing schools by helping their parents send them to a safe school of their choice. My opponent would rather protect education bureaucrats than serve American children. That is what she is doing and that is what she has done.

We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare. You will be able to choose your own doctor again.

And we will fix TSA at the airports, which is a total disaster. Thank you.

We are going to work with all of our students who are drowning in debt to take the pressure off these young people just starting out in their adult lives. Tremendous problems.

We will completely rebuild our depleted military. And the countries that we protecting at a massive cost to us will be asked to pay their fair share.

We will take care of our great veterans like they have never been taken care of before. My just-released 10 point plan has received tremendous better support. We will guarantee those who serve this country will be able to visit the doctor or hospital of their choice without waiting five days in a line and dying.

My opponent dismissed the VA scandal, one more sign of how out of touch she really is.

We are going to ask every department head and government to provide a list of wasteful spending projects that we can eliminate in my first 100 days. The politicians have talked about this for years, but I'm going to do it.

We are also going to appoint justices to the United States Supreme Court who will uphold our laws and our constitution. The replacement of our beloved Justice Scalia will be a person of similar views, principles and judicial philosophies. Very important. This will be one of the most important issues decided by this election.

My opponent wants to essentially abolish the 2nd Amendment. I, on the other hand, received the early and strong endorsement of the National Rifle Association. And will protect the right of all Americans to keep their families safe.

At this moment, I would like to thank the evangelical community because, I will tell you what, the support they have given me — and I'm not sure I totally deserve it — has been so amazing. And has been such a big reason I'm here tonight. They have much to contribute to our policies.

Yet our laws prevent you from speaking your mind from your own pulpits. An amendment, pushed by Lyndon Johnson, many years ago, threatens religious institutions with a loss of their tax-exempt status if they openly advocate their political views. Their voice has been taken away. I will work hard to repeal that language and to protect free speech for all Americans.

We can accomplish these great things and so much more. All we need to do is start believing in ourselves a in our country again. Start believing. It is time to show the whole world that America is back, bigger and better and stronger than ever before.

In this journey, I'm so lucky to have at my side my wife Melania and my wonderful children Don, Ivanka, Eric, Tiffany, and Barron: You will always be my greatest source of pride and joy. And by the way, Melania and Ivanka, did they do a job?

My dad, Fred Trump, was the smartest and hardest working man I ever knew. I wonder sometimes what he'd say if he were here to see this tonight. It's because of him that I learned, from my youngest age, to respect the dignity of work and the dignity of working people.

He was a guy most comfortable in the company of bricklayers, carpenters, and electricians and I have a lot of that in me also. I love those people.

Then there's my mother, Mary. She was strong, but also warm and fair-minded. She was a truly great mother. She was also one of the most honest and charitable people I have ever known, and a great, great judge of character. She could pick them out from anywhere.

To my sisters, Mary Anne and Elizabeth, my brother Robert and my late brother Fred, I will always give you my love. You are most special to me. I have loved my life in business.

But now, my sole and exclusive mission is to go to work for our country, to go to work for you. It is time to deliver a victory for the American people. We don't win anymore, but we are going to start winning again. But to do that, we must break free from the petty politics of the past.

America is a nation of believers, dreamers, and strivers that is being led by a group of censors, critics, and cynics. Remember: All of the people telling you you can't have the country you want, are the same people, that would not stand, I mean they said Trump does not have a chance of being here tonight, not a chance, the same people. We love defeating those people, don't we? Love it.

No longer can we rely on those same people. In the media and politics who, will say anything to keep a rigged system in place. Instead, we must choose to believe in America.

History is watching us now. It's we don't have much time. We don't have much time. It's waiting to see if we will rise to the occasion, and if we will show the whole world that America is still free and independent and strong.

I am asking for your support tonight so that I can be year champion in the White House. And I will be a champion. Your champion.

My opponent asks her supporters to recite a three-word loyalty pledge. It reads: "I'm with her."

I choose to recite a different pledge. My pledge reads: "I'm with you the American people."

I am your voice. So to every parent who dreams for their child, and every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I'm with you, and I will fight for you, and I will win for you.

To all Americans tonight, in all our cities and towns, I make this promise:

We will make America strong again.

We will make America proud again.

We will make America safe again.

And we will make America great again!

God bless you and goodnight! I love you!

