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**Racism in Donald Trump's Tweets:
A Critical Discourse Analysis.**

**Dissertation Submitted for the Fulfillment of a LMD Master Degree
in LINGUISTICS**

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Dedication

In the memory of my father.

To my family & friends.

To my Dear brother.

Acknowledgments

I would like to show my deep gratitude to my teacher *Dr. Fatima Nor Elhouda BEGHDADI* for her patience, vast knowledge and insightful criticism, without which I would not have completed this research work.

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Abstract

This study aims at extracting the textual structures in Donald Trump's Discourse. By employing Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis, this research attempts at revealing the linguistic elements of racism and segregation in framing Muslims, Mexicans and Africans. For this, two questions are raised: to what extent does the President speech contain racism and what is the purpose of generating such utterances. Respectively, it is hypothesized that Trump's speech contain racism to indicate a view of classifying people according to their race. This work is divided into three chapters. The first one gives an entry to the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It also highlights the notion of Ideology as well as the political discourse. The second chapter introduces the participant: Donald Trump explains the methodology and describes the collected data along with the textual data analysis of the tweets focusing on adjectives, sentence forms and imperatives. The third chapter is devoted for discussing the findings of the previous chapter; it sheds light on the ideological and national incentives behind stating racial statements, and emphasizing Trump's ideology. Eventually, the linguistic elements of racism that underpins the president's discourse have been identified in this research work. Findings have indicated that Trump's tweets contain racism and demonstrate power that stems from his nationalist beliefs.

Keywords: CDA, Fairclough's framework, Donald Trump, Textual analysis, Racism.

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List of Abbreviations

DA: Discourse Analysis

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

MDA: Media Discourse Analysis

D.T: Donald Trump

I.Q: Intelligence quotient

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General Introduction

Language is a natural system grouped in symbols that carry meaning. Through it, people are able to express their thoughts, exchange their views, construct social relationships and build one's identity. Therefore, it is a reflection of national and social identities as well as political power and authority. In fact, the relationship between power and language is dynamic: it changes over time and within different social contexts.

The president of the USA, Donald Trump, has communicated his thoughts about immigration ban. Addressing, Muslims as people who hate Non-Muslims, describing Islam as being radical, and referring to Mexicans as illegal immigrants who bring drug and crime to the USA borders. Then, he tweeted against those who questioned his moral abilities (IQ) intelligence quotient. Some journalists took it to the extreme and considered the president racist.

The main aim of this research work is to shed light on the aspect of racism in Donald Trump's tweets. Through a critical analysis of selected public speeches and tweets on twitter, Fairclough's model of media discourse will be employed. In order to achieve the objectives of the present research, the following questions have been raised:

- 1- To what extent Donald Trump's speech contains racism?
- 2- What is the aim behind generating such discourse?
- 3- How does he portray Muslims, Mexicans and Africans?

It is hypothesized that Trump's discourse contain elements of racism since it stems from his nationalist views of making America great again. Also, the aim behind selecting such words might be of personal views or a way to reflect the power and the authority the president holds. Third, Trump usually demonstrates his hatred and fear of immigrants by portraying them

in unpleasant pictures. In many occasions, he accused Muslims of being terrorists, Mexicans of being drug smugglers and Africans of living in low and impoverished countries.

The present research work adopts Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological approach to collecting and interpreting data obtained from the textual analysis of Trump's tweets. In order to stress out the theme of racism in his discourse, nine tweets have been gathered to be analysed by employing Fairclough's media Discourse analysis framework: regarding its three levels: (a) description of data, (b) interpretation, then (c) explanation and discussion.

The dissertation consists of three chapters; the first chapter is devoted to the theoretical framework: Critical Discourse Analysis, power and discourse, social identity, major frameworks along with the explanation of the main model of this study. The second chapter presents the corpus of the study (tweets), provides a brief overview of the participant's political career, describes the data collection method then provides a language description and a textual analysis to identify the terminology, meaning and context reflecting racism in Trump's Discourse. As for the third chapter, it is concerned with the discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER ONE:

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Introduction

The way we perceive certain subjects, and talk about them, does not only shape our thinking, but also gives a clear reflection to our thoughts, identity, and certainly our ideologies, all that within society. This is the fundamental assumption of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). For more than two decades, linguists, like Van Dijk, Wodak and Fairclough, have been interested in the domain of CDA. They began to examine a myriad of documents, newspaper articles and public speeches especially the ones that relate to the political field. Indeed, it is necessary to introduce and define some concepts and disciplines to make it comprehensive. For that, the present chapter is divided into two parts. The first contains selected definitions to introduce the disciplines of, discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). The second part is concerned with political discourse along with the concept of power.

1.2. Discourse

Before providing an explanation to the term ‘Discourse’, it is important to consider the etymology of the term. The notion of discourse originally comes from Latin ‘*discursus*’, meaning ‘speech and conversation’. Crystal (1992), among several scholars who defined discourse, states that discourse is “a piece of naturally occurring spoken, written, or signed discourse identified for the purpose of analyses” (p.72). Even though the notion of discourse is subjected to many interpretations, it refers mainly to the action of turn-taking of utterances between a speaker and a hearer. In the case of written discourse, the exchange is transmitted between an author and a reader. All of that is in regard to the context in which the utterance taking place.

1.3. Discourse Analysis

The term ‘discourse analysis’ (DA) has been integrated into many fields such as psychology, anthropology and linguistics. In the latter, Yule (1983, p.63), explains it as an attempt to examine the language in use without ignoring its context. With respect to this, Van

Dijk (1985) states that it is “the study of real language use, by real speakers in real situations” (p.2). That is, DA is concerned with natural language production, be it spoken or written. Therefore, DA deals with examining what is said in the stretches and beyond the level of utterances.

Further, DA is generally employed as a means of describing and analysing meaning in social interactions, taking into account contexts and norms of talk. Meaning in discourse, however, is explained by Cook (1989) as:

Not all sentences are interesting, relevant, or suitable; one cannot just put any sentence after another and hope that it will mean something. People do not always speak or write in complete sentences, yet they still succeed in communicating. (p.3)

To put it simply, meaning is not related to the form. However, DA is concerned with how people converse to negotiate meaning even though they produce incomplete sentences. Even if a sentence does not fulfil the requirements of grammar and syntax, it carries meaning and it is up to the hearer to interpret that meaning carried through utterances whether written or spoken.

