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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Initial Re-election Speech - in Dallas Texas - Oct 18 2019

Introduction

This master thesis will revolve around the current president of the United States of America, namely Donald Trump, and his projected ideological framework, presented to the public in his first speech held in his reelection campaign, in the upcoming 2020 election for the American presidency.

There will be a discursive examination of his directly and implicitly presented, described and portrayed ideological concepts, in order to get more precisely defined notion of his own stated and functioning ideology, mainly focused within a political, social, economic and general ideological framework of opinions and beliefs.

ALDRICH-MCKELVEY SCALING OF CANDIDATES
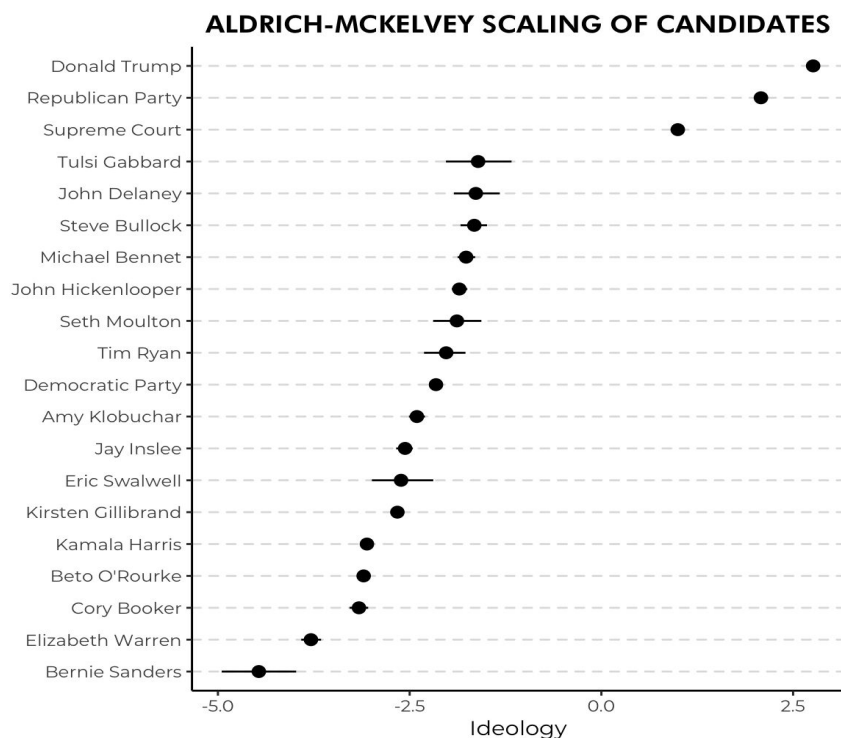
Aldrich-Mckelvey Scaling using CCES 2018 Candidate Placements
Trump, Democratic Party, Republican Party and Supreme Court used to bridge.

DATA FOR *PROGRESS*

(Reuning, july 4 2019)

This Graph [Table 1] is a generalized visual representation of the US presidential candidates and their respectively categorized placements, within a right vs left value and ideology representation, indicating a comparative orientation between candidates. It clearly depicts Trump as the most extreme and polarized, ideologically defined perspective of the Right. Further out than the general ideological notions of the Republican party.

"... Ideology is a tricky concept. There are no clear measures of ideology as there are deep and important disagreements over how issues fit together into a cohesive world view. One way to avoid these tricky issues is to instead rely on voter's perceptions of ideology"..." 60,000 respondents were asked to provide an assessment of the ideology of Donald Trump, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party," etc. (Reuning, July 4th, 2019).

Resulting in Table 1 above, where the perceived ideological notions of the participants are systematised and categorised on the political spectrum of left vs right concerning ideological values, through quantitative results.

"... Perceptions of candidate ideology are likely just as important as any measure from objective candidate positions" (Reuning, July 4th, 2019)

This project sets out to examine and measure Trump's self proclaimed positions and ideology, to measure and indicate his ideological stance in the 2020 presidential election in the USA.

The topic of interest is a qualitative clarification of Trump's ideological perception, which will be objectively analysed and perceived, through his first presidential candidate speech addressed to his supporters, in the 2020 election.

The topic will deal with the ideological opinions and interests, perceived through the candidate's discursive utterances and manifestations, in the speech.

It can be generally stated that in previous elections, the candidates were more centralized on the political spectrum and with multiple overlapping opinions.

They would debate rather similar centrist ideological perspectives, with candidates trying to assemble more voters, within an overlapping spectrum of Republican and Democratic party values. Hence, debating centralized and populist political notions, on the middle of the political spectrum.

This meant that the ideological stance of the candidates at times were very similar, sometimes overlapping and difficult to separate. Meaning that the candidates were very similar in their perspectives and positions on the political spectrum, thereby having to define their own subjectively stated notions of either being representative of the Republican or Democratic party. This does not seem to be the case with Trump, as he has been placed rather far to the right on the spectrum, by his own perceived notions and statements, and by the broad demographic perception, depicted below.
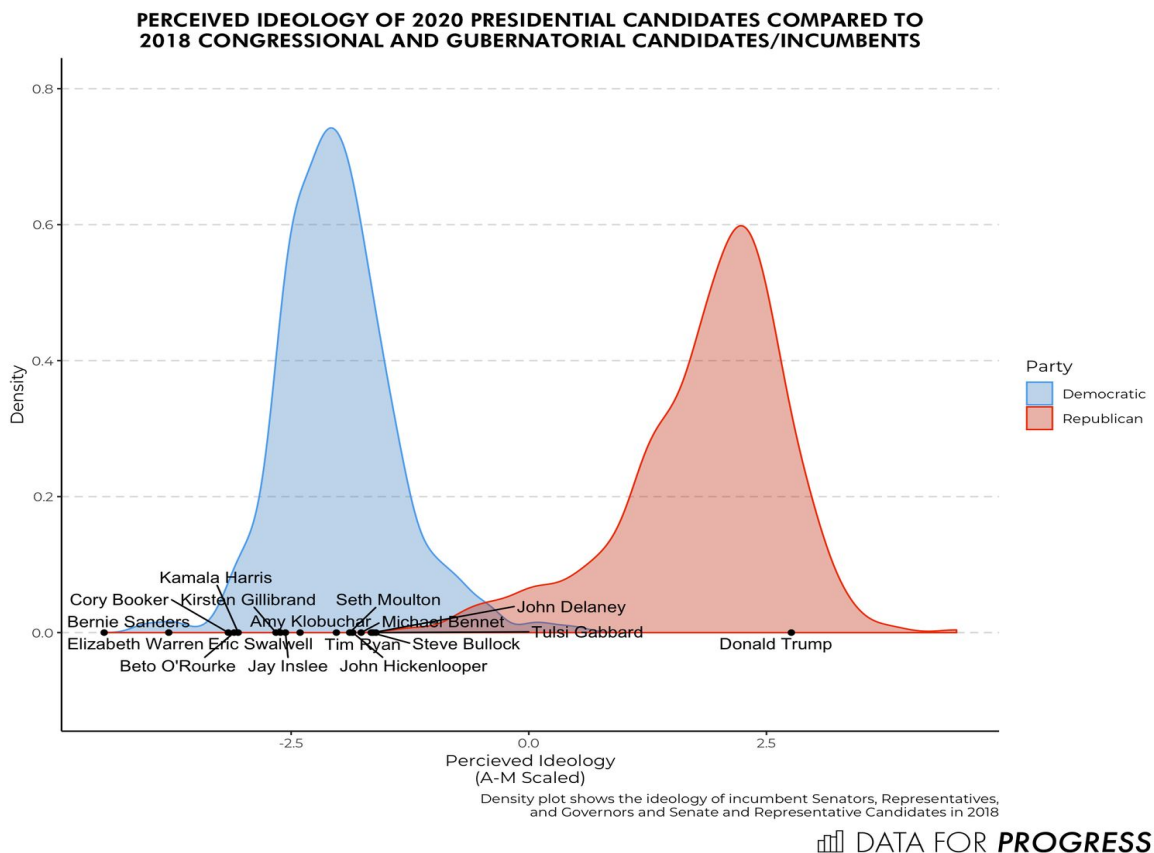
(Reuning, July 4th, 2019) [Table 2]

This graph indicates the position of the candidates of the US political parties, within a spectrum of political right and left ideological values. There is a generalized bell curve of both the Democratic (blue) and Republican (red) collective ideological notions.

Furthermore, depicting Trump on the far end of the spectrum of his respective party bell curve, indicates that he is on the far side of the generalized notions and values within the Republican party, its members and candidates.

In the 2020 election, the held political and ideological notions, and debates thereof, are rather extreme compared to previous elections.

Trump's manifested discursive ideological tendencies seem as the furthest political right held notions in any previous election. This is very interesting, as it indicates a large far-right support of Trump and his opinions by his supporters, and the fact that he was elected President. This could help depict the possible national and international, political, social, cultural, and economic perspectives, indicating certain interests and ideological notions within the American people in the election year of 2020.

Literature relating to the focus of the project

The focus of the project, (inquiring into Trump's represented ideologies) is constructed and derived through the application of a *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) of Trump's first campaign speech for his reelection.

An inductive analytical interpretative outcome of the CDA on the speech, will be made in order to perceive the underlying implicit ideological notions of the candidate. Furthermore, this will seek to depict the manifested topics of interests and agendas, indicating projected ideologies and values, of how the interest of the American people and the presidency could be managed.

The chosen literature used for the CDA is the transcribed speech of Trump.

- Trump's initial campaign speech for the 2020 presidential election, in Dallas Texas on the 17th of October 2019 (Rev- Oct 17, 2019)

In addition to the CDA of the transcribed speech, there will be a few analytical references to the content of the videotape itself. This concerns selected scenarios chosen for their appropriation towards the analysis, focusing on visual and audio feedback, like crowd reaction and the effects thereof. These references are taken into consideration when proven relevant for the analysis, regarding the social setting, reactions, support and feedback towards the discursive topics presented by Trump.

The fact that Trump's rally was in Dallas Texas, might have established influences on the overall setting and the crowds reception of the speech. This might not be the case, but it is worth being aware of, and therefore the CDA will incorporate a few elements related to some visual and auditory aspects of the video, and is therefore not *only* limited to the transcribed speech.

Since a speech is the oldest, most direct and common way for politicians to portray their ideologies, values, capabilities, vision, will and agenda, this seems like an ideal place to inquire into the current United States president's interests and perspectives. Despite Trump having influential speechwriters on his team, like Stephan Miller, it is to be expected that the speech is the most direct and vivid insight and formulated representation of the candidate's political interests, opinions, agendas and ideologies.
Meaning, that by analyzing the speech, one will gain a rather *defined* conceptuality and insight of the candidate's opinions within a broad spectrum of topics.

The choice of dealing with the first campaign speech of this candidate, is through the notion that the candidates are creating their initial self-established political sphere, meaning that each candidate has a perceived notion of reality (*ontology*) and agenda setting, and will attempt to portray, establish and convince the public through their

speeches, that *their* ideological and political conceptuality and knowledge (*epistemology*), is the most ideal for the people in the current 2020 election. This is to establish and define their approach, stance and support in the coming presidential election.

It is expected, that Trump will be presenting and outlining or indicating his political and presidential interests, agendas and ideology. Additionally, the social setting in which the candidate presents his speech and topics of discussion, and thus the manifestation of ideological agendas, further indicates and affects the manifestation of Trump's general relation to the topics of discussion.

It seems relevant to try and distinguish the ideological worldview, and further compare and delineate the notions surrounding certain topics, interests and agendas, in order to depict the ideological opinions of Trump, which are also representative of ideological opinions within his supporters and partly the American people. This is done to get a more clear understanding and perception of the defining ideological perspectives indicated by Trump, relating to the topics of concern and debate, amongst himself and possibly the American populace.
Thus *"... to be specific, it also explores the mental representation of discourse user, the production process and comprehension process of discourse, as well as the ideologies shared by society." Liu K.& Guo, F. 2016, p. 4)*. Both social and mental phenomena are investigated through a combined analytical approach, derived from mainly Teun Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Paul Chilton.

This is done in an attempt to conceptualize the generalized ideological notions, and to further arrive at a CDA of derived indications of the ideological values, held by the subcategorized society and supporters of the current US President.

Defining terms and scope of the project

Will be described/expanded further in theory/methods section.

The topics of ideological discussion, and thus ideological *differences*, will be perceived through different projected notions of interests, agenda, ideology and power. These will be analysed to arrive at an indication of the implicit understanding and projection of semantic relations, discursive formations, framing and modality of the speaker.

"Semantics are relations that exist between two (or more) meanings or concepts. A wide range of different types of semantic relations exist"
"Semantics relates to "the meaning and interpretation of words, signs, and sentence structure." (Baker and Ellece 2011 P. 125).
Semantics influence and determine our comprehension on *"... how we understand others, and even what decisions we make as a result of our interpretations."* (Baker and Ellece 2011 P. 125), and will thereby help perceive the underlying meaning and interpretation of concepts presented in the speech.

Modality are ways of expressing possibility (*epistemic modality*) or necessity (*deontic modality*) - *"...modal verbs often highlight power inequalities or ideology - deontic modality can be used to express authority, whereas epistemic modality can construct different representations of the world."* (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 71).
Thus implications of semantics and modality will help indicate the projected reality of the interests, agenda and ideology of Trump, and provide an underlying understanding and insight into topics such as; social and economic reform, taxes, the role of government, healthcare, gun control, immigration, abortion, environmental-, national- and international- policies, trade and regulation, the military, energy management and religion.

Outlining the current situation

A rather generalized pre-analytical categorization of Trump's interests and agenda, indicate that his ideological framework is located somewhat far-right on the political spectrum. This is indicated in Table 1 and through observations of his current

presidency, which help indicate and categorize notions and topics of a possible future ideological path of the US presidency.

A generalised pre-analytical objectively perceived notion of Trump's ideologies from different sources, depicts an extremist far-right wing authoritarian conservative nationalist capitalist with moderate tendencies. (Ahler & Broockman, 2015) (Reuning, July 4th, 2019).

Research on the ideological projection (depicted in Table 1 and 2) of the Republican presidential candidate, is necessary in order to depict ideological perspectives on topics, agendas and problems of discussion, and how perspectives and postulations of those topics are presented, in order to depict the definition of the opinions, interests, agendas and ideology of the US president.

Identifying the importance of the proposed research

The situation in the American presidential election, prior to the COVID-19 situation and aftermath, relating to the presidential candidates and the people, seem very divided.
So much so, that the election might become a clash of opposing far-left and far-right values, as there seem to have been a growing partisan divide among the two American political parties, as well as the different people and supporters. This is depicted by the support of Trump to the far-right and a wide support of Bernie Sanders to the far-left, before Sanders suspended his campaign for the presidency, as a result of the COVID pandemic and and a larger support for Biden, internal in the Democratic party.

"... Political polarization – the vast and growing gap between liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats – is a defining feature of American politics today, and one the Pew Research Center has documented for many years." (2020 Pew Research Center).

The aftermath of this election with divided oppositional political values, will have further ideological and existential outcomes and effects on the American people. The topics, opinions and agendas of Trumps ideology, will be more vividly defined through the CDA, thereby helping depict more interrelating and defining aspects of his ideological implications.

The outcome of this research will help to illustrate and define the political agendas and ideology, portrayed specifically by Trump, but thereby also his representative supporters. Furthermore, this gives insight into the topics of interest and opposition, depicting Trump's ideological interpretations and responses to these topics of debate, thus getting an indication of how he defines his perspective within these topics and ideological defining areas of interest. This should make it possible to postulate Trump's notions and opinions on what political values he thinks should determine the future of the nation and its people, and how far right it might be. Therefore the problem of interest will be centered around the ideological perspectives of Donald Trump as portrayed and represented by himself, in his first speech for reelection.

The USA is a democratic republic which organizes voters in a dominant two-party system, with possible independent third party creations.
The Republican philosophy is categorized as conservative *right-leaning*, with notions of minimum taxation for all, and maximum free market, increased military spending, government regulations held at a minimum, private healthcare, and *"... social and human ideas* (ideology) *is based on rights and justice for the individual"*. (Appendix 1)
The democratic philosophy is liberal and *left-leaning*, with notions of a minimum wage and progressive taxation, with the belief held around government regulation being a necessity to protect consumers (individuals and groups). They want to decrease military spending and support government-managed universal health care. Their social and humanistic ideas (ideology) is *"... based on community and social responsibility."* (Appendix 1)

So in general *"Republican philosophy leans more towards individual freedoms, rights and responsibilities. In contrast, Democrats attach greater importance to equality and social/community responsibility."* (Appendix 1)

Problem Formulation:

The ***problem formulation*** of this master thesis sets out to explore the following;
"What ideologies are represented?
And how are they discursively portrayed and manifested?"

Furthermore, it aims to get an insight of the following:
"Are there salient ideological frameworks, opinions and perspectives of the candidate? If so, what are the discursively dominant framed political ideologies of interest?"

The research objectives are to analyze, identify, and reflect upon the ideological perspectives, issues and power factors, at the center focus and interest of Donald Trump in the 2020 US presidential election. Conceptual indicators for categorizing these ideological discursive manifestations, made by Trump in the speech, will more precisely assess the projected notions of ideology.

Aims and objectives of the research

The objectives of the research, are attempting to define and correlate the ideological perceptions of Trump, the 2020 Republican presidential candidate, through the dominating and ideological defining topics of debate, such as;

- social and economic reform, taxes, trade, the role of government, healthcare, gun control, military and homeland security, immigration, abortion, the news media, environmental-, national- and international- policy and regulation.

In order to arrive at an analytically derived indication trough manifested discourse of the ideological values and agenda/power struggles, that the American people, politicians and government seem to be undertaking.

Here the attempt will be to depict the generalized tendency of the candidate's projected ideologies, as probably being indicative, insinuating and/or declaratively defined within categorizations of political ideologies. In relation to the possible held ideological notions and representation of political interests/power relations, and as indicated in Table 1 and 2, quite possibly at the far-right ends of the political ideology spectrum. This could, through the notion of representative democracy, indicate a possible widening of the American people's opinions, and possibly their ideological identification.

The analytical approach of CDA does not hold hypothesis as an analytical *goal*, but progresses and follows the informative notions of the portrayed discourse, to arrive at and depict social power and ideology dynamics.

Thus it should be noted that this is not a hypothesis, but a *possible tendency* to be aware of. Through the selected theories and tools from CDA, it should be possible to get a more clear and defining indication of what the represented ideologies are. This is interesting, as it could help delineate topics of power and ideology within the agenda of the candidate, so as to perceive current tendencies of US political identification, ideology, interests and power dynamics. Furthermore, this could possibly also contribute with a representative categorization of ideological topics and problematics, simmering in the American political paradigm. This will be done

through implied ideological values within the discourse of the speech, by identifying and analyzing underlying notions of the following: pronoun/vocabulary use, inclusion vs exclusion, frames, *Ethos*, *Logos* & *Pathos*, modality, metaphors, comparisons, established/imagined communities, nationalist discourse, oppositional discourse, persuasion, coercion, legitimation, naturalisation, presumptions and positive vs. negative self and other representation.

The order of progression

The informational order and progression of the thesis are as follows.

- Following the introduction, an outlining and precision of the problem formulation is presented.
- Then a literature review and reflection on the existing debates surrounding Critical Discourse Analysis and its notions of being a relevant analytical tool.
- From here follows the explanation and definition of appropriate theories and methods chosen for the analysis.
- Then a brief explanation of the background and setting of the analysis, before beginning the Critical Discourse Analysis of Trump's campaign speech.
- The outcome of the analysis is then used in a discussion, relating to the explanation of the candidate's identified ideological standpoints.
- Conclusive elements are derived from the discussion.

Literature review

The concept of discourse is fundamentally defined by specialized scholars in the field and as quoted by Van Dijk: "... *CDA is a type of discourse analytic research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context … and thus wants to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality." (T. Van Dijk, p1-2)*

CDA is *"a new branch of modern linguistic researches rose abroad in recent years, aims to reveal the interrelationship among language, ideology and power."* (Liu & Guo. 2016 p.1)

It does so by analyzing implicit notions of discourse like, *"... formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject."* (Merriam, "discourse" 2020), which is basically any communicative expression. It is further a *"... mode of organizing knowledge, ideas or experience that is rooted in language and its concrete* (social*) context (such as history or institutions)."* (Merriam,"discourse", 2020)

One of the main forefathers of today's CDA is the French philosopher, historian, sociologist, and activist Michel Foucault. Influenced by G. W. Friedrich Hegel, Martin Heidegger, and Friedrich Nietzsche (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 1-5).