### Appendix 3: Full Transcript of Trump's 2020 State of the Union Speech

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/05/us/politics/state-of-union-transcript.html>  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/05/us/politics/state-of-union-transcript.html>

PRESIDENT TRUMP: Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, the first lady of the United States — (applause) — and my fellow citizens:

Three years ago, we launched the great American comeback. Tonight, I stand before you to share the incredible results. Jobs are booming, incomes are soaring, poverty is plummeting, crime is falling, confidence is surging, and our country is thriving and highly respected again. (Applause.) America's enemies are on the run, America's fortunes are on the rise, and America's future is blazing bright.

The years of economic decay are over. (Applause.) The days of our country being used, taken advantage of, and even scorned by other nations are long behind us. (Applause.) Gone, too, are the broken promises, jobless recoveries, tired platitudes and constant excuses for the depletion of American wealth, power and prestige.

In just three short years, we have shattered the mentality of American decline, and we have rejected the downsizing of America's destiny. We have totally rejected the downsizing. We are moving forward at a pace that was unimaginable just a short time ago, and we are never, ever going back. (Applause.)

I am thrilled to report to you tonight that our economy is the best it has ever been. Our military is completely rebuilt, with its power being unmatched anywhere in the world — and it's not even close. Our borders are secure. Our families are flourishing. Our values are renewed. Our pride is restored. And for all of these reasons, I say to the people of our great country and to the members of Congress: The state of our Union is stronger than ever before. (Applause.)

The vision I will lay out this evening demonstrates how we are building the world's most prosperous and inclusive society — one where every citizen can join in America's unparalleled success and where every community can take part in America's extraordinary rise.

From the instant I took office, I moved rapidly to revive the U.S. economy — slashing a record number of job-killing regulations, enacting historic and record-setting tax cuts, and fighting for fair and reciprocal trade agreements. (Applause.) Our agenda is relentlessly pro-worker, pro-family, pro-growth, and, most of all, pro-American. (Applause.) Thank you. We are advancing with unbridled optimism and lifting our citizens of every race, color, religion and creed very, very high.

Since my election, we have created seven million new jobs — five million more than government experts projected during the previous administration. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate is the lowest in over half a century. (Applause.) And very incredibly, the average unemployment rate under my administration is lower than any administration in the

history of our country. (Applause.) True. If we hadn't reversed the failed economic policies of the previous administration, the world would not now be witnessing this great economic success. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate for African-Americans, Hispanic Americans and Asian-Americans has reached the lowest levels in history. (Applause.) African-American youth unemployment has reached an all-time low. (Applause.) African-American poverty has declined to the lowest rate ever recorded. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate for women reached the lowest level in almost 70 years. And, last year, women filled 72 percent of all new jobs added. (Applause.)

The veterans unemployment rate dropped to a record low. (Applause.) The unemployment rate for disabled Americans has reached an all-time low. (Applause.)

Workers without a high school diploma have achieved the lowest unemployment rate recorded in U.S. history. (Applause.) A record number of young Americans are now employed. (Applause.)

Under the last administration, more than 10 million people were added to the food stamp rolls. Under my administration, seven million Americans have come off food stamps, and 10 million people have been lifted off of welfare. (Applause.)

In eight years under the last administration, over 300,000 working-age people dropped out of the work force. In just three years of my administration, 3.5 million people — working-age people — have joined the work force. (Applause.)

Since my election, the net worth of the bottom half of wage earners has increased by 47 percent — three times faster than the increase for the top 1 percent. (Applause.) After decades of flat and falling incomes, wages are rising fast — and, wonderfully, they are rising fastest for low-income workers, who have seen a 16 percent pay increase since my election. (Applause.) This is a blue-collar boom. (Applause.)

Real median household income is now at the highest level ever recorded. (Applause.)

Since my election, U.S. stock markets have soared 70 percent, adding more than \$12 trillion to our nation's wealth, transcending anything anyone believed was possible. This is a record. It is something that every country in the world is looking up to. They admire. (Applause.) Consumer confidence has just reached amazing new highs.

All of those millions of people with 401(k)s and pensions are doing far better than they have ever done before with increases of 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100 percent, and even more.

Jobs and investments are pouring into 9,000 previously neglected neighborhoods thanks to Opportunity zones, a plan spearheaded by Senator Tim Scott as part of our great Republican tax cuts. (Applause.) In other words, wealthy people and companies are pouring money into poor neighborhoods or areas that haven't seen investment in many decades, creating jobs, energy, and

excitement. (Applause.) This is the first time that these deserving communities have seen anything like this. It's all working.

