The Rise of Right-Wing Populism
A Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald J Trump's 2016 Presidential Campaign Speeches

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Abstract

This study analyzes the fundamental factors and strategies the right-wing employs in present-day politics. This will be achieved by analyzing the discourses of Donald J. Trump, who is recognized as a successful figure among right-wing populist politicians in the U.S. Three key speeches from Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign have been specifically selected for this research to meet the study's objectives. The study employs a qualitative research method through the use of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA and his *ideological square* as well, as an analytical framework of the research data. The findings demonstrate that Trump's speeches display an ideology that employs **us vs. them** strategic patterns of division and the core idea of populism: the good people vs. the corrupt, weak, and inept elite. Additionally, Trump frequently used the strategy of highlighting the other negatives and drawbacks attributes in his speeches.

Keywords: Right-wing populism, CDA, Socio-cognitive Approach, Ideological Square, Us vs. Them, Political Discourse, Donald Trump, U.S.

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Dedication

We would like to dedicate this work to our dear families

To all friends for their supports and encouragement

To all of the teachers that helped in shaping our skill of critical thinking and research.

Samir Ait Yahia

Aimene Boukhamla

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List of Abbreviations

- **AFD :** Alternative für Deutschland

- **AFRI-AMERI :** African American

- **BREXIT: Britain Exit** (The withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union).

- **CDA :** Critical Discourse Analysis

- **CL :** Critical Linguistics

- **DHA :** Discourse-Historical Approach

- **EU :** European Union

- **FN :** Front National

- **GOP :** The Republican Party

- **LGBT :** Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender

- **NAFTA :** The North American Free Trade Agreement

- **PD :** Political Discourse

- **RNC :** Republican National Convention

- **RP :** Republican Party

- **SFL :** Systematic Functional Linguistics

- **UK :** United Kingdom

- **UKIP :** United Kingdom Independence Party

- **US :** United States

- **ISIS :** Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

- **WTO :** World Trade Organization.

General Introduction

1. Background

In recent decades, a "populist explosion" has been described by some academics of the phenomena as a result of the way that Populism has swept the globe like a disease and become a hot academic topic in many different parts of the world. Populism, according to Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017), is one of the crucial and widely used political terms in the twenty-first century. It is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon named the Word of the Year in 2017 by the Cambridge Dictionary after becoming one of the phrases that international political analysts use the most frequently. One of today's most astute observers of democratic life, the Bulgarian political scientist Ivan Krastev, even referred to this period as the "Age of Populism" (Müller, 2016).

Furthermore, Right-wing populism and left-wing populism represent two separate political ideologies that have gained significant attention in recent years. While they share some similarities in their critique of established Populism mobilizes "the people" against the elite political elites, their policy priorities and approaches differ; Right-wing populism differs significantly from other forms of populism in that it generally assigns blame to a third party, usually a minority religious and ethnic class. Right-wing populists claim that the privileged class unjustly benefits the outgroup while undermining the interests of the "real people" (Rubsamen, 2020). Moreover, The Right raises "the people" with a fighting nation facing its external enemies: Islamic terrorism, immigration, refugees, and so on, i.e., right Populism describes the enemy in personalized terms (Béland, 2019). Right-wing populists commonly embrace nationalism and oppose international cooperation. On the opposite of the right side of Populism, Agustin (2020) contends that the Populism of the left exploits the populist motives to expand representation by "appealing to the people against the elites" to promote

equality and social justice. The Left populism attitude is, for example, tolerant of immigrants and refugees.

A number of European parties have recently been categorized as populist. Many of these are right-wing, including the Fratelli d'Italia party (Brothers of Italy), Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) in Germany, the French Front National (FN), and the UK Independence Party (UKIP), which are seen as the most successful examples of right-wing Populism's ascent. The increase of right-wing populism on a global scale, particularly in the United States (U.S), exemplified by the election of Donald Trump as President in 2016, has sparked considerable scholarly discourse and analysis. Numerous theories have been proposed to elucidate the emergence of right-wing populism. Nonetheless, our dissertation primarily aims to comprehend the influence of rhetoric and language on the electoral triumph of the populist right, specifically focusing on Donald Trump's presidential campaign in 2016.

In doing so, and in order to gain deeper insights into the populist rhetoric employed during the Trump campaign, this dissertation adopts Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its overarching framework. Discourse, according Van Dijk (1997) is "the form that people make of language to convey ideas, thoughts, or beliefs within a social context" (p.2). Consequently, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an analytical approach focused on analysing language use within specific contexts. O'Halloran (2001) defined CDA as: "an interdisciplinary set of approaches which attempt to describe, interpret and explain the relationship between language, power and ideology manifested in a discourse" (p. 427).

CDA contains three main approaches, mainly Norman Fairclough's Social Discourse Approach (1989), which asserts that the 'interrelationships of language and power' and focuses on the examination of ideology in political debates as well; Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach claims "that all discourses are historical and can therefore only be

understood with reference to their context" (Wodak, 2009, p.20); and finally, van Dijk Socio-cognitive Approach(2016) which will be discussed later in this dissertation. In a nutshell, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2016) primarily emphasizes the dynamic relationship between discourse, society, and cognition, highlighting their interconnected nature. He asserts that the connections between discourse and society are influenced by cognitive processes (van Dijk, 2016).

2. Statement of the Problem

Trump was one of the republican candidates, and his rise as a right-wing populist was an intriguing story that fundamentally altered the course of history. While the overall topic of analysis is the rhetoric of right-wing Populism, the case study will specifically concentrate on the presidential election campaign of Donald Trump in 2016. In other words, one method of examining Trump's stylistic presentation of Populism involves analyzing the performances during campaign speeches that will be a major point of analysing. Accordingly, his rise and language throughout the campaign changed the norms of acceptable political discourse.

Populism, like many concepts in the political lexicon, is a vital idea for comprehending the present political environment; nonetheless, defining the precise definition of Populism is fraught with difficulty (Moffitt, 2016). Mudde's (2004) definition remains a preeminent one that meets consensus among scholars regarding Populism. He defined Populism as "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people" (Mudde, 2004, p.543). In other words, populism is often employed as a term synonymous with 'anti-establishment.' (Oswald, 2022). The term 'elite' can encompass various entities such as establishment parties, foreigners, international businesses and organizations,

and even scientists and scholars. Similarly, 'the people' can refer to a particular segment of the population based on a distinct perception of class (Oswald, 2022).

Hence, politicians make an effort to ensure that their speeches are accessible and easily understandable to all members of the audience, including those who may struggle with complex language. Politicians utilize a variety of discourse structures, strategies, and rhetorical techniques to persuade their listeners, promote their ideologies, challenge opposing powerful groups, and construct compelling and persuasive arguments (Moody & Eslami, 2020).

Thus, our current study is based on three speeches from the 2016 presidential election of Trump, selected among all of Donald Trump's political speeches during his 2016 presidential campaign. These three speeches were delivered over seventeen (17) months, from June 2015 (Trump's announcement of candidacy for the presidency) to November 2016 (the triumph of Trump as the 45th president of the US). The announcement of Trump's candidacy, which took place on June 16, 2015, at Trump Tower in New York City, serves as the first speech in the analysis. The second speech is the Republican National Convention (RNC) acceptance speech, which was occurred in Cleveland, Ohio, on July 21, 2016, and the third and final speech, Charlotte's speech, given at the Charlotte Convention Center in Charlotte, North Carolina on August 18 of 2016. The most important passages of each speech can be found in the appendices.

3. Research Questions

This study has adopted the following research questions:

1- How can we analyze Donald J Trump's Triumph in the 2016 presidential election as a pivotal figure of Populism in the U.S?

2- To what extent has Donald J Trump succeeded in utilizing a binary populist strategy of 'pure people' versus the 'corrupt elite' (us-versus-them) in his speeches to secure victory in the 2016 presidential election? Moreover, what are the primary themes of right-wing populist ideology that Trump employed to gain the sympathy and support of the electorate?

3 - How Van Dijk's ideological square approach be employed to analyze populist rhetoric in Donald J Trump's speeches? Moreover, what are the prominent elements of this approach that manifest in those speeches?

4. Aims of the Study

First, the study aims to understand the fundamental elements that contribute to the rise of right-wing populist rhetoric within contemporary politics. It seeks to comprehensively examine various factors, encompassing economic, social, and cultural dimensions, to gain a deep understanding of their influence. Second, this research attempts to analyze the content and strategies employed by Donald Trump in his populist speeches by exploring how he effectively appealed to the concerns and fears of his supporters. This study will also examine and investigate the populist rhetorical techniques employed by Trump in order to unravel the impact of right-wing populist rhetoric on the existing political polarization and social divisions of 'Us' which represents the "pure people," versus 'Them' which represents "corrupt elite," within society, as well as how such rhetoric may potentially reinforce pre-existing biases by emphasizing *our* positive self-presentation and *their* negative other-presentation on the one hand and deemphasizing *our* immoral acts and *their* good acts on the other hand. Generally, this dissertation aims to analyze and elucidate the populist strategies employed by Trump in the selected speeches that facilitated his transformation from an outsider in the primary 2016 presidential election to the 45th president of the U.S. This provides a compelling illustration of successful right-wing populist rhetoric.

5. Methodology

The current study is structured based on the principles of qualitative research methodology, focusing on the analysis of three speeches from Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign. To better grasp the ideas and concepts of populism, this method uses phrases, clauses, sentences, and short paragraphs (excerpts from the discourse) as the basis for interpretation. Furthermore, the descriptive method was employed to depict the qualitative approach. It should be noted, however, that the primary feature of this method is that researchers have limited control over the variables and data.

Thus, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach was carried out to answer the aforementioned research questions for this dissertation. Thus, we analyze the collected data in van Dijk's ideological square model (1998), which tackles the ingroup and outgroup presentation concept. In our analysis, the data will be analyzed on the macrostructure of discourse, and the micro-structural level will be neglected; moreover, the manner in which in-groups and out-groups are portrayed in written and spoken discourse is typically exemplified through the ideological pronouns "us" and "them".

6. Structure of the Dissertation

The present dissertation incorporates two core chapters. The first chapter is divided into two sections that discuss the literature review. The first section defines the concept of 'populism' and explains the rise of right-wing populist rhetoric in the West European democracies and the US in the past few decades. The second section presents a comprehensive examination of critical discourse analysis, encompassing various approaches including van Dijk's (1995, 1998, 2016) socio-cognitive approach, Wodak's (2009) discourse historical approach, and Fairclough's (1989) dialectical-relational approach.

The second chapter is composed of two sections as well. The first section explains the data set of three political speeches by Donald Trump during his 2016 presidential election campaign. In the second section, the analysis and discussion of the data set described in the preceding section are presented, employing the principles of van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square as a framework. The objective of this analysis is to uncover the various ways employed in the three speeches to depict social groups and shape and frame Trump's underlying ideology.

Finally, the study is concluded by the general conclusion offers a comprehensive overview of the results and findings, followed by an exploration of the study's limitations and concluding with recommendations for future research endeavours.

Chapter One: Literature Review

Introduction

Section one presents a general review of the literature for this research. It is separated into two major sections. The first section seeks to discover the concept of Populism by exploring its conceptualization, origins, and differentiation between its two wings, the right wing, and the left wing. This section discusses the rise of right-wing populism in Western Industrial nations, mainly Western Europe and the U.S. The second section introduces Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the study's research approach. Following the clarification of some key terms such as 'Discourse,' 'Political Discourse,' and finally, 'Critical Discourse Analysis,' the study should go into depth by discussing the three major approaches to CDA and demonstrating its suitability for populist discourse in general and Trump's campaign speeches in particular.

1.1 Section One: A Comprehensive Analysis of Ppopulism

1.1.1 Conceptualisation of Populism

In the past decades, Populism has drawn significant scholarly attention from throughout the globe. This idea has caused debate not only within academic subjects and academic disciplines, but also between regions and within regions. Similar to numerous other terms in the political vocabulary, populism is a crucial notion for comprehending the current political landscape; nevertheless, defining populism's precise definition is fraught with controversy (Moffitt, 2016). In brief, the task of defining populism is a challenging one, not only because there is no agreement on its defining features but also because it involves normative considerations (Mudde, 2013). Mudde (2004) pointed out that defining Populism is "*defining the undefinable*" (p.542). He claimed that there are two major explanations of the

term populism, and both are profoundly charged and negative. The first, Populism, refers to "the politics of a highly emotional and simplistic discourse that is directed at the 'gut feelings' of the people" (Mudde, 2004, p.542). In the second meaning, "populism is used to describe opportunistic policies with the aim of (quickly) pleasing the people/voters –and so 'buying' their support – rather than looking (rationally) for the best option" (Mudde, 2004, p.542).

Even though both definitions of populism are prevalent and may hold some inherent merit, they do not capture the essence of what is generally understood as populism in academic literature. Instead the two phenomena are more accurately described by alternative terms: demagogy and opportunism, respectively (Mudde, 2004). Despite what has been said about the difficulty of finding a unified definition of Populism, Mudde's (2004) definition is widely accepted as the essential consensus among scholars regarding Populism. In 2004, Mudde defined Populism as "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite,' and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people" (p.543). Populism is based on three core ideas: the pure people, the corrupt elite, and the general will.

According to the definition above, Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013) argued that the moral contrast between "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" serves as the foundation for all Populism forms. The former is frequently depicted as a uniform and moral group, whereas the other is perceived as adversarial and diseased. In contrast, "the people" can encompass a population defined by a specific perception of class or culture, as long as it maintains a certain degree of homogeneity in its characteristics. The "elite" can relate to the media, establishment parties, international organizations or international businesses, or even scientists and scholars (Oswald, 2022).

Therefore, as proposed by Oswald (2022), the central message of populists who assert to advocate for and voice the concerns of the 'people' is frequently characterized by a dualistic framework of 'the elite' versus 'the people.' This dichotomy highlights the distinction between the 'people' and an identified outgroup often referred to as the 'elite.' Thus, the term is predominantly connected to specific emotional states and sentiments. Populists are often described as 'angry,' while their voters are commonly characterized as 'frustrated'. They, thus, perceive their political adversaries as 'enemies of the people' and aim to remove them from the equation entirely (Müller, 2016). Therefore, the enemies aren't merely individuals with opposing interests and ideals; they are villain! Compromising is therefore not an option because it 'corrupts' the purity (Mudde, 2004).

Populism directs its attention to the 'who' aspect of politics, representing an ideology committed to identifying the people. Stanley (2008, p. 102) argued that the key of populism contains four different interconnected concepts: a) the people and the elite; b) the adversarial dynamic between them; c) popular sovereignty; d) finally, the favorable valorization of 'the people' and the derogation of 'the elite'.

Müller (2016) claimed that "people against elites is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to be critical of elites in order to qualify as a populist" (p. 20). Otherwise, individuals who criticize those in power and challenge the existing status quo would, in essence, be labeled as populists. In addition to being *antielitist,* Müller (2016) provided that populists are always *antipluralist*s: populists state that they, *and solely they*, represent the people. This is the main claim of Populism: only some of the people are the people. Müller (2016) added that all other political rivals are essentially illegitimate, and anyone who does not support them is not properly part of the people. The leadership of the UK Independence Party celebrated the Brexit vote by proclaiming that it had been a 'victory for real people.' Thus, an actor can always speak in the name of the "real people" to contest current powerful

elites. The homogeneity of both populism and elitism, on the other hand, is rejected by

pluralism, which sees society as a heterogeneous collection of distinct groups and people who

frequently have fundamentally different ideas and goals (Mudde, 2004).

The appeal to the general will is equally crucial to the ethical distinction between 'the

pure people' and 'the corrupt elite' (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2013). The concept of the Volonté

Générale, or popular will, is comprehended as surpassing the mere aggregation of individual

interests (volonté de tous; will of all); it is, as mentioned by Oswald (2022) "The articulation

of common interests within a community that serves the benefit of this community as a

whole" (p. 17). The attainment of this general will, however, can only be realized through the

establishment of a popular government that operates on behalf of the people rather than for a

corrupt elite (Oswald, 2022).

1.1.2 The Origins of Populism: Demand Side VS Supply Side

There is a significant debate surrounding the roots of Populism, centering on demand-

side and supply-side explanations. Demand-side explanations could be considered bottom-up

since they focus on society or individuals in their analyses of Populism (Berman, 2021). On

the other hand, supply-side explanations, viewed as top-down perspectives, analyze the

shortcomings of governments, politicians, policymakers, parties, and other actors in their

exploration of Populism (Berman, 2021).

1.1.2.1 Demand- Side Explanation of Populism

Within the demand-side realm, there is a division among scholars who give priority to

economic demands and those who emphasize socio-cultural demands when seeking to explain

Populism.

According to Berman (2021), scholars who concentrate on economic causes of

Populism argue that significant economic transformations have led to profound societal

divisions between the wealthy and the poor, the elites and the so-called "average" individuals, rural and urban regions, as well as the highly educated and less educated, etc. Many scholars, including Piketty (2017) who is considered highly influential, have extensively documented the significant rise in income and wealth inequality during the latter decades of the twentieth century. In his best-selling book, Capital in the Twenty-First Century, Piketty highlights how a disproportionate portion of economic gains, especially in developed nations, has been captured by the wealthy and highly educated segments of society (Piketty, 2017). In addition, apart from generating internal divisions within societies, economic development has also engendered profound disparities between countries especially between the northern hemisphere countries, such as Europe and the U.S, and the countries of the south of the globe, like African countries. It is worth mentioning that the disproportionate benefits resulting from divisions in recent decades have not been limited to specific groups within the developed world. Developing countries, particularly China, have also experienced significant advantages during this period (Piketty, 2017). Moreover, Milanovic (2019, as cited in Berman, 2021) pointed out that "economic 'losers' in the developed world thus blame countries such as China as well as the 'winners' within their own societies for their and their countries problems" (p. 73).

The market fundamentalist (libertarian) Populism places blame on what it perceives as inefficient government, unaccountable experts, and individuals reliant on welfare programs. It advocates for a capitalist market system where unrestricted competition is believed to provide equal and fair opportunities for success to all individuals (Frank, 2001). In contrast, redistributive Populism seeks to rein the influence of global economic elites and promote wealth redistribution within society (Gagnon et al., 2018). Moreover, populists position themselves against globalization since it is perceived as one of the main reasons for the loss of manufacturing and lower-skilled employment in many Western countries and

cultures. Populists, driven by concerns over job security, also highlight the apprehension of losing one's social status (Oswald, 2022). Berman (2021) claimed that "if individuals are worried that their financial situations will worsen over time, then they may be susceptible to the antiestablishment, scapegoating populists" (pp. 73-75). He further observes that instead of solely concentrating on economic trends, certain explanations attribute the rise of populism to social and cultural shifts that have occurred in recent decades. These shifts include increased immigration, the erosion of traditional values, and the empowerment of women and minority groups. According to this perspective, these factors are identified as the primary catalysts for the emergence of populism (Berman, 2021). Furthermore, Gagnon et al. (2018) claim that xenophobic Populism gives preference to the inherent notion of the 'people' as a culturally or ethnically uniform entity. This entity is perceived to be at risk of losing its identity, and in response, it seeks to counter such perceived threats by excluding vulnerable groups. This may manifest, for example, through opposition to economic migrants.

An illustrative instance can be seen in Europe, where the political impact of immigration was irritated by the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015. The fact that recent immigrants, particularly in Europe, predominantly come from non-Western and non-Christian backgrounds has fuelled concerns regarding the erosion of European culture and identity (Caldwell, 2009; Murray, 2017). Consequently, some voters have lent their support to populist politicians and parties who vehemently assert their commitment to safeguarding these cultural elements. Thus, Populism has emerged as a response to (social) crises. With respect to the recent "populist movement," the perceived crisis stems from the transition to a post-industrial society and the perceived inadequacy of social democracy in addressing it (Mudde, 2004).

Overall, political scientists have discovered that during challenging economic periods, sentiments of xenophobia, anti-immigrant attitudes, and resentment towards outgroups tend to

increase. This is particularly evident among low-income, low-education individuals who are concerned about unemployment, future job prospects, and competition for limited public resources like housing or welfare benefits. These factors contribute to tensions and conflicts between immigrants and native populations (Berman, 2021).

1.1.2.2 Supply-Side Explanation of Populism

According to Berman (2021), economic and/or social change alone does not constitute a problem; instead, it is the mainstream politicians, parties, and governments who fail to acknowledge and address these changes that lead to voters being enraged, resentful, and vulnerable to the appeal of populists. Berman (2021) pointed out Populism in its political supply side, trying to understand why democratic institutions have gradually become less responsive to the concerns of citizens and less capable of addressing societal problems, which has made them susceptible to the current wave of populist backlash. Consequently, many individuals are willing to vote for politicians and parties that espouse anti-establishment and anti-status quo messages. American historian Michael Kazin views Populism as a democratic manifestation of political life that periodically arises to rebalance the distribution of political power in favor of the majority (Urbinati, 2013). Populism, therefore, is often seen as "the product of a failure of the existing system of political parties to provide credible representation for 'neglected' groups of citizens" (Schmitter, 2019, p. 76). Thus, populism entails a skepticism of current political parties and institutions. Populist leaders try to win elections or acquire control of government institutions in order to significantly alter the status quo (Noble & Ottmann, 2021).

1.1.3 Left Wing VS Right-Wing Populism

1.1.3.1 Right-Wing Populism.

Béland (2019) argued that Populism is mainly about the framing and reframing national identities, a concept that denotes the exclusion of details and viewpoints that do not correspond or may oppose aspects of an individual's fundamental identity. This is especially true of right-wing Populism, which is overtly based on ethnic nationalism. To a great extent, Populism is centered on shaping national identities, which is prevalent in right-wing Populism. This movement is based upon, Ethnic-Nationalism, a political ideology that classifies a nation or a national identity in terms of ethnicity, and such strategy seems to have a direct relation to the establishment of collective supposed dangers confronting the people.

The Right combines the concept of "the people" with a mobilized nation that is facing external adversaries such as refugees, Islamic terrorism, the European Commission, the alleged International Jewish conspiracy, and so on, i.e., right Populism describes the opponent in personalized terms (Gandesha, 2018).

Immigration is considered among the prominent cases viewed as a collective threat confronting the people in the scope of rightist populism. Lazar (2021) states that such menace is accompanied by a sense of insecurity and anxiety, which the right takes as a matter bound to happen and transforms into the fear of the foreigner. It appears that theThetain policy of representing itself as the best protector against the external threat aims to increase popular support and put its opponents in a position of being unable to provide the same level of protection. Moreover, Béland (2019) added that right-wing have a long-standing tendency to portray established elites as unable to secure the population from various dangers. In this context, they are often referred to as 'identity entrepreneurs' who seek to magnify acknowledged shared threats, positioning themselves as the most reliable providers of

collective protection against such threats. They contrast their stance with the ineffective elites who fail to protect the people and align themselves with its interest.