Foucault's philosophies and theories of the interrelationship between power, knowledge and discourse, became influential notions and a stepping stone for the following scholars to reverse-engineer, systematize and further these perceptions on discourse, to arrive at CDA and critical studies as know today. (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p.167,)

The word *'critical'* is a result of the development and departure from more detailed and descriptive oriented goals of discourse, into analysis and focus of *why* and *how* features are produced.

"... The term 'critical' therefore principally means unraveling or 'denaturalizing' expressed in discourse and revealing how power structures are constructed in and through discourse." (Simpson & Mayr, 2010 p. 51,).

Additional critical development of the concept of discourse arose in 1989, through an in-depth reflective and critical approach to the manifestation, notions, and organization of discourse. This was further observed, examined and postulated by Fairclough; *"... taking social practice and different types of context into account"*,

further stating that *"... language is used to create, maintain and challenge power relations and ideologies"* (Baker & Ellece, 2011 p. 167)

Common to all the following scholar's CDA approaches is "... *the view of language as a means of social construction: language both shapes and is shaped by society.*" (Simpson & Mayr, 2010 p. 51,). Thus the theories and methodology adaptation is of the social constructivist ideology. CDA is *"... probably the most comprehensive attempt to develop a theory of interconnectedness of discourse, power ideology, and social structure."* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010 p. 51)

This CDA approach was also a further development of the critical linguistic notions brought forth by Fowler and Kress:

> "... *Kress believes that CDA is a kind of linguistic instrument, which should be used and can be applied to practical discourse analysis situations, e.g. the analysis of popular discourse. In this period, through the employment of the analytical method of social and linguistic analysis, Roger fowler, Gunther Kress, and many other critical linguists conducted a series of researches on how discourse functions in both the political process and the ideological process*." (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 2).

This fairly new theoretical approach to organizing and analyzing underlying knowledge, ideas, and expressions of thoughts and concepts within many fields, has become a widely utilized theory and methodology for critical in-depth analysis within multiple social constructions. Thus, it has become a broad and malleable interdisciplinary approach for critical theoretical and methodological discourse analysis, and spans the fields of psychology, sociology, ethnography, cultural studies, mass media etc. resulting in the following statement; *"... there are no homogeneous version of CDA."* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010 p. 51). Rather, it is a spectrum of approaches which can overlap and supplement each other within different fields and attempts of specialized analysis. Basically, it has potential relevance within all humanity studies and has parallel as well as different

developmental approaches across different fields of study.

> *"... Through the surface level of language form, CDA aims to reveal the influence of the ideology on discourse, the counteractive influence of discourse on the ideology, and how the two elements derive from and serve for social structure and power relations … it aims at revealing the relationship between language, ideology and power."* (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 1).
>
> *"... critical discourse analysis stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice. All social practices are tied to specific historical contexts and are means by which excising social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served.*" (Janks, H.(N.D.) p.1)

Approaches and techniques for discourse analysis are plenty and can vary greatly. CDA attempts to distance itself by being critical to all social orders and relations, even the conceptual notions/perspective of social order itself is momentarily maintained, in order *"to raise people's consciousness towards exploitative social relations"* (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 2) This implies a constant critical reflection of different perspectives, depicting multiple possible causes and connections which are hidden. The exposure of hidden ideas is important, as they have implicit influences and effects that cannot be identified and responded to by all individuals. By not being obvious and understandable for all people involved, the language and the expressed concepts thereof can have subconscious, implicit and unexpected effects of persuasion on unsuspecting and inexperienced individuals and audiences.

> *"... The term critical therefore principally means unraveling or 'denaturalizing' ideologies expressed in discourse and revealing how power structures are constructed in and through discourse."* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p. 51).

Thus challenging reductionism, dogmatism, and dichotomies.
By analyzing opaque and transparent social discrepancies and structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control, as manifested

through discourse. CDA attempts to arrive at not only a *description* and *interpretation* of the discourse in the given context, but also offers a possible *explanation* of *why* and *how* the discourse works. (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018 p. 12). The primary fundamental aim of critical discourse is to reveal and represent the interrelationship between language, ideology, and power. This fundamental notion might seem broadly defined, but there are further developments of approaches within critical discourse, relating to the different fields and their focuses of analysis.

Theory

Some of the foundational theorists within the critical discourse field of study are; Fairclough, Wadok, Van Dijk and Chilton, all of whom have been inspired and further developed the philosophical conceptual understandings of Foucault's concepts of power and knowledge. (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 3-6), (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018, p. 14-16). Fairclough subcategorization and focus is on the textual and spoken oriented discourse analysis of social semiotics, systemic functional linguistics, and defines language as a social practice affected by power relations; *"... Fairclough claims that through analyzing language, its ultimate purpose is to raise people's consciousness towards exploitative social relations."* (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 2).

> *"By critical discourse analysis, I mean analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between*
> *(a) discursive practices, events and texts, and*
> *(b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes;*
> *to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power, and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony."* (Amoussou & Allegbe, 2018, p. 13).

Fairclough theorized and developed a theoretical and methodological approach to CDA, known as the *'Three-Dimensional Approach'* suggesting there are three embedded dimensions of discourse:

1: Text   (*Description*)

2: Discursive practice   (*Interpretation*)

3: Social practice   (*Explanation*)

These three stages of discourse have another three underlying sub-categorizations of analytical assertion:

1: *Description*, 2: *Interpretation*, and 3: *Explanation*.

> *"... In other words, the relation between social practice and text is mediated by the discursive practice through production, distribution, and consumption … Fairclough also distinguishes the three steps or stages along with the three dimensions of discourse when conducting studies with the theory of CDA, which are; (1) the description stage, (2) the interpretation stage, and (3) the explanation stage. He argues that when dealing with CDA:*
> *-The first step is to describe the formal and structural characteristics of the text,*
> *- while to interpret the connections between text and interaction follows,*
> *- and to explain the connections between interaction and social context comes as the last step."* (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 3).

Wadok's critical discourse approach is focused and placed within the historical context (including society and politics) of the analytical circumstances (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 4).

> *"Wodak's definition of discourse is similar with that of Fairclough. (Appendix 2) She argues that language both in speaking and written form is a kind of social practice"..."One of the distinguishing features that set the historical-discourse analysis approach apart from other approaches is, it's emphasizing on the historical contexts of discourse in the explaining and interpreting process."*

The notion of the historical setting being important is part of most CDA scholars.

Wodak's notions will not be dominantly used as they are fundamentally supportive and similar to Fairclough. (Appendix 2)

Van Dijk's approach to CDA is emphasizing the analysis within a social cognitive approach of textual and cognitive-linguistic discourses. Regarding discourse as a communicative event and a developmental pattern of a variety of meanings.

> *"... this approach creatively introduces the study of cognition into the analytical studies in the field of CDA by exploring the interrelationship between cognitive phenomenon and discourse structures, as well as social structures ...*
> *He argues that Critical Discourse (Analysis)(Study) combines various methods and ideas from psychology, critical linguistics, social sciences and humanities, thus it is not only a method … the so-called Social Cognition Approach is not simply restricted to the social and cognitive studies. To be specific, it also explores the mental representation of discourse user, the production process and comprehension process of discourse, as well as the ideologies shared by society … both social and mental phenomena are investigated through his analytical approach."* (Liu & Guo, 2016 p. 4).

> *"... The cognitive approach considers political discourse as necessarily a product of individual and collective mental processes. It seeks to show how knowledge of politics, political discourse and political ideologies involves storage in long-term memory (as personal or 'episodic' memory and social (or 'semantic') memory). (Chilton, 2005, p. 51).*

Chilton's approach to CDA is based upon the three previous scholars theories, and furthermore he goes into theoretical aspects of political discourse through:
social semiotics and systemic functional linguistics (Fairclough), historical context of society and politics (Wadok) and social cognitive approaches (van Dijk). Chilton's *"Analysing Political Discourse' is a must for anyone interested in the way language is used in the world of politics. Invoking Aristotle's idea that we are all political animals, able to use language to pursue our own ends, the book uses the theoretical*

framework of linguistics to explore the ways in which we think and behave politically."
(Chilton, 2004, preface)

Thus the analytical framework of theses notions, theories and methods developed by the four scholars mentioned above, will be used to explore represented cognition of interests, agendas and ideologies, and how they are discursively portrayed and manifested (socially, historically, politically) within the speech, through;

- Fairclough: to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between,
(a)discursive practices, events and texts, and
(b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power (Amoussou & Allegbe, 2018, p. 13).
- Van Dijk: *"... the so-called Social Cognition Approach is not simply restricted to the social and cognitive studies. To be specific, it also explores the mental representation of discourse user, the production process and comprehension process of discourse, as well as the ideologies shared by society … both social and mental phenomena are investigated through his analytical approach."* (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 4).
- Wadok: the historical-discourse analysis approach apart from other approaches is it's emphasis on the historical contexts of discourse in the explaining and interpretation process (Appendix 2)
- Chilton: "The cognitive approach considers political discourse as necessarily a product of individual and collective mental processes. It seeks to show how knowledge of politics, political discourse and political ideologies involves storage in long-term memory (as personal or 'episodic' memory and social (or 'semantic') memory)" (P. Chilton 2004 p. 66)

The combined theoretical methodology of these four scholars, creates an analytical framework of depicting and examining the discursively represented and projected

cognitive notions of political ideologies by the current US president, Donald Trump.

Ontology and Epistemology

With this CDA approach, the theoretical and methodological foundation and framework consist of a post-structuralist, relativistic, phenomenological, social constructivist <u>ontology (nature of being/reality)</u>, where

> "... *social meanings are continuously negotiated and contested through language and discourse … Meanings are not eternally fixed but are externally constructed and can thus shift over time",* thereby indicating that *"... individuals hold multiple, changing and interacting identity traits (social class, age, gender, sexuality, ethnicity)."* (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p.98).

Simplified it can be expressed as *"... phenomenology is the study of structures of consciousness as experienced from the first-person point of view."* (Stanford 2020). Therefore the dominant notion of the ontology is *relativistic*, meaning that the individual cognitive construction of the nature of being and the nature of knowledge is relative, malleable and subject to influences and manipulation of external perceptions and ideologies, i.e. persuasion and coercion of authorative politicians. This is what this CDA approach sets out to explore; the interests and agenda lying behind relativistic perspectives and understandings, used to persuade the individual and social meaning making through the speaker's relativistic and phenomenological presented topics.

> "... *Realism and relativism represent two polarised perspectives on a continuum between objective reality at one end and multiple realities on the other. Both positions are problematic for qualitative research. Adopting a realist position ignores the way the researcher constructs interpretations of the findings and assumes that what is reported is a true and faithful interpretation of a knowable and independent reality. Relativism leads to the conclusion that nothing can ever be known for definite, that there are multiple realities, none having*

precedence over the other in terms of claims to represent the truth about social phenomena." (Andrews, 2012,)

This further indicates the post-structuralist rejection of a text having a single true analytical meaning, but rather attempts to "... *highlight the 'diverse viewpoints, contradictory voices and fragmented messages' that are represented in spoken data."* (Baker & Ellece, 2011 p.98). This is relevant to the theoretical and methodological ontology and epistemology foundation of the analysis, as the notion of a positivistic, realist and structuralist analytical notion would postulate that there is one absolute truth to derive from the analysis of the speech, whereas the analytic foundation and outcome of a social constructivist, relativistic, post-structuralist notion of reality and knowledge results in a multitude of possible resulting interpretations, perspectives and truths derived from the CDA. Thus depending on the phenomenological varying perspective of the analyst, resulting in a multitude of analytical outcomes and realities. The ontological composition supports and is conceptually and functionally very similar (supportive) to the epistemological notions within social constructivism.

Social constructivism is "... *concerned with how knowledge is constructed and understood"* and it *"... views society as existing both as objective and subjective reality…"* and *"... places great emphasis on everyday interactions between people and how they use language to construct their reality."* (Andrews, 2012).

Thus social constructivism is the foundational epistemology (theory of knowledge) of this thesis, hence stating that we understand our world through our *interpretation* of it, which is determined and situated within social, cultural, historical and cognitive circumstances. We understand and *"... interpret the world through the discourse that are available to us. Social interaction, especially linguistic interaction,* (which is relativistic and phenomenological) *is seen as having the greatest influence on how our versions of reality are shaped."* (Baker & Ellece, 2011 p.135).

This basically means that our individual and collective realities are constructed through *shared social discourse*, thus new understandings and constructions of realities are constantly developed, which brings forth the notion of malleable ideologies and agendas to affect these ideological perceptions. This relates to the inquiry of the thesis, examining the projected persuasions of reality constructs of the political speaker, and thus their interest of influencing the malleable ideologies of the audience. In this case it relates to and illustrates the persuasive agendas of the discursively constructed ideologies of Trump.

This supports the notion that an interpretation and reinterpretation of realities is possible, for instance by depicting implicit notions/agendas/interactions etc. within the discursively shaped reality. Thus the ontology and epistemology follow Fairclough's analytical approach which assumes that language help create knowledge and reality, and changes thereof, which means that it can be used to change individual and collective behavior and ideologies, invoking the ancient notion of '*knowledge is power'* i.e. the ability to manipulate knowledge, and thereby construct realities.

Furthermore it follows the theoretical ontological and epistemological notion of van Dijk, who puts great emphasis on the socio-cognitive approach, which focuses on the mental representation and comprehension process of discourse, relating to the social constructivist phenomena of meaning-making and ideology constructions. Thus language becomes a tool of power, relating to the creation and manipulation of conscious concepts of knowledge and realities.

> *"... While critical discourse analysis attempts to uncover the ideologies which contribute to the production and reproduction of power, it also has a political aim: It looks for how a discourse limits our understanding of the world (i.e. function as an ideology) but also for how they contain several competing discourses and therefore the possibility of dominant ideologies to be contested. Ideology is understood to be embedded in discursive practice, and discourses to be more or less ideological, where the ideological discourses are those*

which contribute to maintaining (or establishing) a power relation." (Pedersen, 2009 p. 6).

"... suggesting that political actors themselves are well aware of the importance of how language is used." (Chilton, 2004, p. 31).

A foundational notion of CDA and this thesis, is that *consciousness* and *agency* are based on a social constructivist, ontology, epistemology and ideology of the individual and collective people. This is a great and discursively malleable notion of power, and there are therefore constant attempts to persuade the collective consciousness by individuals or collectives for their own gain. This is where the interest, inquiry and analysis of this thesis lies, in order to display utilized manipulation of power and further perceive these notions in relation to implicit notion of power and ideology.

- Thus, the analysis will attempt to depict, unravel and display interests relating to the agenda and perceived agency of Trump.
- In order to portray discursively projected intentions of power and implied interests and agenda constructions onto the audience.
- As it is questions pertaining to projected interests onto the audience that relate discourse (and persuasion thereof) to identifiable power and ideology definitions.
- So analysing the topics and positions of the candidate's interests/agenda and attempts of political persuasion and influence, in order to gain political support and power, will depict the candidate's own ideological frame of knowledge and reality reference.

Power in *"... discourse are ways of representing and constructing reality so that power relations are constructed, maintained, and contested via discourse … it is because of the link to discourse that power relations are never static."* Thus malleable by people in power of establishing/influencing collective and individual

realities. *"... Critical Discourse Analysts have tended to focus on how disciplinary power is created, maintained and challenged… "* so as to depict and give agency and power to the individuals, *"... resulting in a shift of power relations as well as social change… "* both relating to individual notions, but also socially political constructions of agency and power relating to reality (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology).

Methodology

Identifying, analyzing and describing central aspects of the speech will be executed through a fusion of methods within the practice of CDA, consisting of an appropriate selection of the four main scholars' theories and methods, in order to reveal and categorize influences of ideology and power structures.

The main approaches are consistent of Fairclough, Van Dijk's and their analytical framework of theories and methods as portrayed above, and will be taken into use on the transcribed speeches. This is supported by Chiltons categorised terminology and conceptual framework for identifying and analysing political discourse and dynamics of agenda and ideology (Amoussou & Allegbe, 2018 p. 1-8), (T. Van Dijk, 1) (Chilton, 2004, 42-65)

Van Dijk's methods will help identify concepts and ideas embedded within the discourse of the speech, relating to implicit interests and agendas, which might indicate perspectives of ideology and power. In order to perceive what these concepts express and represent it will be "... *exploring the interrelationship between cognitive phenomenon and discourse structures, as well as social structures.*" (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 4). Fairclough's method of the 3 dimensions of discourse will be used to further perceive *how* and possibly *why* certain depicted patterns of ideology and disciplinary power within the speeches emerge as the do. Chilton's notions of strategic use of lexical mechanisms, relating to political discourse, will further

delineate and focus the inquiry and analysis of the speaker's representations of political ideology.

Simplified, this means that Fairclough and Van Dijk's methodological approach along with Chiltons categorized terminology for analysing interests, agendas and ideology will be used to compliment each other analytically and theoretically.

So in the initial micro-level of analysis, as Van Dijk calls it, will focus on language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication (Chilton, 2004, pp. 16-27). This will be supported by the first level of Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse, namely *'description (text analysis)'* (see "stage 1" page 26), which is also concerned with formal properties of the text.

Then the analysis will move on to Van Dijks notion of macro-level, to initiate the first depictions of the speech dealing with interests, agenda, power, dominance, and ideology, which is supported by Faircloughs second dimension of discourse, namely; *'interpretation of (discourse practice)'* (see "stage 2" page 28) the relationship between text and interaction, where text is a product of a (production) process, and a resource in the process of interpretation.

Then Van Dijk's ideological indications of positive self presentation and negative other presentation, further depicted in his ideological square model, will be supported by Faircloughs third dimension of discourse, namely, *'explanation (of sociocultural practice)'* ("stage 3" below) looking into relationships between interaction and social context, examining the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their conceptual social effects. This simply means that a reflective analysis, of the discursively perceived and projected sociocultural cognitive meaning making of Trump, will be examined. It will then be further perceived and explained through implicit notions of socio-cultural ideological positions of interests, of discursive constructions and perspectives of topics, which influence the individual and collective notions of reality and knowledge, and thereby also ideology (Liu & Guo, 2016, pp. 2-3).

The three dimensions model of discourse and discourse analysis:

Stage 1 - Description: is the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text.

Stage 2 - Interpretation: is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing the text as a product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation.
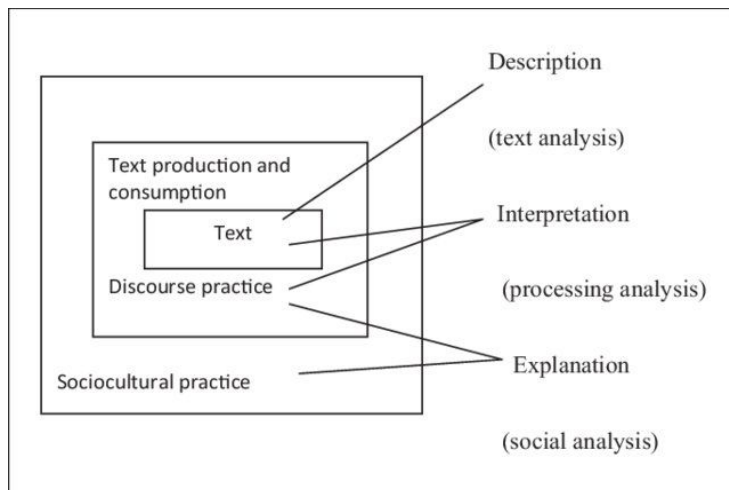
Stage 3 - Explanation: is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects (Toolan, 2002, p. 27), (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p. 54), (Liu & Guo, 2016, pp. 2-3). Van Dijk's ideological square model will be additionally useful for identifying implicit linguistic semantic and ideological distinctions.