Opportunity zones are helping Americans like Army veteran Tony Rankins from Cincinnati, Ohio. After struggling with drug addiction, Tony lost his job, his house and his family. He was homeless. But then Tony found a construction company that invests in opportunity zones. He is now a top tradesman, drug-free, reunited with his family, and he is here tonight. Tony, keep up the great work. Tony. (Applause.) Thank you, Tony.

Our roaring economy has, for the first time ever, given many former prisoners the ability to get a great job and a fresh start. This second chance at life is made possible because we passed landmark criminal justice reform into law. Everybody said that criminal justice reform couldn't be done, but I got it done, and the people in this room got it done. (Applause.)

Thanks to our bold regulatory reduction campaign, the United States has become the No. 1 producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world, by far. (Applause.) With the tremendous progress we have made over the past three years, America is now energy independent, and energy jobs, like so many other elements of our country, are at a record high. (Applause.) We are doing numbers that no one would have thought possible just three years ago.

Likewise, we are restoring our nation's manufacturing might, even though predictions were, as you all know, that this could never, ever be done. After losing 60,000 factories under the previous two administrations, America has now gained 12,000 new factories under my administration, with thousands upon thousands of plants and factories being planned or being built. (Applause.) Companies are not leaving; they are coming back to the U.S.A. (Applause.) The fact is that everybody wants to be where the action is, and the United States of America is indeed the place where the action is. (Applause.)

One of the biggest promises I made to the American people was to replace the disastrous NAFTA trade deal. (Applause.) In fact, unfair trade is perhaps the single biggest reason that I decided to run for President. Following NAFTA's adoption, our nation lost one in four manufacturing jobs. Many politicians came and went, pledging to change or replace NAFTA, only to do so, and then absolutely nothing happened. But unlike so many who came before me, I keep my promises. We did our job. (Applause.)

Six days ago, I replaced NAFTA and signed the brand-new U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement into law. The U.S.M.C.A. will create nearly 100,000 new high-paying American auto jobs, and massively boost exports for our farmers, ranchers, and factory workers. (Applause.) It will also bring trade with Mexico and Canada to a much higher level, but also to be a much greater degree of fairness and reciprocity. We will have that: fairness and reciprocity. And I say that, finally, because it's been many, many years that we were treated fairly on trade. (Applause.)

This is the first major trade deal in many years to earn the strong backing of America's labor unions. (Applause.)

I also promised our citizens that I would impose tariffs to confront China's massive theft of America's jobs. Our strategy has worked. Days ago, we signed the groundbreaking new agreement

with China that will defend our workers, protect our intellectual property, bring billions and billions of dollars into our treasury, and open vast new markets for products made and grown right here in the U.S.A. (Applause.)

For decades, China has taken advantage of the United States. Now we have changed that, but, at the same time, we have perhaps the best relationship we've ever had with China, including with President Xi. They respect what we've done because, quite frankly, they could never really believe that they were able to get away with what they were doing year after year, decade after decade, without someone in our country stepping up and saying, "That's enough." (Applause.) Now we want to rebuild our country, and that's exactly what we're doing. We are rebuilding our country. As we restore — (applause) — American leadership throughout the world, we are once again standing up for freedom in our hemisphere. (Applause.) That's why my administration reversed the failing policies of the previous administration on Cuba. (Applause.)

We are supporting the hopes of Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans to restore democracy. The United States is leading a 59-nation diplomatic coalition against the socialist dictator of Venezuela, Nicolás Maduro. (Applause.) Maduro is an illegitimate ruler, a tyrant who brutalizes his people. But Maduro's grip on tyranny will be smashed and broken.

Here this evening is a very brave man who carries with him the hopes, dreams, and aspirations of all Venezuelans. Joining us in the gallery is the true and legitimate president of Venezuela, Juan Guaidó. (Applause.) Mr. President, please take this message back to your homeland. (Applause.) Thank you, Mr. President. Great honor. Thank you very much.

Please take this message back that all Americans are united with the Venezuelan people in their righteous struggle for freedom. Thank you very much, Mr. President. (Applause.) Thank you very much.

Socialism destroys nations. But always remember: Freedom unifies the soul. (Applause.)

To safeguard American liberty, we have invested a record-breaking \$2.2 trillion in the United States military. (Applause.) We have purchased the finest planes, missiles, rockets, ships and every other form of military equipment, and it's all made right here in the USA. (Applause.)

