

**The Forging of a Brand Presidency: An analysis of  
Oratories by Donald Trump that Disrupted the Picture of  
Politics**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The 2016 election of Donald Trump, as America's first President without military or public office experience, was a surprise for most of America, as it represented a change to how voter's viewed politics. This research studies the business rhetoric, branding and marketing techniques used to support Trump's election campaign and proposes that his business approach is an important feature of Trump's campaign success. This thesis incorporates discourse analysis with textual analysis of a corpus of stump speeches selected from the Trump campaign. The analysis explores how Trump used business marketing techniques and rhetoric to connect him to the lower and middle-income voters to persuasively convince them that he understood their needs. The methodology embraces Kenneth Burke's Dramatistic Pentad (dramatism) to explore the construction and techniques of Trump's business branding and propaganda in his rhetoric. In pursuance of the idea of purpose in Burke's pentad, the study for this thesis intersects with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs as a generative marketing theory to underpin a more in-depth analysis of the notion of motive in Trump's speeches. The approach identifies ten stump speeches which focus on Trump's Make America Great Again movement toward neoliberalism and his grievances toward existing globalism policies of the United States government. This was used to identify if Trump's populist grievance driven marketing rhetoric could persuade the population to vote for him and be a repeatable process. It has been concluded that in campaigning this approach is successful and repeatable.

## **DECLARATIONS**

1. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.
2. This thesis is the result of my own investigations. Sources used are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references and a bibliography is appended.
3. I give consent for this thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>PGR</b>       | <b>Populist Grievance Rhetoric</b>            |
| <b>TA/CA</b>     | <b>The Apprentice/Celebrity Apprentice</b>    |
| <b>PC</b>        | <b>Political Correctness</b>                  |
| <b>MHN</b>       | <b>Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs</b>            |
| <b>CDA</b>       | <b>Critical Discourse Analysis</b>            |
| <b>GPR</b>       | <b>Grievance Populism Rhetoric</b>            |
| <b>MAGA</b>      | <b>Make America Great Again</b>               |
| <b>NAFTA</b>     | <b>North American Free Trade Agreement</b>    |
| <b>NYC</b>       | <b>New York City</b>                          |
| <b>ABC</b>       | <b>American Broadcasting Company</b>          |
| <b>CNN</b>       | <b>Cable News Network</b>                     |
| <b>PBS</b>       | <b>Public Broadcasting Service</b>            |
| <b>FRP</b>       | <b>Far-Right Populism</b>                     |
| <b>TIPI</b>      | <b>Ten Items Personality</b>                  |
| <b>TPP</b>       | <b>Trans-Pacific Partnership</b>              |
| <b>TTR</b>       | <b>type: token ratio</b>                      |
| <b>TC</b>        | <b>Thematic Concentration</b>                 |
| <b>GM</b>        | <b>Grammar of Motives</b>                     |
| <b>RM</b>        | <b>Rhetoric of Motives</b>                    |
| <b>MPC</b>       | <b>Multiculturalist Political Correctness</b> |
| <b>NPR</b>       | <b>National Public Radio</b>                  |
| <b>DNC</b>       | <b>Democratic National Committee</b>          |
| <b>RNC</b>       | <b>Republican National Committee</b>          |
| <b>Dramatism</b> | <b>Dramatistic Pentad</b>                     |

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## **Chapter One**

### **The Forging of a Brand Presidency: An Analysis of Oratorics by Donald Trump that Disrupted the Picture of Politics**

It was inevitable that, after years of questioning the US Government's national and foreign policies, as well as testing the waters of a presidential run, Trump would officially put himself forward as a candidate for the office of the presidency of the United States. On June 16, 2015, Donald Trump officially entered the crowded Republican party's primary for the presidency.

There were many people who felt that Trump was an outsider at best as he had no record of political experience other than donating money to politicians or his confrontations in dealing with politicians to build his next project. Trump expressed this relationship in his campaign announcement: 'I have watched the politicians, I have dealt with them all my life. They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance' (Diamond, 2015). Using his business acumen and wealth as proof of his ability to be a good president, he proclaimed his business success and his financial worth of \$8.7 billion dollars, remarking, 'That's the kind of thinking our country needs' (Diamond, 2015). Trump's answers in the first Republican debate demonstrated his personality, and highlighted how he was different to the prevailing political standards, highlighting how he intended to guide the direction of the United States. Apart from the politics, the 45<sup>th</sup> president will be remembered more for his divisiveness than his business success.

#### **Populist Grievance Rhetoric**

This thesis analyses a range of Trump speeches to help understand the factors that led to his election victory. A key aspect identified in this thesis was Trump's use of grievance driven populist rhetoric. Gadjanova's (2021) investigation into grievance dialogue in campaigns of presidential candidates of African countries of Ghana, Kenya, and Uganda helps to explain Trump's possible motive behind his use of grievance rhetoric in his 2016 campaign for the presidency. Gadjanova

argues that contenders to political office attempt to build a strong base by undermining the incumbent's platform. So, the 'challenger must bring up grievances related to the ethnic community symbolic concerns' and by emphasizing the grievances, they unite the audience and disrupt the status quo (2021:654-655). In Trump's campaign, the appeal was focused at the lower and middle-income audience in the form of safety on the streets, job creation, and preventing immigration as a way to change the status quo and motivate the people. In this campaign, Hillary Clinton was as close to being an incumbent official without being one. As a former part of President's Obama's Cabinet, a Democrat, and campaigning with President Obama's blessing, Clinton seemed the logical candidate for the presidency.

Edward Aspinall (2007) also addressed the use of grievance rhetoric considering it from the viewpoint of its relationship with natural resources and identity. He connected the Aceh conflict in Indonesia with the profiteering of the natural resources which started in 1976 and lasted 19 years resulting in violence incited by the central government's misuse of profits from the natural gas and oil revenues (Aspinall, 2007:952-954). Secondly, the grievance rhetoric highlighted the impact of new similar industries, which were polluting the land and causing health concerns as well as coming into the area without proper compensation to displaced landowners (2007:955). The third grievance theme identified by Aspinall was the role of the 'political entrepreneurs' of Indonesia who diminished the ethnic Acehnese leadership in their state thus fueling the ongoing violent conflicts (2007:958). The Indonesian government's control over the Acehnese resources and misuse of the funds, tied with the loss of their cultural identity was similar to Trump's anti-government grievance approach which focused on the disenfranchised middle-class. He emphasized his concern about the United States government's faulty trade agreements which are costing American jobs and displacing workers thereby creating hardships rather than benefits for the people. This was a form of rhetoric for which Trump was rhetorically and reputationally equipped through his many years as a real estate magnate first in New York City and then growing his brand around the world. This thesis will propose that this

Political Grievance Rhetoric (PGR) appealed to a population who wished for less government control, economic growth, more jobs, and distrusted the politicians who represented them.

Trump's campaign seemed to succeed by having identified the specific issues of the voters, and articulating this in his rallies by using populist grievance rhetoric (PGR) which appealed to and expressed the constituent's unhappiness with Washington DC politicians. Whether they were shouting to lock Clinton up, or build the wall, the attendees at the rallies seem to have a bond with Trump's rhetoric. This thesis will argue that this grievance rhetoric helped garner the pathos Trump needed to convince his audience that he was the candidate that would meet their needs. Aspinall (2007) argues that grievances are important to the 'integral framework' in which societal ideas of 'justice' and 'fairness' are built and understood (2007:957). This researcher aims to demonstrate that PGR was a specific feature of Trump's campaign speeches. During the first Republican debate on August 6, 2015, in Cleveland, Ohio, Trump's answers reflect his business persona and straight forward grievance approach to addressing the political issues facing the United States.

I think the big problem in this country is being politically correct. I've been challenged by so many people, and I don't frankly have time for total political correctness. And to be honest with you, this country doesn't have time either. This country is in big trouble. We don't win anymore. We lose to China. We lose to Mexico both in trade and at the border. We lose to everybody.

(*Washington Post*, Trump, August 6, 2015, GOP debate)

His unscripted response to a question concerning his remarks toward women reflected his, *I am going to be me*, attitude toward this political debate. The reply implied that the situation in America, and its trade agreements, are more important than being politically correct, and why would he want to talk about the negative aspect of himself, as to that of this country's political failings?

What I would like to see is a private system without the artificial lines around every state. I have a big company with thousands and

thousands of employees. And I am negotiating in New York or in New Jersey or in California, I have one bidder. Nobody can bid. You know why? Because insurance companies are making a fortune because they have control of the politicians.

*(Washington Post, Trump, August 6, 2015, GOP debate)*

In that Republican debate, the issue of a single-payer health care insurance system for the nation arose. The concern of the issue was that a government-controlled system typically led to underfunding even if it was more efficient. Trump argued against the politics of the system from his personal experience of trying to offer insurance for his employees (*Washington Post, Trump, 2015, GOP debate*). His grievance was with the politics of health insurance accessibility not the actual single-payer system. He also managed to mention his success as a businessman not as a politician in his assertion. With every response to a question, Trump attacked the politics behind the decisions of the Washington DC government which benefits either the big corporations and/or the politicians. Yet, he admitted ironically to donating monies to politicians when confronted by Senator Rand Paul on buying politicians. ‘Well, I have given him plenty of money’ (*Washington Post, Trump, 2015 GOP debate,*) in that line, Trump branded the presidential candidate Rand Paul, as one of the swamp politicians in Washington DC. His personal practice of donating to campaigns that benefited his businesses proved to his blue-collar audience the need to drain the swamp.

McCammon (2016) noted when Donald Trump announced his decision to enter the presidential race the ‘political observers’ mocked the business mogul while considering this move as nothing more than a publicity ploy (2016). Other Republican candidates such as Senator Romney, the 2012 Republican nominee opposing Obama, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, Ohio Governor John Kasich called on other Republicans and their constituents to reject Trump as their candidate to represent the Republican party for the presidency (2016). Furthermore, top Republicans Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and House Speaker Paul Ryan both had expressed their disapproval of Trump’s continual racist and

chauvinist rhetoric (Ladd, 2016). Trump's uniqueness is he does not allow political correctness to run his campaign.

This opposition did not stop Trump who delivered a speech at the National Press Club in Washington DC, April 27, 2016, which reflected his anti-political approach through grievance populist rhetoric against America's current trade agreements by the above politicians.

We're also going to have to change our trade, immigration, and economics policies to make our economy strong again. And to put Americans first again. This will ensure that our own workers, right here in America, get the jobs and higher pay that will grow our tax revenues, increase our economic might as a nation, and make us strong financially again.

(Trump, 2016, *New York Times*)

Remnick described the Trump style for the campaign, and his first 100 days in office, as a 'politics of resentment' created by his 'language, tone, personal behavior' as well as his policies (2017). He credited Trump's success to *The Apprentice* and its 14 years of 'corporate dominance' to sharpen his distinctive showmanship to connect to the mass audience (ibid.). His grievances with the political decisions made by politicians span multiple arenas of the problems facing the United States. As shown with the policy issues, Trump linked the pronoun *our* to his populism grievance approach to demonstrate his not being a politician. He would focus on the need for American job creation and for more money to go with those jobs to the blue-collar factory working class. Continued exploration of Trump's populism grievance rhetoric (PGR) will be undertaken throughout this thesis, particularly in the analysis of his campaign speeches.

### **Celebrity**

Trump's national reach as a celebrity from hosting his reality shows *The Apprentice* and *Celebrity Apprentice (TA/CA)* for 14 years using the show ending phrase 'You're Fired!' needed to be considered in his unforeseen 2016 election win. For example, Gabriel, Paravati, Green, and Flomsbee (2018) determined that

a ‘parasocial relationship’: a ‘one-sided psychological bond with specific media figures’ real or fictional, formed with the viewers of *The Apprentice* and *Celebrity Apprentice*. Their research determined that viewers of *TA/CA* developed a positive psychological image and bond with Trump through watching his television shows, and the more they watched the more the parasocial bond grew (2018:299). They noted that ‘political affiliation, income, or education’ were insignificant as determinators of this developed trust, and the audience developed a trust in Trump’s ability to make tough unbiased decisions (2018:302). This trust developed through continued viewing of his reality show with Trump calmly listening to reasons for actions and weighing the results of the contestants and then announcing; ‘You’re fired!’ This parasocial connection led them to trust Trump’s promises, overlook his undesirable comments, and generally accept Trump from their view of him on the *TA/CA* programs with little political party association as a consideration (2018:303-304). In summary, their research suggested that 14 years of Trump indoctrination through his reality shows reflect strong decision making and leadership by Trump. This broad base of followers was able to easily accept the PGR used in his campaign, because he had proven himself capable through the *TA/CA* reality world he helped create.

Axelrod (2016) noted another research poll by the media planning and analytics company, AMG, of ‘400 registered Republicans’ in September of 2016 which determined that Trump received a boost in the political polls because of his *TA* audience. One question specifically addressed the respondents viewing habits concerning the *TA/CA* (2016). Of the respondents, Trump’s approval rating was 62% among the *Apprentice* audience, whilst with the non-viewing *TA/TC* audience he had a 37% approval rating (ibid.). This suggested that Trump used a unique tool to build a political base. The *TA/CA* one hour reality shows averaged 10 million viewers a week (Maglio, 2016). This allowed Trump to look and play the part of a successful businessman, and to be himself while he built a national connection with his audience and demonstrated his ability as the discerning businessman.