Within right-wing Populism, the term "the people" frequently excludes the entire population. Instead, it refers to a specific group that forms the minimal winning coalition, typically composed of individuals defined by their inherent attributes, such as their race (e.g., white) (Hudson & Shah, 2022).

The right Populism, in its nature, is triadic; it looks upward at an elite and also upon an out group: it classifies elites as enemies, *as well as out* groups such as migrants or Muslims; such division is present in the example of Trump as he identifies the enemies of the people as the "establishment" and the outgroups as "Mexicans, Latinos and Muslims." Gagnon et al. (2018) argued that the right-wing ideology primarily relies on emotionally-driven political appeals that aim to address crises by promoting neo-nationalism, masculinism, othering, bordering, xenophobia, sexism, racism, and similar sentiments (Judis, 2016).

Lazar (2021) indicated that right-wing populists primarily perceive the term "the people" as an indication of the ordinary people. For the left, the expression broadly refers to the "Populus," representing politically active and engaged citizens who embody Jean-Jacques Rousseau's theory of the "general will" in 1762. Furthermore, the supporters of right-wing populist movements primarily comprise people with lower levels of education from the working class, specifically those living in remote areas and who have faced unemployment and hold significant anxieties about globalization, European integration, and the presence of foreigners.

1.1.3.2 Left Wing Populism

Left-wing Populism is viewed as a political approach that deals with the crisis to help secure democracy by strengthening the legitimacy of existing democratic systems and promoting civic, political, and economic rights, while also advocating for material egalitarianism (Fraser, 2017). Agustin (2020) claims that the Populism of the left exploits populist motives to expand representation by appealing to "the people" against the elites to promote equality and social justice. In addition, the main topics that have become part of the left agenda are related crises and issues such as migration, gender, human rights, or environment.

The left populism attitude is tolerant of immigrants and refugees with a few exclusions, mainly from Eastern Europe countries, as opposed to the right Populism. Hudson and Shah (2022) assume that the left is adversarial to the power and privilege of financial capital, the natural systems destruction, and drivers of pollution; characteristics of left-wing Populism first appeared in Latin America and later were witnessed in the European context.

Judis (2016) states that left Populism is characterized as dyadic, in contrast to the triadic nature of right-wing Populism. It involves a vertical political dynamic that aligns the bottom and middle sections of society against the top, with a focus on challenging the elite or establishment. It represents a struggle by the lower-income and middle-class segments against the wealthy and powerful.

Though left-wing Populism builds an alliance of support that is diverse, claiming that it represents the interests of "the people" against the elite and speaking on behalf of the authentic and singular people is a point that can become difficult to be matched along democracy (Hudson & Shah, 2022).

The left, in contrast to the right, characterizes "the people" based on their connection to social structures and institutions such as the state and capital such as the state and capital, these structures hinder the left's quest for self-governance, but this perspective does not necessarily exclude showing hospitality towards others. In addition, the left tends to portray the adversary as individuals who uphold socio-economic systems rather than specific groups (Gandesha, 2018).

In the words of Zabala (2017), both the right and the left share a common principle of mobilizing a crowd around a political idea to establish an "us" versus "them" dynamic. However, the concepts employed to categorize these groups differ significantly. This distinction is also apparent in the emotions employed by each side to mobilize voters: the right relies on fear of the foreigner, while the left appeals to hope for a brighter future. The former is driven by hate and apathy, while the latter is grounded in notions of fairness and equal opportunity; furthermore, it is crucial to point out that Left-populist voters are more likely to consist of urban middle-class individuals who are educated and employed in the public sector (Lazar, 2021).

In general, left-wing Populism promotes the idea of a diverse and plurality society, as it has traditionally done in the past (Agustin, 2020).

1.1.4 The Rise of Right-wing Populism in western democracies

1.1.4.1 The Rise of Right-wing Populism in Western Europe

After clarifying the difference between right and left wings of Populism, let us discuss the rise of right-wing Populism in Western Industrial countries, especially within Western Europe and the US. According to Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017), populism is one of the most noteworthy political buzzwords of the twenty-first century. In 2017 the Cambridge

Dictionary declared it the Word of the Year after having become one of the most widely used terms by international political commentators. Bulgarian political scientist Ivan Krastev, a highly perceptive figure in the field, has gone as far as labelling our era as an "Age of Populism" (Müller, 2016).

In Western Europe, a number of new right-wing populist actors have emerged, bringing about significant changes in the political landscapes and have influenced sitting governments' policies. More recently, a variety of European parties can be characterized as populist. Many of these are on the right-wing side, such as the French Front National (FN), Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) in Germany, the UK Independence Party (UKIP), and Fratelli d'Italia party (Brothers of Italy) which are considered the most successful examples.

The people" often refers to white Christian Europeans with traditional beliefs among European right-wing populists. Right-wing populism in Europe is particularly xenophobic, Islamophobic, and Eurosceptic, criticizing neoliberal organizations such as the European Union as infringing on national and individual sovereignty (Poulin, 2021).

Figure 1 presents an overview of the electoral success of populist parties. Data on election results come from the 'Parlgov' database, a data infrastructure containing information for all EU main parties.

Figure 1

The Rise of Populism in Advanced Industrial Democracies
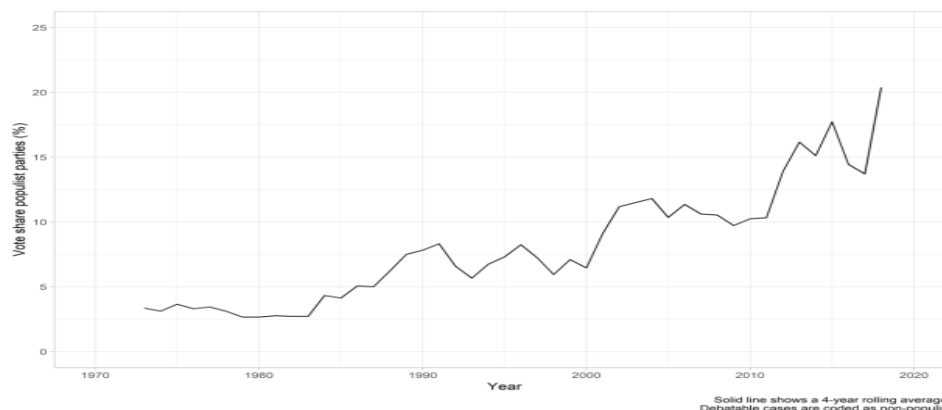
Note. From a data infrastructure for political science 'Parlgov database,' which contains information for all EU.

      The populist parties in advanced industrial democracies have seen increasing electoral success over 40 years. The line is a rolling average of the vote shares of populist parties across time. The overall conclusion is clear: populist parties have become significantly more effective in parliamentary elections. The growing popularity of populist parties, as evidenced by the increasing average vote share from around 3% in the 1970s to approximately 20% in 2018, highlights the importance of studying their success when analyzing electoral politics in contemporary democracies.

      The French Front National (FN), for example, has always exemplified the conventional populist radical right party (Mudde, 2007). The FN established a populist extreme right platform that included nativism, authoritarianism, and anti-establishment Populism (Rydgren, 2005). The FN also adopted Euroskepticism and anti-globalization beliefs, opposing free trade, foreign businesses, and neoliberal capitalism, and has a right-wing extreme agenda with anti-Semitic overtones for decades (Ivaldi, 2022). However, with current president Marine Le Pen, The party has undergone a transformation in its policy stance, transitioning from promoting antisemitism to adopting an anti-immigrant and

Islamophobic position. Additionally, there has been a shift from economic liberalism towards

a policy aimed at safeguarding the French population against the forces of globalization. The

FN's program revolves around anti-EU nationalism and anti-elitism, serving as its core pillars.

Over time, the party has garnered increasing support from the "white" working class and the

unemployed. As a result, the FN has solidified its position as the third most influential

political party in France (Poulin, 2021). In the 2022 presidential election, FN obtained a total

(23.2%) of the first-round vote in second place behind incumbent centrist president

Emmanuel Macron (27.9%). Macron defeated Le Pen in the second round with 58.5% of the

vote to her 41.5%, a narrower margin than in the 2017 election (Ivaldi, 2022).

Right-wing extremist networks and parties established strongholds throughout

Germany. The Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) was established in 2013 as a reaction to the

Euro crisis and to protest the EU's bailout policies (Greven, 2016). Under the new leadership

of Frauke Petry, the AfD has increased its right-wing populist message, adopting much of the

Pegida (Political movement) language of antiestablishment, anti-Islam, anti-media, and anti-

immigration, in addition to the traditional Euro-skepticism (Greven, 2016).

Since the "political class" is presumably betraying the interests of the German

population by allowing a bundle of migration to offset low birth rates in Germany, they

support direct democracy methods. Right-wing populist AfD leaders amplify the myth that

nationalists and immigrants hold incompatible values (Poulin, 2021). The AfD has increased

in popularity and extremism since its origins in 2013. AfD is not Germany's first or only far-

right political party, but it has become the most popular, perhaps providing an outlet for

people who participated in earlier populist mobilization (Poulin, 2021).

In the United Kingdom (UK), the UK Independence Party (UKIP), which was established in 1993, has consistently advocated an anti-EU and anti-immigration stance. Under the leadership of Nigel Farage, UKIP achieved its initial successes in the European Parliament elections and has maintained a strong performance nationally since 2011. The influx of refugees into the European Union has brought UKIP's skepticism towards immigration to the forefront (Greven, 2016). In view of this, UKIP has effectively capitalized on public concerns about unregulated immigration by incorporating them into their broader narrative of Euroscepticism and opposition to established political structures (Ahmed, 2017).

Consequently, on Thursday, June 23, 2016, a referendum took place in the United Kingdom (UK) to determine whether the country should remain a member of the European Union (EU) or leave, also known as Brexit ("British exit"). Over 30 million individuals participated in the vote, with 51.9 percent favoring "Leave" and 48.1 percent favoring "Remain" (Ahmed, 2017). As a result, on January 31, 2020, the UK became the only sovereign nation to officially withdraw from the EU. The success of Brexit has been seen as a significant triumph for right-wing populist politicians, as it signifies a clear rejection of emerging cosmopolitan values and a yearning for a return to more culturally homogenous societies of the past. In essence, populist movements resonate with those who perceive their traditional values and customs as being threatened by cosmopolitan ideas and increasing diversity (Ahmed, 2017).

In Italy, Giorgia Meloni, the leader of Italy's right-wing Fratelli d'Italia party (the brothers of Italy), became Italy's first woman prime minister, and she took office on October 22, 2022. Earlier in her career, she often spoke in nationalist, nativist terms, attacking illegal immigrants, Islam, the "LGBT lobby," and the major EU powers (France and Germany), whom she accused of crushing democracy ("Brunswick Milan," 2022). However, the transformation of the discourse of the right-wing populist party Fratelli d'Italia from 2018 to

2022 is considered. Based on an analysis of the discourse of the programs and electoral rhetoric of the Fratelli d'Italia party, Alekseenkova (2022) concluded that the Italian right-wing populist party is becoming more moderate, replacing the concepts of sovereignism with patriotism and conservatism and rejecting Euroscepticism.

In 2022, the ethnocultural component was progressively losing its importance as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, which had resulted in a new surge of refugees in the EU,"The right-wing parties are ready to accept the "other" if he is a refugee from war, while economic migrants looking for a better life remain unacceptable" wrote Alekseenkova (2022, p. 668) in his article *Transformation of Right-Wing Populism in Italy in 2018-2022*.

1.1.4.2 Trump as a Major Figure of Populism in the U.S

In Brewer's (2016) viewpoint, the current rise of Populism in American politics is not a new event and that it has been around for long, if not longer than, the country itself. He adds that populist figures like George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ronald Reagan have been prominent in the history of the US. In the 1960s, Alabama Governor George Wallace was labeled a populist demagogue, while Father Charles Coughlin and Senator/Governor Huey Long were populist figures in the 1930s. Populism has had an impact on American politics since the late 19th century.

Before entering politics, Donald Trump's initial career pursuit was in the field of real estate business. His political ambitions have been challenging to pinpoint, as they must be clarified when he first considered a political career. According to University Press (2019), it is possible that he had aspirations of becoming president from a young age. However, his interest in politics became widely known during the 1980s. In 2013 Trump considered running for governor of New York, which many Republican leaders suggested was a critical

move toward his potential candidacy for the next presidential election. However, he ultimately did not take the idea seriously. On June 16, 2015, Trump officially declared his candidacy for the 2016 presidential election in Trump Tower, New York City.

Greven (2016) viewed certain events, such as first the rise of the Tea Party movement. This movement emerged within the Republican Party (RP) in 2009. It was characterized by its fiscally conservative principles, which advocate for tax reductions and aim to address the national debt and federal budget deficit by advocating for reduced government expenditures. Along with the Obama presidency, Obamacare, the national debt and Trump's presidential nomination have all contributed considerably to the transformation of the American political scene into a populist movement.

Rubsamen (2020) suggests that, based on journalist Bob Woodward's account, Donald Trump first introduction to Populism was by Bossie and Steve Bannon in 2010, these two figures would later play critical roles in his campaign and administration. Woodward recounted an exciting anecdote where Bannon proposed the idea of Trump running as a populist, to which Trump responded by calling himself a "populist," mangling the word. However, Bannon corrected him, stating that the correct term was "populist" Trump neglected the correction and insisted on his expression "popular."

One plausible reason behind Trump's alteration towards embracing populist rhetoric within his speeches during the early and mid-2016 period is the hiring of Steve Bannon to his campaign. Both are known for their populist sentiments. Their involvement in writing the campaign speeches suggests that their input may have influenced the incorporation of the populist notion of the people. Consequently, it can be inferred that Trump's Populism was not solely driven by his personal beliefs but necessitated guidance and coaching (Rubsamen, 2020).

The emergence of Trump and his political approach, commonly called "populist," joins elements of both traditional and contemporary right-wing Populism in the U.S. He introduced a heightened division between Americans and migrants, creating an "us-them" dichotomy. He utilized a populist narrative that portrayed the elite versus the people but also emphasized a national versus migrant divide. This latter division was exacerbated as Trump excluded migrants from the "the people" concept and applied discriminatory criteria based on race and culture. This approach contradicted the country's history as a nation of immigrants and resulted in the marginalization of growing minority populations while prioritizing a shrinking majority group (Campani et al., 2022). Moreover, Brewer (2016) added that the style of Trump's campaign seems to go along perfectly with the frame of American Populism.

Greven (2016) claimed that Trump's appeal to a discontented portion of the American population is based on his offering simplistic solutions to intricate issues that do not require compromises or negotiations. Nevertheless, these promises can be achieved only in a make-believe world. Furthermore, what attracted more supporters to Trump is not only his charisma, wealth, and uncomplicated answers but also his endorsement of the use of force in politics, which serves a movement that is distinct from political institutions,

Abramowitz (2018) said that Donald Trump's unexpected triumph in the 2016 presidential election stands out as one of the most astonishing turnarounds in American electoral history. However, it can be viewed as a direct consequence of the profound racial and ideological shifts that have reshaped the American voting population since the 1960s. Despite facing opposition from the majority of the GOP establishment, Trump secured the Republican nomination by capitalizing on the frustration felt by a significant portion of Republican voters. These voters were dissatisfied with the party's leadership for failing to fulfil highly improbable campaign promises aimed at overturning the policies of Barack Obama. This frustration concerns about societal and cultural transformations in America, such

as the increased prominence and influence of racial and ethnic minorities, further fuelled this

frustration exploited the divisions within the electorate, be they racial, cultural, or ideological,

by directly appealing to white racial animosity and vilifying the candidate from the opposing

party.

1.2 Section Two: Critical Discourse Analysis

The purpose of this section is to present critical discourse analysis as the chosen

research methodology, show its practical approaches, and demonstrate its suitability for the

populist discourse in general and Trump's campaign speeches in particular. However, before

proceeding, it is necessary to provide definitions for certain important terms. Specifically, we

must establish a precise comprehension of the terms "discourse", "political Discourse" (PD),

and finally, "Critical Discourse Analysis" CDA.

1.2.1 Tangle definitions

1.2.1.1 Discourse

Critical discourse analysts employ the term "discourse," drawing inspiration from the

works of Michel Foucault during the 1970s, academics have widely embraced and

popularized the usage of this concept (Rubsamen, 2020). The term "discourse" originates

from the Latin root "discursus," which encompasses the concept of speech or conversation in

a wide-ranging manner. Consequently, discourse can take shape as social communication,

encompassing both written and oral exchanges. Van Dijk (1997) claimed that discourse is "the

form that people make of language to convey ideas, thoughts, or beliefs within a social

context" (p. 2).

Discourse is the prominent societal expression of communication, encompassing

various forms of language employed by individuals in a given society. It involves the

exchange of linguistic sentences between the speaker or writer and the listener or reader (Awawdeh, 2021). Fairclough's (1989) definition of discourse, often referenced in scholarly discussions (Fairclough, 1989), can be cited as follows: "Discourse is language as social practice determined by social structures" (p.17).

Fairclough (2016) claims that discourse is commonly employed in diverse contexts, encompassing (a) meaning-making as an aspect of the social process; this is a crucial feature distinguishing discourse from the text. Hodge and Kress (1988) distinguish between *Texts* and *discourses* by defining "a 'text' as a structure of messages or message traces which has a socially ascribed unity and a ' The term "discourse" refers to the social process in which texts are immersed. He added that discourse consist of the language associated with a specific social domain or practice such as political discourse and a manner of construing elements of the world that is linked to a specific social viewpoint, such as a neo-liberal discourse of globalization. Therefore, discourse serves as a means of representing a specific realm of social practice through a particular standpoint (Fairclough, 1995).

Wodak (2001b) claims that 'Discourse can be understood as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as 'texts', that belong to specific semiotic types, that is genres" (p.66). Consequently, discourses are manifested through both genres and texts.

1.2.1.2 Defining Political Discourse (PD)

Schaffrin (1996) stated that Political Discourse (PD) is considered a subset of discourse in general, making it an interdisciplinary domain involving various fields of study, including sociology, psychology, sociolinguistics, and more. As a result, political speeches have drawn the interest of researchers seeking to decipher the significance of all forms of

messages, be they implicit or explicit, in order to unravel their underlying meanings (Sheveleva, 2012).

Van Dijk (1997), for example, contends that the identification of political discourse is primarily centered on its participants, notably actors and politicians. As a result, political discourse is concerned with the text and speech of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers, as well as other members of government, parliament, or political parties at the local, national, and worldwide levels (van Dijk, 1997). In other words, political discourse is defined by who speaks to whom, what, when, and its purposes (van Dijk, 2002).

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) also adopt van Dijk's description of political discourse associated with political actors, including individuals such as politicians and citizens, organizations involved in political processes and events, and political institutions, and they emphasize the significance of context's concept in understanding political discourse. Consequently, the discourse of politicians or other "political actors" is considered non-political outside of political contexts, as political contexts are inherently institutional in nature.

Moreover, politicians endeavor to ensure that their speeches are lucid and easily understandable for the audience because they politician tries to communicate with people who cannot understand the complex language. It is utilized to persuade listeners of the politician's ideas by employing diverse discourse structures, strategies, and rhetorical techniques to present their ideologies and counter other powerful groups. This encompasses the creation of compelling and convincing arguments (Moody & Eslami, 2020). Thus, politicians strive for persuasive speeches in order to influence and manipulate people's minds and thoughts.

Politicians also utilize language to create intimacy with their constituents by exhibiting personal and emotional commonalities, so that the audience feels that they are part of the same 'group' as the political leader. At the same time, in order to be regarded as political leaders, they must establish their experience and authority (Moody & Eslami, 2020).

1.2.1.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a research approach that focuses on the examination of language in use within discourse. It is a sensitive approach to discourse analysis which differentiates itself from alternative approaches and establishes its presence through various stages of selection, beginning with the choice of data, observation, and the explication of relevant theoretical concepts (Meyer, 2001).

However, Van Dijk (1993) argues that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) cannot be defined as a specific method, but rather as a critical mindset or attitude towards a particular subject. Thus, CDA encompasses a variety of approaches depending on the researcher's needs. Furthermore, Fairclough (2013) states that (CDA) is a method of analyzing ideology and power. It is a method of investigating all facets of language use in political or social arenas.

O'Halloran (2001, as cited in Al-Ramahi & Ab Rashid, 2019) defined CDA as: "an interdisciplinary set of approaches which attempt to describe, interpret and explain the relationship between language, power and ideology manifested in a discourse" (p. 427). Thus, CDA is an interdisciplinary approach as long as critical discourse analysts often integrate insights from diverse disciplines, such as political science, economics, rhetoric, cultural theory, philosophy, psychology, and history, into their research (Al-Ramahi & Ab Rashid, 2019). Van Dijk (2001) defined (CDA) as "a type of discourse analytical 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" (p.352). Moreover, Fairclough (2001a) says that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be described as a type of critical social science that aims to shed light on the challenges individuals face in specific social contexts. Its goal is to provide resources that people can utilize to address and overcome these challenges. As mentioned by Wodak (2001), the terms Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are frequently used interchangeably. In CDA, language is perceived as a social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), and the context in which language is employed is deemed crucial (Wodak, 2000c). Moreover, CDA is particularly interested in the relationship between language and power. She argues that the term CDA is now more specifically used to refer to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who believe that the larger discursive unit of text is the fundamental unit of communication, and by consequence, The notion of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology are all indispensable in any CDA (Wodak, 2000c).

Fairclough (1995) claimed that CDA could be a tool to study and reveal such ideological, cultural, and social processes and reveal power relations hidden in discourse. In other words, CDA concentrates on the underlying meaning within the text. As such, the primary objective of CDA is to explore the organization of the text, investigating the hidden ideological dimensions through an analysis of the linguistic features and structures employed within the text (Fairclough, 1995).

It is apparent that critical discourse analysts perceive power as being linked to discourse, and they believe that through analysis, this relationship can be uncovered and understood. Weiss and Wodak (2003) argued that "For CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it" (p. 14). Consequently, critical discourse analysts often concentrate their analyses on political speeches, media discourse, or corporate communications with the aim of fulfilling their stated objective of unveiling the

power dynamics inherent in language. Therefore, many scholars in CDA will feature notions such as "promotions such, hegemony, ideology, and social structure, among others" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 354).

In contrast to other paradigms in discourse analysis and text linguistics, CDA investigates objects other than texts, whether spoken or written. It is more than just analyzing texts in their social context; it is also critical. Thus, in what sense is CDA *critical?*

The term "critical" in CDA often refers to the investigation and critique of how domination and inequality are reproduced through the use of language (Wodak, 2009; van Dijk, 2001). Hence, "Critical implies showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example, providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 9). Furthermore, CDA has "critical" parallels in sociolinguistics, psychology, and the social sciences, some of which date back to the early 1970s (Wodak, 1996).