The Ideological square model:
Emphasize our good things
Emphasize their bad things
De-emphasize our bad things
De-emphasize their good things
(Fairclough, 2014, p. 10)

	Positive	Negative
Us	Accentuate our positives	Minimize our negatives
Them	Minimize their positives	Accentuate their negatives

A mixture of these theories and methods will be used to find central social, cultural, historical, cognitive and political issues and values, in order to investigate the production, maintenance and/or change of these perspectives and agendas, and

how they affect power and social relations, as well as how and why they manifest certain ideologies.

Since this thesis is focused on the speech of a prominent American politician, running for the American presidency, it seems obvious that one fundamental approach is within the area of political discourse (a more specific subcategory of CDA). A specialized CDA linguist within this area is Chilton, who utilizes the theories and methods of his predecessors, when dealing with mainly political discourse. Chilton has developed the theories and methods of CDA somewhat further, as he has focused the theories, methods, and tools of CDA within the realm of politics, which is why he will serve as a further support to the methodological approach, where his more categorised conceptual terminology will help focus the analysis and interpret the outcome. Based of his book 'Analysing Political Discourse, Theory and Practice'. (Chilton, 2004).

The concept of 'political processes' does not only have the politicians as the active characters, but also includes the individual, the public, the citizens, social organizations, and other categorized recipients. Furthermore, these are also *"actively and increasingly engaged in what has been described as 'subpolitics'."* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p. 42). Since the ancient times of Plato, there have been a mistrust of politicians, and it has been known that they "... *use persuasive and manipulative rhetoric to deceive the public"* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p. 43), and also through the use of propaganda via mass media in order to *"manufacture consent"*, and *"persuade their audience of the validity of their claims"* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p. 43). Certain selected discursive analytical aspects might be focused on more than others, depending on the depicted topics and outcomes of the speech. This progression of dealing with the analytical outcome in order to proceed further, is a result of an inductive approach to the research material. The inductive approach deals with conceptual observations and examples in order to depict and perceive a derived generalised pattern/paradigm, from which a theoretical discussion can be produced. Hence, this CDA thesis will be using inductive reasoning in its analysis. (Bradford, 2017)

As defined by Chilton, some of the discursive tools and concepts employed to achieve and analytically perceive these goals of political ideology persuasion, are the use of;

- Vocabulary, which has an immense importance for the impact, reception, and effect of speeches. There is a conscious power in the knowledge and awareness of the effect of chosen words, both within the speaker and the receiver. Therefore appropriate attention should be given to the vocabulary use, i.e. *how are words used to show ideology? How are adjectives, overwording, synonyms, antonyms, and hyponyms used to construct semantic ideology perspectives?* (Amoussou & Allegbe, 2018, p. 16).

- Implication *"... enables political actors to convey more than they say in so many words."* (Chilton, 2004, p. 52), and *"... information which is implied in a statement…"* is *" … what is suggested but not formally expressed … the hearer must take context into account in order to decode the implicature…"* and *"... the implicatures we make do not necessarily have to reflect truths."* (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p.59) demanding the question *"... which implicit and deductible information is based on the pragmatic context?"* (Amoussou & Allegbe, 2018, p. 16).

- Coercion: *"... Less obvious forms of coerced behaviour consist of speech roles which people find difficult to evade or may not even notice … Political actors also often act coercively through language in setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and others in specific relationships, making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept in order to process the text or talk. Power can also be exercised through controlling others' use of language."* (Chilton, 2004, p. 60).
(continued) *"... Identifying coercive strategies is heavily dependent on interpretation … it uses rhetorical mechanisms that seek to persuade. Even*

the strategy of legitimising/ delegitimising, together with the 'rightness' validity claim, can be seen as part of coercion"..."two kinds of coercion in the analysis, one forcing emotional responses, the other cognitive responses."..."Emotive coercion, we may speculate, can occur when certain vocabulary or certain propositions receive mental representations that are in some way linked (neurologically, in fact) to emotion centres of the brain (the limbic system). For instance, some kind of fearful response may be stimulated by such terms as 'urgency', 'national danger' and 'evil', terms which are dispersed through the text." (Chilton, 2004, p. 133).

- Legitimation and delegitimation: *"... The legitimation function is closely linked to coercion, because it establishes the right to be obeyed, that is, 'legitimacy"..."* techniques used include arguments about voters' wants, general ideological principles, charismatic leadership projection, boasting about performance and positive self-presentation. Delegitimation is the essential counterpart: others (foreigners, 'enemies within', institutional opposition, unofficial opposition) have to be presented negatively"* (Chilton, 2004, p. 61). *"... Legitimising vocabulary and emotively coercive vocabulary often seem to go hand in hand."* (Chilton, 2004. P. 134).

- Representation and misrepresentation: *"... Political control involves the control of information, which is by definition a matter of discourse control … Qualitative misrepresentation is simply lying, in its most extreme manifestation"..."Implicit meanings of various types also constitute a means of diverting attention from troublesome referents. Representing a reality is one of the obvious functions of discourse (language)."* (Chilton, 2004, p. 61).
These terms are further supported by Van Dijk's *'ideological square'*, which further goes into the interests and agenda of ideology implicit in political representation and misrepresentation.
The 3 terms above; Coercion, legitimation/delegitimization, representation/misrepresentation

"*These three strategic functions are interconnected in practice.*" (P. Chilton 2004 p. 61)

- Denotation: *"... In semantics, the branch of linguistics and philosophy that seeks to understand the nature of 'meaning', it is possible to approach 'meaning', whatever it is, as if it were entirely separate from context."..."* the meanings of words, of sentences and of discourses are in the mind, not objectively given"..."The investigation of how mental representations are built up during the process of communication requires looking into many different aspects of the linguistic structure"... it "has to do with actors and processes in the worlds we construct." (Chilton, 2004, p. 65), and the implicit interest of how and why they are constructed in certain ways.

- Frames "... *are theoretical constructs, having some cognitive, ultimately, neural reality. In terms of their content, frames can be thought of as structures related to the conceptualisation of situation types and their expression in language"..."The properties include cultural knowledge about such things as status, value, physical make-up. Certain properties specify prototypical roles in relation to other entities"* (Chilton, 2004, p. 66).

- Metaphor *"... has long been recognised as important in political rhetoric."..."The standard cognitive account stresses that metaphor is a part of human conceptualisation"..."Political concepts involving leadership and political action conceptualised by movement or journey metaphors."... "A further important point about the cognitive theory of metaphor is that metaphorical mappings, which are usually unconscious, are used for reasoning, about target domains that are ill understood, vague or controversial. This is so because the source domains are intuitively understood and have holistic structure, so that if one part is accepted other parts follow.* (Chilton, 2004, p. 67).

- Discourse worlds: *"... Analysing the argument nominals in a text or stretch of talk provides the set of elements – the referents – that are posited in the utterer's discourse world. By 'discourse world' here I mean the mental space entertained by the utterer as 'real'. "..."Discourse consists of coherent chains of propositions which establish a 'discourse' 'world', or 'discourse ontology' – in effect, the 'reality' that is entertained by the speaker, or meta-represented by speaker as being someone else's believed reality. There are various meaning ingredients that go into these discourse realities, but the essential one is the projection of 'who does what to whom, when and where'."* (Chilton, 2004, p. 69).

- Pronouns *"... are one class of words that can perform deictic functions. For example, in political discourse the first person plural (we, us, our) can be used to induce interpreters to conceptualise group identity, coalitions, parties, and the like, either as insiders or as outsiders. Social indexicals arise from social structure and power relations"* (Chilton, 2004, p. 71).

- Inexplicit meaning: *"... Meaning is not always expressed in explicit form, nor indeed is it always possible to do so. It is important to remember that meaning is not 'contained' in words"..."* rather meaning is constructed by human minds on the basis of language"..."it is people who produce utterances, and they have some degree of choice in how exactly they prompt their hearers to construct the mental representations they would like them to construct. That is to say, speakers have a degree of choice in the wording and phrasing that prompts hearers to experience particular meanings. Analysts of political language-in-use need to raise some of these meaning packaging processes to consciousness."* (Chilton, 2004, p. 76).

- Presumptions *"... call up knowledge bases already held in long-term memory, as well as short-term memory of the ongoing speech context"..."* the idea that utterances are produced on the expectation that the anticipated hearers share

some common ground with respect to the claims and conceptualisations."
"... many of these 'claims' are implicit or presumed" (Chilton, 2004, p. 80).

- Ethos, Logos and Pathos: *"Ethos, the ethical appeal, means to convince an audience of the author's credibility or character. Pathos, the emotional appeal, means to persuade an audience by appealing to their emotions. Logos, the appeal to logic, means to convince an audience by use of logic or reason."* (pathosethoslogos.com/2015).
Notions of persuasion of Ethos, through presented ethical credibility and agenda of Trump; Pathos, through appealing to emotions of danger and threats to the ingroup manifesting unified engagement and will; and Logos, through the logic persuasion, will be referred to when appropriate, in order to depict the perceived notions of the speaker and how these notions are used to affect the audience.

- Doublespeak, *"is language designed to evade responsibility, make the unpleasant appear pleasant, the unattractive appear attractive* [or vice versa]*, basically it is language that pretends to communicate, but really doesn't. It is language designed to mislead while pretending not to...We should be aware of it, so that we can at least be defensive...and not be mislead. There are times where we simply cannot tolerate this language, when we talk about important public issues of national policy, we should not use doublespeak"..."language that way can be terribly corrupting in a society and can mislead all of us, and in a democracy that depends on the active participation of its citizens, it can lead to cynicism and resentment, and a withdrawal from the political process."* ((00:00) William Lutz 2014)

Additional concepts that might indicate analytical depiction of ideology and power in the speech are:

- Mood & Modality: enactment of mood? (Declarative, Imperative or Interrogative?) which values express choices of modality?

- <u>Topicality</u>: initial/foregrounded focus of topics? Interaction control features: control of topics? opening/closing of interactions?
- <u>Vagueness:</u> are there unclear expressions and information?
  (Amoussou & Allegbe, 2018, p. 16).

Other strategic language terms which may be useful in the analysis, indicating notions of interests, agenda and ideology in discourse are:
<u>Parallelism</u>, <u>Opposition,</u> <u>Similes</u>, <u>Imagined Communities</u>, <u>Nationalist Discourse,</u> <u>Prejudiced Discourse</u>, <u>Recontextualization</u>, as well as <u>Social- : -Actor, -Cohesion, -Identity, -Practic</u>e (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, pp. 42-57).

It is the questions pertaining to explicit/inexplicit interests and agenda, that relate discourse to relations of power and discursive formations/worlds, which leads to indications of ideology, by the interest and outcome of how and why power relations are established in the context. Thus there will be a focus on finding the central social and political issues and how/why the production, maintenance and/or change of these issues, affect power and ideological relations, and the control thereof. Thus the theoretical and methodological framework of Fairclough and van Dijk will progress with support of the categorised terminology of Chilton, using the analytical tools mentioned above along with the underlying analytical inquiry into how and why the discursive interest, agendas and topics are perceived and defined as they are. Hence, there is an underlying analytical focus of the following:

- *How is the text and topics positioned?*
- *What interests are served and established by the positioning?*
- *Whose interests are neglected?*
- *What are the consequences of the positioning?*
- *What does this positioning and perspective indicate in relation to underlying interests, agenda and thus ideology?*

This evaluation of the presentation, framing and persuasion of (ideological) interests will be done through inter-discursive inductive CDA practices, to try to uncover

possible hidden strategies of linguistic formulations, depicting relational and contextual insights of interests and agenda, in order to conceptualize the implicit persuasive notions of issues, values and interests. Furthermore, this is to indicate the political and social dominant ideology in the speech

> "*These encounters often employ strategies that appear normal or neutral on the surface; strategies which are naturalized but which may, in fact, be ideologically invested.*" … "*Critical is used in the special sense of aiming to show connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power, and ideology.*" (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p. 51-52).

It is a linguistic approach to try to identify and explore interrelations of strategies and ideologies, within the speech, to uncover and present them as objectively as possible. This investigation into the discourse of Donald Trump's conceptual representative notions of ideology is all done in the perspective of the speech, which is in a global, social, cultural and political context. The main part of the analysis will be through the written transcript of the speech, with possible reference to visual and audio data (if and when relevant). Not all, but the most adequate theories, methods, and tools of CDA mentioned above will be applied, as their relevance emerge inductively through the analysis of the speech, for an ideal conceptual approach of handling the data.

Although there is a constant self-aware effort of handling the data objectively, one cannot forget that there is a selection of perspectives, focus, and handling of the subject matter, by the researcher, which always has rather debatable relativity on the notion of objectivity. The objectivity of a subjective consciousness depends on the accepted notion that one cannot be 100 percent objective, by the mere fact that identifying relational patterns of perceived reality is the function of the mind, and one cannot operate in objective meaning-making alone. (see "Realism and Relativism p. 22 in this paper). Therefore, one must try to be objective by identifying and isolating one's own opinion and at the same time, identifying all other relevant perceptions in relation to the subject matter and giving them equal credibility and treatment. There

might be times during the analysis where the reflection to Trump's statement could possibly be interpreted as subjective, but it is just a selected view from a possible opposition or alternative perspective, that is being perceived and entertained to give a counterpoint.

The conceptual Critical Discourse Analysis framework of political and social represented ideologies

As explained above *"...CDA aims to reveal the influence of the ideology on discourse, the counteractive influence of discourse on the ideology, and how the two elements derive from and serve for social structure and power relations...it aims at revealing the relationship between language, ideology and power."*(Liu & Guo. 2016 p.1)

This supports the inquiry of the problem formulation;

"What are the represented (political) ideologies?"
"How are they discursively portrayed and manifested?"

The reason for choosing these scholars (Fairclough, van Dijk and Chilton) is that their theoretical notions and methods are an ideal foundation for inquiring, into the President of USA and his discursively underlying political ideologies. The specific context of this project analysis is within a national and political sphere of interests, agenda, power and ideology setting. The theories, methods, and scholars have been chosen for their appropriate approach to depicting and analyzing these topics.

The theoretical framework of these scholars of CDA, can be used and appropriated within many fields, as a foundation of inquiry, which can be focused/adapted into gender, migration, race and other topics of studies, where power, inequality, and ideology are at play. In this case, it is focused and appropriated within dimensions of political power and ideology, as this is the main genre and setting of the research, problem formulation and overall CDA.

The main scholars, theories, methods, and tools for the progression of this CDA thesis, will build upon the developed research of Fairclough and van Dijk, resulting in a substantial supportive framework for depicting and analyzing ideology dynamics.

This thesis focuses on the ideology of discursive elements in the speech, how these elements are formulated, communicated and received, and furthermore possibly depicting why.

This is sought to be obtained through the analytical methods and tools developed by Fairclough and van Dijk, which will help identify implicit ideology and power perspectives within the speech. These methods of approach are generally mentioned in the *'Methodology''* section above.

The Analysis' Process and Framework

The analysis' process and framework will follow Fairclough's method, which refers to the *'3 dimensional model of CDA'*, firstly focusing on;

'Description'-(Text Analysis) by an appropriate detection and selection of description tools such as; vocabulary use, grammatical use, textual structures, pronoun use, adjective use, topicality, comparisons, nonverbal communication, representation/misrepresentation, legitimation/delegitimation and inclusion/exclusion.

Secondly, the *'Interpretation'-(Process Analysis)* will look deeper into;
more meta symbolic aspects which were identified in the previous section
-description(Text-analysis)) like;
Ethos, Logos & Pathos, Metaphors, positioning, Symbolisms, Comparison, Imagined communities, Nationalist Discourse, Persuasion, Implication, Vagueness.

And thirdly the *'Explanation'-(Social Analysis)* will attempt to arrive at a socially reflected explanation, through; a social analysis of the Sociocultural-: -Actors, -Change, -Cohesion, -Identity, -Practice -Persuasion -Coercion -Frames -Representation -Implication

A supporting tool for analysis of the _Interpretation_ and _Explanation_ stages, is Van Dijk's _Ideological Square_, which gives ideological indications through interests and agenda, by looking into the interests and outcomes of positioning _positive self-presentation_ and _negative other-presentation_ in relation to central topics of ideological categorization.

To sum up the general approach to this CDA project, it will build upon the developed CDA theories and research by the scholars, mentioned in the literature review and theory/method sections above. The theoretical points and tools within the notions explained above, are the main methodized approaches to dealing with the focus of the problem formulation. The collection of these theories, methods and analytical tools supports the framework of inquiring into discursively portrayed dynamics of ideology and power, which is at the center of the problem formulation in the attempt to deal with manifest notions of ideology representation. These theories and scholars have been chosen as they have ideally focused and developed these analytical notions and approaches, which researches the understanding of knowledge and realities of (critically discursive analyzed) creations of ideology. Meaning that the research is supported by fundamental scholars and theories of CDA, in order to further a developed analysis to enlarge the discursive research knowledge within the realm of the current US Political ideologies, at the center of the presidential election.

Analysis

Donald Trump's initial campaign speech was held on the 17th of October 2019 in Dallas Texas; a state he and the republican party won in the 2016 presidential election. The state has been known for being rather far-right leaning and supporting the republican party and their values for approximately four decades (2020 Electoral Ventures LLC). This might indicate the fundamental republican political support and possible shared discursive worlds, as the reason for Trump's choice to start his 2020 campaign in Dallas, Texas.

Trump begins his speech by directly addressing the city of Dallas, and follows up with an inclusive metaphor with notions of Pathos:

"... I am thrilled to be here deep in the heart of Texas … I am with the freedom loving Patriots of the Lone Star state. I love it."

This is a positive persuasive and inclusive representation of an *imagined community*, which he states he is in the heart of, and that he loves. This metaphor has the effect of unifying the people in the audience into a *collective group* who loves Texas and '*patriotic freedom*'. Thus establishing a notion of patriotic/nationalistic and state pride as he further states that;

"... there has never been a better time to be a proud Texan … and proud American."

An ingroup is established, and he begins to persuade this in-group that he is taking care of them. This is where we see the first *positive self-presentation* on the part of Trump. This positive presentation of self, in addition to negative other presentations, is a fundamental and continuous part of his speech and persuasion technique, as we will see.

"Since my election, we've created 775,000 new jobs across your state"

This implies that his presidency and efforts have benefitted Texas productively. The following statements are heavy in nationalistic discourse to further create a positive inclusive ingroup with national interests (03:36):

"... our country is once again living by two simple rules, buy American and hire American."

This statement has implicit notions of interest and ideology, that the country is focusing on more nationalistic interests relating to commerce and trade, rather than

international trade deals, and that these interest are "*once again*" focused on because of Trump, this has an implicit historical call back to precious times of more nationalistic focus. This concept of focusing on 'buying and hiring American' can be said to reminisce of a pre-globalization notion of trade, hence more conservative nationalistic centered policies, which imply similar ideological notions.

> *"... Our people are prospering. Our country is thriving and our nation is stronger than ever before… "*

Here he continues to create an ingroup notion of positive development, using words as "*our people/country, prosper, thriving and strong",* as he insinuates growing vitality of the nation more *"than ever before"* which indicates that the nation has never been as well off as in Trump's management, indicating a presumption of trust. Throughout his speech, Trump uses representation and misrepresentation to persuade and coerce the audience into his own presumptions and implication of reality and ideology. As a counterpoint to his own positive self-presentation, a negative other presentation often follows, and through these interests and agendas of persuasion, implicit notions of ideology emerge.

Coercive and negative-other representation

After indicating that he himself is a *positive influence* on the country and ingroup, he continues to declare the presumptions and implications of his opposition through direct negative other presentation:

> *(03:50) "... But the more America achieves, the more hateful and enraged these crazy democrats become. Crazy. They're crazy. They're crazy. At stake in this fight is the survival of American democracy itself … they are destroying this country but we will never let it happen … radical democrats have been drawing to overthrow the results of a great, great election."*

There is a lot to unpack in this statement, but one thing is clear, that he portrays the democrats as the enemy in this *"fight"*, and states they want to destroy the country and American democracy. His depiction of the enemy is extremely radical calling them *"hateful, enraged and crazy."* He uses repetition of the word "*crazy"* four times, to drive through his point to convince the audience and ingroup that *"they want to impose an extreme and [crazy] agenda".* The notion of repeating phrases or words to persuade and coerce through fear is continued throughout the speech. In this example, he presents his opposition as absolute *evil* and *untrustworthy*, and uses scare tactics to affirm, legitimize and naturalize himself as the counterpoint of him being 'the good guy' and the *protector* of the ingroup's interests, and in so doing alienates the audience from the Democrats.