Trump's popularity generated by the shows displayed itself in promotional sales. In 2004, Bloomingdale's of Manhattan, New York, sold out of their inventory of 300 'You're Fired' t-shirts in three hours according to Hecht, owner of the Project E sportswear company (Walton, 2004). The catchphrase, 'You're fired' was so identified with the show that Trump sought a trademark on the phrase for 'games, playthings, and casinos' (Vincent, 2004). Research demonstrated that fourteen years of hearing Trump saying you're fired to the likes of Ivy League university graduates hoping for a job with Trump Enterprises or to celebrities hoping to gain more notoriety and money for their charities continued to endear Trump to the working middle class.

Figure 1: LOWELL, MA - JANUARY 4: Robin Roy screams as she has her poster signed by U.S. Republican Presidential Candidate Donald Trump during a campaign rally at the UMass Tsongas Center in Lowell, Mass., Jan. 4, 2016.



Boston Globe/Boston Globe via Getty Images

(Photo by Keith Bedford/The Boston Globe via Getty Images)

Retrieved from: <https://www.chron.com/news/slideshow/30-images-showing-what-a-Trump-rally-looks-like-131110.php>

Trump's power of celebrity allowed him to use the media for free publicity. Whether good or bad publicity, his name in front of millions every week, in every form of media for free, had a positive effect on his campaign. The notoriety of Trump, as a television personality with his naysaying against politicians and their programs, made entertaining news stories. Even Trump believed this persona of

himself, which caused his own firing from NBC who had the broadcasting of *TA*. In 2015, when riding down the golden escalator of Trump Tower announcing his run for the presidency, he made the error of making derogatory comments about the Mexican people during his announcement for the presidency (Keefe, 2015). Even after NBC let him go, Trump's ego was not going to change. He responded to the firing over his comments about Mexican immigrants by saying, 'I am going to be Trump': 'NBC is weak, and like everybody else is trying to be politically correct (PC). That is why our country is in trouble' (Barajas, 2015). This response to those watching *TA/CA* would be expected and appreciated. The way in which Trump reacted differently than the standard politician will be examined more closely in the analysis of Trump's rally speeches in this thesis. The calling out of the media and the nation being in a crisis fits voter's parasocial image of Trump's ability. That kind of retort by Trump led this researcher to examine his PGR, and how he convinced 70 million to vote for him.

### **Trump Being Himself**

Silverman, Weaver, and Jopson (2017) suggest Trump was unlikely to change his bombastic character, as they compared him to previous presidents who 'kept a low profile' when finished with a long campaign (2017). They list several of Trump's 'letting it all hang out' comments continuing after the election: He expressed admiration for Russian President Putin, dislike for Academy Award-winner Meryl Streep, made charges of 'pharmaceutical companies' of 'getting away with murder' with price gouging, and the BuzzFeed website 'a failing pile of garbage' (2017). Despite the uncouth dialogue, Silverman et al. suggest that this was what his supporters wanted from their new president (ibid.). The size of Trump's rallies during his campaign indicated that many accepted the unfiltered grievance rhetoric that he interjected throughout his speeches. In a 2017 interview on *Newsmax TV*, Ken Blackwell was asked about Trump's responses. Trump's former domestic policy advisor stated, 'whether it's right or wrong, he does not apologise' (Beamon, 2017). Trump built a business empire, being himself and becoming president did not change that part of his character. As the decisive



persona lived or created by the host of *TA/CA*, (2018:302), he believed the image of himself as much as the audience who watched weekly did. Bob (2016) noted former Mayor of New York City Giuliani's, response when asked about the handling of Trump's many 'controversial statements' if he became president. The concern came about when Trump was stating he would be the 'neutral broker' between Israel and the Palestinians which upset Israel (2016).

He'll be ready to do it, I've known him a long time. He won't like me saying this, but he is a man prone to exaggerate the way that he speaks, which is not necessarily the way he acts.

(Giuliani cited in Bob, 2016)

Trump, the Republican candidate whose foreign experience consisted of business dealings in over 24 countries, made a Trumpian statement. He was a negotiator. In the view of the media and politicians listening, he overstepped his expertise with his ego, but Trump is speaking to his experience (Massoglia and Evers-Hillstrom, 2019). Research shows that Trump 'being himself' was to be expected as Healy and Burns (2016) demonstrate in the ongoing examples from his rallies starting with an August 2016 rally in Ohio. Trump described the metropolises of the United States as 'war zones' and later in Mississippi, labeled Hillary Clinton a 'bigot', and then in Tampa, Florida, when he left the script it caused him to say the wrong words (2016). Even though Trump did not care about or use political correctness, his popularity grew in the polls.

Campos-Flores (2016) noted another Trump 'being himself' moment at the Miami, Florida rally in September 2016. He had planned to bring a message to unify the minorities, but again he deviated from the planned script instead and suggested Clinton's security should quit carrying firearms, since she was for gun control and let's see what happens to her (2016). This incited a harsh response from the Clinton campaign for inciting violence. Trump, being Trump, created bad press but gained himself free press coverage because of the language he used.

J. Johnson's (2016) research of Trump's Manheim, Pennsylvania, rally shows that he gave a 'nine sentence' response to Clinton's comments on many of the millennials who supported Sanders to be her Democratic opponent (2016). Trump not surprisingly went off script. It took 25 minutes to read nine lines on Clinton as Trump left the script to: mock Bernie Sanders, imply Clinton was crazy, criticize the *New York Times* for receiving his '1995 tax returns', and remind the audience to watch voting areas to make sure the Democrats did not cheat (2016) before finishing the nine sentences. Controlling Trump's remarks on the campaign does not prove possible. Trump had been saying whatever he wanted for many years, and running for president did not change that. These points will be explored further in this thesis in Chapters Five and Six, demonstrating how Trump continued to work his campaign differently from a typical politician. The research aims to show how Trump's audience consisted of many loyal *TA/CA* followers who heard drain the swamp, more jobs, security, and fewer illegal immigrants and responded positively to this by electing him president. The examination of the grievance populism rhetoric will demonstrate just how he convinces the public to vote for him.

### **Contribution**

Knowing the numbers of viewers for the *TA/CA* was common knowledge in the United States, as reality shows were not going to be renewed if their viewership went down. With that kind of audience nationwide, it was not unreasonable for Trump to have thousands of attendees at his rallies. Academics, political pundits, and journalists are still trying to determine how Trump accomplished what seemed improbable, becoming the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States. Hall, Goldstein, and Ingram (2016) suggest Trump's 'comedic representations of his opponents' in which he used gestures to visualize the other candidates was important (2016:73). Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck (2017) argue that a referendum on personal 'identity-framing' as Trump concentrated on the 'racial' and 'ethnic' feelings made the difference in the win (2017:35). Morgan and Shanahan attributed extensive time

watching of television as leading to an ‘authoritarian mindset’ that led the populus to vote for Trump (2017:425).

Trump’s reputation from his reality shows, *TA/CA*, made the news of his entrance into the political world newsworthy for the networks. Tumulty, Rucker, and Gearan (2016) liken Trump’s victory to the nationalist movement spreading throughout other nations, including the Brexit vote in the United Kingdom, to leave the European Union. Trump’s victory was an unexpected anomaly which failed to follow the typical structure of a political campaign while uniting millions of ‘aggrieved Americans’ desiring to dismiss the status quo (2016). Trump did this by increasing the awareness of the injustices of job losses and a failing economy caused by the current administration (ibid.). Others in the media suggested the emotional appeal of Trump’s grandiose populist rhetoric reached out to the bitterness held by the disenchanted voters (Arkin and Siemaszko, 2016; Berenson, 2016; Roberts, Siddiqui, Jacobs, Gambino, and Holpuch, 2016). For example, Arkin and Siemaszko contended Trump’s blend of ‘economic populism’ and off-handed bluster echoed the feelings of middle-class workers disenchanted with globalization (2016). This is echoed by Berenson’s highlighting how Trump stayed with the issues of immigration, Iran, and the bad foreign trade agreements in his stump speeches (2016), while Roberts Siddiqui, Jacobs, Gambino, and Holpuch are blunter in stating that his unconventional policy arguments opened up and exploited the long held anti-government animosity (2016) the peoples were tolerating.

Despite the merit of these approaches, this thesis aims to look more deeply at the meaning and motive within the grievance populist rhetoric Trump chose in his campaign speeches. It was for this reason former literary critic Kenneth Burke’s, *A Grammar of Motives (GM)* dramatism was chosen as a framework (1969a [1945]). Trump was not a politician. Trump’s claim to fame was his business dealings. He was a man who went into the construction business in suburbia New York City (NYC) with his father and turned it into condominium towers downtown NYC and became a billionaire by 34. He had experience of significant

losses in the casino sector. The casino deals of the early 1990s were proof that not all of his business adventures were successful: For example, *Business Insider* noted that Trump's 'casino companies appeared before bankruptcy court four times' (Berke, 2016). Further, the 'profits consistently fell behind' the competition (2016). Yet, Trump was able to come back to his former business glory.

According to Benjamin and McKerrow (1994) an oration style that advocates action motivates people to follow the speaker's lead (1994: 172). They determine that a spirited, powerful style is necessary when one implores a 'course of action' and concluded that the rhetoric filled with figurative language is more memorable, besides being persuasive (ibid.). The purpose of the 'action-oriented style' was that it attempts to emphasise the reasons for the results of employing the suggested action (ibid.). With this concept in mind, this thesis investigated how Trump swayed the public, how he convinced them that he could meet their needs, and how he used his marketing and business techniques as persuasion tools in his stump speeches to accomplish his neoliberalism desire of lowering trade barriers and increasing free-market capitalism expressed in his slogan to *Make America Great Again*.

The decision to use a textual analysis methodology was that Burke's dramatism provided the opportunity to use Burke's idea of the pentad as a structure for breaking down and analysing the sentences of Trump's speeches. This facilitated the discovery of underlying meanings, enabling a fresh approach for exploring and understanding how this reality show host/businessman appealed to audiences in a political arena. In addition to Burke, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (MHN) (2013 [1943]) was also used as an analytical structure. The MHN model is commonly used in communications, business, and marketing textbooks and research by academics around the world. Similarly, business professionals have been using the MHN as a marketing instrument to help develop techniques to influence consumer's decisions and communications have also used it for teaching persuasive speaking for many years (Larson, 2001; Groucutt, 2005;

Gregory, 2013). For this reason, MHN was determined to be the best means for intertwining with dramatism to measure Trump's persuasive rhetoric. These concepts will be examined further in Chapter Five.

The focus of this thesis is to analyse Trump's 2016 campaign's branding and marketing underpinned by grievance populism rhetoric to determine how he persuaded over 70 million voters to elect a political novice to the highest office in the United States. The original contribution is the categorizing of Trump's rhetoric in his campaign speeches in the conceptualized union of two theories, that of Kenneth Burke's dramatism and to intertwine MHN to understand the purpose of Trump's populist grievance rhetoric (PGR).

In this attempt, the thesis will address specific marketing tools of branding, persuasion, emotion, and a business motif. The connection between the Trump business marketing and PGR throughout the corpus of the ten speeches selected will be closely studied.

### **The Media**

The nature of Donald Trump's election was a challenge to political ideology that political offices are for politicians alone. The media gave Trump little chance of garnering the following he needed to participate in the primaries, overcome the Republican party objections, or any ability to keep up with his well-known Democratic opponent Secretary Hillary Clinton. Headlines and opening lines revealed the media's opinion on Trump: *Diamond* wrote, 'Donald Trump, the real-estate mogul, reality television star, and hair icon, today announced' he is running for president (2015). *The New York Times* headlines 'Donald Trump, Pushing Someone Rich, Offers Himself' (Burns, 2015). *The Wall Street Journal* headline, 'Donald Trump Vows to Disrupt Crowded GOP Presidential Race' (Epstein and Haddon, 2015). The headlines from major outlets and comments reflected the attitudes and opinion of Trump's entering the presidential race.

Newt Gingrich explained how Trump's ability to use the media to his advantage comes from his years in business and those 14 years producing and hosting *The Apprentice*.

Papers must fill pages daily, cable news needs material hourly, web-based news outlets need content by the minute. So, what was the perfect day for Trump on the campaign? He would wake up and tweet—speaking directly to millions of supporters. That would kick off the news day across the country.

(Gingrich, 2017:18)

This thesis explores some of the ways in which Donald Trump's business approach to his presidential campaign was unique in history, for example, he announced his entrance into the presidential race from Trump Tower, while most of the past candidates have used an official symbolic setting for such an announcement. Trump was determinedly different, using the golden escalator in Trump Tower as a symbolic backdrop, and branding every strong contending opponent by creating an associational triggering mechanism to a negative in their character. Trump seemed to have lowered the standard of professionalism while raising the bar on personal marketing. The analysis in this thesis will interrogate how he embodied the success he promoted in his neoliberalism thinking and business dealings and encouraged voters to follow it. Berenson notes that Trump began his speeches emphasising his abilities as a successful businessman and his standings in the polls. He was thus declaring the audience winners as well by supporting him for the presidency (2016). Diamond also reveals Trump's self-promotion highlighting how when he announced he was entering the presidential campaign Trump stated that he was: 'the most successful person ever to run for the presidency, by far, ... owning a Gucci store that is worth more than Romney' and his fortune (Diamond, 2015). That Gucci store existed in the lobby of New York City's Trump's Tower. Part of the garish self-marketing was to remind people of his success that can be theirs if they choose to believe and vote for Trump.