Consequently, Fairclough (2016) argued that critical discourse analysts frequently concentrate their analyses on societal injustice of the day such inequality, lack of freedom, injustice and so on. In other words, CDA aims, as concluded by Wodak (2001a), to investigate *critically* social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized, and so on by language use (or in discourse).

1.2.2 Three Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis

In the early 1990s, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) gained momentum as a community of scholars. The inaugural symposium took place in Amsterdam in January 1991, facilitated by the University of Amsterdam. During this event, influential figures such as Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak had the invaluable opportunity to convene for two days, engaging in discussions concerning discourse

analysis theories, methods, and, notably, CDA. While CDA and CL had previously existed, they did not possess the same level of international presence and cohesion as the diverse group of scholars that emerged later. Within this framework, three approaches will be briefly examined: Norman Fairclough's Social Discourse Approach, Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach, and van Dijk's Socio-cognition. Prior to outlining the reasons for selecting van Dijk's approach, we will thoroughly examine each of these approaches, paying particular attention to the "ideological square."

1.2.2.1 Norman Fairclough's Social Discourse Approach

In his book "*Language and Power*" published in 1989, Fairclough introduced his model of CDA, which played a central role in the domain of CDA. His approach draws upon Halliday's (1979) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as a foundation to elucidate theories of discourse, language, and their connection to society through the analytical methodology of linguistic theory.

Fairclough (1989) emphasizes the "interrelationships of language and power" and focuses on studying ideology in political discourses. He recognizes ideology as a pivotal component in the production and reproduction of societal power. Ideology is understood using the CDA methods that help the hidden meanings in the text (Awawdeh, 2021). To Fairclough, CDA is " to comprehending and make plain the ideologies that undergird the exercise of power through language" (Rubsamen, 2020, p.23). Thus, ideology, for CDA, is seen as an essential aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. CDA, as mentioned by Wodak (2001a), focuses especially on how language mediates ideology across various social institutions.

Another important element of Fairclough's approach is the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures (for that reason, Fairclough's approach is called the

"dialectical-relational approach" as well). In this sense, Fairclough (1989) offers an apparent

three dimensions of analytical framework that encompasses text (description), discursive

practice (interpretation), and socio-cultural practice (explanation). The text refers to "any

actual instance of language in use" (Fairclough, 2003, p.3). Discursive practice refers to the

"various aspects of text production and consumption processes" (Fairclough, 1995, p.58).

Moreover, the socio-cultural practice may include the communicative event's "immediate

situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within,

or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 62).

Fairclough (1989) argued that each of these dimensions necessitates a distinct

approach to textual content analysis and evaluative processing. During this phase, the

interpretation should primarily concentrate on understanding the interplay between the

discourse, its production, and its consumption. Furthermore, it is crucial to recognize that

discourse encompasses not only textual content but also broader discursive practices; (c)

social practice, in this context, refers to the analysis that is connected to the social, cultural,

and historical contexts.

CDA is, in Fairclough's (2001) view, as much theory as method – or rather, a

theoretical perspective on language and, more generally, semiosis (including 'visual language,'

'body language,' and so on). It analyzes the dialectical relationships between semiosis

(including language) and other elements of social practices. On the one hand, the social

process can be understood as the dynamic interaction between three levels of social reality:

social structures, *practices,* and *events.* On the other hand, "semiosis is an element of the

societal at all levels. Schematically: Social structures (languages), Social practices: Orders of

discourse Social events: texts" (Fairclough, 2004, p.226).

Languages can be considered as abstract social structures, as noted by Fairclough (2004), wherein a language establishes specific potentials and possibilities while excluding others. However, texts, as components of social events, are not solely determined by the potentials set by languages. Fairclough (2004) demonstrated the importance of acknowledging intermediate organizational entities with a distinctly linguistic nature, which he refers to as "orders of discourse." These orders of discourse encompass the linguistic elements within networks of social practices. He continues arguing that the *order of discourse* is "a network of social practices in its language aspect" (p.228). The constituents of orders of discourse are not individual entities such as nouns and sentences, which are elements of linguistic structures. Instead, they encompass discourses (ways of representing), genres (ways of acting), and styles (ways of being) (Fairclough, 2004).

Firstly, different genres can be defined as distinct methods of (inter)acting discursively through speech or writing. Second, semiosis can be identified in representations and distinct discourses, which may describe the same part of the world from multiple views or stances. Third, semiosis works in tandem with bodily action to create various modes of being, most notably social or personal identities. This semiotic characteristic is referred to as a style by Fairclough (2004).

The concept of *interdiscursivity* primarily refers to the intertextuality of a text, encompassing the genres, discourses, and styles it incorporates and how it integrates them into specific articulations, as described by Fairclough (1992b). Textual analysis, as highlighted by Fairclough (2016), encompasses linguistic analysis as well as the examination of visual images and nonverbal cues such as "body language." These aspects of texts can be viewed as expressing their interdiscursive characteristics. Consequently, this approach to CDA demonstrates a particular sensitivity towards transdisciplinary research.

1.2.2.2 Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

Ruth Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is another widely utilized method for studying discourse. One critical view of CDA, according to Wodak and Mayer (2001), is "that all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context" (p. 20). Thus, the discourse-historical approach assumes a close link between the discourse and the historical context in which it was generated. Moreover, Wodak (2001) claims that the continuous shaping of identity is achieved by integrating past experiences, present circumstances, and future conceptions. Wodak (2018) continues to argue that this approach offers a means to examine underlying power dynamics and the spectrum of potentials in actors. It achieves this by integrating and triangulating information from historical and intertextual sources, as well as considering the socio-political contexts in which discursive events are situated.

Similar to many other CDA approaches, Wodak's approach investigates the interrelationship between discourse, power, and ideology (Rubsamen, 2020). As we will see in the following approach, critical discourse analysis is preoccupied with power and ideology because, as asserted by Wodak and Ludwig, every discourse is inherently subject to the influence of power and ideology in some manner. Reisigl and Wodak (2016) explained that language serves as a tool for acquiring and preserving power through its utilization by influential individuals, while also functioning as an expression of power dynamics. The purpose of CDA is to dismantle the dominance of particular discourses by deciphering the underlying ideologies that contribute to the establishment, perpetuation, or resistance of power structures (Wodak & Meyer, 2016).

Ideologies play an essential role in the formation of shared social identities as well as the establishment and maintenance of unequal power relations through discourse.

Furthermore, ideologies also serve as a means of changing power relations. Thus, *Ideology*, in the Discourse Historical Approach's view, is regarded "as a perspective (often one-sided), i.e., a worldview and a system that members of a specific social group share are made up of related mental representations, values, attitudes, opinions, convictions, and evaluations" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p.25). As such, the primary objective of the DHA is to dismantle the dominance of particular discourses by deciphering the underlying ideologies that contribute to the establishment, continuation, or resistance of power structures (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016).

Language may be more important for the DHA (as previously stated). Power is an asymmetric interaction between social actors in various social positions or social groups. Following Weber (1980, as cited in Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), 'power' can be defined as the ability to enforce one's own will within a social interaction even when they contradict the will or desires of others.

Moreover, the discourse-historical approach focuses on the contextual factors that inevitably influence the formation of texts and discourses. As outlined by Wodak (2015), texts are connected to organized knowledge (discourses), are expressed through specific *genres*, and need to be considered in relation to their particular *situatedness*. Consequently, researchers employing the discourse-historical approach will closely examine the inception or source of a specific discourse and how "spread" across other discourses and genres (Rubsamen, 2020).

1.2.2.3 Van Dijk's Sociocognitive Approach

Van Dijk's approach introduces the socio-cognitive approach in critical discourse analysis (CDA) within the broader context of critical discourse studies. The emphasis of this method is on the interplay of discourse, society, and cognition, with an emphasis on their

interactions. According to van Dijk (2016), the relationships between speech and society are cognitively mediated.

Moreover, Van Dijk (2016) pointed out that the cognitive aspect focuses on the mind, memory, and particularly the cognitive processes and representations involved in producing and comprehending discourse. Consequently, individuals possess general and conceptualized knowledge about the world that is shared among members of the identical epistemic community. Additionally, as part of particular social groups, we may collectively hold attitudes like immigration for example or fundamental ideologies such as racism. These significant aspects of human cognition enable cooperation, interaction, communication, and, consequently, discourse (van Dijk, 2016).

The critical examination of discourse inherently requires a significant social dimension. It involves investigating instances of power exploitation by dominant groups and acts of resistance by marginalized groups. Additionally, it encompasses the study of various societal macrostructures, such as organizations, institutions, and nation-states, among others that exercise direct or indirect control over public discourse, including their leaders (van Dijk, 2016).

Furthermore, a central notion in most critical work on discourse, as mentioned by van Dijk (2001), is that of power, and more specifically, the *social power* of groups or institutions and which is defined in terms of *control*. Consequently, van Dijk (2001) claimed that "groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups" (p.355).

Moreover, van Dijk's model establishes a clear differentiation between the micro and macro levels of analysis. At the micro-level of the social structure, the researcher examines language usage, discourse, verbal interactions, and communication of everyday interaction of

social members. On the other hand, power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are terms typically the level of analysis van Dij2001). Van Dijk primarily concentrates his arguments on actor characterization, which involves portraying the in-group positively through the use of inclusive pronouns like 'we,' while negatively representing the out-group (Al-Ramahi & Ab Rashid, 2019). Table 1 provides a concise overview of the comprehensive framework that elucidates the connections between discourse, cognition, and society in the socio-cognitive account.

Table 1: The Organization of the Socio-cognitive Approach of Discourse

Level of structure	Cognition	Society
Macro	Socially shared knowledge, Attitudes, ideologies, norms, values	Communities, groups, organizations
Micro	Personal mental models of (experiences of) social members	Interaction/discourse of social members

Note. From van Dijk (2016, p.71)

Van Dijk (2001) offers an illustrative example to showcase the interplay between micro and macro levels of analysis. He suggests that a racist speech delivered in a parliamentary setting represents a discourse at the micro level of social interaction within the context of a specific debate. However, simultaneously, this speech can also contribute to the enactment or be a component of legislation or the perpetuation of racism at the macro level.

While the detailed aspects of the cognitive and social aspects of the theory put forth in this context should be developed in collaboration with psychologists and sociologists, critical discourse analysts primarily focus on the discourse component. However, they also need to

establish connections with the other components, much like linguists do in their investigations within psycho and sociolinguistics.

Critical discourse analysts can substantially borrow from other discourse analysts' theories of discourse structures. Therefore, they are not required to have their own. Nevertheless, they often extend their analysis beyond structural theories of discourse. Furthermore, they aim to describe and elucidate how discourse can be utilized to challenge or reproduce forms of oppression within society (van Dijk, 2016).

Finally, the socio-cognitive approach in CDA does not address discourse, cognition, or societal entities. Integration, a key feature of multidisciplinary research (van Dijk, 2016), is critical in both theory and analysis.

1.2.3 Van Dijk's Ideological Square and Populism's Discourse: US versus Them

1.2.3.1 The Ideological Square of van Dijk.

Since this thesis will be dedicated to the *ideological square* method, which is part of van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, this subsection will be specifically devoted to understanding the whole process of this method.

1.2.3.1.1 Defining Ideology

According to the socio-cognitive approach, the notion of "ideology" is presented and developed by van Dijk (1998) as a multidisciplinary involving cognitive and social psychology, sociology, and discourse analysis. In this framework, ideology can be defined as the "basis of the social representations shared by group members" (van Dijk, 1998, p.8). Accordingly, the initial use of the term, presented by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy, for the purpose of describing a novel field of study known as the science of ideas. However, in Engels' interpretation of Marx and within the broader context of Marxist perspectives, the term ideology took on a negative meaning, denoting a 'false consciousness,' and this harmful

use of the notion presupposes the following polarization between Us and Them: WE have proper knowledge, THEY have ideologies (van Dijk, 2011).

For Destutt de Tracy, "ideology was nothing less than a general '*science of ideas*', something that is called *cognitive science*" (van Dijk, 2011, p.6). Hence, ideologies are composed of what philosophers and psychologists refer to as *beliefs*, rather than just abstract ideas. In other words, ideologies primarily function as *belief systems*. Additionally, these belief systems extend beyond individual personal beliefs and instead represent collective beliefs shared by members of social groups. In other words, ideologies are a form of *social cognition* that is reflected as a basis for the *social practices* of group members (van Dijk, 2000, 2011). Furthermore, language use and discourse are important social behaviors influenced by ideologies, and they influence how we acquire, learn, or alter ideas. Much of our conversation, especially when we communicate as members of organizations, expresses ideologically motivated viewpoints (van Dijk, 2000).

1.2.3.1.2 Schematic Categories of the Structure of Ideologies

At the macro-level account of ideology, many ideologies arise from extensive gatherings of people, if not from the general populace itself. Examples of such ideologies include ecological, feminist, socialist, nationalist, and capitalist ideologies shared and carried by many people. As such, it is necessary to know more about a 'group.' A group that may develop an ideology is "formed by a collection of social actors and needed at the same time some criteria, such as the relative permanence of the group, and maybe some common goals that go beyond one situation or event" (van Dijk, 2000, p.33).

These categories of groups typically organize information of the following kind:

Figure 2

 Schematic Categories of the Structure of Ideologies

- **Identity** (Who are we? Who belongs to us? Where do we come from?)

- **Activities** (What do we usually do? What is our task?

- **Goals** (What do we want to obtain?)

- **Norms and Values** (What is good/bad, permitted/prohibited for us?)

- **Group relations** (Who are our allies and opponents?)

- **Resources** (What is the basis of our power, or our lack of power?)

Note. From "Discourse and Ideology," by Teun, A. van Dijk, 2011, SAGE Publication. p.386.

   As illustrated in Figure 2, is about Us vs. Them. In fact, ideologies tend to organize people

and society in polarizing manners. First and foremost, group membership is concerned with

who belongs to Us and how we identify ourselves from others by our activities, goals, rules,

and resources (van Dijk, 2000).

1.2.3.1.3 The Ideological Square

       One of the main tactics used to regulate ideological discourse involves the application

of the Group Relations category within the framework of the ideology schema (shown in

Figure 2). i.e., this category involves representing the relationship between our own group (in-

group) and other groups (out-groups), delineating the distinction between "Us" and "Them."

Through this process of ideological polarization, a positive bias is introduced into the

ideological self-schemas. As a result, we can anticipate a generally positive portrayal of "Us"

and a negative portrayal of "Them" across all levels of discourse. The main plan of most

ideological discourse consists of the following main moves (van Dijk, 1998, p.267):

1 Express/emphasize information that is positive about Us.

2 Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them

3 Suppress/deemphasize information that is positive about Them

4 Suppress/deemphasize information that is negative about Us.

These four moves, known as the 'ideological square,' undoubtedly have a role in the overall contextual strategy. of "positive self-presentation" or "negative other-presentation" (van Dijk, 1998). Whereas the first and the fourth moves are about positive self-presentation, the second and the third moves are forms of negative other-presentation, as the following figure shows:

Figure 3

The Ideological Square

Express/emphasize *Our* good things. Express/emphasize *Their* bad things   Suppress/Deemphasize *Our* bad things. Suppress/Deemphasize *Their* good things

Note. Adapted From "Discourse and Ideology," by Teun, A. van Dijk, 2011, SAGE Publication. P .396.

1.2.3.1.4 Positive Self-Presentation and Negative Other-Presentation

The complex meta-strategy of the ideological square suggests that, individuals within a group have a tendency to express favourable views or use positive language when referring to their own group, while adopting a negative tone or expressing criticism towards outgroups that they perceive as opponents, competitors, or enemies. This behaviour arises from the inherent differences perceived between the groups. (van Dijk, 2011). As a result, prejudiced discourses tend to be highly explicit about their detrimental deeds and Our good acts, while being rather abstract and generic about Their good and wicked acts (van Dijk, 1998). According to van Dijk (1998), using an ideological square, we can summarize some semantic structures and qualities as follows:

- *Implicitness versus explicitness:* Implicit information is mental model information that may or should have been included in a discourse's semantic representation. On the

other hand, ideologically blaming the victim, for example, implies that the outgroup's detrimental traits will be made apparent.

- *Local coherence:* Propositions may also be related in a sequence using function are semantic relations, such as generalization, specification, example, or contrast.

- *Lexicalization:* In general, we may expect that, depending on the context, outgroups will be described in neutral or negative words and groups in neutral or positive terms.

- *Style*: According to the ideological square, we will thus find that positive action roles of outgroup members will be put in less prominent order or position, and vice versa for their negative action roles (and conversely for the positive and negative roles for ingroup members).

1.2.3.2 Populism and Ideology

Moffitt (2016) argued that there is little doubt that the conceptualization of Populism as an ideology has become the dominant position in the literature over the past few decades. Mudde (2007) presents a concise and basic definition of populism which we have already cited in the previous subsection, as "a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' and 'the corrupt elite'" (p.23). Mudde (2007) further argues that by conceptualizing it as a 'thin centered' ideology, we can understand that Populism does not exist in any 'pure' form but is always present in mixed forms with other ideologies (Moffitt, 2016). As a thin-centered ideology, Populism can be easily combined with very different (thin and full) other ideologies, including communism, ecologism, nationalism, or socialism (Mudde, 2004).

Using the notion of a 'thin-centered ideology' developed by Michael Freeden (1996), we postulate that Populism is a particular set of ideas limited in ambition and scope (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2013). Moreover, as opposed to a 'full' or 'thick' ideology (such as liberalism or

socialism), which is understood as a "wide-ranging structural arrangement that attributes *uncontested* meanings to a range of mutually defining political concepts" (Freeden, 2003, p.54), thin ideologies have a much more restricted core and focus on only a limited number of key concepts (Moffitt, 2016). The 'full' ideology, as mentioned by Stanley (2008, p.99), will contain particular interpretations and configurations of all the major political concepts attached to a general plan of public policy that a specific society requires; however, 'Thin' ideologies are those whose morphological structure is restricted to a set of core concepts which alone are unable "to provide a reasonably broad, if not comprehensive, range of answers to the political questions that societies generate" (Stanley, 2008, p.99).

In summary, we assert that Populism should be recognized as a distinct ideology, as it embodies a specific manner of interpreting the political through the interplay of its central concepts. However, due to its thinness, it cannot stand alone as a practical political ideology: it cannot present a comprehensive and coherent program for addressing critical political issues.

1.2.3.3 The Discourse of Populism: Us versus Them

"Us vs. Them" approach has gained significant traction in the current literature on populism, particularly in Europe and Latin America. This perspective perceives populism as a discourse that creates a divide between 'the people' and 'the elite' or 'oligarchy' (Hawkins, 2009). Rather than being regarded as an attribute of a particular set of political ideologies, populism is understood as a unique mode of political communication that is often manifested in speeches or written texts (Moffitt, 2016).

According to Oswald's (2022) analysis, populism functions as a dichotomous discourse in which "the people" are contrasted with "the elite" based on a downward and upward antagonism. This discourse constructs "the people" as a large and powerless collective

while opposing "the elite" as a small and illegitimately powerful group. Populist politics,

therefore, assert their representation of "the people" against an "elite" that is seen as

obstructing their rightful demands. These demands are presented as reflections of the will of

"the people" (De Cleen & Stavrakakis, 2017).

Populist discourse involves contrasting the interests of a collective known as 'the

people' with those of the dominant elite, whose actions or lack thereof are seen as adversarial

to 'the people' (Stanley, 2008). Populist discourse arises as a natural outcome of the logic of

antagonism and contention, as without these elements, politics would be reduced to only

administration. Populists, furthermore, claim to be democratic "based on the idea that the

existing political system has ignored, neglected, or outright worked against the interests of the

people" (Berman, 2021, pp. 72-73).

According to Urbinati (2013), there are two kinds of populist rhetoric. There is

populist rhetoric, yet not Populism when the polarizing and anti-representative discourse is

made by a social movement that wants to be a constituency independent of elected officials.

Moreover, there is populist rhetoric and Populism when a movement does not want to be a

constituency independent of the elected officials but wants instead to occupy the

representative institutions and win the majority to model the entire society to its ideology.

Nevertheless, Populism is more than populist rhetoric and political protest. The distinction

between *movement form* and *government form* is thus essential to analyze Populism (Urbinati,

2013).

In his work on Populism as a discourse, Hawkins (2010) argues that a discourse

"lacks the official texts and vocabulary that accompany an ideology and must be discerned

through more diffuse linguistic elements such as tone and metaphor and by a search for broad

themes" (pp. 30-31). As a result, while an ideology has a normative purpose for political

action, Hawkins (2010) contends that discourse does not. As a result, he contends that, while

a politician like Chávez may use populist rhetoric, his worldview is socialism rather than

Populism (Moffitt, 2016). Thus, according to the discursive view, a political actor can be

'more or less' populist at different times depending on how and when they use populist

discourse, whereas one 'is' or 'is not' populist (Moffitt, 2016).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the literature review of the study. The first section

explained that the concept of 'populism' should be regarded as a distinct ideology in that it

conveys a particular way of construing the political in the specific interaction of its core

concepts, and the populist discourse has witnessed a high rise in Western countries whether in

Europe or the U.S. Since this dissertation primarily aims to investigate the role of language

and rhetoric in the success of right-wing populist discourses, the Critical Discourse Analysis

(CDA) framework is discussed in section two as the overarching approach used to gain

insights into the populist rhetoric employed by the Trump 2016 campaign speeches which

will be the case study of the subsequent chapter.

Chapter Two: Research Methodology, Analysis and Discussion

Introduction

The current chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides an overview of the dataset consisting of three political speeches given by Donald Trump as part of his 2016 presidential campaign. it first details the description of the data selection and setting process, presenting the three speeches selected by the researchers and providing an overview of the specific circumstances in which these speeches were formulated and delivered, followed by a description of the data collection instrument and procedures used for acquiring the data set, and finally, finding the means (approach and method) which exploited by the researchers to analyze those data. The second section presents a thorough analysis of the selected data set. Applying the principles of van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square, the data is analyzed to contextualize and examine the populist rhetoric employed by Trump in his communication with his "people" (supporters and voters) on one hand, and in his opposition against his "enemies" on the other hand. This analysis aims to explore how Trump constructs a distinct narrative of "us vs. them" for his audience by utilizing strategies of legitimation and power.

2.1 Section One: Research Methodology

In this section, the data set consists of three political speeches delivered by Donald Trump during his 2016 presidential campaign. It initially describes the speeches selected by the researchers and the setting. It displays the context in which the speeches were created/written and delivered, followed by a description of the data collection instrument and procedures used for having the data set, and finally, finding the method and approach the researchers will exploit to analyze those data. The data is analyzed to decontextualize and

discuss the populist rhetoric addressed by Trump to his "people" (his fans and voters) on the one hand and against his "enemies" on the other hand to create a particular reality of us vs. them for his audience, strengthened by legitimization and power.

