

Trump's Populist Ideology in American Policy: Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

This research aims at knowing the impact of populist ideology propagated by Trump on American policy via critical discourse analysis of selected political speeches. Propounded by Fairclough, this paper provides an examination the impact of populist ideology embedded in Trump's political speeches at three levels; linguistic choices, interrelated context, practices. Concerning the linguistic choices, this paper spots light on how the ideology of populism is represented by specific linguistic choices. These linguistic choices include reference of lexical choices their ideological connotations in the text. Furthermore, it explores the pronoun's representation of the "Self" and the "other"; according to Dijk's model. At the interrelated contexts, this paper aims to look at how the ideology of populism is dug more in an audiences' mind by referring to past, which was bad due to the corrupted elite, and pushing towards good work, by pure people who love their home, in the future. By this ideology, Trump succeeds to gain American's sympathy, creating changes in American policy at both levels; locally and internationally.

Keys Words: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Political Discourse, Ideology of populism

1-Introduction

Every political speech bears implicitly specific ideologies and attitudes of the politicians. Politicians aim to decorate their hidden ideologies by linguistic and aesthetic tools to make others agree with their facts, share the same values and then accept their argument. Due to the great role of political speech, It is necessary to frame it in a way where touch the feelings and minds of the recipients. The recipients play a crucial role in interpreting those ideologies into practice. Interpreting ideologies into practice depends on the way the recipients understand the meaning. The meaning is potential; that is, there is a need to understand the circumstances of

creating such a meaning. Creating the meaning does not work in isolate but in a set of cultural, social and political framework. Exploring the meaning and its function intrigues many critical discourse theorists' (such as Fairclough, Dijk, Wodak and others) attention to unveil the hidden ideologies embedded in texts whether written or visual. So the study in hand would try to explore the meaning of Trump's political speech through looking at ideology adopted. There are two points should be covered. The first one concerns with how Trump's populist ideology is built linguistically. The second is about the impact of such ideology upon American policy. All these points would be examined through Critical discourse analysis of selected Trump's speech.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Political discourse is a rich area to carry out highly qualified researches due to the ability of political discourses in touching all aspects of people's life. That is; if there was specific ideology propagated throughout political discourse, it would affect political, economic and social spheres. So, all politicians exploit the effect of political discourse to build their own ideology, shaping this ideology by specific linguistic tools to create remarkable changes whether in views or policies. It is taken for granted that the language of political speeches might have ideological connotations. The relationship between language and ideology cannot be ignored, particularly when it comes to very sensitive political events such as the political speeches.

During Trump's campaign, news coverage and political talk shows that Trump's speeches take a wide space in media. So, these speeches represent a rich and new area for CDA analysts from all over the world. Further, there are a lot of expectations and predictions built on an audiences' understanding of Trump's speeches. Trump's speeches acquire great momentum due to his strange policy or ideology adopted. Unveiling Trump's ideology incites many researchers to work on, exploring the surrounded practices and impact of such ideology. In this context, the current study spots special light on Trump's populist ideology during and after his campaign, aiming at exploring the impact of such ideology on the American policy. More specifically, this study also attempts to focus on how are "Self" and "Other" images, is conceptualized in the American presentational election 2016 and its aftermath so as to clarify his populist ideology.

1.3. Significance of the Study

It is worth mentioning that Trump's speeches make an aura in political medium and media at large. Additionally, there are many researches that have been carrying out to unmask Trump's ideology or the effect of Trump's political speeches. So, this study tries to move apart from those researches by examining the impact of populist ideology on American policy via critical discourse analysis of language used. It hopes that this study would guide other researches interested in this area to doing such researches, concerning political discourses. Generally, It attempts to acquaint the reader with ideological strategies that can be addressed in critical discourse analysis. Further, this paper represents the importance of some linguistic tools in enforcing specific ideology to create special effect. Finally, it is hoped that this study would encourage other researchers to conduct studies on political discourses, using critical discourse analysis as a technique of inquiry.

1.4. Objectives and Questions of the research

This research aims to identify and analyze how the populist ideology of Trump's political speeches is linguistically represented. It will focus on the linguistic techniques that used to depict Ideological structure in his speeches. This thing is supported by applying the concept of ideological square to review populist ideology from the representation of "Self" along with "Other". This aim will be achieved by addressing the following questions:

- 1) How Trump's populist ideology is linguistically represented?
- 2) What are the contexts that Trump depends on to build his ideology?
- 3) What is the Impact of populist ideology upon American policy?