The media's opinion of the new president-elect Donald Trump was reflected in the following November 9, 2016, election articles' negative descriptions of Trump's victory over Hillary Clinton. These embody the negative perceptions of the other half of the population who backed Secretary Hillary Clinton which added to Trump's expectation—defying victory. The media he declared so often to be fake news did little to mask their sentiments toward Trump's election: The headlines voicing shock of his victory demonstrate this despite the vast media coverage of his campaign; they did not expect Trump to win. The news titles shout Upset, as the business entrepreneur and former game show host was declared the president-elect of the United States (Arkin and Siemaszko, 2016; Johnson, 2016). The *BBC News* in Washington D.C. captioned their article 'Popular Revolution' in expressing the moment so many were not expecting (Zurcher, 2016). The 'real estate scion turned reality star' voiced the *National Public Radio* (NPR) news outlet (C. Johnson, 2016), while *Time* addressed him as the 'reality television star and political neophyte' (Berenson, 2016). *Washington Post* wrote a '70-year-old celebrity businessman' who has no political experience (Tumulty, Ruckner, and Gearan, 2016), followed by the *National Broadcasting Corporation's* (NBC) declaration of the 'Manhattan mogul and reality TV star' with no political or military experience (Arkin and Siemaszko, 2016). While *The Guardian* simply labeled Trump the 'Republican nominee' with a 'record of racist and sexist behavior' (Roberts, Siddiqui, Jacobs, Gambino, and Holpuch, 2016). These labels only amplified the discord in American society and support the necessity to closely examine the rhetoric this businessman employed to win with the odds so much against the likelihood of his even going beyond the presidential preliminaries against mostly seasoned politicians.

Trump used his business style rhetoric to disrupt the picture of politics for the presidency of the United States. This thesis aims to determine the implications of Trump's brand of campaign rhetoric to influence a large enough constituency to bring about his election to the presidency of the United States.

## Demographic of Trump Voters

An investigation into the demographic of people based on income, race, and education who voted for Donald Trump proves helpful in understanding the impact of his rhetoric. For instance, Kochhar of the Pew Research Center determines the following median income for a ‘three-person household’ in his September 2016 report on income to be:

- Upper-income \$187,872
- Middle-income \$78,442
- Lower-income \$25,624

The ranges for each level of income for each is:

- Upper-income greater than \$135,600
- Middle-income \$45,200 to \$135,600
- Lower-income less than \$45,200

(Kochhar, Pew Research Center, 2018:6)

The following research showed Trump received more votes in the 30,000-to-100,000-dollar yearly income range. Doherty, Kiley, and Johnson (2018), of the PEW Research Center, released their November report on the profile of 3,014 validated voters serving as a test group for determining the American voter’s demographic in the election (Doherty, Kiley, and Johnson, 2018:11). The research study sample established that Trump led in the percentage of voters within the \$30,000 to \$99,999 income range which encompasses much of the lower-income to a large portion of the middle-income voters (Doherty, Kiley, and Johnson, 2018:24). Furthermore, these researchers revealed that 63% of these were non-college white voters, 26% were college white voters and 7% some college non-white with 4% college non-white voters, thus establishing Trump’s voter base is largely the white lower to middle-income (Doherty, Kiley, and Johnson, 2018:14). This supported the assertion that Trump's business and marketing strategies and the use of dynamic figurative language provides the attraction to a vast number of



middle-class constituents. The underlying corpus for this study consisted of 10 speeches presented by Trump in his campaign from June 2016 to November 2016 that represent five must win states to win the electorate.

### **Influences**

An examination into the influences in Trump's past is useful as part of the investigation into the rhetoric behind Trump's personal success. Specifically, Trump's monograph *The Art of the Deal* (1987) is a useful indicator of his business philosophy. Trump's association with the motivational speaker and Reverend Norman Vincent Peale's positive thinking also helps to reveal the influences of that success. In addition, Trump's media interviews in the decades prior to running for President, reveal his brash business persona and his latent political opinions. These interviews shed further light on Trump's business philosophy behind his PGR.

These elements which influenced Trump's success are used in the thesis to help understand and demonstrate the how, whys and ways in which Trump's past influenced his rhetoric as he attempted to market his presidential bid to a divided nation. For instance, in his book *The Art of the Deal*, Trump told of going to the work sites with his father, who built homes and apartment buildings in the outer boroughs of New York City for the lower and middle-income families, where he was introduced to the finer points of cost management and working with contractors (Trump, 1987:76). While still in college, he invested with his father in a 1200-unit apartment complex in Cincinnati, Ohio that was in foreclosure by the Federal Housing Authority (Trump, 1987:81). In the next several years after remodeling and proper marketing, the project prospered, and they were able to sell the property for twelve million dollars doubling their original investment (Trump, 1987:91).

With this, his first major success, the influence of his father on the young Donald Trump's desire for more and bigger accomplishments were aided by his attendance at Peale's church. Murphy-Gill spoke of Donald Trump's close

relationship with Peale since his attendance at the age of 28. Peale, known for many positive thinking books particularly *The Power of Positive Thinking*, preached that a strong belief in following Jesus Christ could result in monetary and material prosperity (Murphy-Gill, 2017:3). In Gwenda Blair's (2000) biography of the Trump family, she also noted Peale's influence on the Trump's business adventures and success and Peale's presiding over Donald Trump's first marriage (Blair, 2000:301).

### **Interviews / the Grievance Rhetoric Begins**

For an insight into Trump's neoliberalist views and grievance rhetoric an examination of his interviews was helpful. For instance, in his 1980 interview with Rona Barrett (1966 – 1986), a groundbreaking TV & entertainment industry reporter of NBC's *Today's Show*, as a new billionaire, he was asked if it was easier to become a millionaire than it has been? Trump's answer was 'I really do ... I think it largely has to do with incentive and drive and enthusiasm' (Barrett, Trump, 1980:3). When later asked what he had brought to New York City, he stated 'thousands of jobs' and an industry of building while bringing the contentment of home ownership with good paychecks (Barrett, Trump, 1980:30). Again, he demonstrated the viability of capitalism as an answer to the needs of the people. Trump also stated his grievance with globalization and how the country was handling foreign affairs with Iran when he was questioned by Barrett on what he would do to make America perfect? He suggested with legitimate leadership the country would be respected and Iran would not have taken American hostages. (Barrett, Trump, 1980:33-34). In April 1988, Trump told Oprah Winfrey, on the *Oprah Show* why he had taken out a full-page letter to the American public in three major newspapers expressing what was wrong with the United States foreign policy (Winfrey, 1988).

In 1987, Trump ran a newspaper ad titled, 'There's nothing wrong with America's Foreign Defense Policy that a little backbone can't cure' (Ben-Meir, 2015), which reflected Trump's attitude and personality. He had no problem attacking

America's favorite President to this point while he reflected on the negative effects of globalization (Winfrey, 1988). Other interviews from the 1980's to 1999 will reflect Trump's endeavors that coincide to his grievance rhetoric with the political state of America.

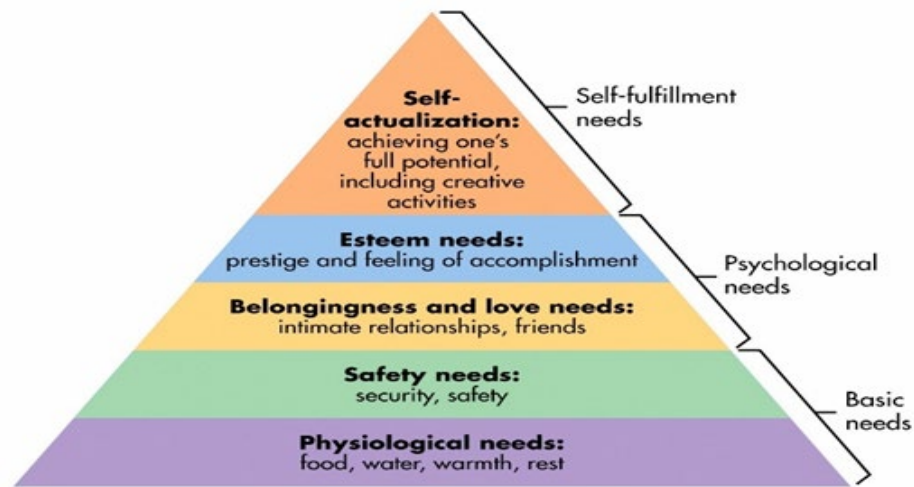
### **Burke and Maslow Underpin the Motives**

This thesis employed Kenneth Burke's (1969a) dramatic pentad (dramatism) approach to chart the textual analysis of Donald Trump's campaign speeches unfolding the symbolic meaning of his rhetoric. It also revealed the techniques of his neoliberal marketing and grievance rhetoric by using Abraham Maslow's (2013) psychological theory of *Human Motivation* in revealing the needs of the people in the purpose portion of the dramatism as seen in the Appendices. This methodology, made clear in Chapter Five, allowed textual analysis of a specific corpus of Trump's oratories to unfold the connection between Trump's rhetoric and his business background.

Kenneth Burke's precepts of dramatism were used as a unique way to adapt typical discourse research methods to effectively uncover Trump's success – a process which required understanding his performance as both a political and business campaigner. The dramatism promoted a substantial interpretation of the neoliberalist push that revealed a PGR, which in turn persuaded a disenchanted constituency. The dramatism supplied a system for interpreting motive behind Trump's action within his rhetoric and is tested here to gauge his persuasiveness in 'the scene' (the environment in which the speaker operates). To underpin the purpose of dramatism in measuring the effectiveness of Trump's rhetoric, the inclusion of MHN provided clarity to 'the why'. This was accomplished by establishing the needs that Trump proposed to his audience in his PGR. The usage of MHN in the marketing world created an effective tool for underpinning the dramatism analysis of Trump's rhetoric. An in-depth explanation is in Chapter Five.

Figure 2: Hierarchy of Needs

Retrieved from: <https://sites.psu.edu/rclerin/2015/04/10/hierarchy-of-needs/>



As far as can be established, the implementation of Burke’s dramatism to test Trump’s motives and rhetoric in his campaign’s neoliberalism push for America is original research. As much as can be determined, no other published work to date has attempted a thorough interpretation of a collection of Trump’s campaign stump speeches to illuminate how his rhetoric utilized a focus on neoliberalism to reach the unhappy middle-class. Furthermore, no other investigation of Trump campaign speeches united dramatism with MHN to identify the purpose of Trump’s motives in the contextual examination.

### Thesis Structure

This thesis examined the business and marketing rhetoric in Trump’s campaign speeches, and how these could be connected to the persuasive development of his neoliberalism business approach to the 2016 presidential election. To develop a thorough investigation and comprehension of Trump’s rhetoric, the examination considered a variety of resources and concepts from fields of communications, marketing, interviews, and politics.

Chapter Two, *Trump as a Business Brand*, explores how Trump’s ideology was influenced through the book *The Power of Positive Thinking*. It also presents

evidence through interviews from the 1980's to 1999 of Trump's neoliberal longings. It further provides evidence of Peale's influence on Donald Trump's, 'say it and it is' philosophy (Merrin, 2019:212). It then considers the dissatisfaction that Trump has with American politicians' handling of US trade agreements and globalisation. Evidence of how his hosting the *TC/CA* reality shows built the Trump Brand is explored and how these aid or hinder his efforts to become president. It also demonstrates, through using Burke's dramatism, the neoliberalism emphasis in his campaign and the way he uses his authority to mobilise his audience's frustration with the status quo.

Chapter Three, *A Notion of Rhetoric: Looking into the Art of Persuasion and Politics*, first examines how other researchers have managed Burke's theories in relation to exploring techniques of motive and purpose in oration. Kenneth Burke (1969a) builds on the assertion that there is more than denotation in the usage of words, arguing that environment and action is necessary for audiences to fully comprehend the connotation. Then dramatism with motives and ratios are explained through considering how various scholars have used Burke as a structure for research. The intertwining of MHN with Burke's dramatism is developed as is the use of dramatism's agency as a method for understanding Trump's rhetoric.

Chapter Four, *The Academic Debate of Politics, Rhetoric and Trump*, introduces the literature review that identifies the gap in research and establishes how this thesis contributes to the academic debates through the thesis' two major themes. Firstly, the thesis argues that Donald Trump's rhetoric in the 2016 campaign for the presidency of the US can be designated as populist grievance rhetoric, that is objecting to policies and trade agreements of the past and current administrations that are leading to the greater globalization of the United States. Secondly, it asserts that Donald Trump applied a persuasive business marketing and branding approach to the extent that it aided the election of the first president without a political or military background. The literature review recognises the different approaches to textual and discourse analysis as applied to Trump and his

campaign orations covering: Political Speech Making, which introduces the importance of body language and word choice for politicians, Populism as a Form of Persuasion, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) pronominal usage, Personality and Politics of Trump, Political Branding, Public Sphere and Political Function, The Visual Persuasion of Rhetoric, Emotion or Grievance Rhetoric a Consideration in Persuasion, Peale's Influence, and Trump's interviews reflecting his dissatisfaction with politicians. The literature review examines the investigations of scholars of visual persuasion in literal and figurative imagery as a persuasive tool on audiences. With the Trump Brand being an important tool in Trump's campaign, the study of the brand and branding in the realm of marketing was necessary for analysing the effect of Trump's rhetoric. Then the review considers scholarly theories to the importance of emotion in the field of persuasion and politics. The literature review finishes with a scrutiny of Trump interviews from 1980 to 1999 in which he expresses his dissatisfaction with the political policies of current and past administrations. The review also starts with the original contribution that the research adds to the academia of Trump's rhetoric and the debate concerning Trump's disruption of the picture of politics.