Cook (1989) explains that language stretches to two forms: the first one is “language as potential object for study” (p.5) This term is related to grammar and teaching language such as the language of literature. The second form, “language in use for communication” which is concerned with how speakers exchange utterances in certain contexts to deliver a certain message. He argues that this form is DA.

1.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

The field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) saw light in late 1970s when Bob Hodge, Tony Trew, Roger Fowler, and Gunther Kress in language and control (1979) Then, in

1989, Norman Fairclough took after them by introducing CDA in the UK. Ruth Wodak (1989) in Austria, and van Dijk (1993) in the Netherlands started working on CDA.

This field views language as a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258) Moreover, Coffin (2001, p.99) defined CDA as “an approach to language analysis which concerns itself with issues of language, power and ideology” In line of this statement, Van Dijk (2001) defines CDA as follows:

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is 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. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. (p.352)

CDA, for Van Dijk, is restricted to exercising power through written or spoken form. Moreover, CDA is a tool that reveals a great part of the speaker’s ideology, identity, gender, aims and mostly political position.

Rogers (2004) stipulates an inclusive definition of CDA, she says:

CDA is both a theory and a method. Researchers who are interested in the relationship between language and society use CDA to help them describe, interpret, and explain such relationships. CDA is different from other discourse analysis methods because it includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work. (p.33)

The aforementioned quote makes it clear that what differentiate CDA from other fields is that, CDA provides explanations and interpretations framed in a specific social context in

which the discourse takes place. Furthermore, CDA reliability lies in the fact that it regards many aspects of discourse such as, historical background of the speaker, current social problems and their relation to political power, accounts for meaning and its relation to cultures, norms and conventions. Consequently, CDA attempts at revealing ideologies.

1.4.1. Ideology in CDA

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2010) defines 'ideology' as "a set of beliefs, especially the ones held by a particular group, that influences the way people behave." In line with this definition, CDA has different aims, one of which is to reveal the speaker's ideology. The notion of ideology denotes a direct relation with the addresser's political and social beliefs

Many scholars in the domain of CDA consider ideology as a part of politics, for that, Pérez (2003, p.5) defines it as a set of ideas that facilitate the citizens lives and guide them to establish better relationships.

Fairclough (1992, p.90), on the other hand, states "ideologies built into conventions may be more or less naturalized and automatized." Therefore, ideology, along with other aspects, is unconsciously integrated in our personalities. Thus, when people perform an action (spoken or written), they automatically express their ideologies even if they are not aware of what shaped and influenced those ideologies.

1.4.2. Power and Discourse

The study of power within the domain of discourse has been subjected to different interpretations. For instance, Wartenberg (1990) has shed light on the different forms that power takes and the activities that enables exercising power, and Foucault (1980) has examined how power flows through different societies and maintains order and discipline.

In line with what Wartenberg and Foucault said, power is often conceptualised as a tool of domination that certain people use to get what they desire from others. For instance, when

politicians give speeches they exercise power through discourse. The latter allows them to influence the behaviour of their audience. Dahl (1969, p. 80) asserts that, “*A* has power over *B* to the extent that he can get *B* to do something that *B* would not otherwise do”.

Regardless the diversity of definitions of power, it may be concluded that power is exploited in social positions (often political) to allow or prevent people from advancing their own interests. In addition, exercising power can also lead to shaping the minds of people, maintaining their beliefs or even replacing them with new ideologies.

1.4.3. CDA and Social Identity

Branching out from the social and psychological perspectives, “the Identity Theory” (Stryker, 1987) and “the Social Identity Theory” (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) have adopted a sociological approach. Studying identity was traditional until some fields of study like critical linguistics started investigating the relation between language and identity. Sociologically, self and identity have a dialectical relationship with the community. The latter is represented by its individuals’ actions. However, an individual is influenced the shared language within organizations, networks, and institutions in the society.

The construction of identity has been the concern of various disciplines like sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and CDA. The latter, interestingly, has come to provide linguistic, cognitive and social methods for analyzing identity construction. Moreover, CDA is concerned with the identity of the whole, that is the social identity, controlled by the practice of language among and over individuals.

Van Dijk (2002, p.17) adds that ideology is a composition of “social constructions”. The latter is shared between the individuals of one group or more groups that share the same culture, conventions, and values. Even when Van Dijk (2002) refers to language, he identifies the social group as “speech community”

1.4.4. Speech Community

The group of people who agree on a set of linguistic variables that concern the use of language is what Yule (2006) refers to as 'speech community'. In line with this definition, Labov (1972) states:

The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage. (pp.120-121)

Speech community, then, is defined differently from one linguist to another; however, it is self-evident that it refers to social and cultural norms that do not only determine how a person should speak according to norms of speech, but also how s/he behaves and interact with other members of the same community.

1.5. CDA Major Frameworks

In order to study the discourse critically, some theorists have proposed their conceptions and methods about how CDA should be and what steps the analysts should follow. For research work, the researcher is adopting Fairclough approach to CDA is adopted. However, it is important to provide a brief review of the other major approaches, namely, Van Dijk's and Wodak's.

1.5.1. Van Dijk's Sociocognitive Model

Van Dijk, sociocognitive model of CDA is one of the most known frameworks. This model includes three levels that facilitate the analysis. They are:

- 1- Social analysis: often referred to as "overall societal structures" which means, a thorough analysis of the context.

- 2- Discourse analysis: this level deals with the form of the text (including structure, syntax, lexicon, and semantics)
- 3- Cognitive analysis: in this level, Van Dijk believes that personal and social cognition are the bridge between society and discourse. This socio-cognitive aspect makes Van Dijk's framework different than other frameworks in CDA.