We are also getting our allies, finally, to help pay their fair share. (Applause.) I have raised contributions from the other NATO members by more than \$400 billion, and the number of Allies meeting their minimum obligations has more than doubled.

And just weeks ago, for the first time since President Truman established the Air Force more than 70 years earlier, we created a brand-new branch of the United States Armed Forces. It's called the Space Force. (Applause.) Very important.

In the gallery tonight, we have a young gentleman. And what he wants so badly — 13 years old — Iain Lanphier. He's an eighth grader from Arizona. Iain, please stand up.

Iain has always dreamed of going to space. He was the first in his class and among the youngest at an aviation academy. He aspires to go to the Air Force Academy, and then he has his eye on the

Space Force. As Iain says, “Most people look up at space. I want to look down on the world.” (Laughter and applause.)

But sitting behind Iain tonight is his greatest hero of them all. Charles McGee was born in Cleveland, Ohio, one century ago. Charles is one of the last surviving Tuskegee Airmen — the first black fighter pilots — and he also happens to be Iain’s great-grandfather. (Applause.) Incredible story.

After more than 130 combat missions in World War II, he came back home to a country still struggling for civil rights and went on to serve America in Korea and Vietnam. On Dec. 7th, Charles celebrated his 100th birthday. (Applause.) A few weeks ago, I signed a bill promoting Charles McGee to Brigadier General. And earlier today, I pinned the stars on his shoulders in the Oval Office. General McGee, our nation salutes you. Thank you, sir. (Applause.)

From the pilgrims to the Founders, from the soldiers at Valley Forge to the marchers at Selma, and from President Lincoln to the Rev. Martin Luther King, Americans have always rejected limits on our children’s future.

Members of Congress, we must never forget that the only victories that matter in Washington are victories that deliver for the American people. (Applause.) The people are the heart of our country, their dreams are the soul of our country, and their love is what powers and sustains our country. We must always remember that our job is to put America first. (Applause.)

The next step forward in building an inclusive society is making sure that every young American gets a great education and the opportunity to achieve the American Dream. Yet, for too long, countless American children have been trapped in failing government schools. To rescue these students, 18 states have created school choice in the form of Opportunity Scholarships. The programs are so popular that tens of thousands of students remain on a waiting list. One of those students is Janiyah Davis, a fourth grader from Philadelphia. Janiyah. (Applause.) Janiyah’s mom, Stephanie, is a single parent. She would do anything to give her daughter a better future. But last year, that future was put further out of reach when Pennsylvania’s governor vetoed legislation to expand school choice to 50,000 children.

Janiyah and Stephanie are in the gallery. Stephanie, thank you so much for being here with your beautiful daughter. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

But, Janiyah, I have some good news for you, because I am pleased to inform you that your long wait is over. I can proudly announce tonight that an Opportunity Scholarship has become available, it’s going to you, and you will soon be heading to the school of your choice. (Applause.)

Now I call on Congress to give one million American children the same opportunity Janiyah has just received. Pass the Education Freedom Scholarships and Opportunities Act — because no parent should be forced to send their child to a failing government school. (Applause.)

Every young person should have a safe and secure environment in which to learn and to grow. For this reason, our magnificent first lady has launched the Be Best initiative to advance a safe, healthy,

supportive and drug-free life for the next generation — online, in school and in our communities. Thank you, Melania, for your extraordinary love and profound care for America’s children. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

My administration is determined to give our citizens the opportunities they need regardless of age or background. Through our Pledge to American Workers, over 400 companies will also provide new jobs and education opportunities to almost 15 million Americans.

My budget also contains an exciting vision for our nation’s high schools. Tonight, I ask Congress to support our students and back my plan to offer vocational and technical education in every single high school in America. (Applause.)

To expand equal opportunity, I am also proud that we achieved record and permanent funding for our nation’s historically black colleges and universities. (Applause.)

A good life for American families also requires the most affordable, innovative, and high-quality health care system on Earth. Before I took office, health insurance premiums had more than doubled in just five years. I moved quickly to provide affordable alternatives. Our new plans are up to 60 percent less expensive — and better. (Applause.)

I’ve also made an ironclad pledge to American families: We will always protect patients with pre-existing conditions. (Applause). And we will always protect your Medicare and we will always protect your Social Security. Always. (Applause.)

The American patient should never be blindsided by medical bills. That is why I signed an executive order requiring price transparency. (Applause.) Many experts believe that transparency, which will go into full effect at the beginning of next year, will be even bigger than health care reform. (Applause.) It will save families massive amounts of money for substantially better care.