Chapter Five. *Methodology: The Means of Interpreting Trump's Rambling Rhetoric* reveals the methodology by first looking at CDA. The pronominal aspect of CDA will be interlaced with Burke to assist in understanding Trump's rhetoric. The chapter explains CDA and finally Kenneth Burke's dramatism with an intertwining of MHN as the best choice for Trump's over-the-top style of rhetoric. The chapter features Burke's dramatism as it allows for interpreting Trump's motives and facilitates the proportioning of the speeches into the five areas of the pentad for an accurate textual analysis.

Chapter Six, *Make America Great Again: Trump Election Speeches*, summarises the analysis of Trump's stump speech in politics as it relates to the rhetoric Trump manipulates to demonstrate his character and his issues in the campaign. It also probes the underlying grievance issues that Trump finds in globalism as he markets neoliberalism to resolve America's problems. These themes are revealed

through using the whole of Burke's dramatism in conjunction with MHN interlacing with CDA for a refined study of the pronominals of Trump's rhetoric in his campaign speeches (as displayed in the analysis chart in the appendices).

Chapter Seven, *Choice Words and Polarising Propaganda: Trump's Branding of Hillary Clinton*, discusses the brand that Hillary Clinton builds for herself through the years of politics with her husband and of her own political career and the history of Trump and the Clintons connection before this campaign. The chapter explores the theory behind the science of branding and symbolic word choice which facilitates the propaganda Trump uses as persuasion. Burke's dramatism with MHN is used to help analyse Trump's use of symbolic representations of his opponent using branding, figurative language, and propaganda to define Hillary Clinton in a way which was effective in swaying the public's opinion.

Chapter Eight, *I'm the most successful person to run for the presidency, by far. Discussion and Conclusions*, brings together the primary findings of the research to explain how Trump disrupted politics in the United States. It also suggests limitations of the study, generates other areas for further research, and restates the original contribution this research establishes to current debates in the field.

### **Summary**

This thesis examines whether Trump's business-oriented rhetoric in his 2016 campaign stump speeches explain his ability to overcome the odds of a novice in politics to win the presidency of the United States. It questions and reveals how his use of grievance marketing resonates with the voter's desires in order to develop the pathos needed to sway their vote. If so, is this a repeatable technique for campaigns in the future. It chronicles Trump's beginnings and motivations behind his business success while investigating if these achievements contributed to his political success and aims to establish if this methodology for political success could be repeated.

## Chapter summary

- **Grievance Populist Rhetoric** / Without a political background himself, Trump uses the grievances of society to relate to the populist
- **Celebrity** / Trump's 14 years being in front of a national audience of 10 million people on a weekly basis develops a following no politician could ever hope for.
- **Trump Being Himself** / He does not believe in political correctness and often just says whatever he is thinking that will receive an active response from his audience.
- **Contribution** / The unique classification of Trump's rhetoric implementing Burke's dramatism and Maslow's hierarchy of needs (MHN) to understand his grievance populism rhetoric (GPR).
- **The Media** / They saw Trump for who he was, but he used their negative as a Fake News positive to accentuate his GPR.
- **Demographics of Trump voters** / Lower to middle-class blue-collar workers voted for Trump. The people who were losing jobs to political trade deals according to him.
- **Influences** / Trump's businessman father and Reverend Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking*.
- **Interviews / The Grievance Rhetoric Begins** / Without political stances shown from public offices held, Trump's television, magazines and other interviews reveal his attitudes toward his politics.
- **Burke and Maslow Underpin the Motives**/ Burke's dramatism allows for the unfolding of Trump's rhetoric which allows an underpinning of this thesis. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs has been widely used as a measure for persuasion levels of people's desires, which exemplifies Burke's purpose of the pentad.
- **Thesis structure** / Synopsis of the thesis chapters.



## Chapter Two

### Trump as a Business Brand

In a perfect world of perfect instantaneous communication where every need was known and immediately met you would not need many elements of marketing... But what we've got instead is marketing and all its parts and it is a pretty amazing way of determining human need and satisfying it time after time...

(Tantillo, 2010:5)

As demonstrated in Chapter One, Trump's history in the real estate business and his dealings with politicians, with whom he typically expressed his grievances concerning their inability to accomplish any given promise continues into the political realm. An example would be Trump's 1986 letter to Ed Koch, the then mayor of New York City, concerning the wasted time and money spent on the Wollman Rink in Central Park (1987:302-303). The renovation was to last two and half years and seven years later with millions over the budget, Trump wrote in a letter in May 1986 to Mayor Koch in part it states:

The incompetence displayed on this simple construction project must be considered one of the greatest embarrassments of your administration. I fear that in two years there will be no skating at the Wollman Rink, with the general public being the losers.

(Trump, 1987:303)

Trump finished the letter of grievance by offering to oversee and pay for the reconstruction with a completion date of November 1986 if they would let him lease and operate the rink at 'fair market value' (1987:304). Koch mocked Trump in an open letter to the media but ultimately under media pressure allowed Trump to take over the construction project (1987:307). History showed Trump finished the Wollam Rink project under time and budget. Twenty-nine years later, Trump's entrance into the 2016 United States presidential race continued his populist grievance rhetoric (PGR) for the higher purpose of winning the presidential election.

This chapter considers how Trump's business success in becoming a billionaire at the age of 34 was carried through and successfully adapted by him into the political realm, supported by his use of PGR. For this research, Ruth Wodak's (2021) explanation of the ideology of far-right populist rhetoric will be applied. She clarified the elements of nationalism as 'valuing the homeland' emphasising the 'we' over 'others', and the use of anti-elitism to suggest wariness toward 'international organizations and treaties' (2021:34). These are followed by 'authoritarianism charismatic leaders' who are 'media-savvy' and 'require a hierarchical structure' to assure safety, while holding on to 'traditional conservative values' (ibid.). My hypothesis is that Trump's populist appeal to the blue-color workers played a significant role in his winning the election.

This chapter initially looks at one of the influencers behind Trump's determination and bravado: Rev. Norman Vincent Peale. Despite Trump's numerous setbacks in the 1990s, 'a third casino, an airline, and the Plaza Hotel' all losing money; Trump did not give up (Blair:2015). Trump was nearly a 'billion dollars in debt' with the banks calling for foreclosure, but within weeks of negotiating, he emerged virtually unscathed, giving the credit to Peale's book *The Power of Positive Thinking* (ibid.).

A summary is then given of analysis of interviews with Trump from the 1980s and 1990s which begins to reveal the antecedents of his use of grievance rhetoric. The interviews analysed focus on his business success and his negative discourse on the issues of big government whilst also revealing his possible political yearnings. The interviews reveal the populist side of Trump in an attempt to understand and examine his politics. His remarks, when he was questioned by the U.S. government's House Ways and Means Committee in 1991, on how to come out of the recession also reveal an early far-right populism in his thinking. In these interviews, Trump expressed his various disagreements with government trade and policies, as well as his definition as to what it takes to be a good president in a way which seems to fit Wodak's 'far-right populism' (2021:33). These interviews unfold the background to Trump's ultimate campaign for the

U.S. presidency. The chapter then focuses on the scrutiny of experts in marketing and branding to help underpin consideration of Trump's use of these tools to help his run for the presidential office. Tantillo strongly suggested Trump's brand could be helpful to his campaign (2016). Lastly, this chapter establishes Trump's business expertise over the years as being relevant to his entrance into the sphere of politics. This background of who Trump was frames his PGR as the base of his success in the 2016 election.

### **Peale and Positive Thinking**

To further acquire an understanding of the Trump brand, the influence of Peale's doctrine from his 1952 book *The Power of Positive Thinking* on the young Donald J. Trump must be considered. Trump family biographer Blair, noted that Fred Trump, Donald Trump's father was a staunch follower of the teachings of Peale's positive thinking, and he impressed this attitude onto his children (2000:227). Although Peale's naysayers consider him to be philistine in his teachings, his advocates appreciated his modern approach to sermons which suggested how 'hard work' was repaid now and in the hereafter. To emphasize the relationship with the Trump family, it was Peale who officiated Donald Trump's first wedding (2000: 301). When Trump delved into the New Jersey casino business, he used Peale as one of his character witnesses in the application for a license, along with his closest business associates (2000:343). Later when discussing Trump's character, Blair established how Trump's drive manifested itself:

Donald Trump's unrelenting, unapologetic focus on his own accomplishments had alienated many people; others, drawn to winners, found this self-absorption appealing. ... That insistence on always putting himself first propelled Donald Trump to fame so extraordinary that fame itself became his greatest asset. He was always competing, always selling himself, always concentrating on how to make whatever he was doing seem bigger and better than anyone else had ever done.

(Blair, 2000:455)

According to Fiala, Mansour, Matlock and Coolidge's (2020) research based on 21 researcher's discussion of his 'mental health', Trump was found to be self-absorbed (2020). Blair's research suggested two events in history that brought about this self-glorification of Donald Trump: The first was Peale's book *The Power of Positive Thinking* and its influence on Trump's father in his children's upbringing, and most particularly Donald's. Peale was often referred to as 'God's salesman' as he joined 'worldliness with godliness' which led to 'self-confidence as a life philosophy' (2015). The second occurrence that began in the 1950s and that also shaped Trump's persona and mannerisms was the rise of 'modern branding' in which the focus moved from the number of products a company produces, to cultivating and embellishing the brand as a commodity to reach the masses (2015). These two points illustrate how Trump began to market himself. While other businesses had a marquee over the front doors, Trump marketed himself with big gold letters on his building.



Figure: 3 Trump Tower Las Vegas  
Retrieved from: Photo: Kenny-Eliason -unsplash.com

Although politicians build their resume through political positions, Trump built his through brashness and ego. Morgan and Shanahan (2017) note that ‘no political expert or pundit’ expected Trump to stay in the race but saw him as an ‘amusing distraction’ (2017:424). Trump’s ego and self-marketing gave him the desire to try what even the political analysts thought was impossible. Trump was being himself, determined to succeed despite the odds.

His past reveals this self-determination, even when the odds were against him, when losing billions in his investments with casinos in the 1990s. When asked about these adventures, Trump admitted the investments were bad but followed with a positive take on the situation in that he made it in the *Guinness Book of World Records* for the largest fiscal recovery in history (Dixit:2009). Trump followed by positively talking about his father's friendship with Peale and discussed reading Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking* expressing, 'I am a cautious optimist. I refuse to be sucked into negative thinking on any level...' (ibid.). His response is that his business fortitude has been instrumental in creating his success. This attitude carried through to the 2016 campaign as Merrin illustrated Peale’s influence on Trump’s ‘ideas being out there for the public’ even if not defensible (2019: 212).

Merrin (2019) showed how Trump discovered his ‘political voice’ through Twitter which heightened his ability to use an unfettered sense of saying what he believed (2019:211-212). He also credited Peale’s philosophy about believing one’s thoughts into existence, for Trump’s irresponsible attitude toward the truth in his campaign ‘...what matters in Trump’s communications is not logic, coherence, ideals or defensibility of his posts, but the mere fact they are out there for the public’ (2019:212). This Peale-like thought pattern was reflected in Trump’s personal branding techniques as well: ‘Lying Ted’, ‘Crooked Hillary’, and other negative monikers for his opponents during his campaign. He focused more on creating the pejorative slogans than on justifying his view of them. Peale’s self-promotion mantra became a part of Trump’s business nature contributing to the understanding of the process of Trump’s PGR.

## Interviews Foreground Trump's PGR

The underlying theme of Trump's PGR was examined in a collection of interviews by journalists from the 1980s and 1990s. Without a political past, these conversations allowed an insight into Trump's thoughts of himself and of the politics of that time. In his *Playboy* interview, Plaskin remarked on the way in which Trump displayed his wealth, despite there being so much poverty around. Trump responded with a comment that a show of wealth was a positive. It allowed people to see that they also could become prosperous. His response reflected Wodak's 'historical mythologizing' of revisionism which changes 'past suffering' into tales of accomplishment (2021:34).

I believe in positive thinking, but I also believe in the power of negative thinking. You should prepare for the worst. If I'm doing a deal, I want to know how bad it's going to be if everything doesn't work rather than how good it's going to be. I have a positive outlook, but I'm unfortunately also quite cynical.

(Trump,1990:3)

When Plaskin pushed for more of an answer, and asked; 'how large a role does this pure ego play in your dealmaking and enjoyment of publicity' (1990:4)? Trump responded with, 'every successful person has a very large ego. ... People need ego, whole nations need ego' (ibid.). This statement further reflected his movement toward a populist rhetoric suggesting personal wealth with effort is available to all. Wodak noted this type of populism rhetoric reflected the 'imagined community' of capitalism (2021:102). Peale's influence was quite visible in each of these scenarios, and certainly in a man who had no political experience in wanting the highest position in America. In 2016, Trump reflected a populist nationalism rhetoric with his Make America Great Again (MAGA) campaign slogan. His Peale inspired PGR was represented in that only he can make this happen for America. The rhetoric in Trump's interviews foreshadowed the 2016 rhetoric to come.