2.1.1 Sampling and Setting

Prior to discussing the contextual analysis of the selected speeches, it is necessary to provide a concise overview of the presidential election in the U.S. The American presidential election is a quadrennial event in which citizens of the U.S vote for their next President and Vice President. The election is held on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of the year, and the winning candidates are inaugurated on January 20 of the following year. The election process begins with primaries held by each political party to pick their presidential nominee. After the nominees are chosen, the "general election" campaign begins, during which the candidates travel across the country rallying support and participating in debates.

The political landscape in the U.S is defined by two prominent parties, namely the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. On the one hand, the Democratic Party generally leans left on social and economic issues, advocating for policies such as higher taxes on the wealthy, government-funded healthcare, stricter environmental regulations/ restrictions, and a more expansive social safety net. They also tend to be more supportive of immigration and multiculturalism. On the other hand, the Republican Party often leans right on social and economic issues, advocating for policies such as lower taxes, deregulation of businesses, strong national security, and individual rights. They tend to be more sceptical of government intervention in the economy and prefer a more limited role of government in people's lives. It's worth noting that while these are the two parties' general positions, there is significant

diversity within each party, and not all members will necessarily agree with all of these positions. Additionally, the parties' positions on issues can shift over time.

Trump was one of the Republican candidates, and the focus of our study encompasses the entirety of Donald Trump's political speeches from his 2016 presidential campaign. These speeches were delivered over seventeen (17) months, from June 2015 (Trump's declared his candidacy for the presidency) through November 2016 (the triumph of Trump, who was the 45th president of the U.S.).

We have chosen the 2016 presidential election instead of 2020 one for one reason. The 2016 presidential election is an excellent example of the success of populism in the U.S. Trump's triumph was like a miracle. Few expected Trump to win the Republican primary, let alone the presidential election. This makes the analysis of populist rhetoric in this case highly significant. However, the importance of analyzing his rhetoric is diminished in the context of the 2020 elections, where the Democrats defeated Trump.

We took some liberties with the corpus of these speeches. Rather than selecting different types of speeches, we have chosen three speeches that mark pivotal periods in the Trump campaign. The first speech under analysis is the declaration of Trump's candidacy, delivered at Trump Tower in New York City on June 16, 2015. It serves as the inception of Trump's primary election campaign. The second speech being analyzed is Trump's acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention (RNC), which took place in Cleveland, Ohio, on July 21, 2016. This speech marked the transition from the primary election phase to the commencement of the general election, and the third speech, Charlotte's speech given at the Charlotte Convention Centre in Charlotte, North Carolina on August 18 of 2016.

Table 2: Sampling and Setting of the Study

N° of Speech	Speech 01	Speech 02	Speech 03
Title of Speech	Presidential Announcement Speech	Presidential Nomination Acceptance Speech	Charlotte's Speech
Setting	Trump Tower, New York City, New York, June 16, 2015	Republican National Convention (RNC), Cleveland, Ohio, July 21, 2016	Charlotte Convention Center in Charlotte, North Carolina, Aug 18, 2016
Number of words	6346 words	5274 words	3959 words
Duration of video	45:34 45 minutes and 34 seconds.	1:15:34 1 hour, 15minutes and 34 seconds.	44:43 44 minutes and 43 seconds

While the number of speeches is relatively small, it is crucial to mention that the following analysis is not intended to give empirical evidence for populism levels in Trump's speeches; instead, the purpose is to exemplify the definition discussed above of populism – as it is defined in the previous chapter- and to gain a better understanding of the type of populism employed by Trump in his campaign.

The selection of the first speech is based on its significance as the starting point of Trump's presidential campaign. It represents the initial public expression of his values and ideology, which would subsequently shape the course of his entire campaign.

The second speech was selected due to its pivotal role in marking the transition within Trump's campaign, shifting from the primary election phase to the broader scope of the general election. Therefore, this speech signifies pivotal moments in his campaign and, as a result, is directed towards a significant national audience rather than a local one. This speech represents a notable shift in emphasis, redirecting attention from Trump's Republican competitors to his Democratic adversary, Hillary Clinton. In this speech, Trump aimed to

express and consolidate his ideology in alignment with the Republican Party, highlighting the contrasts between his beliefs and those of Clinton and the Democratic Party.

The third speech was chosen because it is considered one of the discourses that contain the highest diversity of populist themes, which allows us to study those themes clearly and in-depth. It is classified, by the Washington Post, as one of the best Donald Trump campaign speeches ever.

These three speeches not only received significant media and scholarly attention but also represented three key campaign phases. Because these three speeches are spread out throughout the campaign, we can measure the level of populism in Trump's speeches longitudinally, allowing us to detect changes over time.

We excluded "victory speech" and "the Inaugural Address," even though they were selected as one of the most critical speeches in Trump's presidential election. Our goal is to analyze how Trump used the strategy of populism to get as many voters as possible. However, considering that Trump was elected the 45th president of the U.S and no longer has to deliver fervently populist rallies but instead depended on more moderate speeches, the previous two speeches do not support this plan. More particular, Trump was no longer required to defend and support his beliefs in the face of opposition.

2.1.2 Data Collection

2.1.2.1 Research instruments

Creswell (2010) asserts that qualitative researchers often consider themselves "instruments" in the research process because all observations, interpretations, and analyses are filtered through their lens. Hence, the pivotal instrument of the study is the researchers themselves. However, the researchers also require a supporting tool or instrument to facilitate the analysis process. The secondary tool utilized for the analysis consisted of both the

transcriptions and video recordings of Donald J. Trump's speeches. The video and text

transcripts of Donald J. Trump's speeches were collected from the internet as the research's

data sources. Online transcriptions from reliable news sources are included in this data set.

To gather, measure, and analyze our data for this research, we used three key sources

as instruments and tools: The three speeches can be found on YouTube channels, as shown in

Table 2 in the book "The greatest speeches of Donald J. Trump: 45th President of the U.S"

published by Humanix Books and introduced by Craig Shirley (2022), and we also had access

to the data through the *American presidency project* at the University of California, Santa

Barbara, an online repository for presidential documents. Consequently, the three speeches

can be found at the following link:

https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-
guidebook/documents-related-to-presidential-elections/2016/report/200301/all/63

Table 3 : YouTube Channels for the Three Speeches

N° of Speech	YouTube Channel
Speech 01	https://youtu.be/SpMJx0-HyOM (PBS NewsHour Channel)
Speech 02	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fs0pZ_GrTy8&list=WL&index=4&t=421s &pp=gAQBiAQB (CNN Channel)
Speech 03	https://youtu.be/Zt76E0f4_2os (Fox News Channel)

2.1.2.2 Data Collection Procedures

We adopted certain procedures for data collection, which are outlined as follows:

1. Finding the data: the data collection process commenced by sourcing relevant videos and

textual transcripts of Donald J. Trump's speeches from the aforementioned reputable sources.

2. Watching and verifying the data: The subsequent phase of data collection involved

watching the videos to validate the accuracy of the transcriptions. To be more accurate, we

matched each video to its corresponding transcript. As a result, we found some missing

sentences and expressions in all three speeches, so we added them to the transcripts.

 3. Dividing each speech using a coding scheme: in this study, the data is dealt with in

phrases, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs at the macrostructure level. As such, in this step,

each text was divided into excerpts in the form of sentences and paragraphs according to the

subject of the study, and each excerpt was given a code, as shown in the following example:

S1.01: …*I will fight for you. I will fight for the U.S of America…*
S1.02:…
S1.03:….

S1: refers to Speech N° 1, and **01** refers to the first excerpt. Hence, the code **S1.01** refers to
the first excerpt of the first speech, and so on and so forth.

It is worth noting that we will not cover each rally from beginning to end. Only the

necessary excerpts will be selected for encoding. Therefore, the study aims to map the

populist discourse outlined in the previous chapter into Trump's chosen speeches. Thus, those

chosen excerpts from the three Trump rallies exemplify his populist discourse rather than

cover the rallies in their entirety.

2.1.3 Data Analysis Procedures

The present study is designed according to the principles of the qualitative approach

of research, which tackles the analysis of three speeches of Donald Trump's presidential

campaign. This approach is an interpretive approach based on phrases, clauses, sentences, and

small paragraphs (extracts of the discourse) rather than on numbers to provide a better

understanding of concepts and thoughts of populism. This study includes content analysis,

defined as "a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative material"

(Schreier, 2012, p. 1).

In addition, the qualitative approach includes thematic analysis as well, through looking for patterns in the meaning of the data to find themes in terms of investigating and interpreting the strategy of populist discourse used by Trump to talk about the primary populist themes of his ideology such as immigration, foreign policy, nationalism, anti-globalization, the corrupt establishment, and so on. Moreover, the descriptive method was employed to portray the qualitative approach. However, it is important to note that one of the key characteristics of this method is that researchers have no control over the variables and data.

To answer the research questions for this dissertation, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on van Dijk's (1998) socio-cognitive approach to CDA was carried out. This approach depends on two main analysis levels, which are the macro-structural level and the micro-structural level. However, the micro-structural level will be neglected in our analysis, and we will focus on the macro-structural level. In other words, the data will be analyzed on the macrostructure of discourse; thus, we analyze the collected data in terms of van Dijk's (1998) ideological square model, which tackles the concept of in-group and out-group presentation. The way in-groups and out-groups are represented in text and talk is prototypically represented by the ideological pronouns *Us* and *Them*.

The complex strategy of the ideological square tells us that group members will tend to speak or write positively about their group and negatively about those outgroups they define as opponents, competitors, or enemies. Aside from using the binary "US" vs. "Them" to represent the "in-groups" positively and the "out-groups" negatively, it is also employed to legitimatize the in-group while delegitimizing the out-group.

Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation is to analyze the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation used by Trump to attract the most significant number of voters to him through using the strategy of populism. Table4 summarizes Trump's ingroup

and outgroup according to van Dijk's ideological square through which we will analyze his

three speeches, and Trump's quote can summarize it:

"The only antidote to decades of ruinous rule by a small handful of elites is a bold

infusion of popular will. On every major issue affecting this country, the people are right and

the governing elite are wrong. The elites are wrong on taxes, on the size of government, on

trade, on immigration, on foreign policy."

—Donald J. Trump, The Wall Street Journal,
April 14, 2016

Table 4 : Populist Trump's Model

	Who?	How? (Ideological Square)	To whom? About whom? (Actors)	What? (Populism's themes) (issues)
In-group (positive self-presentation)	Trump	Pure People	Speaker of Discourse (Presidency's candidate)	**-**
	Trump's voters and followers; American citizens in general		Listener , Receiver of Discourse (Republicans)	Political Discourse
Out-group (negative other-presentation)	Establishment	Corrupt, Weak and Incompetent	* Obama and Republican rivals (1st speech) * Hilarry Clinton, Obama administration, donors, lobbyists, media, … (2nd and 3rd speeches)	1. Corruption; 2. Economic failure: jobs, unemployment, Taxes….
	Foreigners	Emphasizing negative other presentations and De-emphasizing positive other presentation.	China, Japan, Mexico	Economic issue particularly jobs and trade deals (Nationalism, protectionism, Anti-globalism…)
			Mexico, Muslims, and others	Immigration issue
			Iraq, Iran, Syria and Afghanistan, ISIS…	Foreign policy, Islamic Terrorism…

Note. This table is created by the researchers themselves

2.2 Section Two: Analysis and Discussions

 This section presents the data set analysis described in the previous section. Using the

principles of van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square, the data is analyzed in order

 to decontextualize and discuss the populist rhetoric that Trump addressed to his "people" (his

supporters and voters) on the one hand and against his "enemies" on the other hand for the

purpose of creating for his audience a particular reality of us vs. them through and power. This

analysis aims to uncover the various methods employed by the three speeches to depict social

groups and construct and frame Trump's underlying ideology. For this analysis, we divided the

social actors into two groups: the ingroup and the outgroup. The former represents the "pure

people," containing Trump and his audience and voters. The latter represents the "elite," referring

to the 'establishment' and 'foreigners.'

   Accordingly, during this section, each discourse will be analyzed independently from the

other two discourses following three processes: The people against the elite, the positive self-

representation (of the ingroup), and the negative other-representation (of the outgroup).

2.2.1 The Announcement of Candidacy Speech

2.2.1.1 US versus Them

   First and foremost, scholars largely agree that populism is a duality between "the people" and

"the elite" (Comaroff, 2011). The first of these categories, which we refer to *as us (or we),* is

Donald Trump himself and those who represent his audience with whom he shares his ideology.

These people are often represented as "America," and "Our Country," as well as pronouns such

as "we" and "us."

The second group, *the Establishment*, which refers to *them*, consists of actors that belong to the institutional powers of society and include the government that represents the Obama administration at that time, politicians including Republican rivals of Trump, donors, lobbyists, special interests, and the media. This group is depicted as an ideological opponent of Trump and his supporters and was personally characterized as being against him and the American people.

It is worth noting that *Them*, in the international context, includes the third and final group that contains the foreign countries and their people*, the foreigners,* such as China, Mexico, Japan, Iran, Arabia, Saudi, Islamic States of Iraq, and Syria (ISIS) and so on. They are frequently presented as enemies of America and are portrayed negatively throughout Trump's speeches. As a result, they will be analyzed and discussed in the negative other-representation part.

Trump used two key populist strategies—which stand for the ideology's essential components—to win over the most supporters possible. The first is an anti-establishment tactic that portrays the elite as "corrupt," while the second is an anti-status quo strategy that portrays the elite as "weak and incompetent."

2.2.1.1.1 "Pure" People Against "Corrupt" Establishment

In his announcement of candidacy speech given in Trump Tower on June 16, 2015, Trump had a strong anti-establishment message. In a majority of populist speeches, he described this Establishment as a "corrupt elite," followed by that Mudde's definition of populism as "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite" (Mudde, 2004, p. 543). In other words, populism is regularly used as a synonym for 'antiestablishment' (Oswald, 2022).Trump cited numerous examples for the corruption of this establishment, and the following lines were selected to confirm what has been mentioned:

S1.27 ……….. They're controlled fully— **they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests**, fully. Yes, they control them.

S1.44 ……….. And we have people that **are controlled by special interests**. And it's just not going to work.

S1.80 ……….. We have people that **are morally corrupt**. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

S1.87 I will immediately terminate President Obama's **illegal** executive order on immigration, immediately.

In the excerpts mentioned above, Trump accused directly by using simple language, and without hesitation, the Obama administration that they are corrupt, and he used clear and straightforward expressions such as 'they are controlled by lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests,' 'they are morally corrupt,' and 'Obama's *illegal* executive order.' As a result, most populist communication is shaped by what Canovan (1999) calls a "simple and direct style" (Canovan, 1999, p. 3). Many populism definitions include this simplification of complex issues, and some cite it as a central feature: Complex political issues are simplified and portrayed as monocausal so that equally simple solutions can be formulated as answers. Trump continued to describe the corruption of the Obama administration, but this time implicitly by declaring that this administration did not give correct statistics to the people but instead relied on false statistics, especially in the economic issue.

S1.14 And our **real unemployment** is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it.

S1.16 But the **real number**, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it's a statistic that's full of nonsense

At the same time Trump presented himself, in contrast to corrupt elite, as a 'pure people', by saying:

S1.28 Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They're great. But you know what? it won't happen. It won't happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it's destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

In this extract mentioned above, Trump accused the lobbyists that they wanted to seduce him. Still, unlike the elite, he responded that 'it won't happen,' he repeated this sentence twice and insisted on stopping doing things that destroy 'our country.'

Additionally, taking advantage of the geographic proximity, in Trump's assessment, Mexico has been luring American companies like Ford and other international companies to manufacture their products in Mexico to the detriment of the American worker. Trump emphasized the dualism (dichotomy) of 'the pure people' vs. 'the corrupt elite,' citing a long story about the Ford company issue. We can summarize this default conversation that will be taken place between him and the head of Ford company and his friend's lobbyists and donors, that Trump represents as 'corrupt guys,' as follows:

S1.50 But I have another one (problem), Ford.

S1.51 So Mexico takes a company [Ford Company], a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out….. Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a $2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. …..

S1.52 But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice $2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border."

S1.53 So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's it.

S1.54 Now, here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they

may even be upset by it. But then **they're going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford** and say, "You can't do that to Ford, **because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you**, and you can't do that to Ford."

S1.55 And guess what? No problem. They're going to build in Mexico. They're going to take away thousands of jobs. It's very bad for us.

S1.56 So under President Trump, here's what would happen:

S1.57 The head of Ford will call me back,… And he'll say (The head of Ford), "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, **and I'll say, "No interest."** Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "**Sorry, fellas. No interest,**" because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money. I'm using my own money. **I'm not using the lobbyists**. **I'm not using donors**. I don't care. I'm really rich. I'll show you that (inaudible).

S1.58 After I'm called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I'm called by all of the special interests and by the— the donors and by the lobbyists— and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero— I'll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He'll say. "Please reconsider," I'll say no.

S1.59 He'll say, "Mr. President, we've decided to move the plant back to the U.S, and we're not going to build it in Mexico." That's it. They have no choice. They have no choice.

S1.71 So Ford will come back. They'll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, **that's based on competence.**

The above extracts summarize the conversation that Trump and the head of Ford will make, which is a typical example through which Trump wanted to show the dichotomy between the *'pure Trump'* and the *'corrupt Ford company staff.'* Trump defends the interest of the American people against the Ford Company, which only looks out for its narrow interests. Trump, who neglects Ford, and Ford, who neglects Trump, stand in contrast to other politicians that care for Ford, and Ford reciprocates the care towards them, between Trump, who does not use the lobbyists and donors, and the corrupt politicians that receive a call from donors and probably from lobbyists for Ford. Finally, the last two extracts, S1.56 and S1.71, show that good and pure people always defeat *evil at the end of every story.* As a result, the opponents are not just people

with different priorities and values; they are *evil*! Consequently, compromise is impossible, as it 'corrupts' the purity (Mudde, 2004).

2.2.1.1.2 "Strong" People against "Weak and Incompetent" Establishment

Trump did not stop at the *corruption* strategy but moved to use another similar strategy: the ' *weakness* and *less competence'* of the ruling class and Republican rivals. Correspondingly, populism is often seen as 'the product of a failure of the existing system of political parties to provide credible representation for "neglected" groups of citizens' (Schmitter, 2019, p. 76). It is important to note that Trump reveals one of the major themes of his announcement speech: competence. As he said in the following sentences:

S1.09 Because we have no protection and we have **no competence.**

S1.71 …. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, **that's based on competence.**

S1.76 But, I said, "This is going to be an election **that's based on competence**, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world.

Moreover, Trump used the strategy of the anti-status quo by citing many examples:

S1.02 Our country is **in serious trouble**. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them.

S1.19 We have **a disaster** called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.

S1.24 And that's what's happening. And it's going **to get worse**, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in , 2016.

S1.81 According to the economists……. **That's when we become Greece**. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.

S1.91 You come into La Guardia Airport, **it's like we're in a third world country**.

S1.92 You look at these airports, **we are like a third world country**. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world.

Trump cited numerous examples of various domestic and foreign policies as "disasters," using stern expressions such as 'it's going to get worse,' 'we become Greece,' 'it's like we're in a third world country.' All those expressions indicate the precarious state of "our country," as we have already mentioned. Trump is working largely inductively to persuade his audience of the immediacy and seriousness of the situation by blaming the weakness of the elite.

S1.17 Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and **we as a country are getting weaker**.

S1.18 It ….. does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, "That is a group of people, and that is **a nation that truly has no clue**. They don't know what they're doing. **They don't know what they're doing."**

S1.20 Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us— believe me— to the promised land. They will not.

S1.32 He's not a leader [Obama]. That's true. You're right about that. But he wasn't a cheerleader. He's actually a negative force. He's been a negative force. He wasn't a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

S1.40 How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?

S1.41 …. Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator.

S1.44 Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.

S1.47 But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders,… That's the difference between China's leaders and our leaders.

S1.49 We have all the cards, but we don't know how to use them. We don't even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don't understand the game.

S1.80 We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it…..

As we will see momentarily, Trump's rhetorical construction lays the stage for populism's defining feature: criticizing the elite. On the other side, it allows Trump to position himself as the

candidate who "can fix it," allowing him to make a significant rupture with the established quo

by declaring, for example:

S1.43 If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know business…or;

 S1.70 We're dying. We're dying. We need money. We have to do it. And **we need the right people**.

At the same time, Trump lambasted his Republican rivals, labeling them as "very weak

people" incapable of ruling a large country like the U.S. He begins his announcement speech in

Trump Tower by saluting 'the thousands of his supporters and followers and ridiculing the other

Republican contenders by emphasizing their modest crowd size in comparison to his and

underlining their blatant incompetence:

S1.01 And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs. They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.

Later in his speech, Trump starts citing numerous examples that show the weakness and

the incompetence of the Republican rivals.

S1.23 I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, "What's going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don't need the rhetoric. I want a job."

S1.64 But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, **"Is he intelligent?"**

S1.65 Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question. **How are these people gonna lead us?**

S1.67 They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.

S1.89 Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. He's weak on immigration.

It is worth mentioning that when Trump declared his candidacy, he was one of eleven

Republican candidates, a number that grew to seventeen in the ensuing months. At the time,

Marco Rubio and Jeb Bush, who had announced his candidacy the day before, were considered

the frontrunners for the nomination. Trump, on the other hand, was considered a political

outsider. Therefore, he focused his announcement speech on criticizing these two major rivals.

Trump's attack on Bush and Rubio likely resonated with Americans who thought the 2003 war

in Iraq was a costly mistake. Unlike most Republican presidential candidates in 2016, especially

Jeb Bush, who took five days to answer the question on Iraq, or Rubio, who could not answer the

question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? Trump is not hesitant to attack the wisdom of the

George W. Bush administration. As a result, Trump classified Bush as 'unintelligent' ("*Is he

intelligent?*") and weak (*he is weak on immigration*) and Rubio as a weak leader, and he

asked: *How are these people going to lead us? They don't have a clue. They can't lead us.'*

2.2.1.2 Positive Self-presentation

Trump emphasizes his positive self-representation by using two strategies. The first one

was by directly describing himself as a pleasant and accomplished individual. For example,

when a reporter said to him "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person." Trump was direct and

clear in his answer:

S1.73 That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me like me.
Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family.

And when the reporter insisted and said to him the other day, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice

person. How can you get people to vote for you?" Trump emphasized this time that he is a good

and successful person by responding:

S1.75 I said, "I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person."