1.5.2. Ruth Wodak's Discourse- Historical Approach

Second, Ruth Wodak and her colleagues conducted several studies in different institutions as courts and hospitals, mainly to analyse the themes of sexism, anti-Semitism and racism in terms of social discourse. Consequently, a new approach was created to be later called "Discourse Historical Method" (Sheyholislami, 2001, p.5) Furthermore, Wodak and Ludwig (1999, pp.12-13) believe that there are three main distinct features of discourse,

- 1- ideologies and powers are always demonstrated in discourse.
- 2- Historical events are linked to discourse.
- 3- Positions, respective context and levels of information are the cornerstones of conducting a discourse analysis.

1.5.3. Fairclough's Model in CDA

One of the analytical frameworks in CDA is the tripartite model of analysing the ideologies and power practice introduced by Fairclough. The three provided levels of analysis are description, interpretation, and explanation (as noted by Fairclough 1989, p.26). Furthermore, this model deals with the process of meaning-making within the discourse. Also, tends to interpret how people cognitively implement and invest meanings in their speeches and texts. The constituents of Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA are merely three inter-related processes of analysis linked to three dimensions of discourse. This model is selected to be the framework of this study.

1.5.3.1. Description

The object of analysis is the first dimension that the first process tackles, and that is the text. The term text, according to Fairclough (1993, p. 138), refers to “the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event.” For instance, the television language intensifies the multi-semiotic character of texts and adds visual images and sound. Analysing the text is the first step in Fairclough's CDA model. It implies the study of language structures that is spoken or written for discursive states. According to Fairclough, close analysis of texts is a significant part of social scientific analysis of a whole range of social and cultural practices and processes.

1.5.3.2. Interpretation

The second dimension of Fairclough's model of CDA is the discursive practice. The process that takes place here is the interpretation. According to Rodgers et al (2005, p.372), the production process is linked to the interpretation and consumption. This means, the product is first examined, then meaning is understood. The way people produce, interpret and transform texts is the concern of this dimension. Therefore, it is an in-between step that sets path for a clear analysis of context.

1.5.3.3. Explanation

The third and final dimension is knotted to the analysis of socio-cultural practice. Whatever happens is the social, historical and cultural frameworks that cover the discourse that is investigated in this process. Issues like power and ideology are explored through the ways discourses operate in society. Fairclough (1993) considered language use as socially shaped and socially shaping. He considered texts and discourses as socially constitutive by stating that, “language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (I) social identities, (II) social relations and (III) systems of knowledge and beliefs.” (p.134)

The following figure shows Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of Discourse and DA. (Locke, 2004, p. 42)

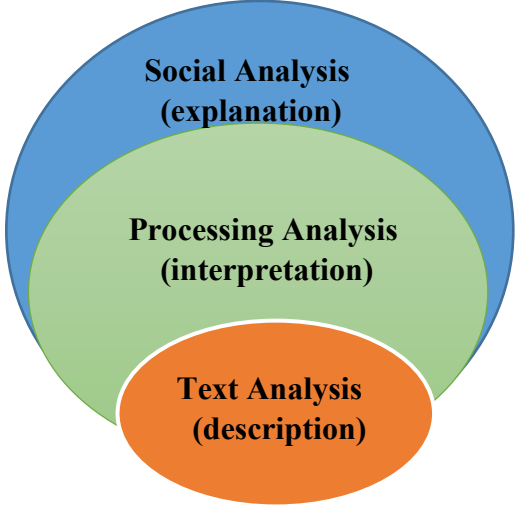
Dimensions of Discourse	Kinds of Analysis
<p>The socio-historical conditions that govern the explanation and interpretation processes.</p> <p>Means of producing and receiving the text or speech (writing, speaking, designing, reading, listening, viewing)</p> <p>The object of analysis (verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts)</p>	

Figure 1.1 Fairclough's Model of CDA (adopted from Fairclough, 1995)

Figure 1 states Fairclough's Framework with its three previously mentioned dimensions.

1.5.3.4. Media Discourse Analysis (MDA)

The researcher conducted emphasizing the media language have been the center of many studies especially in Discourse Analysis. Norman Fairclough's model in media discourse is based on linguistic elements as well as the social life. The former consists of analysing, for instance, types of grammatical structures, verb forms, or adjectives that have a social dimension (related to certain events of cultures). The latter is an attempt to highlight the idea that texts are multifunctional; that is, representing the world (ideational function) and constructing social relationships (interpersonal function). In simple terms, the choice of words that the media implements has a social and ideological meaning. (Fairclough, 1995, p25)

1.6. Political Discourse Analysis

Political discourse has been defined by many linguists differently. Schaffner (2004) defined it simply as a sub-category of discourse in general that is based on the theme and the function. A political discourse has different functions because of the different political activities. In addition, it is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, ideas, relations and tendencies. Van Dijk (2002, p.225). specified that political discourse is not only defined by a topic or a style, but rather by who speaks to whom, as what, on what occasion and with what goals. In other words, political discourse is especially 'political' because of its functions in the political process.

Moreover, van Dijk defined political discourse not only in terms of discourse structures but also in terms of political contexts. He (2004, pp.132-133) contends that:

It is not sufficient to observe, for instance, that political discourse often features the well-known “political” pronoun *we*. It is crucial to relate such use to such categories as [*who is speaking, when, where and with/to whom,*] that is, to specific aspects of the [*political situation.*]

To van Dijk, the production and understanding of political discourses involves the political ideologies that are represented in many political practices. Those ideologies are produced by political discourses (p.11). Ideologies, thus, are observable through political discourse. They may be explicitly or implicitly formulated.

1.7. Conclusion

This chapter attempted at providing a comprehensible and brief definitions to DA, CDA. Both of which represent how words have a cultural and social impact and also how they are imbue with power and ideology. Since CDA considers the historical, cultural and social aspects in society, it was chosen to be the general scope of this research. Moreover,

Fairclough's model is explained along with other major CDA frameworks: change this sentence into another underlining the model's characteristics. The next chapter will be devoted to the practical part, as it will contain analysis of Donal Trump's discourse

CHAPTER TWO:

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

OF DONALD TRUMP'S DISCOURSE

2.1. Introduction

To better understand Trump's political biased ideology and racist views, this chapter is concerned with the textual analysis of his discourse. First, it aims at providing an explanation of the methodology employed, which is a textual analysis of D.T's tweets. Second, it deals with the corpus of the study, which is a collection of nine (9) tweets. Third, after providing methodological descriptions, language is analysed on the model of Fairclough in CDA. The emphasis is on ideological manifestation and power practice stressing out the theme of racism.