1.5. Approach and Methodology

To answer the previous questions, this study follows critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis has identified several correlations among language, power, and ideology. At the main target of Critical Discourse Analysis is the purpose to reveal language use as a social practice and to uncover the function of language in establishing social identities, relationships, issues, and circumstances. Its essential thing has been to review the socio-

political nature of discourses and texts through which social reality is formed to study how speeches sustain power through their ideological features (Fairclough 1995, Fowler 1979). The aim of Critical Discourse Analysis is to regulate us with the right tool to scrutinize the taken for granted ideologies and to reduce opacity in the discourse. More specifically, this study adopts Fairclough's model to examine the hidden ideologies in Trump's political speech, supported with Dijk's model.

1.5.1. Fairclough's model of Analysis

Fairclough aims to explain the link between textual features and their role in interaction within the considered society. Critical discourse is interpretative and explanatory, and extends beyond textual analysis. In addition, critical discourse is interpretative and explanatory in intent. The interpretation and explanation of discourse are dynamic and open, and perhaps influenced by new readings and new circumstantial data (Richardson 2003). Political discourse is interrelated to critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysts deal with power, ideology, and other discursive conditions that appear in political discourse. (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1993b). Fairclough considers discourse from three stages, as shown in figure 1.

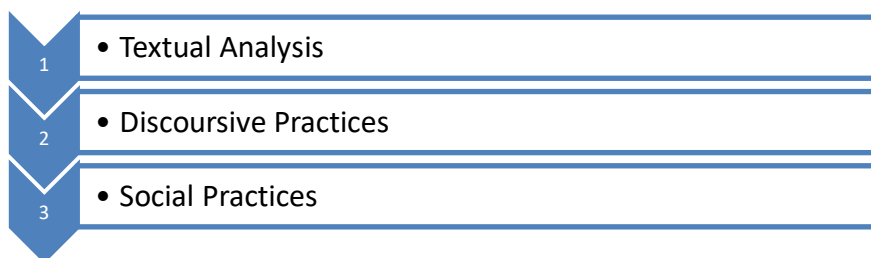


Figure 1, Fairclough's model of analyzing discourse

1.5.1.1. Text

The main concern, in this level, is to look at how Trump's populist is constructed by using specific linguistic tools, including the choice of words, constructing sentences, particular view or argument embedded within Trump's speech.

1.5.1.2. Discursive practices

In this stage, the analysis of textual analysis is related to political/social conditions of production and consumption. There are two points; **Fairclough** tries to cover them in this level.

- a) Social conditions of production including the social factors which help to create such text. Looking at the circumstances of producing Trump's speech should be taken into consideration. Eliciting the hidden ideologies entails to look at the conditions of production such text or speech.
- b) The procedure of production and interpretation, for example, the contexts in which the text was produced. Eliciting the hidden ideology and point of view is interrelated process of using textual characteristics and contexts. The contexts which Trump stresses on to assure his populist ideology are bad reference to past, promises to good future.

1.5.1.3. Social practices

To examine the effects of such ideologies upon American policy, political and social practices should be analyzed. In doing so, the reactions of American society are examined through analyzing selected newspapers and interviews that have talked about Trump's policy and view.

On the other hand, Fairclough is more influenced by Foucault in analyzing the hidden ideologies. Unveiling hidden ideologies is not achieved by textual analysis only but extends to include context and then social practices. To more illustration, Fairclough sees that the discourse is history. Thus, it can only be understood with reference to their historical contexts, including political, social events. Critical discourse analysis refers to extralinguistic factors such as culture, society and ideology in historical terms.

1.5.2. Van Dijk's Ideological Square

Using Dijk's model concerning ideological square would enrich the process of analysis. Summarizing Dijk's model to more understanding would be presented by four moves of ideological communication (1998, p.267):

- Express/ emphasize information that is positive about Us.
- Express/ emphasize information that is negative about Them.
- Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about Them.

- Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about Us.

Hopefully, this technique would help to expose form of positive self and negative other representation. Some linguists argue that this method of analysis stems from Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1976) mainly the notion of "Otherness".

1.5.3. Research Design

This section offers comprehensive understanding on the methods adopted, the data sources, how the data is assembled and how it is analyzed. The main concern of this study is looking at how the Trump's populist ideology is constructed linguistically and how this ideology is reflected or affected on American society and over the world. According to Fairclough's model, the process of analysis passes at the levels starting from language, discursive construction to practices. This process requires flexibility in dealing with the meaning embedded in language use. The quantitative methods respond to the wants of this process. Within qualitative analysis, the researcher can enrich the meaning of texts through sufficient knowledge of context that texts are created. Having such knowledge facilitates the process of unveiling the meaning. Giving credibility to the analysis needs some scientific facts or mathematical numbers. So, this study would support the qualitative analysis with quantitative analysis. These qualitative methods of analysis are adopted, supported with quantitative analysis. Both qualitative and quantitative analyses would apply on political speeches that are considered as a pillar of this study.