But as we work to improve Americans’ health care, there are those who want to take away your health care, take away your doctor, and abolish private insurance entirely.

AUDIENCE: Boo —

THE PRESIDENT: One hundred thirty-two lawmakers in this room have endorsed legislation to impose a socialist takeover of our health care system, wiping out the private health insurance plans of 180 million very happy Americans. To those watching at home tonight, I want you to know: We will never let socialism destroy American health care. (Applause.)

Over 130 legislators in this chamber have endorsed legislation that would bankrupt our nation by providing free taxpayer-funded health care to millions of illegal aliens, forcing taxpayers to subsidize free care for anyone in the world who unlawfully crosses our borders. These proposals would raid the Medicare benefits of our seniors and that our seniors depend on, while acting as a powerful lure for illegal immigration. That is what is happening in California and other states. Their systems are totally out of control, costing taxpayers vast and unaffordable amounts of money.

If forcing American taxpayers to provide unlimited free health care to illegal aliens sounds fair to you, then stand with the radical left. But if you believe that we should defend American patients and American seniors, then stand with me and pass legislation to prohibit free government health care for illegal aliens. (Applause.)

This will be a tremendous boon to our already very strongly guarded southern border where, as we speak, a long, tall and very powerful wall is being built. (Applause.) We have now completed over 100 miles and have over 500 miles fully completed in a very short period of time. Early next year, we will have substantially more than 500 miles completed.

My administration is also taking on the big pharmaceutical companies. We have approved a record number of affordable generic drugs, and medicines are being approved by the F.D.A. at a faster clip than ever before. (Applause.) And I was pleased to announce last year that, for the first time in 51 years, the cost of prescription drugs actually went down. (Applause.)

And working together, Congress can reduce drug prices substantially from current levels. I've been speaking to Senator Chuck Grassley of Iowa and others in Congress in order to get something on drug pricing done, and done quickly and properly. I'm calling for bipartisan legislation that achieves the goal of dramatically lowering prescription drug prices. Get a bill on my desk, and I will sign it into law immediately. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: H.R.3! H.R.3! H.R.3!

With unyielding commitment, we are curbing the opioid epidemic. Drug overdose deaths declined for the first time in nearly 30 years. (Applause.) Among the states hardest hit, Ohio is down 22 percent, Pennsylvania is down 18 percent, Wisconsin is down 10 percent — and we will not quit until we have beaten the opioid epidemic once and for all. (Applause.)

Protecting Americans' health also means fighting infectious diseases. We are coordinating with the Chinese government and working closely together on the coronavirus outbreak in China. My administration will take all necessary steps to safeguard our citizens from this threat.

We have launched ambitious new initiatives to substantially improve care for Americans with kidney disease, Alzheimer's, and those struggling with mental health. And because Congress was so good as to fund my request, new cures for childhood cancer, and we will eradicate the AIDS epidemic in America by the end of this decade. (Applause.)

Almost every American family knows the pain when a loved one is diagnosed with a serious illness. Here tonight is a special man, beloved by millions of Americans who just received a Stage 4 advanced cancer diagnosis. This is not good news, but what is good news is that he is the greatest fighter and winner that you will ever meet. Rush Limbaugh, thank you for your decades of tireless devotion to our country. (Applause.)

And, Rush, in recognition of all that you have done for our nation, the millions of people a day that you speak to and that you inspire, and all of the incredible work that you have done for charity, I am proud to announce tonight that you will be receiving our country's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. (Applause.)

I will now ask the first lady of the United States to present you with the honor. Please. (Applause.)

(The Medal of Freedom is presented.) (Applause.)

Rush and Kathryn, congratulations. Thank you, Kathryn.

As we pray for all who are sick, we know that America is constantly achieving new medical breakthroughs. In 2017, doctors at St. Luke's Hospital in Kansas City delivered one of the earliest premature babies ever to survive. Born at just 21 weeks and 6 days, and weighing less than a pound, Ellie Schneider was a born fighter. Through the skill of her doctors and the prayers of her parents, little Ellie kept on winning the battle of life. Today, Ellie is a strong, healthy two-year-old girl sitting with her amazing mother Robin in the Gallery. Ellie and Robin, we are glad to have you with us tonight. (Applause.)

Ellie reminds us that every child is a miracle of life. And thanks to modern medical wonders, 50 percent of very premature babies delivered at the hospital where Ellie was born now survive. It's an incredible thing. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Our goal should be to ensure that every baby has the best chance to thrive and grow just like Ellie. That is why I'm asking Congress to provide an additional \$50 million to fund neonatal research for America's youngest patients. (Applause.)