2.2. Research Methodology

Fairclough's Media Critical Discourse Analysis is the adopted methodological approach to textual analysis of selected D.T's tweets. Furthermore, as it focuses on analysing and interpreting the content of the tweets that carries meaning and ideological hints such as power and racism.

Selected tweets of President D.T are downloaded from his personal account on Twitter. These tweets are compiled under the theme of racism. That is, all chosen tweets refer directly or indirectly to how D.T regards other races. Moreover, Fairclough's model of CDA is employed to highlight D.T's political beliefs underpinning his statements on serious matters such as, immigration, national security and the Islamic nation.

2.3. Participant: Donald Trump

Donald John Trump (D.T) saw light in the city of New York in 1971. D.T is the 45th president after Barak Obama. He is also famous for being a well-known magnate businessman and a real-estate manager. Before D.T stepped in the world of politics, he was stared in an NBC reality show entitled "The Apprentice" Later on; In 2015 D.T announced that he would enter the competition as a candidate to win the seat of the American president. However, Journalists at that time belittled his capacity and though he would not win this position. Unexpectedly, D.T

won by majority of votes to be the responsible of the republican bureau. Consequently, on July 19, 2016, D.T won the candidacy by slightly defeating Hilary Clinton. D.T studied Finance at the University of Pennsylvania to achieve a degree in economics. Donald became a wealthy businessman

The fact that D.T won the presidential election in 2016 makes his language an area of interest within the academic field. D.T has continuously expressed his dissatisfaction on how America is being endangered by weak policies against immigration. One of his controversial announcements is when he issued a direct order to construct a wall separating the U.S from Mexico; he stated that this project would be funded by U.S taxpayers, however, Mexico will re-pay for this project. (Biography.com)

Similarly, in one of CNN's interviews. The host Anderson Cooper asks D.T: "do you think Islam is at war with the west." D.T responded: "I think Islam hates us" D.T also refers to Islam as "Radical Islam" as he argues that the difference between Islam and radical Islam is hard to see. Therefore, he signed a travel ban against Muslims. In this vein, he asserts, "keep radical Islamic terrorists out of the United States of America." D.T's order of banning travel for Libya, Iraq, Syria, Iran, Sudan, Somalia and Yemen was initiated for a period of 90 days. D.T goes further by stating that he would side by those Christian refugees who seek peace and prosperity in the America. (Schleifer, 2019)

2.4. Collected Data Description

The data compiled, consisting of nine (9) tweets and replies, is gathered from the social network site of Twitter (see Appendix I). The data is gathered under the following keywords: racism, immigration ban, Muslims, radical Islam, and all terms that relate to the theme of racism.

The Data at hand is a set of tweets and replies to journalists on several occasions. The main theme shared in this data is systematically collected under the keywords: Mexico, Muslims, Radical Islam, Terrorism and racism all of which in regard to the different occasions in which they occurred. Such as (1) the bombing in London in September the 15th, 2017 , (2) the anti-Muslim videos shared by the president in in the 29th November 2017, (3) anti-immigrant policy as declared in the announcement speech (2015) framing illegal immigrants as “rapists and drug lords, (4) In May 2018, dehumanizing members of MS-13 gang and (5) in the 12th of January, linking a Korean woman’s race to the job she should have.

2.4.1. Tweets and replies

D.T is famous for using social media to voice his thought, comment and reply to other politicians and journalists. Twitter is considered as a social platform for the elite; D.T, in turn, expresses his ideas freely. Some of these ideas happen to be unconventional or even considered as hate speech. Therefore, this research work puts emphasis on some of those tweets and replies that imply racism towards different people and nations: Muslims, Africans and Mexicans.

2.4.2. Analysis framework

In order to go deep into the political views of D.T, the language is analysed first in terms of vocabulary, grammar and semantics.

- Theme of racism: Word choice: the words that reflect ideology.
- Vocabulary: the set of word choices that are used in D.Ts discourse and have relation to the
- Grammar: highlighting the types of sentences and agency (passive forms).
- Semantic level: emphasizing the binary value of employed adjectives. That is, whether they hold a negative or a positive denotation.

2.5. Data analysis

The procedure of data analysis is divided into three main parts consisting of: (1) how D.T represents Muslims and Islam; the main keywords associated to them such as “Terrorism” or “Radical Islam”. (2) Representation of Mexicans and Mexico in the context of illegal immigration. (3) Representation of African countries and refugees and (4) representation of the other (example of Korean Journalist).

2.5.1. Adjectives

The use of adjectives reveals much about how one conceives of the world around. In his tweets, for instance, D.T uses different adjectives to describe what he thinks: either a positive adjective to reflect what he likes or agrees on, or negative adjectives to reflect disagreement or even hate.

The table below exploits the use of adjectives in D.T's selected tweets and replies. The adjectives are categorized into two parts, positive and negative.

Tweet number	Positive Adjectives 40% (10)	Negative Adjectives 60% (15)	Theme	Date
1	Proactive	Loser, sick, demented	Bombing	Sep 15, 2017
2	Fine	Islamic Destructive, Radical	Bombing	Nov 28, 2017
3	-	Shithole	Immigrants	Jan 11, 2018
4	Best, good	Rapist	Immigrants	June, 2015
5	Great, great, great	-	Immigrants	June, 2015
6		Bad, animals	Criminals	May 23, 2018
7	-	Not Muslim	Islam	March 9, 2016
8	Highest	Losers, haters, stupid, insecure	D.T's Intelligence	May 8, 2013
9	Pretty, Korean	-	Asian lady	Jan 12, 2018

Table.2.1. . Positive and Negative Adjective in D.T's Speech and Tweets.

The table above demonstrates and categorises the frequency of positive and negative adjectives. First, D.T's utterances contain significant number of negative adjectives a percentage of 60% For instance, whenever the word ‘Islamic’ is uttered the rest of adjectives are negative. In addition, in the corpus at hand, the president portrays Muslims as “Losers”,

“destructive” and “radical”. Second, he uses only ten (10) positive adjectives with percentage of 40%, for instance, he employs “pretty”, “best” and “great”; however, for Mexicans the word “great” describes the height of the boarder wall; therefore, this adjective for them is negative.