Trump, on the other hand, attempted to downplay some of the negative traits that others recognized in him, and he proceeded to say:

S1.76 But, I said, "This is going to be an election **that's based on competence**, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. According to sentence S1.76, Trump was implicitly admitting that even though he is an unkind person, in many people's eyes, that does not matter. According to him, what matters in the elections is the competence that people expect from the candidates, not whether they are pleasant or not. Nevertheless, Trump continued his speech and classified Bush as 'unintelligent' ("*Is he intelligent?*") and weak (*he is weak on immigration*) and Rubio as a weak leader, and he asked: *How are these people going to lead us? They don't have a clue. They can't lead us.'*

S1.78 Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth. So, I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job.

Then Trump recounted, in his announcement speech in Trump Tower, his successful life story in some details, starting from his childhood until he became a successful businessman, and this is for the purpose of conveying a message to his rivals and opponents that his current success as a rich man was a logical result of long sacrifices and tough efforts, and not through cheating as his enemies claim. Then, Trump concluded his own story by saying:

S1.79 So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever going to know unless I run, because **I'm really proud of my success. I really am.**

The second strategy used by Trump to represent himself positively, was by painting a dark and black picture of the current American situation and making himself the only savior who can get the Americans out of this difficult and complicated situation. He points out for instance:

S1.29 Now, our country needs— our country needs **a truly great leader**, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote "The Art of the Deal."

S1.33 We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States **and make it great again**. It's not great again. We need— we need somebody— we need somebody that literally will take this country and **make it great again**. We can do that.

S1.37 I will be the greatest jobs **president that God ever created**.

S1.42 I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really **talented people** to negotiate for you.

S1.84 Nobody would be tougher on ISIS **than Donald Trump**. **Nobody**.

S1.90 Rebuild the country's infrastructure. **Nobody can do that like me.**

S1.96 Sadly, the American dream is dead. But if I get elected president, I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and **we will make America great again**.

As can be seen above, Trump used many expressions such as "a truly great leader," "Somebody who can make it (America) great again," "president that God ever created," "talented people," "Nobody would be tougher than Donald Trump," and "Nobody can do that like me" to express the same idea: the US cannot be as great as before unless Trump is elected president. Trump relied on using different terms to describe and emphasize himself positively, such as "great leader," "Somebody," "president," "people," "Donald Trump," and finally, "me." Furthermore, Trump promised the audience to do many promising things if he was elected as the 45th president of the US, especially in terms of international trade deals, immigration, foreign policy and national security, and economy.

S1.38 I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money.

S1.83 I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.

S1.85 I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons.

S1.91 So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports.

This second strategy was confirmed by the slogan used in the Trump campaign «Make America Great Again". This slogan was repeated in the announcement speech eight (8) times to emphasize and confirm the positive role that Trump will bring to the American people if he is elected as the 45th President of the U.S:

S1.27 They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance. They're controlled fully— they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. Yes, they control them.

S1.33 We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States **and make it great again**. It's not great again. We need— we need somebody— we need somebody that literally will take this country and **make it great again**. We can do that.

S1.34 And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They're saying, "Dad, you're going to do something that's going to be so tough." You know, all of my life, I've heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can't happen. And yet that's the kind of mindset that you need to make **this country great again**.

S1.35 So ladies and gentlemen…I am officially running… for president of the United States, and we **are going to make our country great again.**

S1.66 how are we gonna go back **and make it great again**?

S1.69 There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore **make it great again**

S1.96 Sadly, the American dream is dead.But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and **we will make America great again**.

The slogan was not limited to "Make America Great," but rather, Trump ended it with "again" to convey a message in the unconscious American cognition that the US was great in the past. However, the corrupt and weak current administration (them) made the US fragile and vulnerable vis-à-vis their "enemies," and the only one who can make it great "again" is Trump

by his voters (the pure people). However, this slogan has been slammed by Democrats. "If you're looking for someone to say what is wrong with America, I'm not your candidate. I think there is more right than wrong," the Democratic nominee at that time, Hillary Clinton, said. "I don't think we have to make America great. I think we have to make America greater." And Tumulty (2017), The Washington Post journalist, claimed that the slogan was not entirely original. Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush had used "Let's Make America Great Again" in their 1980

2.2.1.3 Negative Other-presentation

In this part of the section, we will focus on the negative other-representation, in which 'other' represents foreigners as the enemies and rivals of the US. We will try to analyze the strategy used by Trump to emphasize the negative side of those foreigners and de-emphasize the positive side of them to convince their audience that he is the only candidate who can defeat this enemy. If he were elected as the 45th president, Trump's discussions would be based on the themes of populism, with a strong focus on the economy, particularly trade and jobs, on the one hand, and on the issues of immigration and foreign policy on the other hand.

In his 2016 speech announcement, Trump portrayed the American economy as being in a state of decline and attributed this to factors such as globalization and free trade agreements.

Regarding international trade agreements, Trump initiated his speech by addressing the topic and directed his rhetoric toward highlighting the negative economic consequences of China, Japan, and Mexico.

Trump stated that other nations, especially China, which he accused of manipulating its currency and participating in unfair trade practices, had taken advantage of the US. Additionally,

he denounced trade agreements like NAFTA, which he said had led to the loss of American

employment.

S1.03 When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? **They kill us.**

S1.04 When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. **They beat us all the time**.

S1.05 When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. **They are not our friend,** believe me. **But they're killing us economically**. The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.

S1.15 They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because **China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs**. They all have jobs

S1.22 When was the last time you heard **China is killing us**? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. **They're killing us.**

S1.39 We owe China $1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better

S1.48 They are ripping us.[**chinese**]…..You have a bigger problem with China. And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico

populist rhetoric was incorporated into his speeches through the use of words with negative

connotations. Some of those expressions are: 'They *kill* us,' 'They beat us all the time,' 'They

are not our friend,' 'They're killing us economically,' 'China has our jobs,' 'Mexico has our

jobs,' 'They are ripping us,' and so on. For instance, the expression 'killing us' was repeated

more than four times in a short period. Thus, Trump did not use the strategy of negative other-

presentation but rather went beyond it to the strategy of *demonizing* others (the other is the devil)

dramatically and exaggeratedly. Moreover, Trump's statement, 'China has our jobs, and Mexico

has our jobs. They all have jobs' which confirms the juxtaposition of a weak country and strong

people. It further bolsters Trump's argument against the current leadership by implying that we

are being improperly utilized.

In contrast, our jobs and money are possessed by others. This representation of foreign

countries having "our jobs" suggests that those jobs are legitimately ours and were unfairly taken

from us. By representing 'our jobs' in this way, Trump may indicate that we have been

powerless to stop them from taking our jobs, highlighting our weakness (McClay, 2017).

In response to these issues, Trump proposed a range of policies that would strengthen the

American economy. These included renegotiating trade agreements, imposing import tariffs, and

enacting tax reductions for individuals and companies. He said:

S1.94 Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

Trump's economic strategy has drawn criticism from some analysts and officials, who claim

that it could result in a trade war and economic instability, while others have backed him because

of his emphasis on preserving American jobs and advancing domestic industry. By claiming that

these trade agreements with adversaries have harmed the U.S and strengthened adversaries,

Trump said that his strategy is supported.

S1.17 Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting
weaker.

The immigration issue was a significant concern for then-presidential candidate Trump

in addition to the economy. Regarding this subject, Trump accused Mexico of "sending" the

wrong individuals and said that Mexico was the main entry point for illegal immigrants from all

over the world, including the Middle East.

S1.06 When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you.
They're not sending you. **They're sending people that have lots of problems**, and they're
bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. **They're
rapists.** And some, I assume, are good people.

S1.07 They're sending us not the right people.

S1.08 It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably— probably— from the Middle East.

In the excerpts above, Trump described the Mexicans by the ugliest descriptions like 'people that have lots of problems, 'they are bringing drugs,' they're bringing crime,' they're rapists.' He thus turned to the populism discourse mixed with racism, especially when he said in excerpt S1.05, 'They are not our friends, believe me.'

 When Trump suggested building a giant wall along the southern border of the US to deter illegal immigration, he also promised to deport all undocumented immigrants currently living in the country. He said he would have Mexico pay for that wall. This racist and hateful rhetoric caused outrage worldwide, not just in the U.S at the time, and it became one of his most-discussed remarks.

S1.83 I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.(here we talk about the nationalism vs. the globalisation which characterises the populism ideology).

   This idea of building a great wall between the US and Mexico reflects one of the core elements of populist ideology, which is Nationalism against globalization. Here, we can interpret the word 'wall' by its denotation or its connotation meaning. In other terms, 'wall' in its connotational meaning means that we 'Americans' must abandon all practices and tolerance towards the 'others' led by our precedent leadership.

    Trump was severely attacked for his comments on immigration during his announcement speech by politicians and advocacy groups who claimed he was fomenting anti-immigrant attitudes and disseminating misinformation about immigrants. But by concentrating on the

immigration debate, he was able to win over some conservative supporters and make it a central

plank of his campaign. Furthermore, then-presidential candidate Trump touched upon a few key

foreign policy issues. He criticized what he saw as poor decisions by the Obama administration

in foreign policy and national security, including the Iran nuclear deal and the handling of the

Islamic State (ISIS) terrorist group.

S1.10 Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them.

S1.11 Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.

S1.12 We spent $2 trillion in Iraq, $2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they're great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers. And we have nothing. We can't even go there.

S1.85 I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons.

One of the most controversial foreign policy proposals Trump made during his announcement

speech was a call for a ban on Muslims entering the Us. This proposal drew widespread

condemnation from many politicians and advocacy groups, who accused Trump of promoting

religious discrimination and violating the principles of the US Constitution.

Moving now to the strategy of de-emphasizing positive other-presentation, even though

Trump was not very interested in this strategy, he successfully employed it. Trump always talks

about his enemies; he follows the negative presentation with expressions of praise and love for

them, without mentioning many details of this praise and adoration. Here are a few instances:

S1.06 When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. **<u>And some, I assume, are good people</u>**.

S1.46 Hey, I'm not saying they're stupid**. I like China**. I sell apartments for— I just sold an apartment for $15 million to somebody from China. **Am I supposed to dislike them?** I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable.**I love China**. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. **I love China**. People say, "Oh, you don't like China?" **No, I love them**

S1.47 But **their leaders are much smarter** than our leaders,… That's the difference between China's leaders and our leaders.

S1.60 Saudi Arabia, they make $1 billion a day. $1 billion a day. **I love the Saudis**. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day…..

In excerpt S1.46, Trump repeated 'I love China' four times; however, he did not provide many clues why he loves China except he mentioned some personal interests with some Chinese businessmen without saying any positive things about China as a competitor country the US; the same thing for Mexico and other opponent countries. As a result, we think that this strategy used by Trump was to make his aggressive rhetoric more moderated.

2.2.2 RNC Acceptance Speech

Trump employs a similar rhetorical strategy of portraying an all-encompassing crisis gripping America, setting himself apart from Democratic opponents particularly Hilary Clinton, and articulating the perceived dangers posed by *foreigners*.

2.2.2.1 Pure People vs. Corrupt and Weak Elite

As a populist, Trump asserts in this speech that the ruling elites do not represent the will of the pure people, of which he considers himself a member. He claims that the current establishment has distorted facts and truths to be "politically correct" and is loyal to special interests rather than the people. Furthermore, Trump claims they will reject any improvements he proposes since they prefer his opponent Hilary Clinton because she can carry out their directives and will maintain the status quo so that only they gain.

S2.08 We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore.

S2.24 A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation's most powerful special interests.

S2.25 That's because these interests have rigged our political and economic system for their exclusive benefit. Believe me, it's for their benefit. Big business, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent because they know she will keep our rigged system in place. They are throwing money at her because they have total control over every single thing she does. She is their puppet, and they pull the strings.

S2.54 My opponent would rather protect bureaucrats than serve American children. And that's what she's doing, and that's what she's done.

Trump considers himself as part of the pure American people, by reciting a pledge that is "I'm with you", a different pledge from what did Hilary ask from her supporters "I'm with her", this can indicate that Hillary and her supporters are framed as being part of certain special group which do not represent all of the pure American people.

S2.58 My opponent asks her supporters to recite a three-word loyalty pledge. It reads: "I'm With Her." I choose to recite a different pledge. My pledge reads: "I'm With You – The American People."

The political plan of the adversary of Trump is viewed as it would prioritize Globalism policy first in favour of than the interest of Americanism, the Republican Candidate adds that America and its people, will not be respected from other countries in the light of the current political leadership which the interest of the American people is not their primary concern.

S2.22 The most important difference between our plan and that of our opponent, is that our plan will put America first. Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo. As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect.

Trump suggests in extract S2.49 implicitly that lousy trade deals signed under this system's

control had negatively affected American labors, along with the country's independence and

freedom.

S2.48 I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers or that diminishes our
freedom or our independence. We will never, ever sign Bad trade deals. America first again.
America first.

The topic of national security is discussed in excerpts S2.10 and S2.55, where the country's

progress in reducing crime over the previous ten years had returned to an even worse state under

this administration. Trump adds that he will nominate US Supreme Court justices who support

the nation's laws and Constitution, conveying that the whole democratic system had broken the

law...

S2.10 Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed by this
administration's rollback of criminal enforcement. Homicides last year increased by 17% in
America's 50 largest cities. That's the largest increase in 25 years.

S2.12 The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50% compared
to this point last year.

S2.51 We are going to appoint justices of the United States Supreme Court who will uphold our
laws and our Constitution.

In extract S2.29, Trump shows certainty that corruption has reached a level that the

country had never witnessed before, as he condemns Hillary plainly as dishonest and corrupt due

to her act of storing her government emails on a private server which put the country at risk and

deleting "33.000" of them and faces no accountability for her illegal actions.

S2.29 And when a secretary of State illegally stores her emails on a private server, deletes
33,000 of them so the authorities can't see her crime, puts our country at risk, lies about it in
every different form and faces no consequence – I know that corruption has reached a level like
never ever before in our country.

Paragraph S2.36 highlights that the president of this standing establishment has only

made America a less secure country through speeches that split Americans by race and color.

This sensitive subject affects the unity of the country. Hence, these ruling elites are judged as

unworthy of leading the country, as they have proven their incompetency failure in the inner

cities of America on all levels.

S2.35 The irresponsible rhetoric of our president, who has used the pulpit of the presidency to
divide us by race and color, has made America a more dangerous environment than frankly I
have ever seen and anybody in this room has ever watched or seen. This administration has
failed America's inner cities, remember it has failed America's inner cities. It's failed them on
education. It's failed them on jobs. It's failed them in crime. It's failed them in every way and on
every single level.

2.2.2.2 Positive Self -presentation

In this subsection, the selected parts of Trump's speech involve the positive representation of

himself individually and him and the pure people as a whole group. As a group, The RNC 2016

candidate and his supporters argue that they will work to retake the position of running the

country and usher it back to its initial state of 'safety, prosperity and peace,' Trump says.

Furthermore, they claim they will be purely sincere with the American people, and their goal is

to have a great, warm, fair, and justice country. In S.32, According to Trump, millions of

Democrats will join him and his followers because he wants to ensure that the system works

fairly and impartially for every American.

S2.01 Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country
back to safety, prosperity and peace.

S2.02 We will be a country of generosity and warmth. But we will also be a country of law and
order

S2.09 We will honour the American people with the truth, and nothing else.

S2.32 Millions of Democrats will join our movement too because we are going to fix the system so it works fairly and justly for each and every American.

Donald Trump states that he would prioritize the people's interests, highlighting his focus on the interests of the American people. He conveys his intense desire for an urgent and necessary change in the situation in which politicians prioritized their agendas over the greater good. His joining of politics is justified by his intolerance for injustice and the goal of preventing the powerful from abusing those who cannot defend themselves. Trump asserts himself to be the most knowledgeable about the system and that he exclusively can mend it. He pledges to restore law and order in the country when he takes office, make Americans safe by protecting their right to bear arms, and be the voice of all victims of violence and crime, which he promises to fight to end soon.

In the above lines, Trump himself is the only available strong leader who can take charge of the country and make change happen by fixing the problems of the current political system.

S2.06 The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon, and I mean very soon, come to an end.

S2.23 The American people will come first once again.

S2.27 My message is that things have to change – and they have to change right now.

S2.28 I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good. I have no patience for injustice.

S2.30 I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people who cannot defend themselves.

S2.31 Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it.

S2.34 I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our police: When I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order to our country. Believe me, believe me.

S2.57 I am your voice. So to every parent who dreams for their child and every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I am with you. I will fight for you, and I will win for you.

S2.59 My opponent wants to essentially abolish the 2nd Amendment. I, on the other hand, received the early and strong endorsement of the National Rifle Assn. and will protect the right of all Americans to keep their families safe.

Trump's immigration policy calls for only allowing immigrants who share American traditions and values; anyone who encourages violence, hatred, or abuse would be sent away. He claimed that the construction of a border wall will ensure the cessation of illicit border crossing as well as the trafficking of people and illegal drugs.

S2.41 I only want to admit individuals into our country who will support our values and love our people.

S2.42 Anyone who endorses violence, hatred or oppression is not welcome in our country and never ever will be.

S2.44 We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities. By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will end the cycle of human smuggling and violence. Illegal border crossings will go down. We will stop it. It won't be happening very much anymore, believe me.

Trump uses his skills as a successful businessman to his advantage when offering workable answers to the nation's economic problems. He claims to have struck numerous lucrative business deals that netted him billions of dollars, and he plans to use this experience to make the U.S richer by only entering advantageous trade agreements. He continues by saying that in contrast to his opponent, who proposes a significant tax increase, his proposal would deliver the largest tax cut of any candidate, and he claims that this would benefit middle-class Americans and companies.

Furthermore, according to Trump, such a decrease in tax will have the chance to allow the birth of new companies and jobs and raise the restrictions on the production of energy and, in

addition to building new infrastructure, would have the same latter impact. Lastly, in S2.56,

within the economic plan of the 2016 Republican candidate plan is to repeal and replace the

current healthcare system so that Americans can once again choose their doctors.

S2.46 I have made billions of dollars in business making deals – now I'm going to make our
country rich again. Using the greatest business people in the world, which our country has, I am
going to turn our bad trade agreements into great trade agreements.

S2.49 While Hillary Clinton plans a massive, and I mean massive, tax increase, I have proposed
the largest tax reduction of any candidate who has run for president this year – Democrat or
Republican. Middle-income Americans and businesses will experience profound relief, and taxes
will be greatly simplified for everyone. And I mean everyone.

S2.50 America is one of the highest-taxed nations in the world. Reducing taxes will cause new
companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country. Believe me, it'll happen and it'll
happen fast. Then we are going to deal with the issue of regulation, one of the greatest job-killers
of them all. Excessive regulation is costing our country as much as $2 trillion a year, and we will
end it very, very quickly.

S2.51 We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy. This will
produce more than $20 trillion in job creating economic activity over the next four decades.

S2.53 We will build the roads, highways, bridges, tunnels, airports and the railways of tomorrow.
This, in turn, will create millions of more jobs.

S2.55 We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare. You will be able to choose your own

doctor again.

2.2.2.3 Negative Other-presentation

In terms of the economy, Trump asserts that the picture that has been provided by the news

and the media about the economy is contradictory to reality, where many of the facts have

deviated; he states that '58% of the African American youth are unemployed' and the labor force

got reduced by 14 million people, while nearly 4 in 10 African American children are in poverty,

in addition to two million Latinos in the same state, mentioning that it is a higher rate more when

President Obama took office. Trump continues to talk about household earnings and the

manufacturing trade deficit, which is down by $4,000 for the current year compared to 2000 for

the former and $800 billion for the latter.

   In excerpts S2.46, S2.48, and S2.53, the Democratic candidate is accused of being responsible

for America losing approximately one-third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997. Trump

describes the trade deals supported by the candidate Hilary Clinton and her husband, the former

U.S. president, as "disastrous." Additionally, her economic strategy is portrayed as detrimental,

leading to declining schools and hospitals, unemployment among miners and steelworkers,

further decreases in wages and job opportunities, and increased poverty among new immigrants,

preventing them from joining the middle class.

S2.17 What about our economy? Again, I will tell you the plain facts that have been edited out of
your nightly news and your morning newspaper: Nearly 4 in 10 African American children are
living in poverty, while 58% of African American youth are now not employed. Two million
more Latinos are in poverty today than when President Obama took his oath of office less than
eight years ago. Another 14 million people have left the workforce entirely. Household incomes
are down more than $4,000 since the year 2000. That's 16 years ago. Our (manufacturing) trade
deficit has reached an all-time high. Think of this, think of this: Our trade deficit in goods
reached nearly I think! think of this! think of this! our trade deficit is $800 billion, think of that!
$800 billion last year alone.

S2.45 Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages,
and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape the tremendous cycle of from poverty that
they're going through right now, and make it almost impossible for them to join the middle class.

S2.47 America has lost nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the
enactment of disastrous trade deals supported by Bill and Hillary Clinton.

S2.52 My opponent, on the other hand, wants to put the great miners and the great steelworkers
of our country out of work and out of business.

   Moreover, immigration is linked in his speech as a crucial factor to public safety, stressing

that it increased dramatically under Hillary Clinton's party leadership regarding the number of

illegal immigrants, many of whom have a criminal past. Trump emphasized that these foreigners

are allowed to enter the country without background checks. As a result, they had committed

crimes such as the killing of a young girl in the state of Nebraska and were not held accountable

by the law; in his words, such life did not receive any interest of protection from the democratic

establishment. In addition, a record of immigrant's flow throughout decades has led to higher

unemployment and lower wages for U.S citizens, primarily African American and Latinos

workers, who are considered to represent a noticeable part of the U.S Labour Force.

S2.13 Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our
country, are tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens.

S2.14 The number of new illegal immigrant families who have crossed the border so far this year
already exceeds the entire total from 2015. They are being released by the tens of thousands into
our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources.

S2.15 One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the
life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years old and was killed the day
after graduating from college with a 4.0 grade point average, No. 1 in her class. Her killer was
then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law. I've met Sarah's beautiful
family. But to this administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that
wasn't worth protecting.

S2.40 My opponent has called for a radical 550% increase in Syrian -- think of this, think of this,
this is not believable but this is what's happening -- a 550% increase in Syrian refugees on top of
existing massive refugee flows coming into our country already under the leadership of President
Obama. She proposes this despite the fact that there's no way to screen these refugees in order to
find out who they are or where they come from.

S2.43 Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment for
our citizens, especially for African American and Latino workers.

After Hillary assumed control of foreign policy, according to Trump, the world has become

less stable and less secure for America. He claims that her policies contributed to the rise of the

Islamic radical group ISIS, which has since expanded its influence throughout the world, as well

as a complete reversal of the Middle East situation, where her "nation building and regime

change" policies have worsened the status of many nations, including Egypt, Libya, Iraq, and

Iran. Trump asserts that such a change in the world situation impacted America. In the

neighborhood where Islamic radicals had harmed and destroyed property in the World Trade

Center disaster and other different local places, Trump judged such policy as a deficiency that

brought America only negative consequences, assuring that such problems would persist if the

same leaders who created them get another chance in ruling the country, referring to his

opponent who was part of those leaders.