> (05:45) "... *I really don't believe anymore that they love our country. I don't believe it."*

There is no doubt of the perceived enemy of the audience, Trump and America, which serves to unify the ingroup under Trump, while alienating and dismissing any democratic opposition. This unifying notion is affirmed by the audience chanting *"four more years"* of Trump as president in response, indicating the audiences direct verbalised support of Trump as president and his presented presumptions and representation of the Democrats. Trump continues to create doubt and coercion about the democrats by categorizing Nancy Pelosi as *'crazy'*:

> (05:52) *"... Crazy Nancy. That crazy Nancy. She is crazy."*

This anthropomorphizes and affirms the notion of the 'crazy enemy' by repetition. He further addresses his impeachment trial, and implies that he is the victim of democratic fraudulent interests, by stating that his accuser/witness: (07:01) *"... made up a totally false conversation … he's a fraud"*, and in this sense insinuating and persuading the audience of malicious colluding by the Democrats, which further supports the manifested setting of the Democrats being fraudulent and 'evil'.

Throughout the speech, there are implicit notions of interests, agenda, ideology, and power, though the examples of direct declarative political agenda and ideology stated by Trump is present in the speech, it is also minimal. Therefore, some of the implied ideology of Trump is to be found as an *insinuated counterpoint* to the presented policies of the Democrats, which is much more in focus as he continuously uses negative other presentation to generalise, demonize and thus *delegitimize* his opposition. The first indication of Trump's agenda and ideology is done indirectly and with implicit coercive persuasion, when he declares the agenda and ideology of his opposition as;

> *(07:03) "... we're fighting a campaign against leftist, socialist and globalists who want to return to reckless wars, open borders, rampant crime and totally disastrous one-way trade deals. We are changing that one around very quickly"*

Through his previous definition and alienation of the Democrats as '*crazy, hateful and enraged radicals who wants to destroy democracy and America'* combined with the statement above, it seems clear that Trump implicitly defines the Democrats as extremely far out (left) on the political spectrum. This implies a persuasive juxtaposition and legitimation of Trump's agenda and ideology, as being in the *opposing* (possibly extreme) right end of the political spectrum. Hence, by stating the opposition's political ideology and agenda, there is a clear indication of his own.

In the negative-other presentation of ideology above, he uses an inclusive *"we"* including his supporters in the "fight", -indicating urgency, and a modality of the survival notion of 'flee or fight'-response in the audience. This implies that they must *fight* against a *"campaign"* which insinuates an ongoing organized effort of the implied "*evil"* opposition to destroy their ingroup of Trump supporters, Texans, and Americans. Furthermore, this is supported by the negative association of "*globalist*" ideological notions, which has an implicit juxtaposition of diminishing and taking away the power of the nation-state. This plays on the coercive notion of diminished nationalistic and individual power and freedom, overtaken by a globalist collective

with socialist agendas. The agendas of Trump's negatively presented political opposition is further characterized as interested in the following;

(07:15) *"... reckless wars, open borders, rampant crime, and totally disastrous one-way trade deals"*

These statements of the interests and agenda of Trump's opposition, further plays on coercion to portray them as 'evil' and Trump as 'good'.

"*Reckless wars*" and "*rampant crime*" is referring to something that most likely everyone would object against, and with the notion of "*open borders*" this becomes a direct threat of "*totally disastrous*" proportions towards the ingroup's way of life and overall existence. This results in coercive manufacture of consent, support for Trump being in power within the audience, through the implication of a grand existential threat.

(07:23) "... They believe … your tax dollars should subsidize the economy, military and defense of every other nation in the world but our own."

Trump again points to what he believe is the globalist-socialist and leftist agenda of his opposition. He continuously declares the opposition as 'evil' through negative-other representation, which delegitimizes everything associated with this opposition, thereby attempting to gain support and self-legitimization through the display of the opposition's absurdity.

(07:30) "... *Our political opposition made its fortune selling out our nation and our citizens … They want to indoctrinate our children and teach them that America is a sinful wicked nation."*

Through these declarative implications of Trump's opposition, an implicit formation of his own stance, agenda and ideology begins to emerge. Clearly he sees and portrays himself as 'good' and far better than his opposition, where he implicitly

self-defines as a right wing with nationalistic focus and agendas, who wants to protect the nation and its citizens from the "*evil*" Democrats and their "*crazy*" agenda to "*destroy America*" and indoctrinate "*their children.*" This coercive persuasion - through threats on the individual, the ingroup and their family - further plays on the audiences subconscious notions of *Ethos* (beliefs & ideals) and *Pathos* (emotions), to manufacture an implied *Logos* of consent of his agenda, which is still very vaguely defined. The most direct indication of his own manifested politics, agenda and ideology so far is;

> (08:15) *"... we'll have more tax cuts … we have rebuilt our military."*

This is basically an implicit positive self-presentation, which supports his right-wing ideological notion of tax cuts, meaning less economical power to the government and an increased focus on a more nationalistic notion and more power to the military. These are notions central in Fiscal- and National-Conservatism.

> (09:30) *"... they want to take your guns away. They want to install far-left judges to shred our constitution … they want to tear down symbols of faith and drive Christians and religious believers from the public square, they want to silence your voices … And they want government to censor, muzzle and shut down conservative voices."*

This indicates the implied agenda of Trump, through the simple theoretical implication of opposing values. The presented and perceived topics are displayed by Trump as threatening coercive notions, which indicate that the audience and his own ideological notions are far from these generalised and coercive ideas and topics. He defines the evil opposition as a threat to *"conservative voices"* which indicates that the ingroup and Trump - being threatened by the democrats - are defined within this ideological categorization of conservatism. The notion of using the threat against faith and religion, further indicate a Religious Conservatism, which highly regards religion as fundamentally important. Here it is indicated that Trump is directly against far-left judges, and he does not want conservative voices to be censored.

Furthermore, Trump supports the US constitution, which in principle is a symbolic notion of support of American values. He supports the 2nd Amendment - "*the right to bear arms"* - and further the notion of religion, more specifically Christianity. He also fights for the freedom of speech, and for the 'oppressed ingroup' in opposition to the Democrats.

All of these interests are general presuppositions directly associated with a rather conservative right-wing ideology.

The fundamental persuasive technique of Trump is negative-other presentation and positive self-representation in order to *delegitimize* and *denaturalize* the Democrats/opposition, and to *legitimize* and *naturalize* his own power, agenda and ideology.

This is illustrated continuously throughout the analysis, and is used to implicitly persuade in multiple ways, e.g. by repeated use of negative adjectives and pronouns, like *"they are crazy", "they are extremists"*, not to mention *"evil"*, which is further supported by persuasion established through negative presumptions, topicality and misrepresentation of topics and agendas of the Democrats.

This positive vs negative presentation, is further seen when he mentions the fake media (11:05), and this delegitimization serves to create a general *mistrust* of any type of opposition, against him and his in-group.

This, he broadly defines as;

> (12:55) *"... the people of Texas and the people of America will never surrender our freedoms to these people*..." *we will stand strong for family, faith, god and for country."*

This brings vague but powerful unifying notions of nationalistic and religious persuasion, supported by the imagined ingroup community, and is also a generalized foundational notion of the National and Religious Conservative right wing ideologies. (A.s. Regnery 2018).

> *(14:30) "...I will never allow the IRS to be used as a political weapon except in the case of myself where they use it against me"*

Here he states that the state apparatus of redistributing taxes from the citizens *(*which is a defining ideological notion in socialism (but also a rather fundamental notion of most national ideologies)*)* is a political weapon.

This is an implicit use of metaphor to create an image of the Democrats, using all their capabilities as weapons against the ingroup. Further supporting the implication of them being an evil and destructive power. By doing so he implies an ideological concept of danger in the way the opposition, relates to taxes and that it is a problem for Americans. But at the same time, he implies that he himself is above any political moral conception, and is implicitly righteous no matter the circumstances. Which is a vague but absolute positive self- establishment and legitimation of his power, authority, supremacy and moral relativity.

He once again continues his negative other presentation of the Democrats, stating (14:59) *"the radical left tolerates no dissent it permits no opposition. It accepts no compromise. These people are crazy. And it has absolutely no respect for the will of the American people"*

He continues to depicts the Democrats as a persistent evil crazy enemy, who fights against the will of the American people, and will never stop. The word '*crazy'* is mentioned in the speech seventeen times, and almost every time (except twice) in relation the the Democratic opposition of Trump:

> (03:52) *"... the more America achieves, the more hateful and enraged these crazy Democrats become. Crazy. They're crazy. They're crazy."*

This is done to emphasise the implicit coercive notions of the Democrats being absolut untrustworthy, dysfunctional and thus delegitimize and denaturalize anything they say or do.

(15:54) *"... And what they are really really doing is coming after and fighting you"*

He does this to create a notion of terror on the individual and the ingroup so that they look to him for help, which he delivers through all-inclusive positive self-presented notions of;

(16:06) *"... I'm fighting for everyone who believes in the values, traditions, and principles that made our nation the greatest in the history of the world"*

These notions are of positive grandeur persuasion, legitimizing Trump as a savior. But it is essentially ambiguous notions of coercion and persuasion for support, through negative other representation and positive self-representation, with implied right-leaning nationalistic ideas, serving to rally support for him and his undefined/ambiguous agenda and ideology. Furthermore, the word "*fight*" - or the suffix thereof "*fighting*" - are used twenty one times in the speech;

(04:31) "... *At stake in this fight is the survival of American democracy itself*"
(07:07) *"... We're fighting a campaign against leftist, socialist, and globalists"*

This is an implication of a metaphorical use of the word, used to depict and naturalise the notion of the two political parties being at war, and thus fear is used to coerce the Republican ingroup into supporting Trump as their leader and saviour in these 'fights' and this 'war'.

Trump continues his alienation of the Democrats towards the extreme negative notion of the left, and thereby implies the underlying ideology of his framing and persuasion, by stating;

(16:40) "... *We must hold the Democrats accountable for their lies and their corruption they are corrupt people...and we have to go out and we have to win this election.*"

He uses the modality "*must/have to*" to create urgency, and a sense of need and strongly implied obligation on the part of his supporters to help him win this election, so he can *protect* them against the *'evil corrupt liers'* of the Democratic party.

> *(16:45) "... Todays 'do nothing' Democrats, they don't do anything. Where is the USMCA? Everybody wants it...Democrats believe anyone who opposes them must be crushed."*

Again, the Democrats are portrayed as an 'evil' and incompetent organization that wants to destroy any opponent. The mention of USMCA as something everybody wants, implies his presumed interest and perception of the trade agreement, *'the United States Mexico Canada Agreement (USMCA)'* as being something implicitly good for everybody. There is a notion of ideology implied with this, hence the USMCA is a trade agreement that will result in; *"freer markets, freer trade, and enhanced economic growth." (staff, Jan 7. 2020)*

All of which results in more opportunity and growth for the private industry, and less governmental influence, by taking political and regulatory power from the governments and placing it into the USMCA organization. This can be stated to be the interests of highly right-wing neoliberal/capitalist centered ideologies with economic nationalistic notions, and thus reflect the economically centered trade; ideology and agenda perceived by Trump.

Trump again begins a statement with implicit self-praise and persuasively presents himself positively. He also implies that he has justified authority, worthiness and power by mentioning;

> *"... presidents, prime ministers, kings, queens… sometimes dictators...they say, "sir, congratulations sir on what you have done. Congratulation on what you have done. It's incredible. Your economy is the greatest on earth" … we've*

gone up trillions of dollars. And they've [China] *gone down trillions of dollars, and we are so far number one." (18:36)*

Here he persuades the audience of his accomplishments, by using *direct speech* to establish a positive self-presentation and nominate himself as the 'better man', politician and leader, implied by the many different political and power authorities, who supposedly are giving him credit for incredible achievements, underlining that those authorities praise him and call him "sir", creating an implicit persuasive buildup of his own authority. An interesting underlying give-away of his ideological perspectives in this relation, is that he focuses and assesses his presidency and leader ability within the perspective of *economic growth* and *international competition*, rather than e.g. national social reform. This indicates his ideological focus and perspective of progress, lies within a competitive fiscal conservative and economic nationalist framework.

US agricultural trade

Around (23:35) Trump gets into the economy of US agriculture saying;

- *"... Our Great farmers. Our patriot farmers … they never left me. So they wanted 20 (billion dollars) China agreed. I said, nope, no good, I want 50, not 20 billion, 50."*
- *(25:00) "... I want the farmers to say, sir, 'we just can't produce that much, we can't do it, sir'. And I am going to say 'yes you can.' and they are going to say 'no we can't' and I am going to say 'yes you can'. And they're going to go out and they get to take in 50 billion from China as opposed to 20. That's what going to happen."*
- *(25:35) "... in the meantime, we've taken in tens of billions of dollars … billions and billions and billions … you know what I did for the farmer? … I gave them … 28 billion altogether."*

- *(26:28) "... the farmers said, sir, we don't want this money. It's a subsidy … they said sir, 'just give us a level playing field.' So now I gave them a field that's more than level. It's level like this, nice and easy, nice and easy."*
- *(26:47 - 26:52) - [gestures with hand and indicates a line from left to right, but it is not level, it starts higher on the left, and as he goes towards the right it goes down, indicating a slope or hill] - he does this twice.*

This representation of political and economical negotiation on the part of Trump, gives implicit indications of his interests, agenda and use of power.

The first indication is that Trump is the supreme authority and agent of power, and he supposedly knows best. This is indicated by his self presentation in the negotiation scenario, where he - through direct speech - has the farmers call him "sir" multiple times, thereby creating a notion of him having higher authority, power and knowledge, and overall superiority, further indicated by him *ignoring* the expertise and experience of the farmers specialised in the field.

He wants to more than double the agricultural trade between the US and China, *"from 20 billion to 50 billion$"* despite the collective US farming community being opposed to his decision, on the grounds that they cannot produce more than double their normal production, and they do not want government interference - "*subsidies*". Trump simply fixes this by saying "*yes you can*", using his authoritative power to change aspects of agricultural farming reality, simply by word of mouth, convincing the farmers to follow his lead towards economic profit ignoring all other aspects of the process. Thus implying and presenting the farmers as ignorant, and himself as the ultimate knowledgeable authority. This also depicts his main interest and agenda on this topic as absolut national and fiscal conservatism and economic nationalism.

Trump then gives them economic help from the government, which he says is not a government subsidy, although it cannot be anything else by its defining terms. The farmers want a fair and *"level playing field"*, to which Trump's direct response is that he gave them a playing field *more than level*; it is tilting in their favor, which is indicated by his hand gestures and implication (26:47).

The implications of interest, agenda, and ideology within this speech segment have multiple perspectives. First of, it is based on a notion of *maximizing capital* in the area of agriculture, with authoritative self assured disregard for the expertise feedback of the industry. Forcing state-sponsored subsidies, despite it being unwanted from the industry, in order to create an advantageous and rigged situation for American agriculture, in order to maximise capital outcome. These actions and displays of power on the part of Trump are his subjective presumptions, which are intended to portray him as the absolute imperative authority who is all/better-knowing, could have the intent of persuading the audience into naturalization and legitimization of him as a decisive and economically beneficial president. Despite the fact that he ignores the feedback, expertise and democratic process of national agricultural management, and forces his own interests and agenda of economic maximization upon the industry.

The agenda and ideology implied by these notions are rather complicated. Government intervention/subsidies are connected to many different political ideologies, and describes the notion of the state intervening in the economy or an industry, as characteristics of government dominated ideologies like socialism, communism or autocracies, thus implying the free market (and ideology thereof within the US) is not truly free, by the actions of Trump.
(despite most conservatives wanting to believe, the free market can function without government interference) (i.e. government bailout of the banks in the 2009 financial crisis = has ideological oxymoronic notions relation to the free market)

What we see here in this scenario is the authoritative power and decisions of Trump, the US president, on the matters of a national vital industry, where he makes a *subjective authoritative choice* and ignores the people of the industry. This is done within the establishment of the US republic democracy, and Trump's choice seems to ignore and go against the will of the industry as he wants to manipulate the industry and market to maximise national profit.

This indicates tendencies of a nationalistic conservative and economic nationalistic ideology, but there seem to be underlying defining aspects as a result of his actions and way of handling and dealing with the agricultural community. This is his direct display of authoritative power and decision making, which neglect and ignores the democratic process of the industry and agricultural community. It is, in this regard, reminiscent of the decisive authoritative power paradigms of governments with no or little practice within the democratic process, i.e. autocracy. The governmental concepts of a republic democracy are centered around the notion of the people having the power, who are represented by elected politicians. The justification for Trump's economic interventionism is implicitly done to protect the power and wealth of the American people, which also can be seen as American economic protectionism.

The fake news media and the corrupt democracy party

(29:40) *"... tonight we forcefully condemn the blatant corruption of the Democrat party"* (30:30) *"... but their partner in the whole thing is the fake news media. That's the problem. Because the Democrats and the fake news media, its a partnership. Remember that … I've never seen it to this extent … they're worse now than they ever have been. They are crooked as hell. They're worse now then they have ever been. They're crooked."*

Trump again uses negative other presentations in order to coerce and further persuade the audience of mistrust towards the media and thus trust and power towards Trump.

The response of the audience to Trump's statement of the news being more corrupt than ever, is to (31:33) '*booh'* loudly and show '*thumbs down*' to show their disapproval of the news and support for Trump. Through a constant obvious negative description of the Democrats and news media, Trump forcefully asserts his two organized oppositions as a crooked and corrupt *"partnership … worse now than ever before"*, also indicating modal urgency on the part of the ingroup, as they are in

organised collusion against Trump and his implied agenda as the good guy, saving the people of America.

By making his supporters associate *"blatant corruption"* and mistrust of the media and Democrats, Trump gains even more authoritative power, by the notion that he can dismiss any negative information that the media and Democrats might have about him, as lying, deceiving and corruptive. Thus he convinces his supporters to *delegitimize* and *discredit* any negative information that his opposition may present to the public, which means that he has created legitimation within the ingroup supporters of himself as being the ultimate authority of truth. With implicit modality supported by *Ethos*, *Pathos*, and *Logos*, invoking emotional engagement through *Pathos* in relation to the lack of truth and justice in the news media, which gives a notion of ethical credibility to Trump, indicating further persuasive notions of reasoning and support of *Logos*, resulting in the modal conviction of the audience, that they must not trust the media and should trust and support Trump.

This concept of attacking or controlling the free media is an archetypal trait of autocratism, in order to control and manipulate the collective consciousness of the people (Egorov 2009), through the attacking and discrediting of the media presupposes a setting, where the media is free from government, like this scenario above. Although, most autocracies will attempt to control and thereby utilize the power of the media to its own advantage and gain, through projecting and manipulating the flow of information to the people.
The interests and agenda of discrediting and thereby manipulating media and information flow, is a political aspect directly associated with power dynamics. In the case of Trump, it serves to diminish the power of the media, which conceptually represents the people and the public.

> *"... The central argument here was that there was a causal link between the dominant form of communication on the organization of society … the increasing influence of semiotics led to a fundamental re-evaluation of the role of the media audience. They … come to be seen as actively engaging with the media*

products, interpreting them in a plurality of ways, that may be at odds with the possible ideological intentions of the producers." (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008 p. 199).

Thus being a tool to maintain a balanced society, characterized by well informed people, effective democracy and social justice.

"... The strategic control of knowledge is a crucial element in the control of discourse understanding and, therefore, of discourse access and the critical counterpower of oppositional reading and understanding. Beyond knowledge, however, there are other crucial forms of what is now generally called social cognition, such as the schemata of socially shared opinions traditionally known as attitudes. Whereas control of knowledge influences understanding, control of attitudes influences evaluation." (van Dijk, 1995, p.13-15).