2.5.2. Sentence forms

This part is concerned with highlighting the structure of sentences extracted from D.T's speech and tweets in order to reveal the structure of the president's discourse.

Tweet	Subject + verb	Subject+ verb + complement	Fragments/clauses	Dates
1	These are. Who were	Must be proactive	Another attack in London	Sep 15, 2017
2	We are doing	that is taking place		Nov 28, 2017
3	Why are we		people from shithole countries	Jan 11, 2018
4	Mexico sends. They're bringing	people that have lots of problems		June, 2015
5	I would build nobody builds		great wall on our southern border	June, 2015
6	You wouldn't believe.	how bad these people are		May 23, 2018
7	I think. We can't allow.	Islam hates us. people that are not Muslim.		March 9, 2016
8	my I.Q. is	you all know it	Sorry losers and haters	May 8, 2013
9		where are you	Pretty Korean lady	Jan 12, 2018

Table 2. Trump's Sentence' Structure

As shown in the table above, D.T tends to employ simple sentences more than complex ones. Perhaps because simple sentences carry evident and direct messages. He, also, uses fragments that lack verbs or are in passive form such as, “another attack by a loser terrorist”, “sorry losers and haters” and “great wall on our southern boarder”

2.5.3. Imperatives

Imperatives are commands or orders declared from a person. In order for these issued orders to work, the addresser must have influence and authority over the addressee otherwise they would not function. Sometimes, imperatives can be an indirect form to indicate strong advice. The table below is concerned with classifying direct and indirect imperative forms in D.T’s Tweets to examine how orders can reflect power and authority.

Direct Imperatives	Tweet	Dates	Indirect Imperatives	Tweet	Dates
Don’t Focus on me	2	Nov 28, 2017	Must be proactive	1	Sep 15, 2017
Focus on the Destructive	2	Nov 28, 2017			
believe me	5	June, 2015	Please don't feel so stupid	8	May 8, 2013
I will have Mexico pay	5	June, 2015			

Table 3. The Direct and Indirect Imperatives in Trump’s Tweets

As highlighted in Table 3, the use of direct and indirect imperatives are not equal in the selected tweets and replies: four (4) direct orders and two (2) indirect ones. Moreover, On the one hand, Indirect Imperatives here refer to advice for instance, “Must be proactive”. Others refer to mockery and despise such as, “don’t feel so stupid” or simply allude to advice, “Must be proactive”. On the other hand, direct imperatives refer to orders or commands such as, “don’t focus on me” or asking for trust, “believe me”. “I will have Mexico pay” denotes power and authority as it states a clear future objective.

2.5.4. Framing

From the standpoint of framing, people from different nations view themselves differently. This phenomenon is central to ideology, because individuals, at the local and/or the international level, do not share the same view. D.T, in the selected data at hand, refers to the USA in a way and frames the other nations in another way. The analysis below will attempt at clarifying this phenomenon by analysing each tweet and reply to extract the notion of framing.

2.5.4.1 Representation of Muslim and Islam

To boost one's self-image, one has to contribute to increasing the social position of the group s/he belongs to: known as "us". For that to be done, attempts to frame others in a shameful image: others are known as "them". This, however, can result in racism.

The table below classifies how D.T Frames the USA in opposition to Muslims.

Tweet	US	Them	Dates
1	Must be Proactive	Loser Terrorist Sick and demented people	Sep 15, 2017
2	We are doing just fine	Destructive Radical Islamic Terrorism	Nov 28, 2017
7	We can't allow people the United States people that are not Muslim	Islam hates us. people coming into this country who have this hatred of the USA	March 9, 2016

Table 4. The Framing of Muslims and United State

In the first tweet, D.T comments on the attack that happened in September the 15th in England. First, he speaks of others “terrorist” and denotes that the person who planned the bombing is an Arab or Muslim. Then, he uses the terms “Sick” and “demented people”, by this, he draws a generalization that Muslims are sick and demented people. After that, he speaks of the European and the American nations as one, as he emphasizes, “must be proactive”

In the second tweet, after D.T shared three anti-Muslim videos. Theresa May said that it is wrong to retweet false videos. However, D.T replied by saying, “don't focus on me” this is a clear statement of how D.T views himself and his nation. Then he frames the others who are Muslims by saying “on the Destructive Radical Islamic Terrorism” that is taking place within the United Kingdom” this time is an exception when he when does not view Europe and America as one identity, because he specified the location of where Radical Terrorism is taking

place. In addition, he goes back to framing the USA, and how they are not suffering like Britain by saying “we are doing just fine”.

In the 9th of March, D.T was interviewed by Anderson Cooper on CNN channel. D.T believes that other Muslim nations hold hatred against the USA. Then he speaks of how dangerous they are. He and his nation should not allow such people who hate the USA and everyone who is not Muslim. However, D.T visited Saudi Arabia and gave a speech about religion and peace in an attempt to overshadow his speech about Radical Islam.

2.5.4.2. Representation of Mexico and Mexicans

The table below classifies how D.T Frames the USA in opposition to Mexicans.

Tweet	Us	Them	Dates
4	they're bringing those problems with us.	They're not sending their best. People that have lots of problems. Bringing drugs. They're rapists. Some are good.	June, 2015
5	I would build a great wall I will have	Mexico pay for it	June, 2015

Table 5. The framing of Mexico and United State

As mentioned above, the forth speech is extracted from a speech given by D.T when he announced that he was running for candidacy in 2015. He spoke of the “them” alluding to Mexicans who cross borders illegally. He said they come with problems which endanger the public safety of the American citizens, because most of them are “rapists” and “drug dealers”. On the other hand, when he refers to the “us” by saying, “they're bringing those problems with us” meaning that the Mexicans, once in the USA, they affect all people. Eventually, he finishes by saying, some of these people are good referring to the Mexican audience in the room.