Barrett's interview also established Peale's influence on Trump. In October of 1980, Rona Barrett interviewed the then 34-year-old and new billionaire Donald

Trump. In response to Barrett's question concerning his ability to acquire whatever he desired; Trump responded, 'I believe if you think you can't you probably won't have it. You must go into everything with a positive attitude' (1980:4). This projection of himself reflected Peale's positive thinking mantra, as well as the *you* in the personalized relationship of marketing (Norman Fairclough, 2015:205). Thirty-five years later Trump marketed this understood *you* with *Make America Great Again* (MAGA).

Later in the interview, Barrett questioned Trump on what he had brought to society at his young age of 34 years. Trump's response foreshadowed his populist job creation arguments in 2016, as he talked about the tens of hundreds of employment opportunities his organisation generated from building developments. Even then, he bragged of how he had helped establish flourishing communities that no longer needed government assistance (1980:29-30). In 1980, he exemplified the populist approach to life, 'industrial production, bureaucracy, and citizenship' as expressed in (Wodak, 2021:102), and he campaigned on in 2016.

During the 2016 campaign, Trump's PGR concerning the lack of American jobs producing American-made products spoke well to his blue-collar middle-class working demographic. One example was from the Pensacola, Florida, rally: the 'trade deficit with the world is now nearly \$800 billion'. A 'third of our manufacturing jobs are gone' since the Clinton's 'gave us North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a: Table 1:Row 156). Wodak identified this populism rhetoric as revisionism, where the people are cast as victims of someone else's actions, in this case the Clinton's (2021:34). China manipulated their currency and took 'our jobs' (ibid.). This type of PGR struck a nerve with the middle-class workers who felt like victims of government decisions.

Barrett's next query questions what Trump would do to make 'America perfect' (1980:33). His response in 1980 reflected his campaign slogan of 2016 to Make America Great Again: 'This country with proper leadership can go on to be what it once was. It should be a country that gets the respect of other countries' (ibid.). Wodak identified this nationalism populism used by Trump as a *us vs them* with home being first (2021:101). Pressed for clarification by Barrett, Trump added, 'if we were respected as a country and as a people, and as a nation' ... Iran and Iraq would not be at war, and Iran would not have 10 Americans held captive if America were 'respected' (1980:36). The specific actors make it plain that Trump is an America first populist. Even in 1980, Trump used the 'social actor' *we* representing Fairclough's *we* community (2003:150), to express his nationalistic populist rhetoric. More specifically, Trump's *we* are the managers of the community, the elected officials, of America, suggesting that if we were respected as leaders and, as a nation, we would not have captives held by anyone. The community *we* is reflected in his later campaign arguments in Green Bay, Wisconsin 46 years later: 'Our military is depleted. We are going to build up our military, we're going to get others with us' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e:Table 1:Row180). He reissued the grievances concerning the United States trade deficits agreed on by politicians as stated above and the depletion of U.S. military.

Next came Barrett's question that illustrated America's attitude toward financial success and perhaps ignited the ambition in Donald Trump's future. 'Would you like to be the President of the United States? Trump answered with a syllogism: I really don't believe I would Rona' [major premise-generalization, not a no] (1980:33). He goes on to explain, there are very qualified individuals that would be effective, especially corporate leaders [minor premise] (1980:37). Trump left the door open for his future dalliances into the political world with that statement. At this point, he described himself and politics when answering why not himself: '[I]t's a mean life. ... I picture a person with a resolute perspective and somewhat disliked having a hard time winning counter to someone with a 'big smile' and no



intelligence (ibid.). The conclusion had to be this was a self-description of himself and his opponent of the future. He clarified the syllogism by the final statement in his response: ‘One man could turn this country around’ (1980:38). Atkinson proposed the syllogism, that ‘lists of three items’, as the ‘completion points to a conversation’ (1984:58). Trump completed his argument and left the conclusion to his audience. This represented a persuasive argument, which came from the man who clearly believed there were problems within America’s government. These populist grievances voiced in the interviews add to the essence of Trump’s later campaign rhetoric which factored into his election victory.

Seven years later, Trump’s business success created more speculation among some in the Republican party. Chair manufacturer Mike Dunbar, for example is documented in the *Wall Street Journal*, as calling on him to run for President of the United States in 1988 (Kruse, 2016). Kruse’s interview revealed that Dunbar arranged for Trump to speak at the local Rotary Club in hopes they can persuade him to run. Five hundred people gather to hear Trump speak (ibid.). Fairclough identified this type of discourse as the ‘exercise of power by consent’ (2015:67). These businessmen, who have gathered to hear Trump, did so to be connected to this ‘share-owning democracy’ experience (ibid.). They wanted Trump to run for president. It was the topics of his 1987 speech that proved the most enlightening when comparing this speech to his 2016 speeches. There are similarities. Kruse reported that Trump did not use speech notes but for 30 minutes bemoaned the state of the country’s international business dealings with such countries as Japan, Iran and Saudi Arabia (ibid.). He mentioned international companies taking United States business in his interview with Barrett and again to Oprah in 1988. In his June, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, speech he addressed trade, immigration and foreign policy (Politico, Trump, 2016a: Table 1: Rows 56-67).

He also denigrated the politicians in Washington D.C. and Wall Street power players of the day, claiming that ‘Other countries are laughing at us’(ibid.). Trump’s nationalism rhetoric did not stop as the years continue. Trump shouted these same epithets while expressing his unhappiness to the American public 29

years later as a proponent of neoliberalism, as will be shown in Chapters Six and Seven. As in 1987, the 2016 campaign populist grievance rhetoric focused on safety, fair trade agreements, and U.S. job creation.

The next year a much broader audience hears Trump's name being associated with the presidency on Oprah Winfrey's, *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, (ABC, 1986-2011) in Chicago. On the show Donald Trump explained why he placed a full-page letter in three major newspapers criticizing President Reagan's administration's foreign policy (1988).

Figure 4: Trump's interview with Oprah 1988 *The Oprah Winfrey Show*



Retrieved from:

<https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.oprah.com%2Fown-oprahshow%2Fdonald-trump-in-1988-ive-had-no-major-disappointment-video&psig>

# There's nothing wrong with America's Foreign Defense Policy that a little backbone can't cure.

An open letter from Donald J. Trump on why  
America should stop paying to defend countries  
that can afford to defend themselves.

DONALD JOHN TRUMP

To The American People:

For decades, Japan and other nations have been taking advantage of the United States.

The saga continues unabated as we defend the Persian Gulf, an area of only marginal significance to the United States for its oil supplies, but one upon which Japan and others are almost totally dependent. Why are these nations not paying the United States for the human lives and billions of dollars we are losing to protect their interests? Saudi Arabia, a country whose very existence is in the hands of the United States, last week refused to allow us to use their mine sweepers (which are, sadly, far more advanced than ours) to police the Gulf. The world is laughing at America's politicians as we protect ships we don't own, carrying oil we don't need, destined for allies who won't help.

Over the years, the Japanese, unimpeded by the huge costs of defending themselves (as long as the United States will do it for free), have built a strong and vibrant economy with unprecedented surpluses. They have brilliantly managed to maintain a weak yen against a strong dollar. This, coupled with our monumental spending for their, and others, defense, has moved Japan to the forefront of world economies.

Now that the tides are turning and the yen is becoming strong against the dollar, the Japanese are openly complaining and, in typical fashion, our politicians are reacting to these unjustified complaints.

It's time for us to end our vast deficits by making Japan, and others who can afford it, pay. Our world protection is worth hundreds of billions of dollars to these countries, and their stake in their protection is far greater than ours.

Make Japan, Saudi Arabia, and others pay for the protection we extend as allies. Let's help our farmers, our sick, our homeless by taking from some of the greatest profit machines ever created --- machines created and nurtured by us. "Tax" these wealthy nations, not America. End our huge deficits, reduce our taxes, and let America's economy grow unencumbered by the cost of defending those who can easily afford to pay us for the defense of their freedom. Let's not let our great country be laughed at anymore.

Sincerely,



Donald J. Trump

Figure 5: Trump's letter to the American people *The New York Times*

Retrieved from: <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ilanbenmeir/that-time-trump-spent-nearly-100000-on-an-ad-criticizing-us>

Trump's response in that April interview connected his brand and his campaign slogan with the negative effects of globalisation. Trump denigrated US trade and aid deals with 'foreign allies' saying that they are undertaken at the cost to the American people (Winfrey, Trump, 1988). We continued to see from these comments that almost 30 years before his presidential run Trump expressed his dissatisfaction with what he saw as the effect of globalization on American trade. Trump's letter emphasized what Wodak described as a populist rhetoric of 'national consciousness' of an 'imagined community' (2021:102), and according to Fairclough repetitious use of the *our* pronoun indicates that the audience is a participant of the government's abuse (2003:45). Oliver and Rahn also stress the repetition of the *our* and *they* in Trump's campaign speeches when he declared the issues against the 'political elites', and blamed them for the problems in the United States as well as the technique of repetition (2016:193). Trump's brand marketing came in with the repetition for emphasis of the people as victims. The branding of the politicians as elitist displayed the Trump's marketing abilities, marking the politicians as inept. For example, during his Presidential campaign, he brought up this very topic in Cincinnati, Ohio, focusing on how these trade agreements affect Ohio residents: 'The state of Ohio lost three manufacturing companies since NAFTA, signed by Bill Clinton supported heavenly by Hillary Clinton. Hillary's South Korean deal cost the U.S. another one hundred thousand jobs' (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 50). The Oprah interview further augments the nature of Trump's campaign rhetoric for an insight into the persuasive grievance populism and neoliberalism that encompassed his speeches. Mudge (2008) defined the neoliberalism as 'promoting unchained competition by taking the government out of the businesses of ownership, and preventing politicians from pursuing economic management', so the people could introduce 'market-like competition' (2008:718).

Suggesting a motive to the advertisements, Oprah asked Trump: If he would run for president? Trump responded: 'I just don't think I have the inclination to do it.'

I love what I'm doing, I really like it. But I do get tired of seeing what's happening to this country... I would never want to rule it out totally...' (Winfrey, Trump, 1988). Again, Trump stated his annoyance with the policies of the government, further responding that he thought he would have a 'hell of a chance of winning' ... and that if he were in command 'this country would make one hell of a lot of money from those people that have for twenty-five years taken advantage' of America (ibid.). Trump's repeated nationalist business rhetoric, which seemed to have appealed to the disenfranchised voter in 2016, was starting to appear strongly in this 1988 exchange, and that same outrage in the rhetoric led him to the presidency.

Two years later in an interview for *Playboy* magazine, Plaskin mocked Trump for his ego, but Trump asserted a large ego was a necessity for success. Again, in his explanation of this point, Trump railed on America's 'so-called allies'. Japan, West Germany, and Saudi Arabia ... ride the United States subsidies to make more money than we do (Plaskin, Trump, 1990:5). Trump followed this with another objection that he also recreated in his 2016 campaign speeches: We spent a hundred and fifty billion defending these countries and receive zero benefits from these expenditures (ibid.). Trump used what Fairclough called the inclusive *we* which involved the speaker and the audience united in the grievance (2015:143). Trump's persuasiveness appeared reflective of Aristotle's emotional appeal through his argument and revealing an 'apparent truth' as he stirred the emotions of his audience (2007:1:2:39). His inclusive *we* rhetoric was to display his caring character and to create hope within his audience. The argument continued about how individual countries abused both their own people and the U.S., but the point was the same for Trump, who questioned why American workers were supporting other countries instead of ours. Wodak classified Trump's rhetoric as 'far-right populism' to an 'allegedly corrupt elite' (2021:5). Trump's rhetoric continued to highlight the injustice to the American worker, thus united the 2016 workers with his objections to the political policies of past and present politicians.

After the criticism of these countries, Plaskin suggested, Trump displays parallels to a 'Presidential candidate' riling the voters (1990:8). Even after declaring he was not interested in being President, Plaskin asked Trump which party would give him the better chance of winning. Trump's response illustrated the association of the Democratic party with the working class, as he responded that it would be the Democratic party (1990:8-9). Trump clarified this explaining, 'the working guy would elect me. He likes me. When I walk the street, those cabbies start yelling out their windows' (1990:9). This 'historical mythologizing' representing the 'good old days' according to Wodak was when Trump promoted himself as the hero to the working class (2021:34) and showed Trump's ego then and in 2016. Trump finished the interview with his American neoliberalism attitude toward Japan again. Then he targeted crime in US cities as another concern (1990:8) All of these statements, just as ten years earlier in 1980, are reiterated in 2016 populism tirades in his campaign speeches concerning fair trade, job creation and lack of trust toward the politicians in Washington D.C. Trump laid out his PGR to the public long before his campaign to the blue-collar workers in America seemed to foreshadow the verbal path of his presidential run.

Whether Trump had ever considered an actual run for the presidency, his business success and brand put him in the mind of the people as a man who could accomplish what he set his mind to and will thereby enable all Americans to also accomplish what they wish. Even during these interviews, many years before he entered the political arena, Trump promoted a driven PGR that caught the attention of the working class. Meyer (2001) suggested through applying CDA that the 'social actor' depended on 'collective frames of perception' (2001:21). In the interviews, Trump's rhetoric was accepted because of his wealth and books. In the rallies, the complaints about the government resonated with the views of the voters.