S2.19 In Libya, our consulate – the symbol of American prestige around the globe – was brought down in flames. America is far less safe – and the world is far less stable – than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy.
S2.20 Let's review the record. In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map. Libya was stable. Egypt was peaceful. Iraq was seeing and really a big, big reduction in violence. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Syria was somewhat under control. After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region, and the entire world. Libya is in ruins, and our ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of savage killers. Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim brotherhood, forcing the military to retake control. Iraq is in chaos.

S2.21 This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction, terrorism and weakness. But Hillary Clinton's legacy does not have to be America's legacy. The problems we face now – poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad – will last only as long as we continue relying on the same politicians who created them in the first place.

S2.37 The damage and devastation that can be inflicted by Islamic radicals has been proven over and over – at the World Trade Center, at an office party in San Bernardino, at the Boston Marathon and a military recruiting center in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and many, many other locations.

S2.39 We must abandon the failed policy of nation building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed in Iraq, Libya, Egypt and in Syria. Instead, we must work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out Islamic terrorism and doing it now, doing it quickly, we're going to win, we're going to win fast.

Trump depicts the State of national security as a situation ruled by the acts of terrorism, violence,

Killings, and attacks that faced both the people and the police. He labels such acts, especially the

ones that law enforcement faced, as a threat and an assault on all the American people.

Furthermore, the Republican candidate deems his adversary in S2.04 as unfit to lead the country

because of her being part of the system and her ignorance of such danger and also was part of the

government, which according to his word, "failed to defend the lives of its own citizens.

"**S2.03** The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life.

S2.04 Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country.

S2.05 Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities. Many have witnessed this violence personally. Some have even been its victims.

S2.07 The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its own citizens. Any government that fails to do so is a government unworthy to lead.

S2.11 In the president's hometown of Chicago, more than 2,000 people have been the victim of shootings this year alone. And almost 4,000 have been killed in the Chicago area since he took office.

S2.33 An attack on law enforcement is an attack on all Americans.

Domestically, Trump, in sentence S2.18, views the country's infrastructure as weak,

deteriorating, and in a state that can be comparable to a third-world condition. In his words, 'Our

roads and bridges are falling apart, our airports are Third World condition,' he also points out the

inadequate efforts of the current establishment in dealing with such a significant level of poverty

rate where a large number of Americans are receiving government assistance in the form of food

stamps, 'and 43 million Americans are on food stamps'.

S2.18 Our roads and bridges are falling apart, our airports are Third World condition, and
43 million Americans are on food stamps.

2.2.3 The Charlotte's Speech August 18th, 2016

2.2.3.1 US versus Them

Donald Trump has maintained his dualism of 'the people' vs. 'the elite' and US vs.

THEM strategy. In addition to the two critical tactics of populism employed by Trump, which is the

anit-establishment, where the elite are considered "corrupt," and the anti-status quo strategy, where the

elite is perceived as "weak and powerless," and to draw the most significant number of supporters, Trump

added a third strategy in which he emphasized the idea of 'one nation.'

As for *Them* at the international level, they refer to *foreigners* and differ according to the

topic being treated. Hence, '*Them'* refers to China and Mexico in terms of international trade

agreements, immigrants and Muslims in terms of immigration issues, and finally, ISIS and the

Middle East in terms of terrorism and foreign policy. As in the two previous speeches, they will

be analyzed and discussed in the negative other-representation part.

2.2.3.1.1 We are 'One Nation'

Early on August 11, 2016, prolonged rainfall from an unpredictable storm resulted in

catastrophic flooding in Louisiana; thousands of houses and businesses were submerged. Trump

commenced the Charlotte meeting by discussing this catastrophe that struck Louisiana a week

ago. He took advantage of this painful opportunity to discuss a new 'us,' the 'one nation.' He

started the speech by saying:

S3. 02 I'd like to take a moment to talk about the heartbreak and devastation in Louisiana, a state
that is very very special to me.

S3 .03 We are **one nation**. **When one state hurts, we all hurt** – and we must all work together
to lift each other up. Working, building, restoring together.

 S3 .05 We are **one country**, **one people**, and we will have together **one great fantastic future**.
Togather, I'd like to talk about the New American Future we are going to create as a team
together.

        In the excerpts aforementioned above, Trump transitioned from making harsh statements

that divided one people to making statements that brought them together, using phrases like "one

nation," "when one state hurts we all hurt," "one country," "one people," "one fantastic future,"

and so forth. However, some detractors could counter that Trump has been charged of making

racially offensive remarks and enacting laws that have harmed minority populations. Because of

this, he further expressed his remorse and apology for his cruel remarks toward specific ethnic

groups of individuals in one of the excerpts, saying:

S3. 16 Sometimes, in the heat of debate and speaking on a multitude of issues, you don't choose the right words or you say the wrong thing. I have done that, and believe it or not **I regret it**, and I do regret it particularly where it may have caused personal pain. Too much is at stake for us to be consumed with these issues.

Thus, he changed his strategy from 'I' and 'me' that represent Trump to 'we', 'our', and

'us' which represent the whole people, and tried to get friendly with all political stripes:

Republicans, Democrats, Independents, Conservatives and Liberals.

S3. 10 To be **one united nation**, we must protect all of our people, all of our people. But we must also provide opportunities for all of our people.

S3. 11 We cannot make America Great Again if we leave any community behind.(one nation)

S3 22 Our campaign is about representing the great majority of Americans – Republicans, Democrats, Independents, Conservatives and Liberals.

S3. 26 Every day I think about how much is at stake for our country in the upcoming elections. This isn't just the fight of *my* life, it's the fight of *our* lives – together – to save our country.

The more the election date closer, the more Trump attempts to win as many supporters as

possible, including African-Americans and Latinos. Considering North Carolina, particularly

Charlotte, to be a multiracial state, Trump endeavored, within the framework of uniting one

people, to implement his new strategy by enlisting the sympathy of 'other' races, particularly the

African-American people.

S3.12 Nearly Four in ten African-American children are living in poverty. I will not rest until children of every color in this country are fully included in the American Dream.

S3.13 Jobs, safety, opportunity. Is what we have to have and what we need. Fair and equal representation. This is what I promise to African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and of all types of all colors of all religions this is what we promised we all promised, everybody in this room promises, this what we have to do.

S3. 27 I refuse to let another generation of American children be excluded from the American Dream, which is what happening.

S3. 88 We are going to work closely with African-American parents and children. We are going to work with the parents' students. We are going to work with everybody in the African-American community, in the inner cities, and what a big difference that is going to make. It's one of the things I most look forward to doing.

The speech begins by highlighting the issue of poverty among African-American children, which Trump claims to be unacceptable. He asserts that he will strive to ensure that children of all colors are included in the American Dream by providing everyone with jobs, safety, and opportunity. Trump promises fair and equal representation for African-Americans, Hispanics, and people of all colors and religions. He emphasizes that this promise is not just his but everyone's in the room, indicating that it is a collective responsibility.

Trump declares his resolve to prevent another generation of American children from being denied access to the American Dream. He promises that his government will collaborate closely with the parents, kids, and students of African Americans living in inner cities. He concludes by noting that doing this is one of the things he most anticipates doing.

Trump ends Charlotte's speech backing the African-American issue and blaming the previous administration, including Hillary Clinton, for being the reason for the deteriorating conditions experienced by this group of society. He promised that everything would be changed if he was elected as the 45th president of the U.S when he said:

S3. 94 We're going to reject bigotry and I will tell you the bigotry of Hillary Clinton is amazing. She sees communities of color only as votes and not as human beings. Worthy of a better future. It's only votes. It is only votes that she sees. And she does nothing about it. She has been there forever and look at where you are.

S3. 95 If African-Americans voters give Donald Trump a chance by giving me their vote, the result for them will be amazing.

S3 96 Look how badly things are going under decades of Democratic leadership. Look at the schools. Look at the poverty. Look at the 58 percent of young African-Americans not working. Fifty eight percent. It is it is time for a change.

S3. 97 What do you have to lose by trying something new? I will fix it watch, I will fix it. We have nothing to lose. Nothing to lose. It is so bad. The inner cities are so bad, you have nothing to lose. They have been playing with you for 60, 70, 80 years, many, many decades. You have nothing to lose. I will do a great job.

S3. 98 Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party have taken African-American votes totally for granted. Because the votes have been automatically there for them, there has been no reason for Democrats to produce, and they haven't. They haven't produced in decades and decades.

In the abovementioned extracts, Trump attempts to appeal to African-American voters by criticizing Clinton and the Democratic Party. He accuses Clinton of seeing communities of color only as votes, not as human beings who deserve a better future. Trump argues that if African-American voters give him a chance and vote for him, the result will be excellent for them.He draws attention to Democratic leadership's failings over the years, noting problems with education, poverty, and high unemployment rates among young African-Americans. Trump asserts that choosing him would be worthwhile because the situation in inner cities is so dire that there is nothing to lose from trying something new.

Trump also claims that the Democratic Party has taken African-American votes for granted because they have automatically been there for them. As a result, Democrats have not produced results in decades. Overall, Trump's speech attempts to convince African-American voters that he will be a better choice than Clinton and the Democratic Party. As a result, by using his new strategy, 'one nation for one people,' Trump could gain some sympathy from the African-American citizens through which he could obtain a broader segment of the American elected.

2.2.3.1.2 Pure People vs. Corrupt Elite

In the abovementioned extracts, Trump attempts to appeal to African-American voters by criticizing Clinton and the Democratic Party. He accuses Clinton of seeing communities of color only as votes, not as human beings who deserve a better future. Trump argues that if African-American voters give him a chance and vote for him, the result will be excellent for them. He draws attention to Democratic leadership's failings over the years, noting problems with education, poverty, and high unemployment rates among young African-Americans.

Trump asserts that choosing him would be worthwhile because the situation in inner cities is so dire that there is nothing to lose the second strategy followed by Trump is a classical one; he divided American society into two parts. The majority of people represent the *vulnerable class* and the minority of people, which means *the establishment* that tries to control the country by using power through illegal and corrupt methods. Trump tried more than ever to accuse the Democratic Party candidate Clinton of being corrupt, and he identified numerous examples of the establishment's corruption, and the following sentences were chosen and selected to confirm what was said.

S3. 34 Aren't you tired of a system that gets rich, and this is a system that is getting very rich at your expense? That's what's happening.

S3. 35 Aren't you tired of the same **old lies** and the same old broken promises? And Hillary Clinton has proven to be **one of the greatest liars of all time**.

S3.41 So while sometimes I can be too honest, Hillary Clinton is the exact opposite: she never tells the truth. **One lie** after another, and getting worse with each passing day.

S3. 42 The American people are still waiting for Hillary Clinton to apologize for **all of the many lies** she's told to them, and the many times she has betrayed the American people at great danger to them.

S3.43 Tell me, has Hillary Clinton ever apologized for lying about her illegal email server and deleting 33,000 emails?

S3. 44 Has Hillary Clinton apologized for turning the State Department into a pay-for-play operation where favours are sold to the highest bidder?, which is exactly what is happening.

S3. 62 I will never leave our border open to appease donors and special interests, which is what Hillary is doing and they are being appeased.

The extracts above provided a political attack on Clinton by Trump. In contrast to Clinton, whom he depicts as a liar who has misled the American people, Trump positions himself as honest and direct. Trump frequently used the word "lie" to highlight Hilary's dishonesty, using phrases like "old lies," "one lie alters another," "many lies she told to them," "...for lying about her illegal email," and so on. According to Trump, the audience is being taken advantage of by a system that favors the wealthy at their expense. Then, he connects Clinton to this system and calls her one of history's "greatest liars."

Trump uses hyperbolic language to describe Clinton's supposed dishonesty, claiming that she "never tells the truth" and that her lies worsen over time. Trump then focuses on Clinton's use of a private email server, a significant issue in the 2016 election. He accuses Clinton of lying about the server and deleting emails and asks whether she has ever apologized for these actions. This attack reinforces the idea that Clinton is untrustworthy and has something to hide.

Last but not least, Trump portrays himself as someone who would not back down on crucial matters like border security, unlike Clinton, who he alleges is beholden to fundraisers and special interests. This supports the notion that Clinton is a complicit member of the corrupt system that Trump is battling. Trump, who is "honest" and always speaks the "truth," said:

S3. 17 But one thing I can promise you is this: **I will always tell you the truth**.

S3. 18 I speak the truth for all of you, and for everyone in this country who doesn't have a voice, of which they are many.

S3. 19 **<u>I speak the truth on behalf of</u>** the factory worker who lost his or her job and that's happening more and more in our country.

S3. 20 **<u>I speak the truth on behalf of</u>** the Veteran who has been denied the medical care they need, and the medical care they deserve – and so many are not making it, but they are going to make it if trump because president, that i can tell you. They are dying on lines waiting for a doctor. We are going to care of our veterans.

S3.21 **<u>I speak the truth on behalf of</u>** the family living near the border that deserves to be safe in their own country but is instead living with no security and no protection at all. We will build that wall, believe me.

S3.39 I have no special interest controlling me, and I have no special interest. I am spending millions and millions of dollars on my own campaign, I am funding my campaign. Furthermore, Trump promised to address political corruption and restore honor to the government.

S3. 90 On political corruption, we are going to restore honour to our government. In my administration, I'm going to enforce all laws concerning the protection of classified information.

S3. 91 No one will be above the law. I am going to forbid senior officials from trading favours for cash by preventing them from collecting lavish speaking fees through their spouses when they serve.

S3. 92 I'm going to ask my senior officials to sign an agreement not to accept speaking fees from corporations with a registered lobbyist for five years after leaving office, or from any entity tied to a foreign government.

S3. 101 Hillary Clinton is for the failed status quo to protect her special interests, her donors, her lobbyists, and others. It is time to vote for a new American future.

The extracts above are designed to appeal to voters frustrated with the political system's

perceived corruption. Trump positions himself as someone who will clean up the system and

restore honor to the government. The specific policy proposals he outlines are intended to

reinforce this image and provide concrete examples of how he plans to address political

corruption.

In summary, Trump appealed to the audience's feeling of unfairness and yearning for change

by using emotive rhetoric and personal assaults on Clinton. Instead of focusing just on portraying

himself as a candidate who is direct and honest, he also attacked and dissed his rival.

2.2.3.1.2 Strong People vs. Weak Elite

The last third strategy adopted by Trump, in US vs. THEM, is how to show and focus on the weaknesses and the incompetence of the 'others', and how to present himself as the powerful political alternative that can fix what has been destroyed by others. In this context Trump cited some examples:

S3. 28 Our whole country loses when young people of limitless potential are denied the opportunity to contribute their talents because we failed to provide them the opportunities they deserved. Let our children be dreamers too.

S3. 29 Our whole country loses every time a kid doesn't graduate from high school, or fails to enter the workforce or, worse still, is lost to the dreadful world of drugs and crime and so many are, so so many.

S3 .32 I have no patience for injustice, no tolerance for **government incompetence**, and that's what it is, is gross incompetence, and no sympathy for leaders who fail their citizens.

S3. 54 Hillary Clinton owes the State of North Carolina a very big apology, and I think you'll get that apology around the same time you'll get to see her 33,000 deleted emails. In other words you will never see the apology.

S3. 100 But we can never ever fix our problems by relying on the same politicians who created these problems in the first place.

S3. 101 Hillary Clinton is for the failed status quo to protect her special interests, her donors, her lobbyists, and others. **It is time to vote for a new American future**.

In the extracts mentioned above, Trump criticized the Clinton administration for failing to provide young people chances. Trump continues by claiming that the entire country suffers when children are lost to drugs and crime, don't enter the workforce, or don't graduate from high school.

Trump criticizes the government's incompetence and leaders who fail their citizens. He argues that the problems facing the country cannot be solved by relying on the same politicians who created those problems in the first place. He portrays Clinton as someone who is part of the

failed status quo and suggests that it is time to vote for a new American future and implies that

he is the candidate who can provide this new future.

S3.14 But to achieve this New American Future we must break from the failures of the past.

S3. 24 I am fighting for these forgotten Americans.

S3. 25 Fourteen months ago, I declared my campaign for the Presidency on the promise to give our government back to the people. Every day since then, I've worked to repay the loyalty and the faith that you have put in me.

S3. 33 That's why I am running: to end the decades of bitter failure and to offer the American people a new future of honesty, justice and opportunity. A future where America, and its people, always – and I mean always – comes first. America first, remember America first.

S3. 93 Finally, we are going to bring our country together. It is so divided. We are going to bring it together. We are going to do it by emphasizing what we all have in common as Americans.

2.2.3.2 Positive Self-presentation

In additional to strategies of *strong* and *pure* people, Trump attempted to emphasize the

positive side of himself and his 'people' by using the strategy of emphasizing the positive self-

presentation. Here is the citing of some examples and analyze them according to this strategy.

S3. 30 When I look at the failing schools, the terrible trade deals, and the infrastructure crumbling in our inner cities, I know all of this can be fixed, and I can fix it but, I know it can be fixed very very quickly if we know what we are doing.

 S3.31 In the world I come from, if something is broken, you fix it. If something isn't working, you replace it. If a product doesn't deliver, you make a change

S3. 38 And, I will never, ever stop fighting for you.

 S3. 59 Listen closely: we will deliver justice for all of these Great American Families. We will create a system of immigration that makes us all proud.

S3. 64 Instead, **I will be a champion for the people.**

 S3. 69 So, again, it's not about me. It's never been about me. It's been about all the people in this country who don't have a voice. I am running to be your voice.

S3. 70 Thank you. I'm running to be the voice for every forgotten part of this country that has been waiting and hoping for a better future

S3. 71 I am glad that …. I'm fighting for real change, real change.

S3. 99 In my administration every American will be treated equally, protected equally and honored equally. We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms and seek a new future built on our common culture and values as one American people.

S3. 102 Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America proud again; we will make America safe again.

These extracts reflect President Trump's leadership style, policy goals, and rhetorical techniques. Rump frequently presents himself as an accomplished businessman who can use his problem-solving abilities in the public sector. He believes that issues like failed schools, terrible trade agreements, and deteriorating infrastructure can be promptly resolved if he is in control. He positions himself as a populist who is defending America's underserved regions. "I will be a champion for the people," he declared. He claims to be the voice of those who don't have a voice and promises to create a system of immigration that makes all Americans proud. This rhetoric appeals to those who feel left out of the political process and want someone to stand up for their interests.

Additionally, Trump presents himself as a unifying force that opposes prejudice and works to create a future based on American ideals. He swears to treat all Americans fairly and to keep them safe. This speech aims to appeal to many voters and refute claims that he is intolerant and divisive. Trump reiterates his struggle for "real change" to restore America's strength, pride, and safety. It is worth noting that Trump, in this speech, did not utilize the strategy of de-emphasizing negative self-presentation in contrast to the first speech when he used it.

2.2.3.3 Negative Other-presentation

In this sub-section, we will examine how Trump portrayed *foreigners* as enemies of the U.S through negative other-presentation. We will analyze the strategies he used to emphasize their

negative traits. Trump relied on populist themes, with a strong focus on the economic issue,

especially trade, jobs, immigration, education, and foreign policy, to convince voters that he was

the only candidate who could defeat these enemies. If he became the 45th president, Trump

promised to prioritize these issues and deliver real change for Americans.Contrary to what was

expected, Trump did not start the topic of the economy until mid-speech and commenced to

criticize the trade agreements signed by the Democratic Party.

S3. 52 Let's talk about the economy. Here, in this beautiful and great state, so many people have suffered

because of NAFTA, remember NAFTA and what it has done to the country. Bill Clinton signed the deal,

and Hillary Clinton supported it. North Carolina has lost nearly half of its manufacturing jobs since

NAFTA went into effect.

S3. 53 Bill Clinton also put China into the World Trade Organization – another Hillary Clinton-
backed disaster. Your city of Charlotte has lost 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs since China joined the
WTO, and many of these jobs were lost while Hillary Clinton was Secretary of State – our chief
diplomat with China. She was a disaster, totally unfit for this job.

S3. 63 I will never support a trade deal that kills American jobs. I will never ever put the special
interests before the national interest.

Trump claimed that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and China's

accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) caused a loss of jobs in America. He blamed

the Clinton family for being behind these disastrous decisions, which he pointed out had cost

North Carolina half of its manufacturing jobs since NAFTA went into effect and caused

Charlotte to lose one in four manufacturing jobs since China joined the WTO.

After highlighting the detrimental effects of trade deals on American jobs, Trump pledged

never to support a trade agreement that would harm American workers and always to put the

country's needs ahead of those of international agreements that promote globalization.

Concerning immigration, Trump was determined to build a separation wall between the U.S and Mexico to reduce the *flow* of illegal immigrants from the southern border. Trump insisted, "S3.21 … We will build that wall, believe me." This decision is explained by the fact that the open border with Mexico ' has allowed drugs and crime and gangs to pour into our country and our communities' (S3.55), .and parents 'have lost their children to violence spilling across our border' (S3.56). Trump promised to create a system of immigration that makes all Americans proud.

S3. 75 On immigration, we will temporarily suspend immigration from any place where adequate screening cannot be performed, extreme vetting. Remember, extreme vetting. All applicants for immigration will be vetted for ties to radical ideology. And we will screen out anyone who doesn't share our values and love our people.

S3. 76 Anyone who believes Sharia Law supplants American law will not be given an immigrant visa.

S3. 77 If you want to join our society, then you must embrace our society. Our values, and our tolerant way of life.

S3. 78 We will promote our American values, our American way of life, and our American system of government, which are all, all the best in the world.

S3. 81 We will pursue strong enforcement of federal laws. The gangs and cartels. And criminal syndicates terrorizing our people will be stripped apart one by one and they will be sent out of our country quickly. Their day is over. And it's going to end very, very fast.

Overall, the excerpts above reflect President Trump's strong stance on immigration and his commitment to protecting American values and way of life from every Muslim immigrant who believes that Sharia Law supplants American law,and screening out anyone who may have ties to radical ideology or who doesn't share American values and love for the American people; while also emphasizing the importance of strong enforcement of federal laws to ensure the safety and security of the American people.

Consequently, Trump said that he laid out his plan to defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism, by saying:

S3. 73 Here is the change I propose. On terrorism, we are going to end the era of nation-building and, instead, focus on destroying, destroying, destroying ISIS and radical Islamic terrorism.

S3. 74 We will use military, cyber, and financial warfare and work with any partner in the world and the Middle East that shares our goal in defeating terrorism. I have a message for the terrorists trying to kill our citizens. **We** will find **you**, **we** will destroy **you** and we will absolutely win and **we will win** soon.