That is why I'm also calling upon members of Congress here tonight to pass legislation finally banning the late-term abortion of babies. (Applause.) Whether we are Republican, Democrat, or independent, surely we must all agree that every human life is a sacred gift from God.

As we support America's moms and dads, I was recently proud to sign the law providing new parents in the federal work force paid family leave, serving as a model for the rest of the country. (Applause.)

Now I call on the Congress to pass the bipartisan Advancing Support for Working Families Act, extending family leave to mothers and fathers all across our nation. (Applause.)

Forty million American families have an average \$2,200 extra thanks to our child tax credit. (Applause.) I've also overseen historic funding increases for high-quality child care, enabling 17 states to help more children, many of which have reduced or eliminated their waitlists altogether. (Applause.) And I sent Congress a plan with a vision to further expand access to high-quality child care, and urge you to act immediately. (Applause.)

To protect the environment, days ago I announced that the United States will join the One Trillion Trees Initiative, an ambitious effort to bring together government and private sector to plant new trees in America and all around the world. (Applause.)

We must also rebuild America's infrastructure. (Applause.) I ask you to pass Senator John Barrasso's highway bill to invest in new roads, bridges, and tunnels all across our land.

I'm also committed to ensuring that every citizen can have access to high-speed Internet, including and especially in rural America. (Applause.)

A better tomorrow for all Americans also requires us to keep America safe. That means supporting the men and women of law enforcement at every level, including our nation's heroic ICE officers. (Applause.)

Last year, our brave ICE officers arrested more than 120,000 criminal aliens charged with nearly 10,000 burglaries, 5,000 sexual assaults, 45,000 violent assaults, and 2,000 murders.

Tragically, there are many cities in America where radical politicians have chosen to provide sanctuary for these criminal illegal aliens.

AUDIENCE: Booo —

THE PRESIDENT: In sanctuary cities, local officials order police to release dangerous criminal aliens to prey upon the public, instead of handing them over to ICE to be safely removed.

Just 29 days ago, a criminal alien freed by the sanctuary city of New York was charged with the brutal rape and murder of a 92-year-old woman. The killer had been previously arrested for assault, but under New York's sanctuary policies, he was set free. If the city had honored ICE's detainer request, his victim would still be alive today.

The state of California passed an outrageous law declaring their whole state to be a sanctuary for criminal illegal immigrants — a very terrible sanctuary — with catastrophic results.

Here is just one tragic example. In December 2018, California police detained an illegal alien with five prior arrests, including convictions for robbery and assault. But as required by California's Sanctuary Law, local authorities released him.

Days later, the criminal alien went on a gruesome spree of deadly violence. He viciously shot one man going about his daily work. He approached a woman sitting in her car and shot her in the arm and in the chest. He walked into a convenience store and wildly fired his weapon. He hijacked a truck and smashed into vehicles, critically injuring innocent victims. One of the victims is — a terrible, terrible situation; died — 51-year-old American named Rocky Jones.

Rocky was at a gas station when this vile criminal fired eight bullets at him from close range, murdering him in cold blood. Rocky left behind a devoted family, including his brothers, who loved him more than anything else in the world. One of his grieving brothers is here with us tonight. Jody, would you please stand? Jody, thank you. (Applause.) Jody, our hearts weep for your loss, and we will not rest until you have justice.

Senator Thom Tillis has introduced legislation to allow Americans like Jody to sue sanctuary cities and states when a loved one is hurt or killed as a result of these deadly practices. (Applause.)

I ask Congress to pass the Justice for Victims of Sanctuary Cities Act immediately. The United States of America should be a sanctuary for law-abiding Americans, not criminal aliens. (Applause.)

In the last three years, ICE has arrested over 5,000 wicked human traffickers. And I have signed nine pieces of legislation to stamp out the menace of human trafficking, domestically and all around the globe. My administration has undertaken an unprecedented effort to secure the southern border of the United States. (Applause.)

Before I came into office, if you showed up illegally on our southern border and were arrested, you were simply released and allowed into our country, never to be seen again. My administration has ended catch and release. (Applause.) If you come illegally, you will now be promptly removed from our country. (Applause.)

Very importantly, we entered into historic cooperation agreements with the governments of Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. As a result of our unprecedented efforts, illegal crossings are down 75 percent since May, dropping eight straight months in a row. (Applause.) And as the wall rapidly goes up, drug seizures rise, and the border crossings are down, and going down very rapidly.