So when Trump discredits the media by calling it *"fake, corrupt and crooked"* and persuades his supporters through coercion to trust him and not the media, it serves to take the influence of knowledge and evaluation, meaning the power, away from the people and the public while at the same time giving authoritative power of knowledge and evaluation to himself, at least within his supporters. By discrediting the media, Trump is dismantling the information distribution and transparency of the top political administration and their actions and agendas, represented to the public. This means *less* public and democratic insight and thus *less* understanding, insight and power of knowledge for the public relating to the political operations and status quo. This results in Trump's supporters accepting the power and manufactured consent of truthful presumptions of his own discursive world, rather than the news media.

There are few political organizations that have gone to the extreme attempt of delegitimizing any oppositional media as Trump has. It is usually the notion within modern-day democracies, that for the citizens to be ideally engaged and for the democracy to be effective, the citizens must be well informed and the administrative

actions must be as transparent as possible. So that the 'demos' - the *people*, in 'democracy' - can engage in the politics of the nation. Within democracies in our modern day and time, this is implied to be the interest of politicians as well, at least in well-functioning democracies, meaning that the power lies and is represented by the people. The interest and agenda of Trump on this matter, which implies underlying ideological notions, is, in this case, more reminiscent of the power, control, and manipulation which is mostly seen in autocracies, where information - and therefore power - is controlled by the very top authorities, so as to coerce and manipulate the public opinion, interests and power. So when Trump misrepresents and implies that the *"fake news media"* is an additional enemy supported by the other evil enemy - the Democrats - he coerces an exclusion of anything in his and his supporters opposition, resulting in him becoming more powerful amongst his supporters (2009 Media Freedom in Dictatorships), while at the same time diminishing the power of the people so as to gain more authoritative power for himself.

Positive self-representation

Trump's positive self-presentation and negative-other presentation continues. He begins with rather humble inclusive ingroup notions of;

> *(32:00) "... With your help we will win back the House, we will keep the Senate, and we will keep the white house."*

He uses persuasive inclusion of the ingroup and continues for almost 10 minutes to mention and comment on his political supporters and staff;

> *(32:08) "... Joining us tonight are many terrific Republican leaders, and they are terrific. And frankly, if they're not I'm not going to introduce them."*

There is an implicit notion of humbleness as he takes the time to mention his political supporters, but also a display of authoritative power, as he is the judge of what is

good. As he continues his positive presentation of his supporters, it is constantly implied that he is even better than them; *"... I made him Secretary of Energy, he's done a phenomenal job"*.

And positive formulations like;

(32:00-42:50) *"... He's a good man" … "a woman who's fantastic"…"who is smart as hell" … "great friend" … "incredible ally" ... "smooth" … "slick" … "loyal" … "talented" … "these are great people along with republican party chairs and all of these, total winners."*

These formulations are used to elevate, legitimise, naturalise and positively frame Trump, since he himself is of higher status and authority, thus persuading the people and politicians to support him and his superior implied interests, agenda and ability. This further creates a republican political ingroup which is validated by these notions of positive self categorizations, of their merit, ability and overall goodness.
This implies that Trump himself is the authority of these individuals and attributes, and thus he embodies all of these characteristics and more, he is good and a 'winner who only chooses winners' as allies. His mention and positive description of a female politician, further gives a persuasive notion of him being humble and fair, by giving credit and support to a female politician, which implicitly has projected notions on the audience that he supports and likes female politicians, and thereby also gender equality - thus having implicit positive effects of persuasion on the female base of his audience.

Trump also declaratively states that his opposition are 'radicals' who can only be stopped if he wins and they are crushed, implying a coercive modal notion on the audience, that they must support him in order to stop them. This coerces a delegitimization of his opponents, and a legitimizing/naturalization of himself and his supporters;

> *(31:49) "... the only message these radicals, and they are radical lefties, will understand is a crushing defeat."*

Military and Homeland Security

> (43:00) "... *In everything we do, we're fighting for the faithful citizens of this country. This includes putting a stop to the catastrophic era of endless wars. Endless wars, the don't stop. They don't stop. They go on forever. We've become policemen … we are policing these countries." (43:54) "... these wars brought mass chaos, instability, destruction and death."*

Here we see a positive inclusion and presentation of the ingroup, which is the Trump administration who are fighting for the faithful American citizens. The inclusive *'we'*, who are fighting to end the *'endless catastrophic wars'*, combined with the notion of chaos, destruction, and death easily coerce the audience into agreement and support, because no one on earth wants these scenarios. Trump will do so by not policing the world. This statement can be seen as somewhat contradictory, as Trump just six sentences later states;

> (44:03) "... *today we choose a different path … we built in the last three years, we built the strongest military by far … now we have so much ammunition we don't know what to do with it."*

This notion is rather complicated, hence maximising a nation's military is either done to attack, defend or control (and therefore *police*) people, regions, nations etc. Therefore, if he is not doing this to attack and control, it must be to defend. So if he does not want to *police* the world, why would he need to further maximize the *largest military force* on the planet? This could point to another case of positive self-representation through vague sensationalist persuasive framing mechanisms.

Military investments and built up are most commonly associated with either military engagement and action, or protection of the nation and borders. There are many different theories and ideologies associated with the concept of military power, and in this case, it could indicate that Trump is focused on absolute national security through nationalistic protectionism, with minimum physical engagement outside the country. If he was to be believed, this protection of national interests and power will be done without the previously dominating American foreign military strategy of preemptive strikes, popularised by the Bush administration. But considering the drone strike Trump ordered on the Iranian Major General in early January 2020, just two months after his speech and statement, which *"... pitched the middle east to the brink of war"* (Pengelly, 18th of January, 2020), the real intentions and agenda behind these statements are rather vaguely defined and untrustworthy.

The underlying conflicting notion continues when further considering his statements made at (45:00);

> *"... without spilling one drop of American blood, not one drop of American blood … it was unconventional what I did, I said; 'They are going to have to fight a little while. Sometimes you have to let them fight a little. Then people find out how tough the fighting is' … let them fight like two kids in a lot. You got to let them fight and then you pull them apart."*

His first focus of not spilling American blood shows a nationalistic centered focus, and implicitly diminishes the lives of the other nations' people, when he wants to let them fight. This implies dominant nationalistic centered values of individual life, and that he has no problem sacrificing the lives of other people. Trump's persuasive positive self-presentation is also prevalent here, where he describes the situation between the Kurds and Turks as;

> (46:00) *"... nasty and you couldn't make a deal for 15...20 years."*
> (46:40) *"... we went there and we said, we want to pause … we're going to*

keep ISIS all nice and locked up."

He thereby implies that he easily can fix any situation, even complex military situations that his predecessors haven't been able to fix for the past 20 years, and that he and his administration simply fixes this, by verbally stating that *"we want a pause"*. This implicit positive self presentation is directed towards the audience to persuasively frame, display and legitimize his power, knowledge, and ability in general, but also within international military situations. Trump further describes himself as the better knowing paternalistic authority and most powerful through the comparison/simile of kids fighting, and him (the adult) pulling them apart, which also have underlying notions of policing and guarding the less powerful countries, thus implicitly contradicting himself, while also diminishing his previous notion of ending the endless wars. This results in his agenda and ideology being very vague and contradictory relating to topic and framing thereof, in relation to his military perceptions and engagements. It can be stated that there are notions of physical nationalistic protectionism, which is implicit in all militaries, but the fundamental ideology of how to utilize this power is vague, contradictory and sensationalized for coercive support of Trump's actions.

He continues to display and persuade the audience of his power and all-knowing ability for progress;

> *(46:48) "... We are going to take the worst sanctions and tariffs and everything that I put on the country … I mean, I don't think they could have economically survived … without a little tough love they would have never made a deal. President Obama lost a million people in the area, a million people, a million people."*

In this statement we get an insight into Trump's power display and implicit ideology relating to economic sanctions, disciplinary power and in this relation basically economic warfare.

First, he implies that he himself put these sanctions on the country, implying he solved this situation all by himself, nearly destroying another country's economy, which really doesn't seem to matter, to him. Trump displays himself and the USA as the ultimate power, who actually policies, controls and has power over areas and countries outside the US. This is, again, implicitly *contradicting* his previously stated interests and agenda, of *"ending the endless wars"*.

While displaying his own authority, power, knowledge, interests and ability as absolutely good and beneficial for the US and further the world, he manifests his political opposition as evil and incompetent through negative other presentation, by repeating the coercive notion of *(47:00) "... president Obama lost a million people in the area, a million people, a million people* (the lives of a million people)*"*, when he attempted to deal with the same problem. The function of this on the audience is to place legitimised trust and authority on himself, implying that he came to the rescue with his ultimate knowledge, power and ability.

This further implies that Trump's opposition - namely Obama and the democratic party - *killed* a million people emphasised by repetition, to which the audience ingroup *"boos"* (47:17) in discredit of Obama and in legitimation and support of Trump. Even though he just said that he himself nearly destroyed a country's economy, which would mean that a lot of innocent people would probably die.

Here it can be observed how he uses notions of inexplicit meanings and a projection of his own discursive worldview, to frame and further validate and depict his opposition as incompetent and responsible for war and millions of people's deaths. The ingroup and audience supports this presupposition and are persuaded and coerced into accepting this framed perspective.

This displayed notion of economic manipulation/warfare means that he has a powerful control of the country through economic sanctions and economic manipulation, which have been used throughout modern history as a means of protecting the interests and security of ingroup nations and people.

For instance against Cuba and the ideological threat of socialism/communism, against Iran and North Korea and the thread of dictatorial and nuclear power etc.

Thus, this is an interventionist economical strategy to impose and affect nations and people to coerce certain agendas or ideology, which implies nationalistic protectionism and economic nationalism by the dominant economic power (Geoff Dyer, March 30th, 2014).

He then states that;

> (47:40) "... *ISIS is going to be unhappy … we will deal with whoever we have to deal with, but we will get it done.*"

Implying that he is willing to engage/deal with whoever, and possibly use economical warfare against whoever he needs to - implying possibly physical warfare, as an organisation like ISIS cannot be handled through economic warfare only - which is another contradicting notion towards *"ending the endless wars"*, as previously stated.

> (48:18) *"... so we have to fundamentally change our approach to Homeland Security … nobody would have ever done that. You have to be a little bit different to do it that way."*

Here Trump alludes to his agenda of changes to Homeland Security, which might be unconventional, since he himself is a bit *'different'*. So Trump displays his ruthlessness and global power of economic and military interventionism, which might be used unconventionally, to coerce other nations and people into accepting his agenda, which is vaguely implied as protecting American Homeland Security and its interests. This is portrayed as justified, as he continues to imply and project his own discursive world view and inexplicit meaning making of himself having ultimate legitimation and is above normal political definitions, thereby justifying his authoritative power agenda.

> (49:20) *"... American combat troops should not be at the center of ancient sectarian conflicts all over the world. Bring our soldiers back home"*...
> *[Audience: "Bring them home! Bring them home! USA! USA! USA!]*

This statement indicates the agenda of pulling back ground troops and thus the notion of physical US military representation, so as to disengage overseas military warfare. Trump displays this as his legitimised agenda and implies that his opposition are against him and supports endless wars. Once again persuading and legitimising his agenda into a framework of his perspective as righteous and good, saving American lives. These simplified discursive and postulated notions of Trump's military agenda are highly supported by the audience and ingroup, which gives clear support and affirmation of the nationalistic notions of US interest coming first, and the notion of minimising international physical military engagement on the part of the US. This further helps to persuade the TV audience through the ingroup herd mentality and inclusiveness of the support of Trump.

> *(49:58) "... The same people pushing to fight endless wars overseas want us to open our borders to mass migration from these war torn and terror affected regions. Their policies would import terrorism right onto our shores with American issued visas … the Democrats want open borders. They want everybody to flow in."*

This again results in him creating a generalised negative other presentation of the terrifying and destructive agenda of the Democrats, portraying himself as a hero in opposition to their agendas and manifesting a general and underlying notion of fear in the audience, by stating that this will result in open borders with mass migration of people and terrorism into the US. This is in order to coerce his own interests and agenda as imperative, to fight off the opposition. Thus, the audience is coerced by implied modality/need and urgency to protect America and its people by closing the borders and supporting Trump. This is presented as the only logic reason *(Logos)*, established by the coercive emotional *(Pathos)* presentation of the alternative, being Democrats importing people and terrorism into America from *"war torn and terror affected regions"*.

> From the notion of directly political opposition to certain interests, agendas and ideology of the Democrats, it can be derived that Trump wants *hard borders*, clearly supported by his notion of a wall on the Mexican/American border;

> (48:08) *"... All I had to do is say, 'we will never build a wall' and they the Democrats] would have come through and said, 'we demand that you built a wall' ..."*

As implied and displayed here, Trump's interests, agenda and ideology is in direct opposition to the Democrats, which further means, through his own depiction of the Democrats, that Trump wants hard and closed borders, and that he wants to minimise physical wars with American military in exchange for economical warfare and possible subjectively justified military intervention without ground troops (indicating possible drone strikes). He wants to deport migrants/terrorists back to war torn areas, all done in the justified notion of protecting America and its people.

> (50:43) *"... We have stopped the horrible migration of people … many of them are bad people … ICE is fantastic. They have taken out thousand and thousand of MS-13 killers. They have taken thousand of killers and sent them back."*

Trump justifies his agenda by coercive persuasion through fear, by saying that because of him they have stopped thousands of killers from entering the US, which serves as a highly coercive naturalization and legitimisation of the modal notion, to support his actions and agenda for everyone's safety and homeland security.
Here he is declaratively stating that there are an enormous amount of killers who want to get into the USA, and is thus implying that the lives of American citizens are at stake. But because of him they are stopped at the border, thus he is the saviour, and anything he does is justified for the protection of the citizens, using presuppositions and discursive frameworks to portray the outsiders as absolute killers, thereby coercing and emphasising nationalistic protectionism.

He does this by implementing coercive tools on the audience and the individual, through manipulative notions of *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*, creating power-support for himself through emotional, ethical and logical presumptions, implicitly affecting and persuading the audience to support and perceive his presented worldview.

> *(52:46) "... We are rebuilding our military stronger than ever before and we are not going to deplete it again on stupid, senseless, endless wars … restoring our armed forces and all of it was built in the USA … As we restore our security, we're restoring our prosperity. America is winning again and America is respected again."*

This is the last rhetorical statement Trump makes in relation to his agenda and ideology of the US military and Homeland Security. He presents and frames this topic through continuous and effective notions of positive self representation and negative other presentation, as seen in the analysed extracts above; *"we are restoring our prosperity"* and *"America is winning and respected again"*, implying it was not "prospering", "winning" or "respected", before Trump.
Thereby he creates persuasive support for himself, through naturalised legitimisation of postulated results of himself and his agenda, while creating coercive manipulative delegitimation by misrepresenting the oppositional Democratic agendas, who depletes the military on *"stupid, senseless, endless wars".* This is done through the notion of him wanting to protect America and the national ingroup from chaos, destruction, terror, by stopping the endless physical wars, while implicitly wanting to engaging in power coercion through economic warfare and possibly physical warfare, which is displayed in the analysed extract at (46:48).

It is all rather vague and inconsistent, as he states that he wants to end endless wars, but then in practice engages in economical warfare, drone strikes, policing of other nations ('letting them fight and pulling them apart later'), and heavily investing in military development. The implicit contradictions and notions of doublespeak, are depicted as wanting to (43:19) *"putting a stop to the catastrophic era of endless wars"*; through engaging in economic warfare, maximising the US military, and

creating situations where other nations and people have to fight, while interfering in international affairs through economic sanctions and military drone strikes, while maximising US national protectionism by changing notions of Homeland Security. This results in the statement of *(48:18) "we have to fundamentally change our approach to Homeland Security"* as being ambiguous persuasion and coercion of the audience.

It can be postulated that he wants to maximise the security of the US borders by maximising the US military in support of nationalistic protectionism while using notions of soft power coercion, i.e. sanctions. Everything he intents is implied to be in direct opposition of the Democrats, who supposedly are interested in counteracting national security and supporting chaos, instability and terrorism within the US, and on a global scale. The persuasive and coercive notion of *'us versus them'* is vividly used to influence/manipulate and gather support of the inclusive us and ingroup. This is all persuasive rhetoric to manufacture consent and support for himself and his presented discursive world, his agenda and implied ideology, but it is also vague, as there are continuous points of contradiction and notions of doublespeak, as seen above.

Taxation

> *(56:43) "... With republicans in congress, we passed the largest package of tax cuts and reform by far in American history. By the way, the Democrats want to raise your taxes, you know. I dont mean by a little. I mean like double them up, triple them up and it still wont pay for the nonsense the want."*

In this statement, Trump uses the coercive threat of the Democrats wanting to take a third of their economy away, with no benefit to the individual, and states that it is based on *"nonsense"*, by absurdifying his oppositions notions through simplified dismissive misrepresentation and coercive presumptions of the ingroup.

This is supported by his established discursively coercive world-framing of the Democrats being 'crazy', 'evil', 'nation hating', 'corrupt liers';

> *(07:23) "... They believe … that your tax dollars should subsidize the economy, military and defense of every other nation in the world but our own."*

> *(10:11) "... If they didn't hate our country, they wouldn't be doing this to our country."*

> (16:40) *"... We must hold the Democrats accountable for their lies and their corruption. They are corrupt people."*

Agendas surrounding notions of governmental taxation of its citizens is a topic of dividing ideological conceptions. It is implied in the ideological conceptions of the right and the left on the political spectrum, how and why they relate to taxation as they do (Appendix 1). The left wants higher taxation in order to support the framework of a larger government and larger governmental investments in institutions and programs like healthcare and infrastructure etc., with the notion of it benefiting the society at large, while the right political spectrum wants minimum taxation of people and business, and less government intervention overall, especially in the private sphere, so as to guard individual/private economic freedoms (Appendix 1).

It is clear that Trump and the Republicans are far on the right side, since he states that he passes the largest ever tax cuts and reform in American history *(56:43),* thus he is far to the right and his opposition is far on the left. In reality, it is a much more complicated issue of debate, as there can be tax cuts or increase for the wealthy, for the general population, private corporations and religious organisations etc.
The notion, interests and effect of each has different ideological connotations of relating pros and cons, depending on the political ideological perspective of either the right or left.

Simplified, the left believes that tax cuts for companies and the wealthy *accumulates wealth at the top*, while the right believes this results in *wealth trickling down* to benefit the general population. The left believes that tax increase for the wealthy results in a fair governmental redistribution for the benefit of the whole society, while the right believes the government is incapable of such actions and will stifle economic growth. This indicates ideological connections of the left towards progressive socialism, based on social responsibility benefiting the community, and of the right towards free market capitalism, based on individual rights above all (Appendix 1). Trump frames and situates his agenda on the far right of the political ideology spectrum, as he states that he has implemented the (56:26) "*largest package of tax cuts and reform by far in American history*" and (56:48) "*eliminated a record number of regulations*" so that taxation is absolutely minimised. These ideological notions displayed, indicate notions of American conservatism, fiscal conservatism and libertarian conservatism, with low taxation in general, favoring notions of free market capitalism and the right for individual prosperity, rather than then the perceived socialistic notion of government interference in the national and individual economy of the people.

Energy management

> (56:45) "*... We have ended the war on something called American energy … since my election, natural gas production in Texas has increased 35% and oil production has increased 60% … the United States is now the number one producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world … every Democratic candidate running for president wants to abolish all production of oil and natural gas … they want to annihilate your Texas economy … no guns, no religion, no oil, no natural gas*"

Trump's positive self presentation, implied by growth in energy and thus economic production, depicts his main interest and agenda as being focused on capitalistic maximization. He implicitly tries to persuade the Texas ingroup of his ideological

perspective on energy production, by first stating that he ended a war against it, and further nearly *doubled* the production, resulting in the US being the number one in the world. And thus implying that he saved the economy of the Texan ingroup.

Once again he uses the expression and rhetoric of war, and again implying that the ingroup is under attack and fighting a war, which has implicit notions of an existential threat and thus is used for coercive purposes on the ingroup and the audience, further gaining support for his interests, agenda and actions.

He uses *Ethos*, *Pathos* and *Logos* to construct his own subjectively manifested frames, discursive worlds and presented negative other presentation and agendas, so as to coerce the support of the ingroup, by threatening their livelihood. By stating that the Democrats want to abolish and annihilate the Texas oil and gas economy, and to take away their guns and religion. Once again, he is depicting his opposition as utterly economically destructive and morally evil, implying they are godless - *"no religion"* - and imposing on their freedom.