Trump violently attacked the Clinton's State Department, admonishing them for being the

cause of the chaos the world is currently experiencing because of terrorism.

S3. 47 Has she apologized for Iraq? For Libya? For Syria? Has she apologized for unleashing ISIS across the world? She and Barrack Obama unleashed Isis whether you like it or not, that's what happened.

S3. 48 Has Hillary Clinton apologized for the decisions she made that have led to so much death, destruction and terrorism?

S3. 51 Now the Administration has put every American travelling overseas, including our military personnel, at greater risk of being kidnapped. Hillary Clinton owns President Obama's Iran policy, one more reason she can never ever be allowed to be President.

S3. 45 Has she apologized for lying to the families who lost loved ones at Benghazi?

Trump continued his attack by emphasizing the negative other-presentation in terms of

National Security as well. He accused Clinton of making mistakes that cost the lives of many

Americans.

S3. 60 Hillary Clinton's mistakes destroy innocent lives, sacrifice national security, and betray the working families of this country.

Trump positioned himself as the one who can put an end to this chaos.

S3. 09 The chaos and violence on our streets, and the assaults on law enforcement, are really and truly an attack against all peaceful citizens. If I am elected President, this chaos and violence will end – and it will end very very quickly.

S3. 80 On crime we're going to add more police, more investigators, and appoint the best judges and prosecutors in the world.

To conclude, Trump successfully dealt solid blows to his opponents, notably Hillary Clinton, by emphasizing their opposing sides. In this speech, Trump never used the technique of de-emphasizing the positive other presentation because he believed that there were no positive things done in the previous administration.

2.2.4 Final Discussions

In his three previous speeches, Donald Trump employed the ideological square technique to split social actors into two distinct groups: the in-group, which represented the "pure people," and the out-group, which referred to the "corrupt elite. Aside from using the binary 'US' vs. 'Them' to portray the 'in-groups' positively and the 'out-groups' negatively, it is worth mentioning that Trump was changing this binary from discourse to another, according to the circumstances of each speech. For example, Donald Trump maintained his dualism of 'the people' vs. 'the elite' and US vs. THEM strategy in his third speech; however, the first category, which refers to us, has changed from Trump centered to the people-centered through which Trump relied on the unity of the nation with its different ethnicities and considered the U.S as 'one nation.'

Conversely, Hawkins and Kaltwasser (2018) contend that the pro-people component was absent from his first speech, and "rather than celebrating American people and their sovereignty in these early speeches, Trump reaffirmed the competence of himself and his team." (Hawkins and Kaltwasser, 2018, as cited in Rubsamen, 2020, p.70) when he said that it is based on competence'.

As stated in the preceding section, Trump is determined to promote himself as the only choice capable of ensuring a brighter future for America. To achieve the "New American

Future," past failures must be overcome, and fighting for "forgotten Americans" is critical. He

stated that he would be candid with the people of America and that his goal is to have a great,

fair, kind, and just country.

   Trump stressed that he has been working every day since launching his presidential campaign

14 months ago on the promise of restoring power to the people. He also stated that America

requires a new future of integrity, fairness, and opportunity and that he can only offer it. He

frames himself as a patriot who prioritizes the country's interests over all else by emphasizing

that America and its people always come first. Trump repeatedly promotes himself as a

successful businessman capable of using his problem-solving talents for the benefit of the

government in all three of his selected speeches.

   Concerning the second group, Them, which alludes to the Establishment, it is essential to

note that to gain the most significant number of supporters, Trump stayed steadfast throughout

his three selected speeches in employing his two primary populist techniques. The first plan

focused on presenting the elite as "corrupt" and creating an anti-establishment narrative. The

second tactic entailed portraying the elite as "weak and incompetent" to foment anti-status quo

sentiment. Trump used these methods to appeal to the masses and develop a broad support base.

In the general election campaign, he moves from actors representing the current Obama

administration and Republican rivals of Trump to Hillary Clinton, the Democratic Party

candidate who Trump accuses of being supported by corrupt donors, lobbyists, special interests,

and the media. This Establishment is portrayed as Trump's 'enemy,' as opposed to both him and

the American people.

Furthermore, as Moffitt (2016) points out, populist actors link failures to homogenize a diverse group of phenomena as symptoms of a more significant crisis. In this case, Trump portrays the status quo as a failure of leadership and a lack of competency by people in control of the U.S (Rubsamen, 2020). Trump used the anti-status quo strategy by presenting numerous examples. Trump criticized his Republican opponents in his inaugural speech, portraying them as individuals lacking the strength and capability to run a big nation like the U.S. In his second speech, he assessed the ruling elites as unworthy of guiding the country since they have demonstrated incompetence and failure on all levels in America's inner cities. Finally, in his third speech, he criticizes the government's incompetence and leaders who fail their constituents. He claims that the nation's problems cannot be handled by relying on the same politicians who created the problems in the first place.

Trump's criticism of Clinton, in his second and third speeches, is intended to reinforce the image that Clinton is a part of the problem rather than part of the solution; at the same time, he positions himself as someone who is outside of that Establishment and who can bring about the changes needed to address the problems facing the country. Regarding populism's themes, Donald Trump's discourses revolved around a significant emphasis on two main areas. Firstly, he extensively addressed economic matters, particularly trade, and employment, highlighting their importance. Secondly, he dedicated considerable attention to discussing immigration and foreign policy as additional focal points.

After a thorough analysis of the three selected speeches of Donald J Trump, we have concluded a specific pattern that Trump seems to be applying in his populist rhetoric to get the people's votes. His strategy is to make the people sense that their country's economic supremacy

and values of Nationalism and Nativism, which have been standing for years, are under the threat

of extinction under their current leaders, who are morally corrupt and no longer work for the

benefit of their people, but rather for the interest of particular groups.

The economy was a central theme of Trump's 2016 speeches, reflecting many Americans'

anxieties about the economy's health and its impact on their lives. Under the current

Establishment rule, of which his opponent 'Hillary' was a part, Trump portrays the economy as

failing and degrading, with policies that resulted in higher taxes for the poor and working class

and lower taxes for the wealthy, as well as wrong and losing trade deals nationally and

internationally, particularly with China, Japan, and Mexico. Trump refers to them as 'They' who

kill and beat us. As a result, he stated, "They are not our friends."

Trump said that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and China's admission

to the World Trade Organization (WTO) reduced employment possibilities in the U.S. He

explicitly blamed the Clintons for these bad judgments, especially since they were responsible

for the loss of almost one-third of America's manufacturing employment since 1997.

In terms of immigration, Trump has made it a key focus. Trump blamed the growth in illegal

immigration in the U.S on the present Democratic leadership and Mexico in his three remarks.

He asserted that the number of unauthorized immigrants, especially those with criminal records,

surged significantly during Hillary's administration. Trump also accused Mexico of "sending"

unwanted people and described them as the chief source of illegal immigration. He argued that if

such practices continue, the American race will be demolished and replaced by outsiders of

Mexicans, Latinos, Muslims, and other immigrants' races to America.

Furthermore, Trump stated that such foreigners had made America less secure for its residents. Trump was steadfast in his intention to build a border wall between the U.S and Mexico to reduce the influx of unauthorized immigrants from the southern border. Trump's catchphrase, "Make America Great Again," may reflect a strong desire to restore the glory days of the robust American economy, the "pure American race," and a more secure America with fewer immigrants.

As with any other system of administration in the world, there are positive and negative points in Trump's policies, and he has forcefully de-emphasized any positive act or character of both the current leadership and his opponent, who used to be a member of it. Donald Trump portrays himself as the only person capable of resolving the country, as mentioned earlier's difficulties and the lone person capable of returning it to being a 'Great America,' even though such assertions can only be fulfilled in a perfect world. Trump has amassed a sizable following thanks to his distinct Populist style.

Conclusion

The current chapter provides the practical part of the study. It was divided into two sections. The first section attempted to explain the methodology implemented throughout this study thoroughly. To accomplish this, it presented a detailed explanation of the setting, data collection, and data analysis procedures adopted by the researchers to answer the research questions effectively. The second section of the current chapter focused on examining three of Trump's populist selected speeches from the 2016 presidential election, followed by a discussion of the derived findings from these analyses.

General Conclusion

This study aims to examine the rise and globalization of new right-wing populism as well as how political populists have started to alter political environments and affect the policies of in-power governments. The primary goal of this dissertation, however, is to analyze and evaluate three speeches made by right-wing populist politician and former U.S president Donald J. Trump during the 2016 presidential election campaign. The study is based on a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method called the ideological square developed by van Dijk in 1998. Consequently, the thesis is split into two chapters. The literature review in the first chapter examines populism's conceptualization in the first section and clarifies CDA's methodology in the second. The second chapter outlines the research methods used in section one, the conclusions drawn, and their discussion in section two.This general conclusion presents the summary of the results, followed by the limitations of this study, and concludes with suggestions for future research.

1. Summary of the Results Analysing the selected Trump speeches answers the research questions

- Our research found that many parties characterized as right-wing populists have risen in Western Countries, especially in the E.U and U.S. The populists' strategy is to depict the relationship between our own (in-)group and other (out-)groups or between Us and Them. We can therefore anticipate a typically positive portrayal of us and a negative presentation of Them at all levels of speech as a result of this ideological polarization that generates the positive bias in ideological self-schemas.

- To attract the most significant number of followers and voters, Trump applied two essential strategies, which represent the core elements of populism. The first is an anti-establishment tactic that portrays the elite as "corrupt," while the second is an anti-status quo strategy that portrays the elite as "weak and incompetent." At the same time, Trump painted himself as a "pure people," in contrast to the corrupt Establishment. Trump thus leverages the us vs. them dichotomy to distance himself from and delegitimize the Establishment. Additionally, Trump presented himself as a populist who is honest and transparent and asserted that the rule of these elites does not embody the will of the pure people, of which he considers himself a member.

- Trump effectively caused significant damage to his adversaries, specifically Hillary Clinton, through a strategic approach focused on emphasizing their negative points. It is also noteworthy that Trump hardly employed the tactic of deemphasizing the other positive attributes in his speeches, as he firmly believed that his opponents had accomplished nothing of positive value.

- Trump went beyond the strategy of negatively portraying others and instead adopted the strategy of dramatically and exaggeratedly demonizing others (the other is the devil).

- Donald Trump's presentation was centered on populist themes and concentrated mainly on the economy's issues, particularly trade, jobs, the immigration debate, and global trade agreements. Trump employs these themes to appeal to the electorate's sympathies. Additionally, the economy was a central issue in Trump's 2016 presidential speeches, reflecting the concerns of many Americans about the state of the economy and its impact on their lives. Along with the economy, Trump's primary focus as a presidential candidate was immigration. Regarding this subject, Trump accused Mexico of "sending" the wrong individuals and being the primary source of illegal immigration.

- In terms of international trade deals, Trump focused in his speeches on the negative economic impacts of China, Japan, and Mexico. He also criticized trade agreements such as NAFTA, which he claimed had resulted in the loss of American jobs. Trump promised never to support a trade deal that would harm American workers and to always prioritize the national interest to the detriment of international agreements that support globalization.

2. Limitations of the study

One major limitation of this study is the time issue that hinders the ability to correctly analyze a more extensive data set. The time constraint has restricted this research to focusing only on the three speeches delivered to the largest audiences, negatively impacting the study's representativeness. Moreover, the three speeches were selected from a period when Trump had yet to assume the position of the 45th President of the U.S. As a result, we overlooked the inauguration and Address speeches, which could potentially introduce bias into the findings. This is because populist politicians often employ more moderate language and rhetoric once they assume the President or Prime Minister's role.

The second limitation of this study is the approach adopted by the researchers. No research design or methodology is perfect– there will always be trade-offs between the 'ideal' design and what is practical and viable. However, in this dissertation, only van Dijk's (1998) ideological square approach was utilized while neglecting the two other approaches: Norman Fairclough's Social Discourse Approach and Ruth Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). Even within van Dijk's approach, which encompasses two main analysis levels, namely the macro-structural and micro-structural levels, the analysis at the micro-structural level was overlooked, with the researchers focusing solely on the macro-structural level.

The third and final limitation is the absence of semiotic and phonological levels of analyses regarding the speeches. According to Kellner (2016), Donald J. Trump's mastery of media spectacle was the key to his triumph in the 2016 presidential election. Trump has undoubtedly become a massive media spectacle. All words in transcripts are given equal weight when examining them. But when speeches are heard, they come to life, and elements like tone and rhythm can affect how the audience perceives the argument. The meaning of the remarks can also change when gestures and Trump's body language are taken into account.

3. Suggestions For Future Research

The limitations of this study indicate some areas for possible future research. The researchers would like to recommend some suggestions. Further studies are recommended to compare the speeches given by Donald Trump during the 2016 Presidential election to those offered during the 2020 Presidential election to understand why Trump was successful in the first election but failed to win the second. Moreover, it is suggested to apply other Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) frameworks, such as Halliday's SFL, to gain deeper insights. Furthermore, extending the investigation beyond CDA and examining other linguistic devices, including tones, gestures, and body language, is crucial to analyze populist politicians comprehensively. These additional factors can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics and strategies of politicians like Trump during their campaigns.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The Main Extracts of the Announcement of Candidacy Speech

S1.01 And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs. They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.

S1.02 Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them.

S1.03 When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.

S1.04 When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time.

S1.05 When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically. The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.

S1.06 When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. **And some, I assume, are good people**.

S1.07 They're sending us not the right people.

S1.08 It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably— probably— from the Middle East.

S1.09 Because we have no protection and we have no competence,

S1.10 Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them.

S1.11 Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.

S1.12 We spent $2 trillion in Iraq, $2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they're great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers. And we have nothing. We can't even go there.

S1.13 Last quarter, it was just announced our gross doestic product— a sign of strength, right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It's never below zero.

S1.14 And our **real unemployment** is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it.

S1.15 They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.

S1.16 But the **real number**, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it's a statistic that's full of nonsense.

S1.17 Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker.

S1.18 It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don't know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, "That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don't know what they're doing. They don't know what they're doing."

S1.19 We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.

S1.20 Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us— believe me— to the Promised Land. They will not.

S1.21 As an example, I've been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. And they're wonderful people. I like them. They all want me to support them. They don't know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I'm meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don't know— "Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?" I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China.

S1.22 When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They're killing us.

S1.23 I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, "What's going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don't need the rhetoric. I want a job."

S1.24 And that's what's happening. And it's going to get worse, because remember, Obama care really kicks in in , 2016.

S1.25 But Obamacare kicks in in 2016…..They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now."

S1.26 So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good.

S1.27 **They will never make America great again**. They don't even have a chance. They're controlled fully— they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. Yes, they control them.

S1.28 Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. **They're great**. But you know what? it won't happen. It won't happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it's destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

S1.29 Now, our country needs— our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote "The Art of the Deal."

S1.30 You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, "Well, the one thing, I think he'll do well. I think he'll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he'd be a great spirit."

S1.31 He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader.

S1.32 He's not a leader. That's true. You're right about that. But he wasn't a cheerleader. He's actually a negative force. He's been a negative force. He wasn't a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

S1.33 We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States **and make it great again**. It's not great again. We need— we need somebody— we need somebody that literally will take this country and **make it great again**. We can do that.

S1.34 And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They're saying, "Dad, you're going to do something that's going to be so tough." You know, all of my life, I've heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can't happen. And yet that's the kind of mindset that you need to make **this country great again**.

S1.35 So ladies and gentlemen…I am officially running… for president of the United States, and we **are going to make our country great again.**

S1.36 Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people.

S1.37 I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created.

S1.38 I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money.

S1.39 We owe China $1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better.

S1.40 How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?

S1.41 I'm going to tell you— thank you. I'm going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I'm totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons. Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator.

S1.42 I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you.

 S1.43 If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know business,…

S1.44 Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.

S1.45 Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing's secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing.

S1.46 Hey, I'm not saying they're stupid**. I like China**. I sell apartments for— I just sold an apartment for $15 million to somebody from China. **Am I supposed to dislike them?** I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable. **I love China**. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. **I love China**. People say, "Oh, you don't like China?" **No, I love them**.

S1.47 But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders,… That's the difference between China's leaders and our leaders.

S1.48 They are ripping us.

S1.49 You have a bigger problem with China. And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico.

S1.50 But I have another one, Ford.

S1.51 So Mexico takes a company (Ford Company), a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out….. Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a $2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. $2.5 billion, it's going to be one of the largest in the world.

S1.52 But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice $2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border."

S1.53 So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's it.

S1.54 Now, here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they're going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say, "You can't do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can't do that to Ford."

S1.55 And guess what? No problem. They're going to build in Mexico. They're going to take away thousands of jobs. It's very bad for us.

S1.56 So under President Trump, here's what would happen:

S1.57 The head of Ford will call me back,… And he'll say (The head of Ford), "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest," because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money. I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not using donors. I don't care. I'm really rich. I'll show you that (inaudible). (Pure people in Ford issue)

S1.58 After I'm called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I'm called by all of the special interests and by the— the donors and by the lobbyists— and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero— I'll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He'll say. "Please reconsider," I'll say no.

S1.59 He'll say, "Mr. President, we've decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we're not going to build it in Mexico." That's it. They have no choice. They have no choice.

S1.60 Saudi Arabia, they make $1 billion a day. $1 billion a day. **I love the Saudis**. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say "we're gonna protect." What are we doing? They've got nothing but money.

S1.61 They always keep our equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right? They always keep our equipment.

S1.62 But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They're gone.

S1.63 And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now— it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running.

S1.64 But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said.

S1.65 Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question. How are these people gonna lead us?

S1.66 how are we gonna go back **and make it great again**?

S1.67 They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.

S1.68 They (Saudis) were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.

S1.69 There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore **make it great again**.

S1.70 We're dying. We're dying. We need money. We have to do it. And we need the right people.

S1.71 So Ford will come back. They'll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, **that's based on competence**.

S1.72 Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, **a very nice reporter**, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person."

S1.73 That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family.

S1.74 So the reporter said to me the other day, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?"

S1.75 I said, "I don't know." I said, "I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person."

S1.76 But, I said, "This is going to be an election **that's based** **on competence**, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world.

S1.77 And they're tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries. But we're becoming a third world country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything.

S1.78 Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth. So I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job.

S1.79 So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever going to know unless I run, because **I'm really proud of my success. I really am.**

S1.80 We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

S1.81 According to the economists— who I'm not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they're saying— that $24 trillion— we're very close— that's the point of no return. $24 trillion. We will be there soon. That's when we become Greece. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.

S1.82 I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare.

S1.83 I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.

S1.84 Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody.

S1.85 I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons.

S1.86 And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal.

S1.87 I will immediately terminate President Obama's **illegal** executive order on immigration, immediately.

S1.88 And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump," and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn't want guns. And now since this happened"— it's up in the prison area— "my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We're ready to start shooting"

S1.89 Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. He's weak on immigration.

S1.90 Rebuild the country's infrastructure. Nobody can do that like me.

S1.91 So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, **it's like we're in a third world country**.

S1.92 You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world.

S1.93 Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse

S1.94 Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

S1.95 Reduce our $18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we're in a bubble.

S1.96 Sadly, the American dream is dead.But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and **we will make America great again**.

Appendix 2: The main Extracts of RNC Acceptance speech:

S2.01 Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity and peace.

S2.02 We will be a country of generosity and warmth. But we will also be a country of law and order.

S2.03 The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life.

S2.04 Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country.

S2.05 Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities. Many have witnessed this violence personally. Some have even been its victims.

S2.06 The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon, and I mean very soon, come to an end.

S2.07 The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its own citizens. Any government that fails to do so is a government unworthy to lead.

S2.08 We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore.

S2.09 We will honour the American people with the truth, and nothing else.

S2.10 Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed by this administration's rollback of criminal enforcement. Homicides last year increased by 17% in America's 50 largest cities. That's the largest increase in 25 years.

S2.11 In the president's hometown of Chicago, more than 2,000 people have been the victim of shootings this year alone. And almost 4,000 have been killed in the Chicago area since he took office.

S2.12 The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50% compared to this point last year.

S2.13 Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our country, are tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens.

S2.14 The number of new illegal immigrant families who have crossed the border so far this year already exceeds the entire total from 2015. They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources.

S2.15 One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years old and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 grade point average, No. 1 in her class. Her killer was then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law. I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting. No more. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders.

S2.17 What about our economy? Again, I will tell you the plain facts that have been edited out of your nightly news and your morning newspaper: Nearly 4 in 10 African American children are living in poverty, while 58% of African American youth are now not employed. Two million more Latinos are in poverty today than when President Obama took his oath of office less than eight years ago. Another 14 million people have left the workforce entirely. Household incomes are down more than $4,000 since the year 2000. That's 16 years ago. Our (manufacturing) trade deficit has reached an all-time high. Think of this, think of this: Our trade deficit in goods reached nearly i think, think of this! , think of this our trade deficit is 800billion dollars, think of that! $800 billion last year alone.

S2.18 Our roads and bridges are falling apart, our airports are Third World condition, and 43 million Americans are on food stamps.

S2.19 In Libya, our consulate – the symbol of American prestige around the globe – was brought down in flames. America is far less safe – and the world is far less stable – than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy. Let's defeat her in November.

S2.20 Let's review the record. In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map. Libya was stable. Egypt was peaceful. Iraq was seeing and really a big, big reduction in violence. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Syria was somewhat under control. After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region, and the entire world. Libya is in ruins, and our ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of savage killers. Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim brotherhood, forcing the military to retake control. Iraq is in chaos.

S2.21 This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction, terrorism and weakness. But Hillary Clinton's legacy does not have to be America's legacy. The problems we face now – poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad – will last only as long as we continue relying on the same politicians who created them in the first place.

S2.22 The most important difference between our plan and that of our opponent, is that our plan will put America first. Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo. As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect

S2.23 The American people will come first once again.

S2.24 A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation's most powerful special interests.

S2.25 That's because these interests have rigged our political and economic system for their exclusive benefit. Believe me, it's for their benefit. Big business, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent because they know she will keep our rigged system in place. They are throwing money at her because they have total control over every single thing she does. She is their puppet, and they pull the strings.

S2.26 That is why Hillary Clinton's message is that things will never change. Never ever.

S2.27 My message is that things have to change – and they have to change right now.

S2.28 These are people who work hard but no longer have a voice. I am your voice. I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good. I have no patience for injustice.

S2.29 And when a secretary of State illegally stores her emails on a private server, deletes 33,000 of them so the authorities can't see her crime, puts our country at risk, lies about it in every different form and faces no consequence – I know that corruption has reached a level like never ever before in our country.

S2.30: I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people who cannot defend themselves.

S2.31 Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it.

S2.32 Millions of Democrats will join our movement too because we are going to fix the system so it works fairly and justly for each and every American.

S2.33 An attack on law enforcement is an attack on all Americans.