Last year, I traveled to the border in Texas and met Chief Patrol Agent Raul Ortiz. Over the last 24 months, Agent Ortiz and his team have seized more than 200,000 pounds of poisonous narcotics, arrested more than 3,000 human smugglers, and rescued more than 2,000 migrants. Days ago, Agent Ortiz was promoted to Deputy Chief of Border Patrol, and he joins us tonight. Chief Ortiz, please stand. (Applause.) A grateful nation thanks you and all of the heroes of Border Patrol and ICE. Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

To build on these historic gains, we are working on legislation to replace our outdated and randomized immigration system with one based on merit, welcoming those who follow the rules, contribute to our economy, support themselves financially, and uphold our values. (Applause.)

With every action, my administration is restoring the rule of law and reasserting the culture of American freedom. (Applause.) Working with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell — thank you, Mitch — (applause) — and his colleagues in the Senate, we have confirmed a record number of 187 new federal judges to uphold our Constitution as written. This includes two brilliant new Supreme Court justices, Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh. Thank you. (Applause.) And we have many in the pipeline. (Laughter and applause.)

My administration is also defending religious liberty, and that includes the constitutional right to pray in public schools. (Applause.) In America, we don't punish prayer. We don't tear down crosses. We don't ban symbols of faith. We don't muzzle preachers and pastors. In America, we celebrate faith, we cherish religion, we lift our voices in prayer, and we raise our sights to the Glory of God.

Just as we believe in the First Amendment, we also believe in another constitutional right that is under siege all across our country. So long as I am president, I will always protect your Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms. (Applause.)

In reaffirming our heritage as a free nation, we must remember that America has always been a frontier nation. Now we must embrace the next frontier, America's manifest destiny in the stars. I am asking Congress to fully fund the Artemis program to ensure that the next man and the first

woman on the Moon will be American astronauts — (applause) — using this as a launching pad to ensure that America is the first nation to plant its flag on Mars. (Applause.)

My administration is also strongly defending our national security and combating radical Islamic terrorism. (Applause.)

Last week, I announced a groundbreaking plan for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. Recognizing that all past attempts have failed, we must be determined and creative in order to stabilize the region and give millions of young people the chance to realize a better future.

Three years ago, the barbarians of ISIS held over 20,000 square miles of territory in Iraq and Syria. Today, the ISIS territorial caliphate has been 100 percent destroyed, and the founder and leader of ISIS — the bloodthirsty killer known as al-Baghdadi — is dead. (Applause.)

We are joined this evening by Carl and Marsha Mueller. After graduating from college, their beautiful daughter Kayla became a humanitarian aid worker. She once wrote, “Some people find God in church. Some people find God in nature. Some people find God in love. I find God in suffering. I’ve known for some time what my life’s work is, using my hands as tools to relieve suffering.” In 2013, while caring for suffering civilians in Syria, Kayla was kidnapped, tortured, and enslaved by ISIS, and kept as a prisoner of al-Baghdadi himself. After more than 500 horrifying days of captivity, al-Baghdadi murdered young, beautiful Kayla. She was just 26 years old.

On the night that U.S. Special Forces Operations ended al-Baghdadi’s miserable life, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Mark Milley, received a call in the Situation Room. He was told that the brave men of the elite Special Forces team that so perfectly carried out the operation had given their mission a name: “Task Force 8-14.” It was a reference to a special day: Aug. 14 — Kayla’s birthday. Carl and Marsha, America’s warriors never forgot Kayla — and neither will we. Thank you. (Applause.)

Every day, America’s men and women in uniform demonstrate the infinite depth of love that dwells in the human heart.

One of these American heroes was Army Staff Sgt. Christopher Hake. On his second deployment to Iraq in 2008, Sergeant Hake wrote a letter to his 1-year-old son, Gage: “I will be with you again,” he wrote to Gage. “I will teach you to ride your first bike, build your first sand box, watch you play sports, and see you have kids also. I love you son. Take care of your mother. I am always with you. Daddy.”

On Easter Sunday of 2008, Chris was out on patrol in Baghdad when his Bradley Fighting Vehicle was hit by a roadside bomb. That night, he made the ultimate sacrifice for our country. Sergeant Hake now rests in eternal glory in Arlington, and his wife, Kelli, is in the Gallery tonight, joined by their son, who is now a 13-year-old and doing very, very well. To Kelli and Gage: Chris will live in our hearts forever. He is looking down on you now. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you both very much.