These underlying ideological notions of these presented agendas, are reminiscent of national-, religious-, and fiscal- conservatism, with Judeo-Christian values, hence the focus on less taxation and government regulation of the industry, and underlining religious norms as implicit guidelines in politics - hence, the production of oil and gas as an implicit right given by God, to "*work the land*" (A.S. Regnery 2018).
The notion of economic nationalism and national conservatism are perceived in relation to the international community, which is attempting to work together against global warming and reach sustainability goals within renewable energies rather than fossil fuels, which Trump basically ignores, for economic maximization and disregard of global effects (United Nations 2020).

International trade

Trump's general ambiguous notions and positive self representation continues to be used to persuade the audience;

> (01:04:00) "... *I have taken action to confront Chinas rampant trading abuses, and we've made great progress. And our relationship is fantastic, and great things are happening. You watch. They get it now, they get it. And a lot of good things are happening."*

This statement serves to convince the audience and supporters of his ability to handle things, where it is his subjective affirmation that *"great"* and *"good"* things are the outcome of his confrontation with China's supposedly rampant trading abuses. These are vague, simplified and sensationalised framing of subjective statements for crowd persuasion and legitimizing of himself, with an implied notion of positive results relating to trade disagreements.

The disagreement relating to China, seems to be as follows;

> (01:04:16) *"...They* [WTO] *consider China to be a developing nation … we don't consider them to be a developing nation. We don't consider India to be a develop- … because they are ripping us off. And we didn't win any cases at the WTO, and now we just won $7.5 billion of countries that are taking advantage of us."* (01:05:05) " *… We've won a lot of cases lately … because they know I'll leave if they don't treat us fairly. They know it. And then the piggy bank is gone where they all rob from."*

Trump implies disagreement and vilifying of any opposition to him and his presumed ingroup and America, stating that the World Trade Organization is ripping America off by working on the side of China and India, and that all other countries of the world are 'robbing' and taking advantage of America. But Trump frames and proclaims that

he has *ended* the unfair treatment of the US by threatening to leave the WTO, and end the global economic cooperation, thus ending the postulated organised robbery of the American 'piggybank'/economy. The interests of this projected agenda seem to be an end to global trade cooperation, and a refocus on national trade agreements, meaning a retreat from interconnected globally organised trade agreements to previously nation-centered trade agreement developments.

Trump's threat to leave the WTO - (01:05:13) "*they know I'll leave if they don't treat us fairly*" - has the direct ideological notions of valuing nationalistic conservatism and economic-nationalism and -protectionism, on the grounds of protecting American jobs and diminish economic growth of their trade oppositions like China. This also serves to oppose the globalised interconnected economical framework which Trump implies, does not benefit America.

Such a choice would mean going back to an international trade ideology of nation-centered agreements, and stepping back from the intergovernmental and multilateral organised trade agreements of the WTO that have been the framework for the international and global society for 25 years: *"The WTO's creation on 1 January 1995 marked the biggest reform of international trade since the end of the Second World War."* (WTO, 1995).

An economical and cultural ideological choice, many modern governments and peoples would perceive as a step back in the evolvement of the international community, as it is anti-globalist in nature, by focusing on internal national interests of economic nationalism.

Trump continues vaguely to proclaim (01:06:16);

> "... *We're replacing the NAFTA disaster … and the USMCA is a giant victory for Texas farmer, ranchers, manufactures, workers and oil. The Democrats should pass it, they will … do-nothing Democrats. They're do-nothing.*"

This issue is a lot more complicated than Trump's three line positive presentation of the "*NAFTA disaster*" and the giant victory of USMCA.

USMCA is simply explained an updated version of NAFTA. Trump signed the agreement on January 29th 2020, but it will not be finalised until Canada has ratified it. NAFTA basically was an agreement for more open and free trade amongst Canada, the USA and Mexico. The USMCA further builds upon notions of NAFTA, but has more precise agreements relating to "*country of origin rules*" and "*labour provisions*" relating to held agreements to obtaining zero tariffs between the countries. Updated agreements of more open farmers and dairy markets, and agreements of intellectual property and digital trade. (Kirby 2020).

There is a notion of ideology implied in this, hence the USMCA is a trade agreement that will result in *"freer markets, freer trade, and enhanced economic growth"* (staff, Jan 7. 2020), all of which result in more opportunity and growth for the private industry and less governmental influence, by taking political and regulatory power from the governments and placing it into the USMCA organization. This points to a possibly generalised notion of economic protectionism of capitalist interests being the underlying agenda, which according to Trump is a "*giant victory*" for the ingroup of Texans, Americans and their markets; benefiting farmers, manufacturing, workers and the oil industry. This issue revolves around economic notions of ideological perception, relation and management of the issue. The interests and agendas implied by Trump in this relation are based within national and fiscal conservatism and notions of American protectionism perspectives, despite Canada and Mexico also benefitting. Trump perceives it as a given positive development, as it will maximise the overall economic growth of the nation through neoliberal aspects of national conservatism.

Immigration

Trump frames all topics with a generalised misrepresentation of negative other presentation of his opponent, stating and categorizing them as *"Do-nothing Democrats. They're do-nothing"*, implying their general interests and effect on politics as lazy and incompetent, in addition to the already repeated implication of them being 'crazy', 'evil' and wanting to 'destroy' America, its citizens and the ingroups values and way of life.

The coercive persuasion of the Democratic agenda is continued with the declarative statement of; "*nowhere is the Democratic betrayal of our nation more dramatic than immigration."* (01:05:52). Here he implies that they are working to betray the nation. Stating them as the evil opposition once again and positioning himself as being the saviour and guardian of the American nation and people. In this section of the speech, Trump goes back and forth on the topics of immigration and healthcare.

At (01:09:53) he gets back into coercive negative presentation of presumptions and misrepresentation of the Democratic interests, so as to delegitimize and exclude them from any supportive notion of the audience, by stating;

> *"... Every single Democratic candidate running for president raised their hand in favor of giving free healthcare to all illegal aliens. They want to give more to illegal aliens than they want to give to American citizens … As president I will never allow the Democrats to take away your healthcare dollars and give them to people that are in our country illegally.*"

> [this statement is supported by the audience booing and affirming the negative perceived framing of the Democratic agenda presentation]

The audience displays its active and engaged support for Trump, indicating shared perspective of interests and ideological framing of the topic, and disapprovement for

the opposition's presumed interests and agenda. Thus, the audience is unified in their support for Trump and in direct opposition of the Democratic agenda.

Trump again uses coercion and negative other presentation/misrepresentation to persuade his audience into fearing that the oppositional Democrats want to use their money to create free healthcare, and abandon them for illegal immigrants.

These are very heated topics of political agenda and ideology, so he persuades the audience to support him through absurdifying the Democrats' agenda.

Through implication of opposing values, he portrays his own agenda of protecting the ingroup of Americans by further stating;

> (01:11:14) "... *We got rid of the individual mandate from crazy Obamacare.*
> *Every American citizen deserves a government that defends your job, your*
> *safety, your family, your borders and is always loyal to you for a change.*
> *We are loyal to you."*

Trump's intent is to state and convince the audience of the notion that Obamacare is crazy, and in direct opposition to all notions of protecting and serving the American ingroup and citizens. He states that his own government is the only one which defends the interests of the ingroups, job, safety, family, borders and loyalty, which legitimises and persuades the ingroup to support Trump, as it is in their own best interests. The word 'crazy' is again used to coerce the audience into blatantly accepting the Democratic opposition as a disloyal, crazy and ultimately ill-intentioned organization; *(01:14:24) "Democrats are now the party of crazy politicians"*

His statement at (01:11:14) of his administration being loyal and protecting the ingroups etc., portrays and frames Trump's agenda as *sensationalised positive* and in direct opposition to the 'crazy' Democrats. These are notions of vague ambiguity, and a generalised and all inclusive positive presentation that any leader within a modern democracy would support in its conceptual notions. The framing and inexplicit meaning, which he attempts to persuade the audience with, are again depicted interests and agendas which tendencies reminisce of right wing,

nationalistic, cultural conservatism of border and job protection for the national ingroup.

> *(01:11:35) "... My administration has reduced illegal border crossing by over 60% since May … with no help from the Democrats. They won't close the loopholes. They won't close the loopholes, and we could do it in 15 minutes. And we are building the wall and we're doing all of these things, but the democrats won't close the loopholes."*

Here he frames and emphasises his own positive self presented efforts to handle illegal immigration, but directly blames the Democrats for obstructing the process and wanting to counteract his agenda. This topic is simplified to depict the effort and attempt of Trump to solve this problem, which he already has diminished by 60%, a convincing number and statement possibly having persuasive effects on the audience. The Democrats are the reason for the ongoing immigration problems, and the ones to blame, because Trump and his administration are supposedly the righteous good, doing what they can to protect America and the people, despite the negative agenda of the Democrats. His interests here are outlined as willing to impose and change the immigration laws to the bare minimum immigration possible, through hard closed borders, detention camps, and laws which are reminiscent of nationalistic conservatism before the development of globalization.

> (01:12:27) "... *We are getting them out of the country … some are unbelievably dangerous and bad people … and they are getting the hell out of our country … The Democratic party has never been farther outside the mainstream. They've gone nuts."*

This idiomatic expression again insinuates that the opposition is crazy, and untrustworthy in running the country, as their agenda, interests and ideology are far from anything considered mainstream. Implicitly absurdified, within the political framework of values, implying the Democrats are extremists and absolute alien to the values of America.

Trump's underlying persuasive tactic to convince the audience to support him is through framing, absurdifying and misrepresenting the entire Democratic party and affiliates, so that they sound crazy and far from mainstream American values and ideas, in relation to any topic of discussion. The vilifying of the Democrats and the immigrants serves as a *direct threat* to the ingroup, and coerces their support for Trump. As this seems to be done in relation to immigration, he moves on to do the same on the topic of healthcare, and the Democratic values in this relation.

Healthcare

Before getting into the topic of healthcare, Trump reaffirms the mistrust of the media by stating;

> (01:13:17) *"... our ambitious campaign … has produced the largest decline in drug prices in 51 years … the press will not talk about it … we tell them this, they will not put it in the press. You have no idea how dishonest the media is."*

This repeated emphasis of framing and recontextualising the notion of the media, has the function of discrediting anything the press says in opposition of Trump, and gives implicit support, authority and power to Trump and his continued points and topicality of his speech;

> (01:12:45) *"... Every Democrat … is pushing for a healthcare agenda that would utterly eviscerate Medicare." (01:13:46) "... Every top Democrat also now supports late-term abortion, ripping babies straight from the mother's womb right up until the moment of birth. And the crackpot governor from Virginia executes the baby after birth … after birth."*

This insinuates how extremely far out Trump declares, perceives and positions his democratic opposition on the political spectrum of the left, relating to their interests, values, agendas and ideology, by dehumanising and absurdifying everything and anything they stand for. This implicitly states the effect of extreme oppositional notions of duality, meaning that Trump himself must be rather far right on the spectrum.

This segment uses extreme notions of *Ethos*, *Pathos* and *Logos* to coerce and persuade the audience through the use of emotions, ethics/belief and logic through generalised misrepresentation, so as to delegitimize and denaturalise any democratic notion in relation to the topic of healthcare. The statements indicate interests, agenda and ideology, as Trump first mentions that every Democrat wants to *"eviscerate Medicare"*. Medicare is an insurance program for healthcare in the USA, and as such it is basically run as a corporation with focus of economic maximisation, rather than an all inclusive universal treatment program equal for all patients. (Medicare Interactive, 2020).

Hence, in this statement, it is implied that Trump alienates a notion of a universal healthcare system supported by his opponents, and prefers a semi-privately organised healthcare system, which is capital-oriented and with minimal support from the government.
Trumps insinuates he supports the function of medicare as an functional foundation, for the US healthcare system.
This agenda and interest of keeping healthcare mostly private, and away from government interference, is a fundamental ideological notion of neoliberalism and fiscal- liberal- conservatism, with underlying notions of capitalism.

Trump seems to believe the classical conservative notion, that the government is *"unequipped to take on such a huge endeavor, and even if it were, the resulting bureaucracy would be terribly inefficient"* and would rather
a) *"promote competition between health insurance and pharmaceutical companies"* and b) *"reform the Medicare payment system."* (Hawkins, 2019).

Abortion

In order to convince and coerce his audience into the 'evil absurdity' of the Democrats, he uses a highly exaggerated metaphor of Democrats *"ripping babies straight from their mothers womb"* and even *"executing babies after birth."* These are extremist coercive ideas of people killing the most innocent notions of human life. There are no evidence for this, and it is an absolute sensationalist hyperbole statement, a misrepresentation and alienating scare tactic used by Trump to frighten the audience and gather coercive support against the absolute evil portrayed Democrats. The audience responds with *"boos"* after every negative other presentation of the Democrats, and claps and yells in support to his positive self presentation of *"Republicans believe that every child is a sacred gift from God",* thereby depicting their highly active support for Trump's framed other-, his self-
-presentation and stated interests on this issue.

He invokes the power of religion and God, insinuating that he is on the side of God, like his religions ingroup supporters in the bible belt of America, including Texas. This further implies that the Democrats are in his opposition, thus on the side of 'evil', and thereby in league with the devil. This is insinuating a common perspective and frame of Godly ideals between himself and the ingroup, which is a historical notion of the Republicans being more conservative and God-affiliated in their ideological perceptions. These notions are also supportive of an implicit ideology of right wing American/national-, and religious- conservatism, which values the notions of God heavily within the sphere of national politics. (Regnery, 2018).

Trump ends this brief, sensationalist and vaguely defined political topic of healthcare with a declarative persuasive notion of oppositional and prejudice discourse, by stating;

> *(01:14:34) "... Democrats are now the party of crazy politicians, high taxes, high crime, open borders, late-term abortion, socialism, and blatant corruption. They're corrupt."*

The coercive tactics of Trump continues to frame, delegitimize, exclude and dehumanise any notion of the Democratic representatives, by stating that they are 'crazy' and 'corrupt' socialists wanting high taxes, open borders and the killing of innocent babies, which will inevitably result in 'high crime' and absolute corruption of the nation and the people. This is an absolute extremist, disrespectful and sensationalised vilifying of the political opposition but also fellow representatives of a national democratic Republic cooperation. He presents himself and the Republican party through grandiose positive self presentation contrasting the coercive projected perspective of the Democrats as absolute evil.

Closing statement and summary - enforcing persuasive and coercive effect on the audience

> (01:14:54) *"... The Republican party is the party of the American worker, the American family and it is the party of the American Dream."*

This statement is so generalised, sensationally positive and ambiguously defined that it serves to give a positive inclusive feeling to all his supporters, while these claims are basically uncontested for any American, thus universally valued within the nation of America.

At (01:15:49) Trump again states his focus and ideology in relation to the military, by stating; *"the most important thing a president can do, I actually think its defense"* depicting his practical and ideological focus on protecting the military, homeland and economy of America, resulting in a nationalised primary focus of interests, rather

than collective global notions of interests, meaning a nationalistic-centered physical and economical protectionism result of his policy choices and implementation. These notions are further supported by him mentioning;

(01:18:32) *"... For years, you watched as your politicians apologized for America … Now you have a president who's standing up for America and standing up for your great state of Texas."*

Trump tries to demonstrate how everything he does is for the best of America, as opposed to the Democrats, who does not care about the American nation or people. He further sets himself up as the benevolent authority, who is protecting the inclusive ingroup of America and its people by stating;

(01:19:49) "... *the 2020 election is about one thing … it's about you, it's about you. One thing: about you. I'm doing this for you."* (01:21:00) *"... All about your family. It's all about your future. And it's all about the future fate of our great country."*

This inclusive framing makes it personal and brings the individual audience member into focus, by using direct language and using the pronoun of *"you"* repeatedly, so as to create a sense of personal agency, urgency and legitimised investment and support towards Trump's reelection.

Finally, towards the of Trump's speech, is where he really attempts to maximise his positive self presentation to convince and persuade the audience to support him;

(01:21:16) *"... With your help, we will lift millions of more citizens from welfare to work, dependence to independence, and poverty to prosperity. Together we will elect a Republican Congress to create a safe, modern, fair and lawful system of immigration."* (01:22:35) *"... We will enact trade deals that result in more products proudly stamped with those beautiful words, that beautiful phrase, I love it;* "Made in America" … *We will achieve new breakthroughs in science and*

> *medicine, finding new cures for childhood cancer and ending the AIDS*
> *epidemic in America … We are doing that. Who would have believed we could*
> *do that? We are doing that. And the previous administration spent no money on*
> *that, and we are spending a lot.*

In this first part of his closing and conclusive statements, Trump emphasizes and recontextualizes the many positive changes that will be a result of his reelection. These goals and interests that he mentions, are a rather condensed notion of his perceived agenda and ideology, made in order to end the speech with a dominant framing persuasion of himself as the ultimate hero, saviour and protector of the American people and their interests. This is to naturalise and legitimise the persuasion and manufacture of the audience's consent and support for Trump, and end the speech with a grandiose self manifested projection and image of himself and all his positive virtues and agendas for the audience to incorporate into their own frame of reference and denotation.

He states that he will lift millions of citizens from "*poverty*" and *"dependence"*, elect a Republican Congress that will reform the immigration system so as to become "*safe, modern, fair, and lawful*", implying that it currently is not, and further implying that he himself holds these virtues. Furthermore he will *"enact trade deals"* with a economic-nationalistic focused agenda, which will result in a national growth of manufacturing jobs and ultimately benefit America. Additionally the inclusive *'we'* led by Trump, will achieve breakthroughs in medicine and science, stating they will find *"new cures for childhood cancer and ending the AIDS epidemic in America"*. This is sensationalist rhetoric framing of positive persuasion and legitimation, to implicitly further pedistilise Trump in the mind of his supporters and audience members.

The notion of curing childhood cancer and AIDS is highly exaggerated and sensationalised, as these two areas of health and science are - and have been - a highly complex and continuous research endeavour, with no universal cure in sight. But by using implications of *Pathos* it sounds immensely persuasive to the audience that something as horrific as cancer in children will be ended, because of Trump.

Trump's closing statements

Trump ends this segment with a dualistic alienating notion of the previous administration - the *"evil"* and *"do-nothing-Democrats"* - and the implied righteous Republicans, through positive self representation and negative other presentation and misrepresentation. He continues to present his own and his administration's interests, agenda, and implied ideology with sensationalised positive, all inclusive and vague statements, such as;

> *(01:23:22) "... We will defend privacy, free speech, free assembly, religious liberty, and the right to keep and bear arms … we will never stop fighting for the values that unite people all across our land … we support, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."*

> *(01:24:08) "... We believe in the dignity of work and the sanctity of life. We believe that faith and family, not government and bureaucracy, are the true bedrocks of out society. We believe in the creeds of self-reliance, personal responsibility and American independence."*

> *(01:24:37) "... We believe that children should be taught to love our country, honor our history and always respect our great American flag. Loyal citizens like you helped build this country … We love our country. We're returning power to you, the American people."*

These segments of the speech and the one on page 80 *(01:21:16)*, are the most directly revealing notions of the projected values, interests, agenda and thus ideology of Trump in his speech. Here he first states that he and his administration will defend "*privacy, free speech, free assembly, religious liberty*", and the right to bear arms. These values (except the right to bear arms) are universal themes and statements, to which anyone who has grown up in a modern democracy would agree

and support, and therefore the agenda and ideology implication is a general notion of democratic freedoms.

The last two notions on "*religious freedom"* and *"2nd amendment"* are values reminiscent of Republican American values, as conservative Republicans and the Texan ingroup, as well as most Republicans, are very supportive of the 1st and 2nd amendment. The First Amendment to the US Constitution states; *"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble"* (2020, Thomson Reuters). This results in the notion of religious liberty at least within the judeo-christian faith and free circulation of arms in America. Thus Trump insinuates that he supports the constitution of the USA and addresses and frames points of ideological interests, generally pertaining to conservative republicanism, with multiple subdivision. There is another implicit contradiction and doublespeak, in relation to his stated interests and practice concerning his mention of *"free speech"* and the freedom of the media/press which he tries to manipulate, censor and ignore. This is implied in his speech, but also when the "*White House revokes press pass for dozens of journalists … as they didn't meet a new standard"* (Ingram, May 9, 2019), thus his statements are again contradictory and reminiscent of moral relativism and doublespeak.