S2.34 I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our police: When I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order to our country. Believe me, believe me.

S2.35 The irresponsible rhetoric of our president, who has used the pulpit of the presidency to divide us by race and color, has made America a more dangerous environment than frankly I have ever seen and anybody in this room has ever watched or seen. This administration has failed America's inner cities, remember it has failed America's inner cities. It's failed them on education. It's failed them on jobs. It's failed them in crime. It's failed them in every way and on every single level.

S2.36 We are going to defeat the barbarians of ISIS and we're going to defeat them fast.

S2.37 The damage and devastation that can be inflicted by Islamic radicals has been proven over and over – at the World Trade Center, at an office party in San Bernardino, at the Boston Marathon and a military recruiting center in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and many, many other locations.

S2.38 To protect us from terrorism, we need to focus on three things. We must have the best, absolutely the best gathering of intelligence anywhere in the world.

S2.39 We must abandon the failed policy of nation building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed in Iraq, Libya, Egypt and in Syria. Instead, we must work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out Islamic terrorism and doing it now, doing it quickly, we're going to win, we're going to win fast.

S2.40 My opponent has called for a radical 550% increase in Syrian -- think of this, think of this, this is not believable but this is what's happening -- a 550% increase in Syrian refugees on top of existing massive refugee flows coming into our country already under the leadership of President Obama. She proposes this despite the fact that there's no way to screen these refugees in order to find out who they are or where they come from.

S2.41 I only want to admit individuals into our country who will support our values and love our people.

S2.42 Anyone who endorses violence, hatred or oppression is not welcome in our country and never ever will be.

S2.43 Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment for our citizens, especially for African American and Latino workers.

S2.44 We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities. By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will end the cycle of human smuggling and violence. Illegal border crossings will go down. We will stop it. It won't be happening very much anymore, believe me.

S2.45 Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape the tremendous cycle of from poverty that they're going through right now, and make it almost impossible for them to join the middle class.

S2.46 I have made billions of dollars in business making deals – now I'm going to make our country rich again. Using the greatest business people in the world, which our country has, I am going to turn our bad trade agreements into great trade agreements.

S2.47 America has lost nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the enactment of disastrous trade deals supported by Bill and Hillary Clinton.

S2.48 I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers, or that diminishes our freedom or our independence. We will never, ever sign Bad trade deals. America first again. America first.

S2.49 While Hillary Clinton plans a massive, and I mean massive, tax increase, I have proposed the largest tax reduction of any candidate who has run for president this year – Democrat or Republican. Middle-income

Americans and businesses will experience profound relief, and taxes will be greatly simplified for everyone. And I mean everyone.

S2.50 America is one of the highest-taxed nations in the world. Reducing taxes will cause new companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country. Believe me, it'll happen and it'll happen fast. Then we are going to deal with the issue of regulation, one of the greatest job-killers of them all. Excessive regulation is costing our country as much as $2 trillion a year, and we will end it very, very quickly.

S2.51 We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy. This will produce more than $20 trillion in job creating economic activity over the next four decades.

S2.52 My opponent, on the other hand, wants to put the great miners and the great steelworkers of our country out of work and out of business.

S2.53 We will build the roads, highways, bridges, tunnels, airports and the railways of tomorrow. This, in turn, will create millions of more jobs.

S2.54 My opponent would rather protect bureaucrats than serve American children. And that's what she's doing, and that's what she's done.

S2.55 We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare. You will be able to choose your own doctor again.

S2.56 We are going to appoint justices of the United States Supreme Court who will uphold our laws and our Constitution.

S2.57 I am your voice. So to every parent who dreams for their child and every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I am with you. I will fight for you, and I will win for you.

S2.58: My opponent asks her supporters to recite a three-word loyalty pledge. It reads: "I'm With Her." I choose to recite a different pledge. My pledge reads: "I'm With You – The American People."

S2.59 My opponent wants to essentially abolish the 2nd Amendment. I, on the other hand, received the early and strong endorsement of the National Rifle Assn. and will protect the right of all Americans to keep their families safe.

Appendix 3: The Main Extracts of The Charlotte's Speech August 18th, 2016

S 3.01 I just met with our many amazing employees right up the road at our property.i will tell you they like me very much, I guess I pay them a little bit too much.

 S3. 02 I'd like to take a moment to talk about the heartbreak and devastation in Louisiana, a state that is very very special to me.

S3 .03 We are one nation. When one state hurts, we all hurt – and we must all work together to lift each other up. Working, building, restoring together.(pure people here US in not Trump it is the people, one nation)

S3. 04 Our prayers are with the families who have lost loved ones, and we send them our deepest condolences. Though words cannot express the sadness one feels at times like this, I hope everyone in Louisiana knows that our country is praying for them and standing with them to help them in these difficult hours.

 S3 .05 We are one country, one people, and we will have together one great fantastic future.

Togather, I'd like to talk about the New American Future we are going to create as a team together.

S3.06 Last week, I laid out my plan to bring jobs back to our country. They are vanishing and they are vanishing quickly. On Monday, I laid out my plan to defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism.

S3. 07 On Tuesday, in Wisconsin, I talked about how we are going to restore law and order to this country. We need law and order without it, we have nothing.

S3. 08 Let me take this opportunity to extend our thanks and our gratitude to the police and law enforcement officers in this country who have sacrificed so greatly in these difficult times.

 And they are difficult.

S3. 09 The chaos and violence on our streets, and the assaults on law enforcement, are really and truly an attack against all peaceful citizens. If I am elected President, this chaos and violence will end – and it will end very very quickly.

S3. 10 To be one united nation, we must protect all of our people, all of our people. But we must also provide opportunities for all of our people.

S3. 11 We cannot make America Great Again if we leave any community behind.

S3.12 Nearly Four in ten African-American children are living in poverty. I will not rest until children of every color in this country are fully included in the American Dream.

S3.13 Jobs, safety, opportunity. Is what we have to have and what we need. Fair and equal representation. This is what I promise to African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and of all types of all colors of all religions this is what we promised we all promised, everybody in this room promises, this what we have to do.

S3.14 But to achieve this New American Future we must break from the failures of the past.

S3. 15 As you know, I am not a politician, its good. I have worked in business, creating jobs and rebuilding neighbourhoods that is what I have done all of my adult life. I've never wanted to use the language of the insiders, and I've never been politically correct – it takes far too much time, it is true, it's true truthfully it takes far too much time and can often make it more difficult, to achieve total victory.

S3. 16 Sometimes, in the heat of debate and speaking on a multitude of issues, you don't choose the right words or you say the wrong thing. I have done that, and believe it or not i regret it, and i do regret it particularly where it may have caused personal pain. Too much is at stake for us to be consumed with these issues.

S3. 17 But one thing I can promise you is this: I will always tell you the truth.

S3. 18 I speak the truth for all of you, and for everyone in this country who doesn't have a voice, of which they are many.

S3. 19 I speak the truth on behalf of the factory worker who lost his or her job and that's happening more and more in our country.

S3. 20 I speak the truth on behalf of the Veteran who has been denied the medical care they need, and the medical care they deserve – and so many are not making it, but they are going to make it if trump because president, that i can tell you. They are dying on lines waiting for a doctor. We are going to care of our veterans.

S3.21 I speak the truth on behalf of the family living near the border that deserves to be safe in their own country but is instead living with no security and no protection at all. We will build that wall, believe me.

S3 22 Our campaign is about representing the great majority of Americans – Republicans, Democrats, Independents, Conservatives and Liberals – who read the newspaper, or turn on the TV, and don't hear anyone, anyone speaking for them. All they hear are insiders fighting for other insiders, that's what they do.

S3. 23 These are the forgotten men and women in our society, and they are angry at so much on so many levels. The poverty, the unemployment, the failing schools, the jobs moving to other countries.

S3. 24 I am fighting for these forgotten Americans.

S3. 25 Fourteen months ago, I declared my campaign for the Presidency on the promise to give our government back to the people. Every day since then, I've worked to repay the loyalty and the faith that you have put in me.

S3. 26 Every day I think about how much is at stake for our country in the upcoming elections. This isn't just the fight of *my* life, it's the fight of *our* lives – together – to save our country.

S3. 27 I refuse to let another generation of American children be excluded from the American Dream, which is what happening.

S3. 28 Our whole country loses when young people of limitless potential are denied the opportunity to contribute their talents because we failed to provide them the opportunities they deserved. Let our children be dreamers too.

S3. 29 Our whole country loses every time a kid doesn't graduate from high school, or fails to enter the workforce or, worse still, is lost to the dreadful world of drugs and crime and so many are, so so many.

S3. 30 When I look at the failing schools, the terrible trade deals, and the infrastructure crumbling in our inner cities, I know all of this can be fixed, and i can fix it but, i know it can be fixed very very quickly if we know what we are doing.

S3.31 In the world I come from, if something is broken, you fix it. If something isn't working, you replace it. If a product doesn't deliver, you make a change.

S3 .32 I have no patience for injustice, no tolerance for government incompetence, and that's what it is, is gross incompetence, and no sympathy for leaders who fail their citizens.

S3. 33 That's why I am running: to end the decades of bitter failure and to offer the American people a new future of honesty, justice and opportunity. A future where America, and its people, always – and I mean always – comes first. America first, remember America first.

S3. 34 Aren't you tired of a system that gets rich, and this is a system that is getting very rich at your expense? That's what's happening.

S3. 35 Aren't you tired of the same old lies and the same old broken promises? And Hillary Clinton has proven to be one of the greatest liars of all time.

S3. 36 Aren't you tired of arrogant leaders who look down on you, instead of serving and protecting you?

And that's what's happening, that is all about to change. And it Is about to change very very soon, how about November, 8th? – We are going to put the American people first again.

S3. 37 I've travelled all across this country laying out my bold and modern agenda for change. In this journey, I will never lie to you. I will never tell you something I do not believe. I will never put anyone's interests ahead of yours.

S3. 38 And, I will never, ever stop fighting for you.

S3.39 I have no special interest controlling me, and I have no special interest. I am spending millions and millions of dollars on my own campaign, i am funding my campaign.

S3. 40 My only interest is the American people, that's my interest. This country has been so good to me, I'm giving back and that's what it's all about, giving back.

S3.41 So while sometimes I can be too honest, Hillary Clinton is the exact opposite: she never tells the truth. One lie after another, and getting worse with each passing day.

S3. 42 The American people are still waiting for Hillary Clinton to apologize for all of the many lies she's told to them, and the many times she has betrayed the American people at great danger to them.

S3.43 Tell me, has Hillary Clinton ever apologized for lying about her illegal email server and deleting 33,000 emails?

S3. 44 Has Hillary Clinton apologized for turning the State Department into a pay-for-play operation where favours are sold to the highest bidder?, which is exactly what is happening.

S3. 45 Has she apologized for lying to the families who lost loved ones at Benghazi?

S3. 46 Has she apologized for putting Iran on the path to nuclear weapons?

S3. 47 Has she apologized for Iraq? For Libya? For Syria? Has she apologized for unleashing ISIS across the world? she and Barrack Obama unleashed Isis whether you like it or not, that's what happened.

S3. 48 Has Hillary Clinton apologized for the decisions she made that have led to so much death, destruction and terrorism?

S3. 49 Speaking of lies, we now know from the State Department, just announced that President Obama lied about the $400 million dollars in cash that was flown to Iran, it was flown to Iran $400 million dollars in cash.

S3. 50 He denied it was for the hostages, but it was, just came out. He said we don't pay ransom, but he did. He lied about the hostages – openly and blatantly – just like he lied about Obamacare.

S3. 51 Now the Administration has put every American travelling overseas, including our military personnel, at greater risk of being kidnapped. Hillary Clinton owns President Obama's Iran policy, one more reason she can never ever be allowed to be President.

S3. 52 Let's talk about the economy. Here, in this beautiful and great state, so many people have suffered because of NAFTA, remember NAFTA and what it has done to the country. Bill Clinton signed the deal, and Hillary Clinton supported it. North Carolina has lost nearly half of its manufacturing jobs since NAFTA went into effect.

S3. 53 Bill Clinton also put China into the World Trade Organization – another Hillary Clinton-backed disaster. Your city of Charlotte has lost 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs since China joined the WTO, and many of these jobs were lost while Hillary Clinton was Secretary of State – our chief diplomat with China. She was a disaster, totally unfit for this job.

S3. 54 Hillary Clinton owes the State of North Carolina a very big apology, and I think you'll get that apology around the same time you'll get to see her 33,000 deleted emails. In other words you will never see the apology.

S3. 55 Another major issue in this campaign has been the border. Our open border has allowed drugs and crime and gangs to pour into our country and our communities. So much needless suffering, so much preventable death. I've spent time with the families of wonderful Americans whose loved ones were killed by the open borders and Sanctuary Cities that Hillary Clinton supports.

S3. 56 I've embraced crying parents who've lost their children to violence spilling across our border.

S3. 57 Parents like Laura Wilkerson and Michelle Root and Sabine Durden and My fried Jamiel Shaw, whose children were killed by illegal immigrants, so needlessly.

S3. 58 My opponent supports Sanctuary Cities.

S3. 59 Listen closely: we will deliver justice for all of these Great American Families. We will create a system of immigration that makes us all proud.

S3. 60 Hillary Clinton's mistakes destroy innocent lives, sacrifice national security, and betray the working families of this country.

S3. 61 Please remember this: I will never put personal profit before national security.

S3. 62 I will never leave our border open to appease donors and special interests, which is what Hillary is doing and they are being appeased.

S3. 63 I will never support a trade deal that kills American jobs. I will never ever put the special interests before the national interest. I will never put a donor before a voter, or a lobbyist before a citizen.

S3. 64 Instead, I will be a champion for the people.

S3. 65 The establishment media doesn't cover what really matters in this country, or what's really going on in people's lives. They will take words of mine out of context and spend a week obsessing over every single syllable, and then pretend to discover some hidden meaning in what I said.

S3. 66 Just imagine for a second if the media spent this energy holding the politicians accountable who got innocent Americans like Kate Steinle killed – she was gunned down by an illegal immigrant who had been deported five times.

S3. 67 Just imagine if the media spent time and lots of time investigating the poverty and joblessness of the inner cities. Just think about how much different things would be if the media in this country sent their cameras to our border, to our closing factories, or to our failing schools.

S3. 68 Believe me. So many people suffering for so long in silence. No cameras. No coverage, no outrage from the media class that seems to get outrage over just about everything else.

S3. 69 So, again, it's not about me. It's never been about me. It's been about all the people in this country who don't have a voice. I am running to be your voice.

S3. 70 Thank you. I'm running to be the voice for every forgotten part of this country that has been waiting and hoping for a better future.

S3. 71 I am glad that I make the powerful, and I mean very powerful a little uncomfortable now and again, including some of the powerful people, frankly, in my own party because it means that I'm fighting for real change, real change.

S3. 72 There is a reason hedge fund managers, the financial lobbyists, the Wall Street investors are throwing their money all over Hillary Clinton because they know she will make sure the system stays rigged in their favour.

S3. 73 Here is the change I propose. On terrorism, we are going to end the era of nation-building and, instead, focus on destroying, destroying, destroying ISIS and radical Islamic terrorism.

S3. 74 We will use military, cyber, and financial warfare and work with any partner in the world and the Middle East that shares our goal in defeating terrorism. I have a message for the terrorists trying to kill our citizens. **We** will find **you**, we will destroy you and we will absolutely win and we will win soon.

S3. 75 On immigration, we will temporarily suspend immigration from any place where adequate screening cannot be performed, extreme vetting. Remember, extreme vetting. All applicants for immigration will be vetted for ties to radical ideology. And we will screen out anyone who doesn't share our values and love our people.

S3. 76 Anyone who believes Sharia Law supplants American law will not be given an immigrant visa.

S3. 77 If you want to join our society, then you must embrace our society. Our values, and our tolerant way of life. Those who believe in oppressing women, guys, Hispanics, African-Americans, and people of different faiths are not welcome to join our great country.

S3. 78 We will promote our American values, our American way of life, and our American system of government, which are all, all the best in the world. My opponent on the other hand wants a 550 percent increase in Syrian refugees even more than already pouring into our country under President Obama. Her plan would bring in roughly 620,000 refugees from all refugee sending nations in her first term alone on top of all other immigration. Think of that. Think of that. What are we doing?

S3. 79 Hillary Clinton is running to be America's Angela Merkel and we have seen how much crime and how many problems that's caused the German people and Germany.

S3. 80 On crime we're going to add more police, more investigators, and appoint the best judges and prosecutors in the world.

S3. 81 We will pursue strong enforcement of federal laws. The gangs and cartels. And criminal syndicates terrorizing our people will be stripped apart one by one and they will be sent out of our country quickly. Their day is over. And it's going to end very, very fast.

S3. 82 On trade, we're going to renegotiate NAFTA to make it better and if they don't agree, we will withdraw (economy trade) **S3. 82 bis** And likewise we are going to withdraw from Transpacific Partnership, another disaster. **S3. 83** Stand up to China on our terrible trade agreements and protect every last American job.

S3. 84 Hillary Clinton has supported all of the major trade deals that have stripped this country of its jobs and its wealth. We owe $20 trillion. On taxes, we are going to massively cut tax rates for workers and small businesses creating millions of new good paying jobs.

S3. 85 We're going to get rid of regulations that send jobs overseas and we are going to make it easier for young Americans to get the credit they need to start a small business and pursue their dream.

S3. 86 On education, so important, we are going to give students choice and allow charter schools to thrive. We are going to end tenure policies that reward bad teachers and hurt our great, good teachers.

S3. 87 My opponent wants to deny student choice and opportunity, all to get a little bit more money from the education bureaucracy. She doesn't care how many young dreams are dashed or destroyed and they are destroyed.

S3. 88 We are going to work closely with African-American parents and children. We are going to work with the parents' students. We are going to work with everybody in the African-American community, in the inner cities, and what a big difference that is going to make. It's one of the things I most look forward to doing.

S3. 89 On healthcare, we are going to repeal and replace the disaster called ObamaCare.

S3. 90 On political corruption, we are going to restore honour to our government. In my administration, I'm going to enforce all laws concerning the protection of classified information.

S3. 91 No one will be above the law. I am going to forbid senior officials from trading favours for cash by preventing them from collecting lavish speaking fees through their spouses when they serve.

S3. 92 I'm going to ask my senior officials to sign an agreement not to accept speaking fees from corporations with a registered lobbyist for five years after leaving office, or from any entity tied to a foreign government.

S3. 93 Finally, we are going to bring our country together. It is so divided. We are going to bring it together. We are going to do it by emphasizing what we all have in common as Americans.

S3. 94 We're going to reject bigotry and I will tell you the bigotry of Hillary Clinton is amazing. She sees communities of color only as votes and not as human beings. Worthy of a better future. It's only votes. It is only votes that she sees. And she does nothing about it. She has been there forever and look at where you are.

S3. 95 If African-Americans voters give Donald Trump a chance by giving me their vote, the result for them will be amazing.

S3 96 Look how badly things are going under decades of Democratic leadership. Look at the schools. Look at the poverty. Look at the 58 percent of young African-Americans not working. Fifty eight percent. It is it is time for a change.

S3. 97 What do you have to lose by trying something new? I will fix it watch, I will fix it. We have nothing to lose. Nothing to lose. It is so bad. The inner cities are so bad, you have nothing to lose. They have been playing with you for 60, 70, 80 years, many, many decades. You have nothing to lose. I will do a great job.

S3. 98 Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party have taken African-American votes totally for granted. Because the votes have been automatically there for them, there has been no reason for Democrats to produce, and they haven't. They haven't produced in decades and decades.

S3. 99 In my administration every American will be treated equally, protected equally and honored equally. We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms and seek a new future built on our common culture and values as one American people.

S3. 100 But we can never ever fix our problems by relying on the same politicians who created these problems in the first place.

S3. 101 Hillary Clinton is for the failed status quo to protect her special interests, her donors, her lobbyists, and others. It is time to vote for a new American future.

S3. 102 Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America proud again, we will make America safe again.

S3. 103 Friends and fellow citizens, come November, we will make America great again. Greater than ever before.

Résumé

Cette étude vise à analyser les facteurs fondamentaux et les techniques utilisés par la droite politique contemporaine. Cela sera réalisé en analysant les discours de Donald J. Trump, qui est reconnu comme une figure réussie parmi les politiciens populistes de droite aux États-Unis. Pour atteindre l'objectif de l'étude, un ensemble spécifique de trois discours principaux de la campagne présidentielle de Donald Trump en 2016 ont été sélectionnés pour l'analyse. Pour examiner et analyser ces discours, l'étude utilise la méthode de recherche qualitative. La notion socio-cognitive de l'Analyse Critique du Discours (ACD) de Van Dijk est employée, et son 'Carré Idéologique' est exploré en tant que cadre analytique. Les résultats démontrent que les discours de Trump présentent une idéologie caractérisée par des schémas stratégiques de division entre *'nous et eux'*, en utilisant l'élément fondamental du populisme : le peuple pur contre l'élite corrompue, faible et incompétente. De plus, Trump a souvent utilisé la tactique de mettre en évidence les autres attributs négatifs dans ses discours.

Mots clés : populisme de droite, ACD, Carré Idéologique, L'Approche Socio-cognitive, Discours Politique, Nous et eux, Donald Trump, Etats Unis.

الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل العوامل الأساسية والأساليب التي يستخدمها هذا الجناح اليميني في السياسة المعاصرة وذلك من خلال تحليل خطابات دونالد ترامب، المعروف كشخصية ناجحة بين السياسيين الشعبويين اليمينيين في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. لتحقيق هدف الدراسة، تم اختيار ثلاثة خطابات أساسية من حملة دونالد ترامب الرئاسية لعام 2016 لغرض تحليلها. ولفحص البيانات، تستخدم الدراسة أسلوب البحث الكيفي من خلال الاعتماد على مقاربة فان دايك (Van Dijk) الاجتماعية المعرفية للتحليل النقدي للخطاب وذلك بالتركيز على 'المربع الأيديولوجي' الخاص به كإطار تحليلي. تُظهر النتائج أن خطابات ترامب هي خطابات أيديولوجية تتميز بأنماط إستراتيجية من الانقسام بين 'نحن وهم'، حيث توظف وتستعمل الميزة الأساسية للخطاب الشعبوي المتمثلة في مجابهة الأشخاص 'النقيون' مقابل النخبة 'الفاسدة، الضعيفة وغير الكفؤة'. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، استخدم ترامب كذلك في كثير من الأحيان استراتيجية التركيز على السمات السلبية لمنافسيه وأعدائه.

الكمات المفتاحية: الجناح اليميني الشعبوي، التحليل النقدي للخطاب، المقاربة الاجتماعية المعرفية، المربع الأيديولوجي، الخطاب السياسي، دونالد ترامب، نحن ضد هم، الو.م.أ.