In the fifth sample, D.T promises his nation that, in order to stop undocumented immigrants from bringing problems to the USA, he would build a boarder wall, which he calls “great” wall. Here, he replaces “us” by “I” by stating, “I will build a wall” and “no body build walls better than me” by this, he speaks on the behalf of his nation and that denotes how power and authority is exercised: The kind of power that is generated by wealth, social status and certainly his position as a president. Moreover, he finishes with “I will have Mexico pay for it” As a direct and firm objective which also reflects the president’s ideology: nationalist patriotic views. As he puts it “MAGA” (make America great again) (Schoen, 2016)

2.5.4.3. Representation of Africans

Since the Candidacy speech, D.T made it clear that he plans for an anti-immigrant and anti-refugees policy. However, D.T also appears to have different views on African countries as he referred to them with racial words. The table below, is an example of such case.

Tweet	Us	Them	Dates
3	We having	all these people from shithole countries	Jan 11, 2018

Table 6. The framing of El Salvador, Haiti and African countries in Trump’s Discourse

D.T was having a discussion with lawmakers on the protection of immigrants from El Salvador, Haiti and some African countries. D.T was not welcoming the decision made by lawmakers that grants people coming from these three countries to enter the USA as refugees. In this regard, he framed those refugees as “people from shithole countries” By stating such words; he thinks that these countries are inferior not only to the U.S that is hosting them: This is a form of racism. Moreover, this controversial abusive language also appeared in many occasions when he described undocumented immigrants coming from Mexico as “rapists” and “drug dealers”

2.5.4.4. Representation of others in Trump's Discourse

This section of analysis is devoted to three tweets in which D.T used a recognizable racial language. The first one is his reply on a gang whose members killed a police officer. Second, is on online critics that devalued D.T's degree of intelligence (IQ). Whereas the third one is when D.T linked the race of an Asian girl to what sort of job she have. In addition, the main concern here is not on specific race but on how D.Ts language reflects his superiority and political power.

This table contains the remaining tweets in which D.T reflects others in an inferior way, or categorizes them according to their race:

Tweet	Us	Them	Dates
6	You wouldn't believe	how bad these people are These aren't people. These are animals	May 23, 2018
8	my I.Q. is one of the highest	losers and haters. You all know it. Don't feel so stupid or insecure	May 8, 2013
9	negotiating for me	Where are you from The pretty Korean lady	Jan 12, 2018

Table 7. The Framing of Others in D.T's Discourse

The seventh sample is a reply to journalists. D.T deliberately used the word "animals" to describe the "other": members of MS-13 gang who killed a police officer. After this, D.T received a massive criticism by journalists; who said, these are people, even if they commit murder, dehumanising them is an act of racism

Tweet number eight was dedicated to those who criticized D.T, before he was running for candidacy, he wrote few books on finance and business, and gave controversial speeches.

The latter made him central for criticism. As a result, D.T categorized himself as being genius and marginalized the rest of people who, as he thinks, are feeling “stupid”. Then he said, “it’s not your fault” meaning that “they” (critics) were born this way.

In the last reply, on the 12th of January 2018, D.T was being interviewed by an expert analyst of hostage situations who is an Asian woman. He Asked the analyst, “where are you from” she answered that she was from New York. D.T asked again, the analyst replied she was from Manhattan; then, she said that her parents are from North Korea. After that, D.T raised the question, “why the pretty Korean lady was not negotiating for me with North Korea?”

By this, when D.T kept on repeating his question, he denotes that to be a New Yorker, one has to be white. Furthermore, he also categorized her job based on her race, which might be considered as racism

2.6. Conclusion

The textual analysis of the target discourse of D.T has revealed a lot about his discourse practices. The study has shown that D.T uses simple sentence forms, negative adjectives and direct orders (imperatives) to illustrate his position of authority. Also, he employs certain adjectives and vocabulary to deliver and construct a picture of the others. Therefore, it has been identified that terminology as well as grammar forms and syntactic structures reflect racism in D.T’s discourse. This will be further discussed and examined in the third chapter, along with the ideological incentives underpinning D.T’s controversial statements.

CHAPTER THREE:

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the findings of the second chapter, in addition to the incentives that lie behind D.T's beliefs and ideology "Trumpism"; as it discusses his language in relation to racism. In addition, it attempts at explaining how racism, according to the results in the previous chapter, can be carried through D.T's discourse and providing examples that portray immigrants, muslims, black people and all those who oppose the president. Furthermore, it concludes with discussing how the media manages to be a tool of spreading hate and promoting falsified stereotypes.

3.2. Ideology Incentives

The feeling of superiority of the American populace can be traced back to the Second World War. America stood still and did not suffer much destruction as Europe did. Mainly, because of its geographical isolation and the fact that the USA ended the war with one single drop of a nuclear bomb. For this historical fact, the presidents of the USA had a strong feeling of dominance. Moreover, the central belief in Europe for many decades was the superiority of the white race above all other races.

D.T's sense of power and hatred stems strongly from the belief that characterized Europe for centuries: the dominance of the white race the so called "the Arian race". First, Islam and Muslims are always portrayed as Terrorists. What the media (journalism and social media) is attempting at doing is deform the face of Islam by covering issues like terrorism negatively. D.T does not utter the word Muslim without adding "radical Islam", "terrorists" or "Jihadists" (see chapter 2). This, however, could not keep the president from going to Saudi Arabia and giving a speech on how radical Islam should be suppressed and that all nations should seek peace. Many analysts asserted that D.T's goal is to drain the Middle East from wealth.

To put it mildly, Trumps ideology of hate speech and racism stems from one main belief which is the superiority of White America. In addition, as a promoter and facilitator to that, the

media takes huge part in spreading “Islamophobia”. For instance, Twitter, gives D.T a limited set of wording (around 140 characters limit) to voice his controversial ideas on Africans, Muslims, Mexicans or all those who do not agree with his policy.

3.2.1. Trump’s Ideology “Trumpism”

As the result from the analysis, D.T did not appear to be racist only, but also a promoter of violence to achieve what he believes to be the ultimate goal: “making America great again”. In addition, as we mentioned before, the followers of D.T do not believe that he has an ideology. However, D.T’s Ideology appears right from his discourse, which is Nationalism. Now, nationalism, in the Online Oxford Dictionary, “Advocacy of or support for the political independence of a particular nation or people.”(OD, 2019) This means that a person who is nationalist does what they can to establish peace and order and reach their goals. D.T rally is blocked by protests, Mexicans, Africans and Muslims.