1.5.3.1. Data Sources

This study aims to examine the impact of populist ideology, which is linguistically decorated by Trump, on American policy. So, the data collected is from Trump's political speeches. The data varies between written texts and records on Trump. The data is determined within specific time (2016). To sustain the analysis process, many studies, that are carried out to examine specific points that may coincident or contrast with this study, are chosen. Further, this study does without some politician's views to understand the political context and then support the result of analysis.

1.5.3.2. Data Collection

The data required for the purpose of this paper are collected from two political speeches for the American president in two different occasions. The researchers select some excerpts, themes and headlines that seem to provide the ground of the investigating. Furthermore, Video recordings and transcripts are included from news coverage and talk shows in order to guide towards more comprehensive understanding of the context which was the source for creating the texts.

1.5.3.3. Data Analysis

To analyze political speeches, the linguistic devices would be included, mainly, the reference of pronouns, and the lexical choice. In addition, the analysis covers the negative of "Self" and positive representation of "Other". By this way, this study would examine the populist ideology by drawing attention to forms of positive self and negative other representations. Some linguists argue that this approach of analysis stems from Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1976) mainly the notion of "Otherness". Oktar (2001; 320) suggested that discourse shows the ideologically based on fixed contextual approach of positive self-representation and negative other representation. This strategy classify people into two social categories "Us" as in group and "Them" as in the case of out group. Van Dijk advances a convenient theoretical notion which is called the ideological square which encapsulates both levels the twin and parallel of positive in group description and negative out group description. In a different way, one of the key plans of othering is highlighting negative things about the others, in the intervening time minimizing or ignoring positive points about them. He emphasizes his argument with his popular ideological square:

Accentuate our positives	Minimize our negatives
Accentuate their negatives	Minimize their positives

Figure 1: Van Dijk's Ideology Square (1998)

2. Review of Related Literature

High carries out study aiming to analyze Trump's campaign speeches and how he creates a special identity portraying him a presidential candidate as an anti-establishment and pro-ordinary citizen (2016). The data show that Trump used specific linguistic structures and strategies in his political speeches helping him to build a strong anti-establishment and pro-citizen identity. Moreover, it is found that Trump used reported speech style for ordinary citizens and not professional experts to show his interest in the views of the people more than establishment. By using "them" and "us", he constructs a definitive image for being with people and establishment and against "them". His plain/childlike word choice helps him to appear straightforward by avoiding complex and sophisticated terms to gain the crowd's trust. The present study, to some extent, different from High 'study in which it tries to examine the impact of Trump's populist ideology from analytic angle within the models of both Fairclough and Dijk.

In the context of unveiling Trump's ideology, there is a paper written by Margulies. It talks that Trump's spreading populist ideology is the reason for preventing him from winning delegates (Margulies 2016). The writer declares also that part of Trump's current difficulties embed in his populist strategy and ideology (ipid.). Looking at the differences between Margulies 'paper and this study, the nature of the current study is analytic, while, Margulies 'article loses the analytic element in its argument. Besides, the result of study in hand goes against Margulies' article in which, it reaches to that populist ideology affects American policy throughout the process of analysis, as it would be explained in the next section.

Within the same context, a book of Wright talks about Trump's world view and how this view is reflected on his policy whether exterior or interior (2016). The writer spots light on Trump's beliefs that he has held for many decades. Wright also predicts that the result of Trump's win would transform America from the leader of a liberal international commitments undermined the open global economy, and partners with Putin's Russia (ipid.). Within the context of difference, the analytic nature and methods adopted makes this study different from other books including Wright's book.

In another article based on an examination of impact of Trump's campaign on American nation's school (2016). This article includes both teachers and students as data sources that are

chosen selectively from the social media. The results declare that Trump's campaign produces some kind of worry, inconvenience and anxiety among children of color, inflaming racial and ethnic tensions in the classroom environment. Further than two-thirds of students - principally immigrants, children of immigrants and Muslim- have tried fears of what might face them or their families after election (ipid.). On the other hand, more than one-third of teachers have noticed an increase in anti-Muslim or anti-immigrant sentiment and attitude. Additionally, over than forty percent are reluctant to learn about the election. Importantly, this paper leans on restrictive data only teachers and students, while the current study joins a large space of American policy and society.