In 1991, the federal government desired Trump's opinions on developing jobs and creating incentives for investors. Donald Trump now had the floor to air his grievances to the politicians. The Democratic held U.S. Congress asked the

businessman Donald Trump to testify in front of the House Budget Committee on U.S. economic recovery. The introduction of the 45-year-old Trump indicated the respect held in the political realm for his business achievements and recognition as a business personality. Democratic Congressman Frank Guarini, Chairman of the committee called the ‘next witness’,

Donald Trump, who certainly needs no introduction. Your fame and reputation precede you, Donald. ... We know you to be frank and outspoken, and you have had extensive experience, not only in real estate developments, but also in sports, gaming, and the entertainment industries. ... So, we welcome you, especially, to listen and to learn from your experiences as we know you have been very much involved in regard to this credit crunch that we have before our Nation today.

(Proceedings, Guarini, November 21, 1991)

Chair Guarini asked Trump a question: concerning whether the 1981 congress ‘tax credits’, and halving depreciations on real-estate investments to encourage building commercially was where the government made their mistake inducing the situation the country was now in (1991)? Trump’s response then again reflected his business influenced 2016 campaign rhetoric as shown in Chapters Six and Seven: Those decisions and intentions are correct, but congress forgot the need for housing development in all areas, such as ‘low-income, senior citizen and dormitory housing and other forms of housing’ (ibid.). There was a high demand for housing, and it would create employment in areas currently lacking jobs (ibid.). The rhetoric fell under the populism push of the early and mid-1990s (Wodak, 2021:39). Trump continued in the four-hour questioning, discussing good and bad tax laws, while pressing the lawmakers to loosen the tax laws that limit business’ desire to invest in construction or real-estate in order to aide in the recovery of the economy (1991). McKinnon noted more than a year later that some of those tax changes Trump suggested were implemented (2016). This revealed how the influence of the businessman Trump’s PGR was developing in American politics.

Another opportunity for Trump to air his grievances and announce a consideration to run for the presidency comes in October of 1999, when Trump joined Larry King on *Larry King Live* (CNN, 1985-2010) to reveal his assembling of a 'presidential exploratory committee' (King, Trump, 1999: 4). King queried if the panel is searching for all aspects of a run for the presidency including gathering public opinion (ibid.)? Trump's yes answer was qualified with his real objective of finding out if a 'Reform Party' nominee could be successful (ibid.), 'If I couldn't win, ... I wouldn't run' (ibid.). He then declared he would announce his decision in January or February.

With this statement, King questioned Trump on leaving the Republican Party. Trump's reply demonstrated his disgruntlement with either existing political party:

I'm a pretty conservative guy. I'm somewhat liberal on social issues, especially health care, et cetera, ... I think nobody has been hitting it right. The Democrats are too far left. ... The Republicans are too far right. And I don't think anybody's hitting the right cord, not a cord that I want to hear, and not a cord the people want to hear, and I have seen it.

(King, Donald Trump, 1999:5)

Trump's populist rhetoric coincided with the populist campaigns of Ross Perot and Ralph Nader of the mid-1990s and early-2000s (Wodak, 2021:39).

In the 1990 *Playboy* interview, Trump determined the Democratic party would suit him best for a run for the presidency. But now, Trump continued with a conjecture on the major shortfall of the enthusiasm for America from the working people, a feeling that Trump deemed needed to be revitalized (King, Trump, 1999: 5). These responses are also reflected in his future campaign slogan of *Make America Great Again*. As in 1999, he again in his 2016 campaign caused as much ado against the Republican establishment as he did the Democratic. Trump did not just talk about the Democrats in his October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio, speech when he said, 'We are going to replace our failed and incompetent leadership in Washington, that has betrayed you, squandering your wealth, and sold out our country and our jobs' (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table1:Row 55)



expressing the need to go back to the capitalist success from the past of his grandfather and father. Oliver and Rahn's research showed that Trump had the highest number of the 'collective our' among the 2016 candidates (2016:193). Fairclough's suggested the pronoun *our*, represented the 'participant affected' fitting for Trump's populist grievance rhetoric (2003:145). Atkinson furthered this concept of unity that the usage of *our* side demonstrated 'good intentions' as to the *they*, in Trump's words, Washington represented the negative intentions (1984:39). The PGR put forth by Trump was more than the typical politician as will be explored in more detail in Chapters Six and Seven. He wanted the voters to hear the words Washington, drain the swamp, or politician and remember that they created the crime, loss of jobs, and the immigration issues.

These interviews verified Trump's understanding of the common people with his objections to higher taxation, job losses and unfair trade deals, to name a few areas of concern. They also prefaced his PGR appeal concerning the need for a neoliberal approach when businesspeople created employment opportunities for the nation's workers. As Wahl-Jorgensen (2019) reveals; 'The anger of protesters was frequently legitimized with reference to the substance of their grievances' (2019:122). Although she discussed the anger of those opposing Trump's stance on issues, the same could be said for the other half with grievances against the current status quo emboldened by Trump's PGR. Trump, throughout the 46 years between the 1980 interview and his 2016 presidential run, expressed his own concerns, and what he thought was the people's disagreements, with the current and former economic state of the United States. He appealed to the everyman as any marketing person would, when he said he was conservative but liberal, whether addressing health care or other societal matters in the King interview (1999). Trump liked to take the middle of the road when it came to politics, the term political moderate would fit this description of Trump. The dual message emphasised his neoliberalist approach which made him popular with the disgruntled middle class. Arguably, these observations reflected the influence of Peale in Trump's view of success for his person and for his country. These

interviews from Trump's past offer an understanding of the factors that helped direct his success in the presidential campaign victory.

The influence of Peale on Trump's rhetoric emerged through interviews from the 1980s to 1999. Trump presented much the same PGR in the interviews over 19 years, as he did in the 2016 corpus of speeches.

### **Bad Behavior and Business Brand in Politics**

An examination of Trump's unlikely rise to the presidency of the United States required a look at his bad behavior which added to the improbable chance of his winning in his campaign. In 2016, Corasaniti interviewed twelve of Trump supporters before his October, West Palm Beach rally to determine their thoughts concerning Trump's uncouth behavior toward women. Nearly all those interviewed shrugged off his misbehavior as a smear by the opposition. Judy, a woman of 75 simply thought that Trump acted just as many wealthy men did 'decades ago' no different than handsome movie stars or athletes of that day. Sixty-four-year-old Maureen responded, 'that negative stuff happened many years ago. Trump's 70 and heading us in the right direction' (2016). She completely supported him. Paul, 48, of Florida felt all women ought to be believed, but all the stories of the women coming forward at the same time after over a year had passed seemed suspicious to him (ibid.). Kathy stated, 'He is a pig, I know that. I think he will redeem himself' (ibid.). While supporters recognized Trump's misogynist rhetoric, Wodak's interpretation that society had been reconciled to the normality of the crude language seemed to ring true (2021:2). The people chose to overlook his faults as Gabriel, Paravati, Green, and Flomsbee (2018) found in the research of the parasocial connection to Trump's authoritarian style demonstrated on the TA/CA show (2018:199). Trump would be Trump and the people allowed him to be.

Noonan of the *Wall Street Journal* in 2017 suggested accepting Trump's policies is fine, but to accept his shortcomings, ill-behavior or mistakes was not and should not happen (2017). The comments toward this kind of behavior can be

handled politely as Republican Senator Joni Ernst had shown. ‘He is my President. I will work with him. But we have to be honest, He is a flawed human being’ (Ernst in Noonan, 2017). McGurn discerned that even Trump’s loyalist of followers would argue that Trump failed to follow the norms of decent ‘political behavior’ (2020). The statements demonstrated a group so frustrated they are willing to overlook Trump’s character issues for policy change if it will change the direction of their future. Again, this seemed to show the power of the populist rhetoric and its acceptance due to the unhappiness of the constituents. As will be seen in this next section, an understanding of what the people desire would allow Trump to market his way to the presidency.

### **Marketing Trump and the Brand**

In this section, parts of the campaign speeches given by Trump selected to be in the corpus of this thesis will be examined. For illustration purposes to explain the context of the rhetoric, the five parts of Burke’s dramatism and the questions they ask will be detailed. There will be more detail concerning Burke’s dramatism in Chapter Three. According to Burke, ‘act’ is the verb and answers what action; the ‘scene’ is the location and answers where; the ‘agent’ is who performs the action; the ‘agency’ is the universal purpose which answers how; and the ‘purpose’ asks why intertwined with MHN. The methodology employed in this thesis then intertwines Burke’s framework with Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (MHN)

Marketing expert, Tantillo (2016) offered insight into whether Trump’s brand would hurt the Republican Party. In August of 2015, Tantillo recorded that 25 to 30 thousand people showed up to see Trump at his rally in Mobile, Alabama, with a ‘record 24 million viewers’ for the initial Republican debate. Tantillo suggested that the naysayers, who believed Trump was hurting the Republican party, were overlooking the significance of ‘branding and marketing’ in the contemporary political stage (2016). Tantillo illustrated this in noting that these two disciplines were successfully used by the Democratic candidate Barack Obama in 2008 (ibid.). While Obama may have learned these methods as a community organizer,

Trump's many years as a businessman brought these business techniques to a reluctant Republican party. The observations by Tantillo are that Trump's approach to the campaign trail should be successful. Just as businesses market to a target audience, Trump's PGR and business propaganda moved him through the primaries and into the final campaign by appealing to a specific group of voters. (See Chapter Seven for an analysis of Trump's branding and marketing of Hillary Clinton's character.)

Next, Tantillo tied Trump's branding to his being a front runner in the surveys around the country. While Tantillo indicated that Trump was a 'celebrity brand' which the populace enjoyed, he acknowledged that this may just be for the time being in relation to the newness of a celebrity candidate (2016). As shown above with the polling of supporters, Trump's celebrity wore thin, but his policy ideas were popular. Tantillo's research suggests that Trump knew how to brand his persona and was also adept at implementing the 'promotional mix' within a political context (ibid.) in order to sway potential voters. Trump benefited from the basic dislike of politics and politicians in general by his voters. Being an outsider in Washington, helped him develop his brand which was illustrated specifically in the *agency* portion of Burke's dramatism. This allowed an examination into the semiotics of his rhetoric. Trump used the positivity he learned from Peale as he branded himself into the Presidency in the June 28th Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania rally:

A Trump administration (agent) will end (act) that war by getting a fair deal for the American people. The era of economic surrender is over. A new era of prosperity will finally begin. America (scene) will be independent once more. This includes massive tax reform to lift the crushing burdens on American workers and businesses. We will get rid of wasteful rule and regulations which are destroying our job creation capacity (agency) (purpose, meets basic needs with hope for more MHN). Table 1: Row 68

(Politico, Trump, 2016)

The war Trump referred to was the war against the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the NAFTA trade agreements which he argued unjustly hurt American

businesses. He branded himself as the resident, deliberately referred to the Trump administration, with the following agency descriptors clarifying his ability to deliver in that position. Furthermore, Tantillo notated details on how Trump appealed to the general audience by focusing on: ‘immigration, American leadership in the world, and making America strong again’ (Politico, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 68). These topics are presented as the problems that existed in America thus represented Trump’s message in his grievance rhetoric. While campaigning, Trump responded to inquiries from the voters with simplistic sweeping statements withholding any procedural imperatives to confound or weary his constituents (ibid.) (see Merrin, 2019). This populist approach by Trump served well with his slogan that appealed to the ‘working peoples’ base of the middle class. The Pittsburgh speech above represented this perfectly as he made broad promises with no details, instead just highlighting the promise of a better life. His purpose marketed himself as a man who will finish the job, as *TA/CA* demonstrated. This was why they should and would vote for him.

Tantillo argued that Trump needed to demonstrate the marketing (the art and science) of fulfilling the demands of the people which requires more than brand Trump (2016). He offered Trump some suggestions for success at the polls. The first was a reminder that the polls do not determine the winner in every case. Trump proved Tantillo correct in that the polls are not always a reflection of the winner, as Clinton led in most of the polls throughout the campaign and by nine to twelve points with a few weeks before the election (2016). Secondly, Tantillo suggested a ‘marketing strategy’ should be put into action to motivate his voters to the voting booth (ibid.). Trump certainly interjected his business talents and neoliberal desires in his campaign orations to the disgruntled populist through propagandistic marketing appeal. He discussed the problems with the Swamp, his name for Washington DC. Trump’s business brand and marketing overcame the odds as Hillary Clinton’s campaign outspent Donald Trump’s by 653.1 million dollars in this presidential race (Allison et al., 2019). Trump the brand understood and implemented the concept of target marketing.

Tantillo followed his proposals to Trump with advice to the Republicans: ‘Follow the mantra of marketing’. ‘People buy brands not companies’ (2010). With the exception of straight party voters on the ballot, the citizens ‘vote the person not the party’. So, Republicans remember what the people want in their ‘candidate, whoever it is,’ that was when the party would gain from the business insight of ‘Brand Trump’ (ibid.). An examination of Trump’s campaign speeches using Burke’s dramatism will demonstrate how Trump employed his populist grievance propaganda and marketing to unite his followers. Tantillo’s expertise reflected what Trump demonstrated throughout his career and brought into the realm of politics: appeal to the public’s needs and desires.