Matt Yglesias (2016) has written that, D.T does have an ideology. He does have an agenda. The core of Trumpism is "a revived and unapologetic American nationalism, which will stand for American interests abroad while defending the traditional conception of the American nation at home." In addition, resembling other nationalists, D.T’s ideology lies only in “us” defeating “them”, by all means, even violence.

3.3. Racism in Trump’s Discourse

Racism is, perhaps, the clearest act of discrimination between different races. This phenomenon is easily spotted as it has a clear language including racist terminology and subliminal messages. As mentioned in the analysis, D.T’s language tends to lean forward a racist measures. For this, the language he uses is direct and free of euphemism. For instance, through media, he contributed to xenophobia: fear of other cultures and people. He shaped the image of refugees as “aliens” presuming that the case is a national concern. Johnson (2018,

p.19) asserts “racism [...] operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories”. That is to say, the sort of language and symbols D.T selects reflects to a high extent his political views that carry the theme of racism.

D.T was recorded on many occasions stating controversial statements. For instance, the former D.T insider says she has recordings of him using the "n" word. However, these allegations of racism but these allegations of racism are not the first time we've are not the first time we've heard this against this heard this against this president. In 1989, as NBC reported, Donald D.T stated, a well-educated black has a tremendous advantage over a tremendous advantage over a well-educated white in terms of the job market. He also said that black people might feel that they do not have a chance to work or make a better future. Furthermore, in 1970, in the 1970s the justice department claimed D.T's real estate company attempted at avoiding renting apartments to african-american people. In addition, former D.T's Casino workers claimed that he gave white workers a special treatment. Besides, in 1989, D.T himself urged the government to issue death penalty for five black and Latino teenagers who were guilty of raping a white woman, then after few years DNA test proved the five persons where not guilty. (Lockhart, 2018)

3.4. Anti- Immigrants Racism in Trump's Discourse

As seen in chapter two, D.T employs direct and controversial adjectives when he describes immigrants. In fact, one of his major plans is to ban immigration and maintain order and decrease the crime rate in USA that is caused mainly by illegal immigrants. Consequently, there is a direct link between D.T's plans to ban immigration and racism. Simply because when D.T addresses those undocumented immigrants he tends to put a separation between the “us” and “them”, the former is either the president himself or the USA as a whole, the latter usually is directed towards either Africans, Mexicans, Muslims or D.Ts adversaries.

3.4.1 Trump's Anti-Mexican Immigrants Racism

The second chapter's results showed that D.T is an anti-Immigrant president, at least when he regarded Mexicans as criminals and lawbreakers. He refer to the government of Mexico as "Mexico" he proceeds by stating, "they're not sending you" twice to show people that he is not against Mexicans, but rather against those who cross the boarders illegally. Then, he refers to undocumented immigrants as being responsible for bringing crime, not only that, but also as being rapists. Then, he finishes with assuming that some of those people are good ones. This was a major voting motive for his followers.

D.T also suggests that, in order to prevent illegal immigrants from crossing the US borders, he would build a wall in the boarders. He uses the word "great" to describe the wall then he also says, "and nobody builds walls better than me". This denotes how determined the president is to separate the US from Mexico. In addition, he says that, he will have Mexico pay for that wall; this expression "I will have" denotes that he will compel Mexico to pay for it.

One of the important findings, terms such as "Rapists", "losers" and "criminals" meets with racism measure. First because employing such terms reflect the ideology of the speaker as a person who is judging others and mainly overgeneralizing. Second, when a powerful and authoritative person such as the president of the USA uses these terms, that means the whole world would pays attention.

3.4.2 The Case of Radical Islam in Trump's Discourse

Another major element in D.T's speech is the radicalization of Islam: D.T and the media attempt at portraying and stereotyping Muslims into one picture which is "Radica Islam". His reply to Theresa May, on 29 November 2017, reflects how D.T recognizes islam. He said, "Destructive Radical Islamic Terrorism." However, more has to be clarified about radical Islam, and Islam, which is practices by peaceful Muslims around the globe and in the USA. Also,

before generalizing and accusing all Muslims of being radical Islamists, the president should first know what Islam is, and then put a strategy that screens out the radicalized people who commit crimes under the name of Islam and what radicalizes them.

3.4.3. Racism Against Africans in Trump's Discourse

The president promised his people to make America great again, he also said that things that make America weak is that people are afraid of saying what they think. He explained that people should be free to express their ideas. Because how else would he stop ISIS and crime organizations; however, the organized marches and protests against him made him furious to the extent that pushed On February 1 to make a promise to an angry crowd. You protect me, he said, and I will protect you. "If you see someone getting ready to throw a tomato, knock the crap out of them, would you? Seriously. Knock the hell out of them. I promise you I will pay for the legal fees. I promise." (Waldman, 2018)

D.T stating such discourse is but attempting to gain protection and promote violence and racism. Not long after that, the crowd kicked a black protestant out of the room and reporters report that the black person was punched on the face just the way D.T requested. Furthermore, it is hard in such situations not to call the president a "racist" person specially when he referred to African countries as "shithole" countries. Those who believe that D.T is not racism have a misconception to what racism is. Besides, if the president does not use the "n" word to refer to black, that does not mean he is not racist. Because (1) he asked lawmakers to allow people from Europe to come to USA, (2) he used aggressive terms such as, "beat" and (3) he believes that black people are more advantaged than white people.

3.4.4. Trump's Opponents in His Discourse

The president does not hold hatred only for people who stand in his way, but also for people who oppose him verbally. For instance, he said, "Sorry losers and haters, but my I.Q. is one of the highest -and you all know it! Please don't feel so stupid or insecure, it's not your fault" (Twitter) This clearly denotes that D.T's discourse is expressive to an extent that it reaches racism. Again, racism is not only limited to skin colour, but also to any description that seeks to categorize a special type of people in a shameful manner; showing that the us which in this case lies in the president and his followers. As a result, D.T categorized himself as being genius and marginalized the rest of people who, as he thinks, are feeling "stupid" then he said, "it's not your fault" meaning that you were born this way. To understand more, one has to dig deeper in D.T's Ideology.