In the next paragraph *(01:24:08)* he proclaims that individual "*faith and family"* should be the foundation of society and *"not government and bureaucracy"*.
Trump believes and values *"self-reliance, personal responsibility"* and national/"*American independence*", from the global society. These ideological represented notions and framing are clearly supportive and remeniciant of the conservative ideas of small government and minimum governmental interference in private life, where individual self-reliance and personal responsibility are at the center of how to operate society, as he sees the government as incapable and untrustworthy in relations of bettering the life of individuals and families.

The opposing values displayed here of individual freedoms and self reliance versus, socialistic notions of government cooperation, clearly depicts a value set of rightist national conservatism, of how the nation works domestically and internationally, as he mentions American independence, in direct opposition to dependance and cooperation with the global society.

At *(01:24:37)* Trump further brings into focus the notion of nationalistic pride, more commonly known in the US as patriotism, as he states the belief and agenda of the inclusive national ingroup, that children should be taught to always "*love our country, honor our history and always respect our great American flag*", so as to become loyal citizens and part of the American people, which is the ingroup that he claims to be *"returning power to you, the American people"*. This further supports the highly nationalistic-centered interests, agenda and underlying ideological perspectives continually projected by Trump throughout the speech, which implies that the loyal ingroup must love, honor and respect American values, always.

These American values are mentioned in the speech through vague and ambiguous notions, but have a generalised, inclusive naturalisation and legitimization of persuasive effects on the audience as the ingroup is righteous, and thus Trump will return the power to *"the American people"* and *"you"*, creating a feeling of individual engagement and power of the audience members through direct speech.
He continues the persuasive notions of imagined communities of nationalistic and US-state inclusiveness. This is the end of the speech, so the use of positive inclusive affirmative representation of interests, agenda and ideological values are highly utilized to further persuade and confirm the allegiance and support of the audience members, and to persuade anyone who might be in doubt about their support. Simultaneously it implicitly depict the political Democratic opposition as the negative counterpoint with all their alienated absurdified interests, agendas and points of political ideology.

> *(01:26:01) "... Texas is the state where generations of farmers, ranchers,*
> *pioneers and oil workers built a life and a home with their own two beautiful*

hands … they had one thing in common: they loved their families, they loved their country and they loved their God, these courageous Texas patriots did not shed their blood, sweat and tears … while others try to erase their legacy, demolish their liberty, and destroy our proud American heritage … with your help, your devotion and your drive … we are going to keep fighting. And we are going to keep winning, winning winning."

First Trump uses positive notions of the ingroup as hard working courageous patriots; *"farmers … pioneers … oil workers",* who built their own life and home with their "*blood, sweat and tears"* while loving their family, country and God.
This ingroup of portrayed American citizens and values are the 'good' God-loving people, giving an inclusive, proud and engaged feeling of his supporters, who are opposed by the exclusive 'evil', who are trying to "*erase … demolish … and destroy"* the "*legacy*", "*liberty*" and *"American heritage"* of the ingroup.

Trump once again uses coercive framing notions of an evil existential threat against his supporters to create urgency, need and will for unified engagement to *"fight"* against the evil Democratic opposition who wants to "*destroy"* their life and nation. This results in manufacture of consent, support and persuasion for Trump to stay in power as POTUS and "*keep winning*" over the Democrats, and for the audience to support and rally behind him.

The very last paragraph serves to unify and legitimize the inclusive ingroup and imagined community of American nationalistic support and people;

(01:27:45) "... We are one movement, one people, one family, and one glorious nation under God. and together we will make America wealthy again … we will make America proud … strong … safe … great … again".

Clearly he describes America with highly positive adjectives to build up the notion of America and the ingroup as being great and glorious, so as to unify the audience

and support for him and his agenda as an absolut given and undeniable modal must for everyone's sake and future. This he supports by further implying that it has not been as great as it once was - and could be again - under his leadership, insinuating and validating the interests, agenda and ideology of himself as the ultimate and unquestioned ideal choice for the people of America.

Ideological defined results of the analysis

The theoretical and methodological framework chosen for the analysis, was composed in order to depict and define underlying perceptions of represented ideology, and how they were discursively portrayed and manifested by Trump. The results of this inquiry has depicted general patterns and dominant tendencies, from which a ideological framework of Trump can be claimed. Through Trump's identification of the Democratic party, he implicitly positions his own ideological stance and perspective as in direct and extreme opposition to the (07:03) "*leftist, socialist and globalists.*"

These notions indicates Trump's ideological focus and perspectives for progress. He is thus defined as rightist, anti-socialist and anti-globalist, who wants closed national borders, more beneficial trade deals for the US, meaning no international subsidies/economic help for any nation but their own. He wants to protect the Christian faith and symbols, as well as the 'conservative voices' of the country whose priorities are family, faith, God and country. These ideological values arguably lies within a rather far-right competitive national-, fiscal-, cultural-, religious- conservatism and economic-nationalist framework, with subjective notions of American-authoritarianism, -exceptionalism and -relativism.

US agricultural trade

The political and economical representation and negotiation of Trump presented in this section indicates ideological notions and interests. Trump implies that he

manipulated the marked to the benefit of the US, which indicate notions of American economic protectionism. **Trump depicts himself as the** supreme authority, agent of power and decisive factor for a national- and fiscal- conservative focus of economic nationalism. His self pedistilising notions of him being in charge and the decisive factor, knowing best and ignoring the farmers' feedback, as well as giving subsidies and manipulating the *"playing field"*, has clear notions of authoritarianism and subjective relativism on the part of his actions. There are notions in this political process of authoritative subjective relativism dominating the notions of a democratic process of representative politicians and decisions making, which are misplaced in this relation, and have ideological patterns, processes and power reminiscent of authoritative autocratic, economic protectionism. Therefore, it could be stated that Trump acted with an agenda and ideology reminiscent of nationalistic right-wing, capitalist, fiscal and national conservatism, with a political process reminiscent of an autocratic dictatorship.

The fake news media

Trump's continued emphasis of negative presentations of the Democrats and the News media is to coerce, delegitimize and frame anything they say as illegitimate and untrustworthy, and so his supporters and possible supporters will look to him for authoritative guidance and disregard anything coming from his opposition.

The ideological interest and agenda of Trump on this matter is, in this case, reminiscent of the power, control, and manipulation which are mostly seen in autocratic, fascist dictatorships or communist regimes, where information and knowledge - thus power - is controlled by the very top authorities, so as to coerce and manipulate the public opinion, interests and power. This seems to be the conceptual pattern by which Trump relates to and presents the news media, further depicting his ideological notions in relation to his own role and persona as very far right, authoritarian, moral relativist and exceptionalist.

Positive self presentation

Trump's positive self presentation is continuous throughout the speech. Sometimes more vividly direct, and others rather implied. Nonetheless, he is constantly persuading the audience through self- legitimation, naturalization, coercion and implication of frames, discursive formation/worlds and inexplicit meanings, for his own authoritative pedistilization and power.

Military and homeland security

Trump states his interest and agenda is to put (43:02) "*a stop to the catastrophic era of endless wars*" while at the same time further investing and building up the US military even more, despite it already being the greatest military force on the planet. From which follows a vague and undefined notion of nationalistic protectionism of the US national borders/security, with the possible self-protective notions of defensive preemptive strikes, used by the US since 9/11 2001.

Trump also displays a nationalistic-centered focus of valuing American lives and blood above other nations, while disregarding, playing and sacrificing lives and the fate of other nations and people by letting them *"fight like two kids in a lot"*. This displays a contradictory notion of the US managing, meddling and policing international world affairs, despite wanting to *"end the endless wars"* - this notion is also contradicted by his statement relating to ISIS, (47:40) where he is indicating that he might go to war, economically or physically, with whoever he may need to, which also is a display of international justified authoritarianism and relativism on the part of the USA. This form of display is concerned with ideological notions possibly stemming from national- and cultural conservatism, i.e. the notions of elevating one nation and culture above others. Thus, there are implicit notions of a general American exceptionalism and authoritarianism.

Trump describes his actions of using tariffs and sanctions to nearly destroy a country's economy, which some would define as economic warfare and others as

soft economical power coercion, indicating economic nationalism and national-fiscal- and cultural conservatism. He also wants hard borders, clearly defined by his slogan in his initial presidential campaign; *"build that wall"*. In his speech it is perceived by his coercive framing of the national border issue, and it becomes apparent that he is trying to coerce the audience into his discursive frame and world of a modal need for hard and closed borders. This indicates ideological notions of national and cultural conservatism, and nationalistic and cultural protectionism.

Trump wants America to be prosper and winning again, where his measurement for prosperity is economical, and his notion of competing and winning against other nations is nationalistic. Thus, his perception of ideological beneficial development of the US is perceived through economic nationalism and fiscal conservatism.
The collective projected notions and agenda of Trump's implicit ideology relating to military practices could be categorised as national and fiscal conservatism with notions of nationalistic-authoritarianism and -exceptionalism based on subjective-moral-relativist interventionism and protectionism.

Taxation

Trump proudly states that his administration has passed the largest tax cuts and reform in American history. These ideological notions displayed by this agenda, indicate notions of national, fiscal and libertarian conservatism. With low taxation in general, favoring notions of free market capitalism and the right for individual economic prosperity, rather than the perceived socialistic/communistic notion of government management and interference, in the national and individual economy of the people.

Energy management

Trump has increased natural gas production by 35% and oil production by 60%. This engagement of energy management can be placed within national-, religious-, and fiscal- conservatism, with Judeo-Christian values, hence the focus on less

taxation and government regulation of the industry and underlining religious norms as implicit guidelines in politics. The notion of economic nationalism and national conservatism are perceived by Trump's ignorance of the global effects of burning fossil fuels, for economic maximization.

International trade

Trump's focus on international trade is centered in the notion and focus of benefitting America as much as possible. There are underlying notions of economic nationalism, though overlapping into national and fiscal conservatism and American protectionism. This can be seen in how he tries to deal with the WTO, threatening to leave and disregard the global trade agreements, meaning that he does not want to give money to developing nations through the WTO agreements, taxes, tarriefs etc., which tries to regulate the global trade. He wants American protectionism, exceptionalism and authoritarianism to be the foundation of a fiscal and national conservatism within international trade, which is a complete disregard of other nations and international cooperation, indicating a fundamental notion of economic nationalism.

Immigration

Trump's perceived interests, agenda and ideology in this relation are reminiscent of right wing, national and cultural conservatism, with nationalistic border security and hard borders, reminiscent of the national border control prior to the development of globalization. The vilifying, alienating and inhumane treatment-(not directly depicted in the speech) of the immigrants and refugees also indicate a national and cultural conservatism with nationalistic tendencies.

Healthcare

Trump is a clear proponent of keeping health care in the US private, and away from government managed programs. Seen by his stated notion and interest of protecting

medicare, a national health insurance program, which is run as a capital oriented program, funded partly by the government, but largely by customer paid premiums, called 'fee-for-service'. Medicare only covers and pays a small part of the medical expenses, and if someone wants additional coverage they have to buy from private health care insurance companies.

The ideological perspective in this relation is right wing, fiscal- liberal- conservatism with fundamental notions of neoliberal capitalism, and some would also say moral relativism (2020 Medicare Interactive).

Trump is clearly against abortion and portrays it as absolute 'evil', stating that the 'evil Democrats' are killing babies - *"executing babies after birth"* - while the *"Republicans believe that every child is a sacred gift from God".* Clearly depicting his interest and ideology in relation to abortion, within the framework of right wing, American/national-, and religious- conservatism, and further displaying this ideological notion as God-given righteousness.

Trump's closing statements

The notions of religious liberty and the 2nd amendment, are highly valued right wing Republican values. The belief of faith and family, self-reliance, personal responsibility and American independence as one glorious nation under God. Which will *"make America wealthy again"* (01:27:45).

The condensation of values at the end of the speech indicate ideological notions of national-, religious- and fiscal- conservatism, with a capitalistic focus of wealth and progress for America, also indicating fundamental rightist notions of economic nationalism, which can be seen by Trump's constant focus of economic maximisation of the US economy and national independence, or exceptionalism and moral relativism, relating to organised cooperation be it big government, other nations or international organizations or agreements.

Authoritarianism and Moral relativism - Trumpism

Through positive self presentation and negative other presentation, Trump constantly states his self proclamation of authority. There are underlying egocentric notions of an exaggerated sense of self-importance, a constant self recognition of superiority through exaggerate achievements, like curing cancer. Subjectively expected entitlement, inflating his authority and taking advantage of other people and nations, while being disrespectful, conceited, boastful, manipulative and pretentious to any opposing individual, organization, nation or culture. This is arguably the defining aspects of a narcissistic personality disorder, where he uses his power of presidential authority to discursively establish relativistic notions of moral values, and subjective postulations of discursive formations and worlds. This is reminiscent of autocratic authoritarian power displays in relation to national/international trade, the news media and military engagement (Mayo Foundation).

Discussion

The topics identified in the speech and the discursive framing, as well as the manifestation of conceptual understandings of these topics by Trump, gives a clear indication of his implicitly held ideological worldview.
It is through his description and framing of these topics that ideological power, interests and agendas can be categorised into a pattern, and derive an analytical outcome, which depict the focus of the problem formulation; Trump's discursively represented ideologies. The outcome and perceived pattern of the Critical Discourse Analysis, and the identification of the topics of interest, framed by Donald Trump, indicate and define ideological interests and agendas.

It is clear from fundamental understandings of political ideologies, that Trump's self-identification and initial ideological stance is defined as being on the right wing of the political spectrum. This is initially defined by his presidential representation of the Republican party, which is dominantly right leaning, as seen in table 1 and 2.

"Left and right are viewed as social constructs that serve to orient and to bind people to political choices over the last two centuries mostly within established Western liberal democracies. Their contents and functions, however, have not been invariant across polities but were largely shaped in accordance with the distinctive characteristics of societies and of political systems in which they operated. Thus, one can't avoid addressing left and right under a historical perspective to make sense of their different expressions and to better appreciate their functions. Recent findings have shown that individual differences in personality traits, basic values, and core political values account for a significant portion of preference for left and right across several polities. It has been argued that affinities between individual differences in personality and political preferences have developed over time under conditions of choice in which people's dispositions and value priorities could meet contingent political offers. Time and opportunities of free choice made possible the establishment of distinctive ideological identities that ultimately find their roots in people's personalities. Novel findings document the function that left and right still can play in predicting political preference and in summarizing political attitudes as stable social postures that account for the encounter of personality and politics." (Caprara & Vecchione, 2018, Abstract)

The two aspects of relativism within this project - that being an inductive approach with an outcome of relativistic generalised patterns of defining conclusive notions - deals with a topic of relativistic conceptual notions, relating to political categorization of ideological perceptions of left and right values.

This could be criticised as a limiting weakness of the analysis. Although, the objective process of dealing with the perceived patterns, observations and outcome of the analysis, framed by the chosen theories and methods of CDA, must be trusted to give trustworthy, relevant and objective results which indicate a condensed understanding of the outcome of the inquiry. This further must be perceived within an objective conceptual framework, of generally defined political ideological

characteristics and associations of left and right. This is a fundamental premise, supported by the theoretical framework of the chosen scholars (Foucault, Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak, Chilton), used through a methodological framed approach. From here, perceived tendencies can be postulated on Donald Trump's projected ideological notions through his manifested discursive construction of topics, frames, interests, agendas, power assertions - and thus ideologies.

Trump's ideological tendencies and pattern resulting from the analysis

Donald Trump, elected President of the United States of America in 2016, as a representative of the Republican party, is clearly representing an ideology manifestation identified on the right of the political spectrum; albeit, rather *far out right.*

Trump's display of political philosophies derived from the analysis centers on the values of; Republicanism, American and Christian values, individualism, low taxation, reduced government spending and interference, privatization, private healthcare, military maximization, anti-immigration and relativistic national protectionism depending of the trade agreements debated. Furthermore, it is apparent that there are additional interests of; anti-communism, anti-socialism, anti-trade organizations, anti-abortion, anti-free news media, pro-nationalistic capitalism, pro-hard borders, pro-fossil fuel energy.
Depending of the topic, there are different overlapping subcategories of ideology perceived in his discursive statements, and Trump is definitely right leaning.

The analysis has derived dominant ideological tendencies of National and Fiscal Conservatism which can be stated to be a foundational aspect of Trump's philosophy and ideology, as it incorporates most of the foundational ideological patterns found in the analysis. In short, the initial defining notions of the analysis indicate and position Trump's interests, agendas and ideology within the spectrum of;

Far right wing (as opposed to moderate right) with a foundational tendency of National-, Religious-, Fiscal- Conservatism; with a general nationalistic focus centered in national protectionism and economic nationalism, with advocated perspectives of American exceptionalism, and implied justification of Trump's own authoritarianism and moral relativism, which some have called *'Trumpism'*.
A few points made in his speech also points to tendencies that are reminiscent of autocratic ideological notions, perceived through Trump's actions and thoughts on certain ideological defining topics, relating to US agricultural trade, the news media and the military and homeland security.

The perspective of conservative ideology is too relatively defined, depending on topic, to give a concrete and universal definition of Trump's ideology on all matters, as there are multiple subcategories of conservative ideologies which overlap. Meaning, his 'conservative' subcategorized perceptions vary and overlap depending on topic of discussion, but the most consistent defining notion which is depicted in almost every topic of discussion, is that of right-wing National-, Fiscal- and religious -Conservatism.

Trump also has a fundamental and dominant ideological notion of American exceptionalism and economic nationalism, as illustrated in his intervention in the market of US Agriculture and international trade for the benefit his own nation. This is also the case considering his military drone strike after having held his speech stating to *"end the endless wars"*, depicting his engagement in war through notions of American exceptionalism, as well as his own moral relativism and authoritarianism. This is also seen in his relations to dealing with war of other nations, where he immorally lets them fight and are willing to destroy nations economically and physically, meaning innocent people as well.

One aspect, which is a general defining perspective of the held opinions and ideologies of the right, is the notion of focused nationalistic priorities within American political terminology, knows as *patriotism*. There is a dividing understanding of the definition of nationalism and patriotism, and it's a fine line of conceptual

understanding. The general understanding of patriotism is *"the love and devotion for one's country"*, and is normally used with positive connotation of pride and support for one's country, community and culture, and stems from the patriarchal notion of love for one's fatherland (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008, p. 221).

The concept of *'nationalism'* has developed into a negative connotation, through the post-modern globalising era, as a result of growing interconnectivity of humanity. Nationalism today is "*the policy or doctrine of asserting the interests of one's own nation viewed as separate from the interests of other nations* " (Merriam-Webster 2020) - and asserting the nation's interests and culture above other nations and the international communities and organizations. *"In short, nationalism is a kind of excessive, aggressive patriotism."* (Dictionary 2020). The more extreme notions of nationalism are seen within fascist and autocratic regimes, where there is a strong additional notion of nationalistic superiority, within cultural, ethnic, economic or military aspects (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008, p. 221).

Trump uses the concept of *"freedom loving patriotism"* to create an inclusive and collective national notion. But there are multiple patterns within his topics of interest, which indicate a more nationalistic perspective; from trade and military policies to his immigration policies.

Trump asserts his own patriotism in two ways; firstly, he alienates and creates general doubt about the Democrats nationalism/patriotism as not loving America, and as a party who are trying to destroy the country, through negative other presentation all throughout the speech. Secondly, by constantly inflateing his own notion of patriotism by positive self presentation.

Trump walks a thin line between patriotism and nationalism, and in some cases are more on the side of nationalism, but stating that he is on the side of patriotism.

Ideological notions defined and derived from oppositional descriptions

Trump defines the oppositional ideology of the Democratic party and their presidential candidates as "*the party of crazy politicians, high taxes, high crime, open borders, late-term abortion, socialism, and blatant corruption."*
And he states that the ingroup are *"fighting a campaign against leftist, socialist and globalists."*

From these notions, it can be derived that Trump implicitly defines himself through the extreme alienation of the opposing political, philosophical and ideological Democratic representation. It is through an oppositional dualistic polarity of left vs. right, on the political spectrum, that Trump indicates his own ideological position. Hence, it could be stated that his counterposition of ideology is 'right-wing, capitalist and nationalist' wanting low taxes, hard borders and anti-abortion.