Conversely, Linnett (2003) researched the early Trump business brand through exploration of Trump’s venture into television with the reality show *TA/CA*. Using the marketing research company Millward Brown to assess Trump’s ‘brand potency’, Linnett proposes that Trump’s brand proved stagnant overall though his persona is somewhat attractive to young men with ambitions to succeed (2003:1). As a marketer, Trump continued to promote himself and his real-estate business. An example provided by Linnett was from Trump’s ‘construction site tour’ of ‘Trump Park Avenue’ in Manhattan, New York (2003:1). Trump announced to those within earshot that he was ‘staying with real-estate’. ‘No more runs for president; no more buying airlines’(ibid.). In this small declaration, Trump managed to highlight his past endeavors and accomplishments in a marketing move, while showing his most recent project representing ‘brand Trump’ (ibid.). Trump hinted at running for president five times throughout the years beginning in 1987 according to Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) reporter Ifill (2016). This demonstrated that although Trump had never held political office, just as in business he aimed high stretching the brand when he considered the undertaking of a challenge. Another oral example of Trump’s self-assuredness of his brand from the 26<sup>th</sup> floor of Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue:

Trump is the hottest brand out there. I put my name on a building, and I get \$5000 a square foot ... My name on a golf course, Trump

National in Briarcliff Manor, and I get \$300,000 per member ... If I didn't put my name on it, I'd get nothing.

(Linnett, Trump, 2003:1)

Trump became rich because of his real-estate skills, but his marketing of his name brand made him a commodity of value just through that recognition even though Linnett did not believe he could carry it through the election.

Trump's nickname, 'the human logo' was a result in part of the way in which he flaunts his name on all of his towers. Trump further attempted to 'jump-start' his brand by hosting *The Apprentice (TA)* and putting his face before millions of viewers (2003:1) With 16 contestants vying over 13 weeks to become one of Trump's assistants earning a 'six-figure salary', Trump planned to upgrade his brand image (2003:1-2). Newt Gingrich (2017), former Speaker of the House of Representatives, later suggested that *TA* developed Trump's persona with the American public (2017:18) helping him to become a household name. This suggestion by Gingrich was backed by Gabriel et al's. (2018) research of the 'parasocial connection' (2018:304). Trump had expanded his commercialism into the media while growing his brand as a television personality and gaining himself a star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame to be seen by tourists on a daily basis creating more free advertising. Even as Trump marketed his brand and success, he quickly changed his character to represent his patriotism to gain an emotional connection with the audience in his October 13<sup>th</sup>, West Palm Beach, Florida rally:

I (agent) did not need (act) to do this, folks, believe (act) me –. I built (act) a great company, and I had a wonderful life. I could have enjoyed (act) the fruits and benefits of years of successful business deals and businesses for myself and my family. Instead of going through this absolute horror show of lies, deceptions, malicious attacks (agency) – who would have thought? I am doing (act) it (scene, campaign trail) because this country has given (act) me so much, and I feel so strongly that it's my turn to give back to the country that I love (purpose). Table 1: Row 100

(National Public Radio, Trump, 2016)

\*The parentheses are used to designate the five parts of the pentad illustrated in Table 1.

*The Apprentice* was on the air for 14 years, and many of his audience had seen his success via the media. Also crediting Trump's television persona as part of his political success, Hearn focused on Trump's success by positioning himself to be the next Republican candidate for president on his 'fourteen-year' stint on *TA/CA* (2016: 656). Ever the promoter, Trump's self-proclamations of his ability to increase the ratings of the networks when his name was mentioned, reflected his ongoing self-branding. As Hearn (2015) confirmed with an analysis showing Trump has 'thirty-one percent more airtime on the four major networks' over all of the other 'presidential candidates' of that year (2016:656-657). The business recognition of brand Trump with his PGR made a difference with the media, and he was not paying for the airtime. As Trump mentioned in *The Art of the Deal*, '... the benefits of being written about have far outweighed the drawbacks' (1987:57). He had been working that model in the business world for many years. For Trump it was about the money, even in hiring an employee through his reality show: The media developed the advertising, searched for viable candidates, who prove or disprove their worth during their tenure on the show, and at the end of the show; Trump came into the boardroom and said you're fired, or you're hired. He was a business and a brand.

As Hearn (2016) described the business aspect of Trump's campaign run, while others are 'running political campaigns', 'Trump the Brand' ran the media (2016: 657). Hearn credited the 'promotion and branding' of reality programs to Trump's branding in *TA*, which originally started in 2004. The show displayed the ruthless principles of 'corporate capitalism' whilst at the same time promoting Trump's personal brand and products from 'golf courses, casinos, bottled water to steaks, and without a doubt promoting Trump's own name (ibid.). Hearn clarified the standard of reality television: develop a persona, be noticed, select a message and repeat (ibid.). This is exactly what Trump did in his speeches on the campaign. The speeches represented a commercial for the Trump brand of corporate



capitalism while repeating his grievances about the American economy. For instance, Trump desired for America to win again in the world of business and trade was demonstrated when he ‘repeats variations of the word win, fourteen times in forty seconds’ during his Albany, New York, speech (ibid.). According to Hearn, Trump sharpened his brand on ‘reality television’ and learned more about manipulating the media at the same time. And for his believers, the ‘Trump’s brand’ was proof enough of his capabilities to serve as ‘president’ (2016:658). Hearn’s analysis of Trump’s business rhetoric on television, tied neatly to his campaign trail rhetoric, further confirmed Trump’s instinctive use of propaganda as a marketing technique and helped explain his entrance into the realm of politics on the highest level. As he lectured losers on his show on why they did not have what it took to succeed in the world of business, he increased the stature of his business brand as an accomplished decision maker of the future. His PGR then convinced the voters that he could make the changes needed to *Make America Great Again*.

Subsequently, Klara (2011) also discusses Trump’s evolution over his years of business into the ‘living product’ Brand Trump despite some questionable adventures along the path of success (2011). We are reminded, that we do not have to like Trump to appreciate all of the ‘buildings, books, golf clubs, food products’, and more to recognize that Trump represented ‘luxury, success, and fearlessness’ (ibid.). With Trump’s bluntness and branding of his opponents, the author made a valid point, demonstrating the difference between personality and ability. Trump showed that he has been exhibiting what it took to succeed in the business world for most of his life. Trump’s initial success started in the late 1960s, when he renovated the Swifton Village housing structure, netting him six million dollars before moving to Manhattan, New York (ibid.). This successful venture backed the suggestions Trump later made to the House committee (in the interviews) in 1991, concerning providing financial opportunities for investing and building housing. Building on his construction success in the 1980s, Trump garnered his casino license and proceeded to open various casinos in the state of New Jersey, while also building the Trump Tower on 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue, in Manhattan.

During this period, Trump made himself New York's hero by renovating the Wollman Ice Rink in Central Park (ibid.). Once again, the businessman in Trump overcame the politics of New York City, to benefit the city and increased his name brand as a businessman. Trump's, "I can do it better" business mantra continued to grow from this point forward. The above list of Trump's successes in business are summarized in the Palm Beach, Florida, speech once again promoting the benefits of neoliberalism for the country:

No other successful person, after watching this, and no other very successful person will ever again, ever – and who can blame them? Even me, I'd say, you're right – will ever again run for office. I've heard it for years, if you're very successful, you can't run for high office, especially for President. I said, I don't care, I don't care. I've done so many deals, I've done so well. It's a certain mindset that we need in our country, at least for a period of time. We have to straighten our country out (pathos). Table1: Row 103

(National Public Radio, Trump, 2016)

Take the, I am Trump, attitude that he sold for 14 years as the reality show host of *TA/CA*, and without saying it, he said vote for me for the sake of capitalism. Meanwhile, Mann (2013) summarized the years of Trump success. He mentioned the first golden Trump Tower built in 1983 to the 'twenty-nine buildings, and eleven golf clubs' (2013) with a few other complexes added in that have Trump's name on them making Trump a true living brand. The international side of the Trump brand was discussed less in the media, but it was just as impressive. In *Latin Trade*, Mann outlined Trump's brand and business startups in Latin America. This provided a counterpoint to the American side of the Trump brand. By listing posh resorts developed in 'Panama, the Trump Ocean Club, Puerto Rico, the Trump International Golf Club and Residences, Dominican Republic and other ocean side housing' (2013), Trump's business savvy was established. The 2016 Olympics to be held in Rio completed the list (ibid.). Athletes and visitors from all over the world would be in Rio for weeks viewing Trump's name on buildings. These business adventures revealed Trump's Latino connections as well as experience in working with other countries. His type of foreign relations

experience was in marketing not policy. His familiarity with the Latino regions could also be why he was against any illegal immigration into the United States. Trump addressed his familiarity with Hispanic-Americans at his September 9<sup>th</sup> Pensacola, Florida, rally and his desire to help them succeed in America:

Here, in Florida (scene), we have such an amazing and diverse community of Hispanic-Americans – from Cuba, from Puerto Rico, from Venezuela, from Haiti, from all over (agency). These incredible Americans will have in Donald J. Trump (agent) a President who is determined (act) to fight for their jobs, their wages, their schools, and their futures. To all Hispanic-Americans who want better jobs and higher wages (agency): I will be your champion. All working people, of all backgrounds and from all places, will have a true friend (purpose, basic and psychological needs to self-fulfillment, MHN) in Donald Trump. Table 1: Row 168

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016)

Speaking in Florida, Trump named the peoples from countries that most typically immigrated to Florida. Being a New Yorker, he understood the diversity of the workers, which was important when trying to reach such a diverse constituency to vote for him. When considering the purpose, they could see that he talked to them about the capitalistic approach in America: jobs, wages, education, and improving themselves for better wages. This reflected the marketing tool of MHN. He started with jobs and wages needed to provide the basic needs. Then he moved to education, fulfilling their psychological needs of friendship and success. Lastly, the self-fulfillment of improving themselves, thus they achieved the pinnacle of success.

Mann revealed this was not just a Trump real estate investment; Trump ‘partners with Brazil’s Supermarcas to license’ the Donald J. Trump Signature Collection showcasing men’s wear, glasses, and jewelry across Brazil. Mann impressed that Trump named Mexico’s P&L Global Network licensure for this collection and Trump’s ‘home furnishings’ throughout the Caribbean area as well (ibid.). Mann demonstrated Trump’s brand was international in perspective and shed a light on his Latin American holdings. While Trump mentioned the respect he had for the

Latino people, these holdings in Latin countries reflected Trump's concerns of illegal immigration issues that exist at the borders of the United States. He did, however, fail to mention these business developments on the campaign trail representing his neoliberal approach to life and politics.

Not everyone considered Trump's business background a benefit to his political run. Taylor (2015) deemed that a negative effect would exist in the Republican party because of Trump's business brand. Taylor began by addressing an irony of the exploratory proceedings in seeking the nomination to be the party's candidate. More specifically Taylor labeled it a 'unique branding laboratory' where the contenders assail one another whilst claiming to be the ultimate representative for the 'mother brand' of the 'political party' (2015:1). This of course led Taylor to discuss the ultimate brand of Trump, noting that most politicians would not survive the language Trump emitted. Taylor acknowledged the chaos Trump's jargon and his 'brand recognition' brought to the other candidates, who are plying to survive the preliminaries and finding Trump a 'political nuisance' (ibid.). Taylor seemed to have constructed an accurate embodiment of the political outsider, even in his own party. Trump played the persona of a politician who desired to drain the swamp, as he called the Washington D.C. political elite. Recognizing that Trump was a successful business brand, Taylor made the connection between business rhetoric and political appropriateness and wondered if his off-color rhetoric was apropos (ibid.). Aristotle talked about the integrity of a speaker and how it needed to exist to be believed. That is what Trump graphically did in the Green Bay, Wisconsin, rally when asked about the American practice of waterboarding terrorist prisoners to gather information:

We have people being beheaded all over the Middle East and other places (scene) (major premise). We have crime that is rampant (minor premise). We have people in the Middle East being drowned in steel cages (minor premise). This is like medieval times, and she [Hillary Clinton] is worried about my tone. So, they chop off heads, and they drown people, and they bury people in the sand (agency). And then they ask me, Mr. Trump (agent), Sir, ... How do you feel about waterboarding? I am seeing chopped off heads, drowned people, burying in the sand (agency) – I said, I'm

absolutely okay with it, let me tell you. Can you imagine what the enemy must say – can you imagine the enemy – Isis in this case – can you imagine what that must say as they spent the day chopping off the heads of Christians – come back, get together and start talking – and they say waterboarding is not allowed in the United States – by the United States, waterboarding is not allowed (purpose, safety, security). Table 1: Row 185

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e)

Trump used a syllogism to justify the response to the question, with repetition to add emotional emphasis to a blunt answer. His analogy toward medieval times appertained to the holy wars in which the Christians were killing Muslims for all the wrong reasons, just as ISIS was killing Christians for the wrong reasons. Trump's nationalism was stronger than policies, as he attempted to justify his argument through his premises, a method Aristotle proposed for persuasion. Furthermore, Bernays (2005 [1928]) asserted that the masses mentality tended to be persuaded by the use of 'clichés, pat words or images' which allowed people to conjure notions or understandings of their own (2005:74). With these examples Trump allowed his constituency to create their own visions of the actions of ISIS and his leadership. Trump used the terms terrorist or terrorism often when attacking Clinton's open borders or foreign policies to create a reaction from his audience as it was after the 9/11 attacks.