Examining Trump's ideology is a concern of Smith's et al. article (2016). In his article, he criticises Trump's speeches through spotting light on conflicting things embedded in his political speeches. As a result of this speech is the radical change in American policy including foreign policy with Russia, Iran, Europe and others. This article goes in line with the current study in which they are looking at the practices sequenced from Trump's ideology.

3. Findings and Discussion

This section attempts to answer the three addressed questions by applying critical discourse analysis as a strategy of investigating the ideological strategies of Trump's political discourse. Fairclough's model and Dijk's model are used to analyze the data selected. Throughout Trump's political speech, he tries to draw public attention towards populism. Populism is a term used to make a divided line between two groups. Trump uses this ideology to split between two groups (we and they). This ideology is embedded in Trump's political speeches.

3.1. How the Trump's ideology is represented in his speech?

3.1.1. Lexical Choices

Trump adopts populist ideology throughout his campaign. Populism is characterized by Cas Mudde "ideology that considers society to be divided into homogeneous and antagonistic groups, the pure people and distractive corrupt elite" (Cited in Margulies 2016, p. 2). He continuously spots light on the differences between both pure authentic people and corrupt elite. To make this ideology more effective entails using elaborated language that can touch people's feelings and

minds. The populist ideology is represented linguistically by choosing special lexical references that push towards more understanding of populism. Munk (2016) says that Trump's speeches are different due to introducing the conflicting things. Within the conflicting things mentioned is the presentation of "self" and "other" accompanying with special references for both, for instance, "For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of governments while the people have borne the cost". Here, he apparently points out the corrupted people who aims to achieve their prosper on behalf America and Americans. He goes further to describe that their prosper was personality not for the behalf of Americans as declared:

"Their victories have not been your victories, their triumphs have not been your triumph and while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land".

(Inaugural Address, Jan. 20. 2017)

Then, he goes declaredly to point those who work for themselves without caring about the behalf of America and American people, as well as they always try to prosper themselves while on the other side there are people who left their jobs.

On the other hand, Trump surprisingly lifts himself with pure people on the account of lowering those who are labeled as corrupt through correlating pure people with nationality and greatness, as spoken, "The challenges we face as a nation are great, but our people are even greater" (Heather 2017, p. 150). By using conflicting things, the populist ideology puts Trump out from traditional framework of politicians enforcing new policy America, as Smith referred that they well be radical changes in United States policy (2016).

3.1.2. Pronouns Reference

The using of pronouns moves towards assures the opposition between "us" and "them". In Trumps' political speeches, pronouns are applied to sign roles (for example, agency) representing self-reference and identity (Van Dijk, 2000). For instance, the aversion between "us" and "them" may signal polarization of in-groups and out-groups.

Table 1: **The Highly Frequent Subjective Pronouns in the Trump's Speeches**

NO.	Pronoun	Frequency
1	We	75
2	I	14
3	You	5

As demonstrated in the table, it is very noticeable that the pronoun “we” is the most commonly used pronoun in Trump's speeches with 75 statements. This recurrence is very important because, as illustrated above, it formulates the mutual relationship between the addresser and addressee. In addition, using this pronoun structures a case of intimacy, affectionate familiarity and trust, between the president and the people. This frequency for Trump represents the state of being a member of the people. This state is essential to build trust with ordinary people, in particular, worker class. In the American political context, ‘we’ can be used to refer to the American people and American identity; in the use of ‘we’, the president and it's new administration become part of this group, creating a sense of every one being involved. It also indicates an embedded membership among them (Liddicoat et al. 1999)

Bloor and Bloor (2004) also stated that the grammatical application of possessive pronoun (our) in conjunction with nominal defining things that indeed cannot be owned in any real sense of the word is ideological. For example, possessives are linked and attached with such words “our government/people/ enemies /allies/ army/ country/ souls to draw ideological connotations. The possessive " Our" in this example "A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions – which is repeated in this extract three times – can embed people’s attitudes unity and common future”(Inaugural Address, Jan. 20. 2017). The table below displays the occurrence of the possessive pronouns in the two mentioned speeches.

Table 2: **The Highly Frequent Possessive Pronouns in the Trump's Speeches**

NO.	Pronoun	Frequency
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1	Your	8
2.	Our	28

Furthermore, the ideology of populism is examined by using mathematical language of naming strategy of "self" and "other", as explained below:

3.1.3. Naming Strategy of Self and Other

The ideology of populism is examined through lexical items besides the pronouns references. This section provides quantitative analysis to support the answer for the first question. The quantitative analysis would spot light the different ways in which Trump presents the in-group participants and their values, in one hand, and the out-group participants and their fouls on the other. By using van Dijk's ideological square, the researchers are simply targeting the two images of representation negative and positive.