The polaristic and dualistic notion of politics, being defined within this comparative counter positional measurement, is a fundamental notion and development within politics to identify and position ideologies.
On this political spectrum, the left is opposed by right, thus Trump seems defined on the far radical right in extreme opposition to the *"radical leftists"* and their *"extreme agenda"*. Trump's self described values and agendas, in the speech places him at the far right, but his formulations does not necessarily place him at the *extreme* end to the right, but more like somewhere in between a moderate right and extreme right. This is discordant with his negative other presentation of the Democrats, indicating his values and ideological notions as in *further extreme opposition* to the left, which indicates and places him *very far right* - some would claim *extremely right*.

Consequently, Trump's determined ideological outcome from his self-described discursively formulated interests and agendas, can be claimed to be somewhat moderately-far right. But his discursively formulated ideology, as represented in his democratic described opposition, can be claimed to place Trump on the extreme right end.

Looking at Trump's history in the oval office, one could find multiple examples that would support and place his ideology as extreme right, e.g. his travel ban on muslim countries, the anti-immigration policy resulting in incarceration and inhumane treatment of immigrants/refugees and their children in detentions camps, and racist and nationalistic comments like calling Mexican immigrants *"rapists"*. Not to mention, when Trump posed the question, *"Why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?"* in reference to Haiti and African countries, and his neglect and lack of alienation towards white supremacist actions and protests in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017. This implicitly indicates a notion of extreme right wing actions and ideologies (Lopez. 2019).

These are all extremist right political notions, but the critical discourse analysis on the campaign speech is not that extreme, as the speech is a tool and well thought out, strategical attempts to persuade as many listeners and supporters as possible, from the middle of the political spectrum all the way to the right. Hence, the speech can be postulated to be dominantly right wing populist persuasion, and somewhat watered down in relation to extreme far right perspectives, as there are many moderate conservative people who believe and support notions of less government, less taxation, less immigration and less international interference in national matters, and these are ideological valid perspectives for many people in the US. Thus, some would rate Trump as *moderate* and others as *far-* or *extreme right*, depending on ideological stance, but in an objective ideological categorised assessment, it could be claimed that Trump is beyond moderate right.

What this thesis set out to examine, was the discursively formulated ideological concepts of Trump in the setting of his first re-election speech for the American presidency. This was done through a qualitative inductive theoretical approach, so as to get an in depth perspective and analysis of the concrete discursive formulations of Trump, so as to determine his ideological tendencies in the qualitative setting of his speech. This is opposed to a quantitative research approach

as seen in table 1 and 2, where an estimation of his ideological placement on the right vs left spectrum was done through public opinion.

This analysis can be stated to give more precise insight and understanding of his ideological perspectives on opinionated topics, and thus more precisely depicted ideological tendencies. The result of this thesis can be claimed to correlate with the research seen in table 1, where Trump is the furthest right wing presidential candidate, and in table 2 where he is placed far right, past the median bell curve of the republican party.

The significance of this is an indication that Trump's ideology is further right than the majority of most politicians and people of the right wing, which indicates a notion of trustworthy results of the tendencies of his held ideologies. This can aid people and politicians to be aware of, and perceive, Trump's categorised political interests and ideology.

The moral relativism and authoritarianism is what some call the defining factors of the new notion of *'Trumpism'* supported by national- and fiscal- -conservatism and patriotism/nationalism and economic nationalism (J. Goldberg, 2018).
He uses his authority to challenge and discredit the news media, for his own power gain, which helps him establish his own subjective discursive worlds/formations and he has done so since his first presidential campaign.

But one underlying notion of Trump's statements being populistic and without merit, is the general tendency of his discursive topics, interests, agendas and ideologies as being untrustworthy, as he at times says one thing but does another. This is further substantiated by the Washington Post's count of Trump making ***16.241 false or misleading claims*** during his presidency (Kessler, Rizzo & Kelly, 2020).
These untrustworthy moral relativistic notions can be claimed to be manifested through the concept of doublespeak, as his discursive statements are very contradictory and reminiscent of the linguistic concept of 'doublespeak', which is *"language designed to evade responsibility, make the unpleasant appear pleasant,*

the unattractive appear attractive [or vice versa]*, basically it is language that pretends to communicate, but really doesn't. It is language designed to mislead while pretending not to … We should be aware of it, so that we can at least be defensive … and not be mislead"* (00:00) William Lutz, 2014).

The notion of doublespeak can also be further observed in relation to Trump stating that he is not subsidising the agricultural market (government interference), but then manipulates the market through authoritative interventionism. This also becomes apparent when he wants *"to end the endless wars"*, but then engages in foreign military affairs by drone strike and economical warfare, while also maximising the US military, which also shows the continuous underlying notion of his authoritative subjective moral relativism.

Trump's moral relativism, as well as his autocratic tendencies, can also be seen in his latest attempt to censor social media, as a response to Twitter flagging two of his tweets as 'misleading'. The first relating to *"mail-in ballots"* and the second for *"glorifying violence"* in the current Minneapolis protests. The first step towards an autocratic state is the censoring of the media, known as the fourth power of government, representing information to the public and keeping politicians, governments and organizations in check.

Conclusion

The **problem formulation** of this master thesis attempted to research and determine *"What ideologies are represented"* in the speech, and *"How they are discursively portrayed and manifested?"* as an attempt to depict dominant ideological frameworks, opinions and perspectives of the candidate Donald J. Trump.

The analytical outcome did produce informational patterns of Trump's discursive use and formulation so as to arrive at a rather conclusive result of his held and practiced ideologies.

The most consistent ideological notions perceived are conservatism, and the subcategories thereof are national, fiscal, religious, cultural and libertarian - conservatism. Additional ideological notions are perceived as economic nationalism and tendencies, varying between patriotism/nationalism. Further patterns of American protectionism and exceptionalism are consistent with implicit perceived tendencies for authoritarianism and moral relativism by Trump.

These results are all right wing ideologies, but some more moderate than others, and some more extreme. But, as stated earlier, the ideologies are overlapping and differ *depending on topic*. This can be stated as a common trait of most politicians, but Trump's moral relativism and subjective exceptionalistic notions makes his ideologies more fluent, overlapping and relative, and thus subject to change, with notions of doublespeak and thus notions of *evasiveness*. This makes it challenging to pinpoint *one* general foundatinal ideology.

That being said, the outcome of his dominant ideological conceptuality, seems to have been appropriately condensed and defined into a credible and trustworthy indicating result.

Additionally the selected theory and methodology seem to work well together and in support of each other, in order to highlight the problem of inquiry. It has credibly depicted salient ideological perspectives of Trump on essential topics of ideological determination. This determined result has contributive notions within fields such as US national and international politics with; global, cultural, national, economic, social, communicative and ideological aspects, so as to better depict, categorize, relate and understand the mental ideological reality of Trump.

One of the underlying ideological tendencies, were patterns and notions of excessive use of Trump's authoritative power, which in some cases were very similar to autocratic practices and ideologies. This topic could be interesting to research further, examining Trump's possible use and practice of sovereign power and

authority to reach an understanding of how extreme and autocratic his use of power and authority can be perceived to be.

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Appendix 1

Comparison chart

	Democrat	**Republican**
Philosophy	Liberal, left-leaning.	Conservative, right-leaning.
Economic Ideas	Minimum wages and progressive taxation, i.e., higher tax rates for higher income brackets. Born out of anti-federalist ideals but evolved over time to favor more government regulation.	Believe taxes shouldn't be increased for anyone (including the wealthy) and that wages should be set by the free market.
Social and human ideas	Based on community and social responsibility	Based on individual rights and justice
Stance on Military issues	Decreased spending	Increased spending
Stance on Gay Marriage	Support (some Democrats disagree)	Oppose (some Republicans disagree)

Stance on Abortion	Should remain legal; support Roe v. Wade	Should not be legal (with some exceptions); oppose Roe v. Wade
Stance on Death Penalty	While support for the death penalty is strong among Democrats, opponents of the death penalty are a substantial fraction of the Democratic base.	A large majority of Republicans support the death penalty.
Stance on Taxes	Progressive (high income earners should be taxed at a higher rate). Generally not opposed to raising taxes to fund government.	Tend to favor a "flat tax" (same tax rate regardless of income). Generally opposed to raising taxes.
Stance on Government Regulation	Government regulations are needed to protect consumers.	Government regulations hinder free market capitalism and job growth.
Healthcare Policy	Support universal healthcare; strong support of government involvement in healthcare, including Medicare and Medicaid. Generally support Obamacare.	Private companies can provide healthcare services more efficiently than government-run programs. Oppose Obamacare provisions like (1) requirement for individuals to buy health insurance or pay a fine, (2) required coverage of contraceptives.

Stance on Immigration	There is greater overall support in the Democratic party for a moratorium on deporting - or offering a pathway to citizenship to - certain undocumented immigrants. e.g. those with no criminal record, who have lived in the U.S. for 5+ years.	Republicans are generally against amnesty for any undocumented immigrants. They also oppose President Obama's executive order that put a moratorium on deporting certain workers. Republicans also fund stronger enforcement actions at the border.
Traditionally strong in states	California, Massachusetts, New York	Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas
Symbol	Donkey	Elephant
Color	Blue	Red
Founded in	1824	1854
Website	www.democrats.org	www.gop.com
Senate Leader	Chuck Schumer	Mitch McConnell
Chairperson	Tom Perez	Ronna Romney McDaniel

"Democrat vs Republican.". 17 Feb 2020.
https://www.diffen.com/difference/Democrat_vs_Republican

THE ISSUES: (In alphabetical order)

Abortion

Liberal

A woman has the right to decide what happens with her body. A fetus is not a human life, so it does not have separate individual rights. The government should provide taxpayer funded abortions for women who cannot afford them. The decision to have an abortion is a personal choice of a woman regarding her own body and the government must protect this right. Women have the right to affordable, safe and legal abortions, including partial birth abortion.

Conservative

Human life begins at conception. Abortion is the murder of a human being. An unborn baby, as a living human being, has separate rights from those of the mother. Oppose taxpayer-funded abortion. Taxpayer dollars should not be used for the government to provide abortions. Support legislation to prohibit partial birth abortions, called the "Partial Birth Abortion* Ban"(*Partial Birth Abortion: the killing of an unborn baby of at least 20 weeks by pulling it out of the birth canal with forceps, but leaving the head inside. An incision is made in the back of the baby's neck and the brain tissue is suctioned out. The head is then removed from the uterus.)

Economy

Liberal

A market system in which government regulates the economy is best. Government must protect citizens from the greed of big business. Unlike the private sector, the government is motivated by public interest. Government regulation in all areas of the economy is needed to level the playing field.

Conservative

The free market system, competitive capitalism, and private enterprise create the greatest opportunity and the highest standard of living for all. Free markets produce more economic growth, more jobs and higher standards of living than those systems burdened by excessive government regulation.

Energy

Liberal

Oil is a depleting resource. Other sources of energy must be explored. The government must produce a national plan for all energy resources and subsidize (partially pay for) alternative energy research and production. Support increased exploration of alternative energy sources such as wind and solar power. Support government control of gas and electric industries.

Conservative
Oil, gas and coal are all good sources of energy and are abundant in the U.S. Oil drilling should be increased both on land and at sea. Increased domestic production creates lower prices and less dependence on other countries for oil. Support increased production of nuclear energy. Wind and solar sources will never provide plentiful, affordable sources of power. Support private ownership of gas and electric industries.

Global Warming/Climate Change

Liberal
Global warming is caused by an increased production of carbon dioxide through the burning of fossil fuels (coal, oil and natural gas). The U.S. is a major contributor to global warming because it produces 25% of the world's carbon dioxide. Proposed laws to reduce carbon emissions in the U.S. are urgently needed and should be enacted immediately to save the planet. Many reputable scientists support this theory.

Conservative
Change in global temperature is natural over long periods of time. Science has not shown that humans can affect permanent change to the earth's temperature. Proposed laws to reduce carbon emissions will do nothing to help the environment and will cause significant price increases for all. Many reputable scientists support this theory.

Gun Control

Liberal
The Second Amendment does not give citizens the right to keep and bear arms, but only allows for the state to keep a militia (National Guard). Individuals do not need guns for protection; it is the role of local and federal government to protect the people through law enforcement agencies and the military. Additional gun control laws are necessary to stop gun violence and limit the ability of criminals to obtain guns. More guns mean more violence.

Conservative
The Second Amendment gives citizens the right to keep and bear arms. Individuals have the right to defend themselves. There are too many gun control laws – additional laws will not lower gun crime rates. What is needed is enforcement of current laws. Gun control laws do not prevent criminals from obtaining guns. More guns in the hands of law-abiding citizens mean less crime.
Full text of the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

Healthcare

Liberal
Support free or low-cost government controlled health care. There are millions of Americans who can't afford health care and are deprived of this basic right. Every American has a right

to affordable health care. The government should provide equal health care benefits for all, regardless of their ability to pay.

<u>Conservative</u>
Support competitive, free market health care system. All Americans have access to health care. The debate is about who should pay for it. Free and low-cost government-run programs (socialized medicine) result in higher costs and everyone receiving the same poor-quality health care. Health care should remain privatized. The problem of uninsured individuals should be addressed and solved within the free market healthcare system – the government should not control healthcare.

Homeland Security

<u>Liberal</u>
Airport security – Passenger profiling is wrong, period. Selection of passengers for extra security screening should be random. Using other criteria (such as ethnicity) is discriminatory and offensive to Arabs and Muslims, who are generally innocent and law-abiding. Terrorists don't fit a profile.
"…Arabs, Muslims and South Asians are no more likely than whites to be terrorists."
(American Civil Liberties Union ACLU)
Asked on 60 Minutes if a 70-year-old white woman from Vero Beach should receive the same level of scrutiny as a Muslim from Jersey City, President Obama's Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta said, "Basically, I would hope so."

<u>Conservative</u>
Airport security – Choosing passengers randomly for extra security searches is not effective. Rather, profiling and intelligence data should be used to single out passengers for extra screening. Those who do not meet the criteria for suspicion should not be subjected to intense screening. The terrorists currently posing a threat to the U.S. are primarily Islamic/Muslim men between the ages of 18 and 38. Our resources should be focused on this group. Profiling is good logical police work.
"If people are offended (by profiling), that's unfortunate, but I don't think we can afford to take the risk that terrorism brings to us. They've wasted masses of resources on far too many people doing things that really don't have a big payoff in terms of security." – Northwestern University Aviation Expert, A.Gellman.

Immigration

<u>Liberal</u>
Support legal immigration. Support amnesty for those who enter the U.S. illegally (undocumented immigrants). Also believe that undocumented immigrants have a right to:
— all educational and health benefits that citizens receive (financial aid, welfare, social security and medicaid), regardless of legal status.
— the same rights as American citizens. It is unfair to arrest millions of undocumented immigrants.

Support legal immigration only. Oppose amnesty for those who enter the U.S. illegally (illegal immigrants). Those who break the law by entering the U.S. illegally do not have the same rights as those who obey the law and enter legally. The borders should be secured before addressing the problem of the illegal immigrants currently in the country. The Federal Government should secure the borders and enforce current immigration law.

Private Property

Liberal
Government has the right to use eminent domain (seizure of private property by the government–with compensation to the owner) to accomplish a public end.

Conservative
Respect ownership and private property rights. Eminent domain (seizure of private property by the government–with compensation to the owner) in most cases is wrong. Eminent domain should not be used for private development.

Religion & Government

Liberal
Support the separation of church and state. The Bill of Rights implies a separation of church and state. Religious expression has no place in government. The two should be completely separate. Government should not support religious expression in any way. All reference to God in public and government spaces should be removed (eg., the Ten Commandments should not be displayed in Federal buildings). Religious expression has no place in government.

Conservative
The phrase *"separation of church and state"* is not in the Constitution. The First Amendment to the Constitution states *"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof…"* This prevents the government from establishing a national church/denomination. However, it does not prohibit God from being acknowledged in schools and government buildings. Symbols of Christian heritage should not be removed from public and government spaces (eg., the Ten Commandments should continue to be displayed in Federal buildings). Government should not interfere with religion and religious freedom.

Social Security

Liberal
The Social Security system should be protected at all costs. Reduction in future benefits is not a reasonable option. [Opinions vary on the extent of the current system's financial stability.] Social Security provides a safety net for the nation's poor and needy. Changing the system would cause a reduction in benefits and many people would suffer as a result.

Conservative

The Social Security system is in serious financial trouble. Major changes to the current system are urgently needed. In its current state, the Social Security system is not financially sustainable. It will collapse if nothing is done to address the problems. Many will suffer as a result. Social Security must be made more efficient through privatization and/or allowing individuals to manage their own savings.

Taxes

Liberal

Higher taxes (primarily for the wealthy) and a larger government are necessary to address inequity/injustice in society (government should help the poor and needy using tax dollars from the rich). Support a large government to provide for the needs of the people and create equality. Taxes enable the government to create jobs and provide welfare programs for those in need. Government programs are a caring way to provide for the poor and needy in society.

Conservative

Lower taxes and a smaller government with limited power will improve the standard of living for all. Support lower taxes and a smaller government. Lower taxes create more incentive for people to work, save, invest, and engage in entrepreneurial endeavors. Money is best spent by those who earn it, not the government. Government programs encourage people to become dependent and lazy, rather than encouraging work and independence.

United Nations (UN)

Liberal

The UN promotes peace and human rights. The United States has a moral and a legal obligation to support the United Nations (UN). The U.S. should not act as a sovereign nation, but as one member of a world community. The U.S. should submit its national interests to the greater good of the global community (as defined by the UN). The U.S. should defer to the UN in military/peacekeeping matters. The United Nations Charter gives the United Nations Security Council the power and responsibility to take collective action to maintain international peace and security. U.S. troops should submit to UN command.

Conservative

The UN has repeatedly failed in its essential mission to promote world peace and human rights. The wars, genocide and human rights abuses taking place in many Human Rights Council member states (and the UN's failure to stop them) prove this point. History shows that the United States, not the UN, is the global force for spreading freedom, prosperity, tolerance and peace. The U.S. should never subvert its national interests to those of the UN. The U.S. should never place troops under UN control. U.S. military should always wear

the U.S. military uniform, not that of UN peacekeepers. [Opinions vary on whether the U.S. should withdraw from the UN.]

War on Terror/Terrorism

Liberal

Global warming, not terrorism, poses the greatest threat to the U.S., according to Democrats in Congress. Terrorism is a result of arrogant U.S. foreign policy. Good diplomacy is the best way to deal with terrorism. Relying on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. Captured terrorists should be handled by law enforcement and tried in civilian courts.

Conservative

Terrorism poses one of the greatest threats to the U.S. The world toward which the militant Islamists strive cannot peacefully co-exist with the Western world. In the last decade, militant Islamists have repeatedly attacked Americans and American interests here and abroad. Terrorists must be stopped and destroyed. The use of intelligence-gathering and military force are the best ways to defeat terrorism around the world. Captured terrorists should be treated as enemy combatants and tried in military courts.

Welfare

Liberal

Support welfare, including long-term welfare. Welfare is a safety net which provides for the needs of the poor. Welfare is necessary to bring fairness to American economic life. It is a device for protecting the poor.

Conservative

Oppose long-term welfare. Opportunities should be provided to make it possible for those in need to become self-reliant. It is far more compassionate and effective to encourage people to become self-reliant, rather than allowing them to remain dependent on the government for provisions.

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https://www.studentnewsdaily.com/conservative-vs-liberal-beliefs/

Appendix 2

Fairclough and Wodas summarized the main tenets of critical discourse analysis as:

CDA addresses social problems.
Power relations are discursive.
Discourse constitutes society and culture.
Discourse does ideological work.
Discourse is historical.
The link between text and society is mediated.
Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
Discourse is a form of social action.

T. Van Dijk, CDA, "What is critical discourse analysis?" p. 2 -

https://is.cuni.cz/studium/predmety/index.php?do=download&did=100284&kod=JMM654)