3.5. Media and Stereotype

With the invention of Internet and social websites, the power of Mass media has grown significantly over the last decades. Van Dijk, for example, conducted a study in 1991; he found out that the media is the ultimate promoter to those who seek to spread a specific image about certain people. He said, "minority races are surreptitiously framed through disproportionately negative language in media discourse", a phenomenon Van Dijk calls "elite racism," wherein elites are in a position that "allows them to perpetuate racist views of the society at large" (Van Dijk, 1991, p.253)

Fundamentally, D.T utilized twitter as a tool to promulgate his national and patriotic views. First, D.T replies to those who criticize him through twitter in a very clear and authoritative manner. To illustrate, in May 2013, D.T tweeted to those who oppose him, "Sorry losers and haters, but my I.Q. is one of the highest"

Second, D.T's aims at preventing illegal immigrants from crossing the country, through the construction of a boarder wall between Mexico and the USA. He spread his ideas on twitter; "I would build a great wall [...] on our southern boarder"(Kessler, 2019). In addition to that, whenever he mentions that project he speaks of how Mexicans bring crime and drug with them. This is how the media stereotypes a particular group of people or race: whenever we heard of Mexicans, we tend to think of crime, drugs and corruption.

Third, This method of disfiguring the picture of the “them” have also been carried out with Muslims and Islam. Since the Incident of 9/11 and the famous George Bush speech on Muslims, the world has changed shaped another view on Islam. D.T uses the same technique of spreading hate and discrimination. He said, “I think Islam Hates us”. This shows that Muslims are people “spoken about” and portrayed how the media desires, but never “spoken to.” (Beydoun, 2018)

To put it briefly, the media is a powerful too through which nationalists like D.T who uses to portray their alleged enemies how he wants. Manipulating the public image and relating a negative denotation to “Islam, Muslims”, “Mexicans, and Mexico” and all those who intercept his path to reaching his racist desires: making “white” American great again.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the main findings of the research work, as it revealed that D.T uses the media to portray other races in the way he desires. In addition, it answered the main research question: to what extent D.T's tweet's contain racism. And showed that the president is indeed racist, as all the selected tweets contain terms that allude to discrimination specially when portraying Mexicans, Muslims and African countries. It, then, finished with approving the hypothesis of the study: D.T's discourse is characterized by Islamophobia, anti-immigration and anti-refugees positions; mainly, because of his dominant and authoritative behaviour.

General Conclusion

The present study has investigated the theme of racism in Donald Trump's tweets depending on critical discourse analysis as a methodological approach. The dissertation set three main objectives. The first objective is to shed light on how racism is implied in Trump's discourse. As for the second objective, the researcher attempted to reveal the incentives behind expressing racist thoughts. The third objective is to show how individuals such as "Muslims, Mexicans and Africans" are represented in the corpus of the study. This study is also based on Fairclough's model of media discourse that emphasizes the relation between language, society and power.

The textual analysis of the corpus has demonstrated that Trump's use of adjectives is not random, but holds meaning and ideology. For instance the repeated use of words "radical and terrorism" is frequent and collocates whenever Muslims are mentioned. His discourse and sentence forms are almost all short sentences; to be clear and direct and avoid misinterpretation, and because Twitter limits the number of used words. Besides, Trump's use of imperatives is more direct than indirect to indicate his place of power and authority.

According to the second chapter, it is shown that Trump's discourse contain racism to address those whom he believes to be undocumented immigrants as being the first cause of increasing crime rate in the USA. In order to prevent illegal immigrants from entering the US borders, he commence a project of building a wall in the boarders to separate between Mexico and America. In addition, Trump's view on Islam and Muslims have not changed through the last decades, as he and mass media still portray Muslims as "terrorists" and the Islam as "Radical Islam". Trump's aggressive behaviour promotes not only racism but also violence against all those who oppose him politically or verbally.

The third chapter delivers a discussion of the main findings: Trump's discourse is imbued with hate speech and racism, anti-immigrant policies and a reflection of his nationalist views of Making America Great Again (MAGA). In this chapter, further notes on the discourse of racism and how it stems from historical and racial factors have demonstrated D.T's views on muslims, Mexicans, and Africans. However, it is important to note that Trump's views are stereotyped among his supporters through the use of mass media.

For further studies in highlighting the theme of racism in individuals discourse, other approaches could also undertake that procedure. Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) is one example, in which the researcher does not only focus on the textual and linguistic elements (such as sentence forms, verbs, adjectives, semantics), but also regards the extra-linguistic elements such as hand gestures, eye movements and body language.

In short, the present work has examined the discourse of Donald Trump from a textual standpoint by analysing some of his tweets, which would uncover the racist and nationalist views and ideology lying under his careful choice of words. This study also shows the ideological incentives behind generating racist discourse. Finally, it approved the hypotheses of the study by stressing out the occasions in which Trump discourse reflected racism.

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Appendix

Donald Trump Tweets and speeches

1	“Another attack in London by a loser terrorist. These are sick and demented people who were in the sights of Scotland Yard. Must be proactive!”	12:42 PM Sep 15, 2017
2	“.@Theresa_May, don’t focus on me, focus on the destructive Radical Islamic Terrorism that is taking place within the United Kingdom. We are doing just fine!”	5:02 PM 29 Nov 2017
3	“Sorry losers and haters, but my I.Q. is one of the highest -and you all know it! Please don't feel so stupid or insecure, it's not your fault”	6:38 PM 8 May 2013
4	“I think hates us ... We can’t allow people coming into this country who have this hatred of the United States and of people that are not Muslim”	9 March 2016
5	“(…) 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.”	June 2015
6	“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”	June 2015
7	“You wouldn’t believe how bad these people are. These aren’t people. These are animals.”	23 May 2018
8	"Why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?"	11 Jan 2018
9	”Where are you from?”, “why the “pretty Korean lady” isn’t negotiating with North Korea on his administration’s behalf,”	12 Jan 2018