Naturally, the representation of *self* and *other* involves the ideologies and stereotypes of an institution. In politics, politicians tend to accentuate in-group positives, minimize negatives; and accentuate out-group negatives and minimize their positives. The United States and their allies are the in-group members, the *self/ us*; and the ousted presidents are the out-group member, the *other/ them*. As declared by Trump "Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs and while they celebrated our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land". Here the pronouns of their serves to minimize others, supported by using words like victory, triumph, celebrate. While the pronouns of your, our are appointed in special way to lift the sense of *self*.

3.1.4 Other Negative Representation

Negative Other representation of the other in Trump's speeches may include both American and non-American. He depicts them under different names with different I contexts whether political, economic, and social, as shown in table below.

3.1.5 Self Positive Representation

Positive Self-representation includes that he serves all the Americans and they are at the top of his properties. He depicts himself as the man of "actions". As the following example shows:

1. The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

Self	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •America •Americaian Workers •American Nation •Citizens •The republicans •new Admiinstration •White 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Other countries •other nations •immegrants •terrorists •the Demicratic •pervious admiinstration •Black •Iran •Radical Islamists •Al Qaeda •Isis

Table (3) classifying participants in terms of Self and Other

3.2. The contexts that Trump depends on to build his ideology

Trump leans viciously on various contexts to make the ideology of populism prominent. Within these contexts are:

3.2.1. Bad Reference to the Past

Trump tries to clarify his ideology by drawing the picture of past that he considers it bad for both America and American people. Among bad things that happened in the past is "Factories shuttered and left shores without even a thought about the millions upon millions of American workers left behind". He also points out that the past was bound with crimes "the murder rate in 2015 experienced....., In Chicago, more than 4,000 people were shot year alone".(Inaugural Address, Jan. 20. 2017). In brief, Trump declares deliberately that he is upset from the bad past and now he gives more promises for better future as explained below:

3.2.2. Promises for Better Future

Trump presents himself as a savior who will build the greatness of America that America lost as he says, "rebuild our country and to restore its promise for all our people". He goes further to promise American to restore manufacturing jobs and stop out sourcing (Wright 2016). Then, he gives hope in some way, as he declares, "but broken in our country can be fixed. Every problem can be solved". He generalizes all the promises for future "I'll not allow the mistakes of recent decades past to define the course of our future". This is a strong gesture for not repeating the mistakes on the future. The ideology of populism that Trump adopted to convince the recipients in his view is measured by examining the impact of this ideology on American policy, as shown below:

3.3. Impact of populist ideology upon American society.

Many politicians and Americans interpret Trump's ideology into practice, depending on reading many expectations for the American future. At the level of practices, there are many noticeable changes that are reflected on American policy as a result of Trump's populist ideology. Among these practices as Smith declared that Trump introduces conflicting things throughout his political speeches (2016). This thing reflected on his language and practices, for instance, Trump promises, in his inaugural speeches, to protect his nation from radical Islamic terrorist. At the same time, he states building Autocratic regimes in Sunni majority countries, resulting for haven't welcomed his anti-Muslim campaign. Still unveiling practices, America lives in continuous changes at all levels, including economic and political. At the economic level, under the umbrella of "America First", Trump believes that the United States-led liberal international order has failed America. He wants others to do more and pay more. He calls for focusing on narrow national interests, rather than broader nations of liberal order (Wright 2016). As a result of this practice, there is a remarkable economic recovery of United States from the Great Recession has benefited the top 20-25 percent of American society (Haltzel 2016). It is worth noting that this study takes views of many articles, studies and political speeches as a help in examination of impact of Trump's populist ideology on American policy. For instance, Wright sees that America lives in radical changes affected by Trump's policy (2016). There is relation that goes towards better like Russia (ipid.). Other goes towards worse like Israel which worry

about United States withdrawal from the Middle East a general deterioration conditions in the region (ibid.). This point meets Smith's et al. reading of changes in American policy, where he sees that Trump pushes towards reassessment of America/Russia relations (2016).

4. Conclusion

Critical discourse analysis has proved to be very influential tool in exploring the underlying ideologies and discursive practices in different discourse genres such as advertisements and political speeches. This study also shows how populist ideology is constructed linguistically in terms of reference and lexical choices. It was fruitful to investigate the use of lexical choices in Trump's speeches, for example, choices related to the American nationalism. Then, the analysis shed lights on their ideological and discursive impact in the text. In the other hand, this study reflects a modest and recent contribution to investigate the use of number in political discourse to convey socio-economic messages for the audience. The researcher believes that this type of research will show whether there are differences between them at the level of critical discourse analysis.

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