The terrorist responsible for killing Sergeant Hake was Qassim Suleimani, who provided the deadly roadside bomb that took Chris’s life. Suleimani was the Iranian regime’s most ruthless

butcher, a monster who murdered or wounded thousands of American service members in Iraq. As the world's top terrorist, Suleimani orchestrated the deaths of countless men, women, and children. He directed the December assault and went on to assault U.S. forces in Iraq. Was actively planning new attacks when we hit him very hard. And that's why, last month, at my direction, the U.S. military executed a flawless precision strike that killed Suleimani and terminated his evil reign of terror forever. (Applause.)

Our message to the terrorists is clear: You will never escape American justice. If you attack our citizens, you forfeit your life. (Applause.)

In recent months, we have seen proud Iranians raise their voices against their oppressive rulers. The Iranian regime must abandon its pursuit of nuclear weapons; stop spreading terror, death, and destruction; and start working for the good of its own people.

Because of our powerful sanctions, the Iranian economy is doing very, very poorly. We can help them make a very good and short-time recovery. It can all go very quickly, but perhaps they are too proud or too foolish to ask for that help. We are here. Let's see which road they choose. It is totally up to them. (Applause.)

As we defend American lives, we are working to end America's wars in the Middle East.

In Afghanistan, the determination and valor of our warfighters has allowed us to make tremendous progress, and peace talks are now underway. I am not looking to kill hundreds of thousands of people in Afghanistan, many of them totally innocent. It is also not our function to serve other nations as law enforcement agencies. These are warfighters that we have — the best in the world — and they either want to fight to win or not fight at all. We are working to finally end America's longest war and bring our troops back home. (Applause.)

War places a heavy burden on our nation's extraordinary military families, especially spouses like Amy Williams from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and her two children — 6-year-old Elliana and 3-year-old Rowan. Amy works full-time and volunteers countless hours helping other military families. For the past seven months, she has done it all while her husband, Sgt. First Class Townsend Williams, is in Afghanistan on his fourth deployment in the Middle East. Amy's kids haven't seen their father's face in many months. Amy, your family's sacrifice makes it possible for all of our families to live in safety and in peace, and we want to thank you. Thank you, Amy. (Applause.)

But, Amy, there is one more thing. Tonight, we have a very special surprise. I am thrilled to inform you that your husband is back from deployment. He is here with us tonight, and we couldn't keep him waiting any longer. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome home, Sergeant Williams. Thank you very much.

As the world bears witness tonight, America is a land of heroes. This is a place where greatness is born, where destinies are forged, and where legends come to life. This is the home of Thomas

Edison and Teddy Roosevelt, of many great generals including Washington, Pershing, Patton, and MacArthur. This is the home of Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Amelia Earhart, Harriet Tubman, the Wright Brothers, Neil Armstrong, and so many more. This is the country where children learn names like Wyatt Earp, Davy Crockett, and Annie Oakley. This is the place where the pilgrims landed at Plymouth and where Texas patriots made their last stand at the Alamo — (applause) — the beautiful, beautiful Alamo.

The American nation was carved out of the vast frontier by the toughest, strongest, fiercest, and most determined men and women ever to walk on the face of the Earth. Our ancestors braved the unknown; tamed the wilderness; settled the Wild West; lifted millions from poverty, disease, and hunger; vanquished tyranny and fascism; ushered the world to new heights of science and medicine; laid down the railroads, dug out the canals, raised up the skyscrapers. And, ladies and gentlemen, our ancestors built the most exceptional republic ever to exist in all of human history, and we are making it greater than ever before. (Applause.)

This is our glorious and magnificent inheritance. We are Americans. We are pioneers. We are the pathfinders. We settled the New World, we built the modern world, and we changed history forever by embracing the eternal truth that everyone is made equal by the hand of Almighty God. (Applause.)

America is the place where anything can happen. America is the place where anyone can rise. And here, on this land, on this soil, on this continent, the most incredible dreams come true.

This nation is our canvas, and this country is our masterpiece. We look at tomorrow and see unlimited frontiers just waiting to be explored. Our brightest discoveries are not yet known. Our most thrilling stories are not yet told. Our grandest journeys are not yet made. The American Age, the American Epic, the American adventure has only just begun.

Our spirit is still young, the sun is still rising, God's grace is still shining, and, my fellow Americans, the best is yet to come. (Applause.)

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)