O'Shaughnessy (2004) suggested the most intense and fitting imagery is extremely important to 'rhetorical persuasion' as visual concept can be difficult to deal with (2004:74). Noting that 'Thatcherite' speeches are filled with hostile imagery, he further suggested persecution is the most usual background for such mental images (ibid.). Trump used these graphic word pictures to drive the purposeful action image: 'beheaded, drowned', and 'buried' alive and repeated them for the atrocity they are, and the pathos created (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016). His response after repeating the horrible treatment for the third time, 'I'm absolutely okay with it, let me tell you' (ibid.). Trump's bombastic rhetoric marketed the persona of his brand. The research verified Trump's 'I am absolutely okay with it' (ibid.) style for the persuasive purpose he intended. To

his followers, his response reflected the *TA/CA* you're fired leadership that they expected. In understanding the verbosity of Trump, Larson had suggested using 'vivid words' to attract the curiosity of the spectators helped create a more unforgettable and active performance (2001:278). Trump wanted his speeches to be memorable and by taking this stance, he would be.

As with Taylor, Wheaton (2016) offered much the same analysis in his impression of the Trump brand. Wheaton acknowledged the link between the Trump brand and Donald Trump himself, that 'brands must have a purpose' and 'point of view' (2016:1). He added 'future shock jock' to his descriptor of Trump to question the effectiveness of Trump's brand being matched with the slogan 'to make America great again' (ibid.). The issue these two authors express was whether a successful businessman who runs his business from a position of marketing can work with polished politicians.

To demonstrate the presidential campaign's effect on Trump's business brand, Wheaton cited a Bloomberg review. He noted that reservations at 'Trump hotels through Ovation Vacations' show a significant decline of '29 percent' in the past 'six months' (2016:2). The same Bloomberg report cited 'while corporate reservations at Trump Hotels ... fell 10 percent ... leisure bookings rose', and the increase in business led to a '16 percent' comprehensive rise in business (ibid.). This statistic seems to support the idea that Trump's PGR attracted voters and customers. Some wealthy patrons and corporations did protest Trump's dialogue by not staying at Trump's resorts leading to a 39% loss in bookings for meetings or conventions (ibid.). However, those who supported Trump's ideas for change, and who were inspired by *Making America Great Again (MAGA)*, supported him financially by enjoying a luxurious vacation evidenced by increased bookings at Ovation Vacations at a rate of 55% (ibid.). The same was true in New York City where the inhabitants of Trump's 'Upper West Side buildings desired Trump's name be taken from the buildings (ibid.). Wheaton's research reflected that the corporations were not as overwhelmed with Trump's entry into politics as the upper middle-class, which was an important segment to Trump's base, indicating

their support by staying at his hotels. Unlike other politicians, Trump was not worried about donations for his campaign, as he noted in his Pensacola, Florida rally: 'My campaign is powered by my own money, but also small dollar donations from people like all of you who just want their country back' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a). Trump again emphasized his doing business his way even the inappropriateness of the rhetoric. Hall, Goldstein, and Ingram (2013) determined Trump's comedic lack of experience in his run made it entertaining for the masses (2013:72). There will be evidence in Trump's campaign speeches of his trying to win the approval of his electors. Many of these examples will be a contrastive listing of their skill sets.

Now, Wheaton (2016) remarked even the ad agency he worked for considers 'anti-Trump or pro-Hillary ads' are purpose driven and good commerce as they are in sync with the media's opinions (2016:2). Wheaton then encompassed the heart of the business brand that Trump knew well. 'A brand should never abandon whatever values it has in order to cater to people. There are a lot of people out there, many with strong passions, .... And ignoring those is just leaving money on the table' (ibid.). Subsequently, Trump's PGR approach appealed to his base. The brand that showed a decisive decision maker with a platform of building a wall, ending terrorism, stopping illegal immigration, while bringing back jobs. He continued to appeal to this base that feels they have been ignored. A continuation from the Pensacola speech Trump demonstrated the capitalist brand he has been selling the people throughout this campaign:

This is our (agent) chance. It is our last chance to give the people control over their own futures once again. Gleaming new plants (agency) stretching (act) across our nation (scene). Young Latino children getting (act) an amazing education at the school of their choice – and their parents having jobs protected from unfair competition (purpose, education, jobs). Table 1: Row 169

(Peters & Woolley, 2016a)

The repetition of our chance, our last chance, emphasised the importance of the selection in their future, whilst imagery and symbolism are also used, visualising gleaming new manufacturing plants, and dreams that they can imagine such as a

quality school, and real jobs. The businessman sold neoliberalism, *make America great again*. Notwithstanding, Scott Adams (2017), one of the first to predict a Trump win, outlined various business branding techniques that benefited Trump's run for the presidential office. Adam's likened Trump's business skills to a 'talent stack', which suggested a collection of abilities that pile up and function as a unit, and if of all these talents function cohesively, as Trump's stack seems to, one did not have to be the most proficient in them all to succeed (2017: 90). He first considered Trump's use of publicity over the past 40 years, whether controversial or just attracting attention to his 'Trump brand'. He represented the success of a past neoliberal society, and he wanted others to see the results.

Trump's campaign was different, this will be shown more specifically in Chapters Five through Seven. Adams revealed how some of Trump's marketing and business dealings are a reflection of the different kind of campaign he will run. Adams (2017) submitted that after Trump's *The Art of the Deal* became a bestseller, Trump focused on negotiating and 'made negotiating his brand' (2017: 125). This will be seen in his foreign affairs and international trade deals more so than working across the political aisle. As Trump began his adventure into branding himself an artful negotiator, one only had to look at the deals he had made to see the ultimate win. Another Trump brand win in negotiating was to mediate a 'two ways to win' scenario in business: Now a copious amount of Trump's company income derived from 'licensing the Trump name' to assorted 'products and projects' (2017: 191). Licensing was explained as 'two ways to win' and practically impossible to 'lose' because there is large 'guaranteed up-front' fee at the 'signing' with more payments coming if the adventure proved successful. If the 'business who licenses Trump's name fails', all of the fees paid to that point are kept by 'Trump's company' (ibid.). By selling his Trump brand to go on buildings or a product, Trump had no overhead. His product was his name, and the brand expanded, and more potential voters have seen his name. Trump's brand, his PGR, and being himself are a constant in all he did on the campaign trail. His one-hour TA/CA reality shows had the Trump name in front



of millions on a weekly basis. He challenged the contestants, and then decided who would promote his brand for him.

On the campaign trail, his brand was visualized through the wearing of a red ball cap displaying his slogan (*MAGA*), thus speaking loudly of his brand without saying anything. Through the entire corpus of speeches Trump ended each with some form of *MAGA*, stronger again, or God bless America. His *MAGA* hat symbolised neoliberalism, at the conclusion of the speeches the slogan, or variations of it provided a positive assertion that something good would be done.



Figure 6: Trump Rally

Retrieved from: <https://dailyherald.com/article/20161108/news>

Furthermore, Adams made the connection to Trump's tinkering at campaigning for the oval office in previous election periods using this same 'two ways to win' process. If the canvas surveys were weak, he did not run, but Trump increased his profile and the 'value of his brand' simply by throwing his name into the pool of candidates (ibid.). Trump's brand and business background gave him a decided edge over his counterparts, as he made campaigning a business strategy instead of the overused political rhetoric. Trump's ability to implement his learned and developed marketing and persuasive techniques on the campaign trail was proven

in the primaries and ultimately on the campaign trail. His brashness as a businessman was noted in his introduction at the 1991 hearing before Congress in which he continued to gain his brand more recognition: ‘Your fame and reputation precede you, Donald’ (Proceedings, Guarini, November 21, 1991).

From his own book *The Art of the Deal* Trump related the challenge that turned into a business opportunity, which made Trump a true hero and New York City (NYC) superstar in 1986. As Trump told of the circumstance, The Wollman Skating Rink in Central Park had been under renovation since June of 1980 and in May of 1986 the city announced, that they are starting over after an original scheduled completion time of two and a half years, restoration on the rink should be complete in two more years (1987: 301-302). Trump interjected in this story a business fact: ‘June of 1980, I broke ground for Trump Tower, a sixty-eight-story skyscraper with six floors of shopping, thousands of square feet of office space and 263 residential apartments’ (1987: 302). He finalized this by stating, finished on schedule, a year and eighteen months, and within the finance budget. So, looking down at the rink from his apartment Trump decided to again call Henry Stern the commissioner of parks and he suggested that he should oversee the work himself to ensure that it was finished saying that he would rebuild the rink at no charge. Trump received the second rejection for his services. He took the next step by writing a letter to the Mayor of NYC, Ed Koch and proposed the city quit disappointing the people and allow him to ‘construct and pay for’ the ice rink with the promise it would be ready by November of that year. The one stipulation was, that on completion Trump ‘would lease the rink from the city at fair market rental and run it properly’ for the public to use (1987: 303-304).

Next, Koch having dealt with Trump on previous issues of the city, sent a scathing letter rejecting Trump’s offer and sends his rejection letter to the press to mock Trump’s offer. With the rink project twelve million dollars over the projected four plus million-dollar original budget, the press had a grand time questioning Koch’s logic. As a politician, Koch gave in to the pressure the next day and after haggling over the details Trump began the project to be completed

in six months at a cost of three million dollars with Trump doing the up-front financing (1987: 305-306). This was another example of Trump doing business his way. He made a challenge to Koch, NYC Mayor, that seemed impossible. Trump acknowledged that the press kept asking questions on the progress, so he continued to hold 'press conferences' providing reassurance that it is on schedule and explaining what construction phase they were in now. By now the rink had become national news, and even *Time* magazine gave a page to Trump's work on the Wollman Rink (1987: 317). The Wollman Skating Rink was completed on October 15<sup>th</sup>, ahead of schedule and \$750,000 under budget (1987:318). This small project in Central Park gave Trump's brand a major boost, showed him as being capable of delivering the goods, used free media, created a great product and appealed visually and emotionally to the people to visualize what made the Trump Brand what it was. It provided a way for Trump to illustrate that his capitalism was better than the government's handling of business: faster, cheaper, and complete. Trump was being Trump.

Just as Danesi (2006) explained the symbolism of the gold Trump logo, and how powerful the logo could be to the brand, Linnett concurred suggesting Trump was the human logo of his corporation. Clive (2016) pointed out Trump Tower worked as an unbeatable model of Trump the candidate's quality, and it was from this position of brand strength that Trump announced his running for the presidency of the United States (2016:2). This led to tourists coming and staring at this monument of Trump's business success and possibly deciding that a man who can 'put this much gold into a building' could be what they need in Washington D.C. After all, Trump tore down buildings to build his own skyscrapers, maybe he could do the same to D.C., figuratively (ibid.). These researchers' development of a theme for business and name recognition in the brand and logo clarified the beneficial effect to Trump's run for the highest office in the nation.

Linnett and Clive both gave credit to Trump's television show *TA* for bringing a more global knowledge of this 'Manhattan mogul' to the American people

(Linnett, 2003) (Clive, 2016). Clive proposed that the show had an inspirational flare encouraging effort for success (2016:3). He encompassed this idea also, observing how the 'cable networks' gave Trump free reign, as he made the ratings jump when they spread his message, whether they agree or criticize it. Clive observed 'no other brand in history' had received as much free attention through the media as the Trump Brand (ibid.). How does Trump manipulate this exposure: by breaking all the guidelines of 'political discourse'. No matter how disgusting the language, offensive the individual taunts even '*Access Hollywood* tapes' showing Trump's raunchy vile behavior had no affect. 'Trump was always Trump' (ibid.). Clive asserted by this time the 'Trump brand' managed to 'reverse-brand' his opponent as a Washington D.C. insider in collusion with the manipulative media (ibid.). He concluded this with the observation that for Trump to deliver and save the brand, the brand must 'remain credible'. 'Trump has to remain Trump' (2016: 4). This was exactly what the Republican old guard base and the Democratic party disapproved of the most about Trump. He was not controllable in his speech or twitter feeds. He was Donald J. Trump the businessman. Trump spent most of his adult business life criticising politicians from both parties on their handling of domestic and foreign trade agreements. He promoted capitalism and encouraged others as well.

As marketers know, the consumer must acquire their needs thus the importance of intertwining Maslow's hierarchy of needs (MHN) with Burke to justify the approach of the methodology in examining a businessman's speech. In this case, the need being fulfilled was what Trump was offering the people in his grievance driven orations. Their desires were being met by Trump's promises and slogan, as will be as illustrated through applying Burke's pentad.

## Summary

This chapter revealed that in the case of a novice politician multi-billionaire businessman's brand of success was important to his political campaign. There cannot be discussion about the brand without knowing something about the man. His heritage and for a large part, Norman Vincent Peale was responsible for Trump success. Peale's book *The Power of Positive Thinking* was released in 1952 and even at this young age Trump's father was impressing upon his children this concept. Trump confirmed the impression that positive thinking has had on his life in several interviews, whether it's for the *Guinness Book of World Records* or *Playboy* and numerous others, without hesitation.

The six interviews, starting in 1980 and finishing in 1999, are a reflection on Trump's far-right populism rhetoric while expressing his grievances toward government policies with foreign affairs from military to trade agreements. The first interview in 1980 is with Rhonda Barrett who was interviewing Trump because he had become a billionaire in a time where there was only a dozen in the United States, and he was only 34. Trump did not fail in naming nations that he had issues with: Saudi Arabia, Japan, and Germany and others. From Ms. Barrett to Oprah Winfrey or Larry King and the others, the interviews manifested a man driven by the desire to win and make money reflecting his neoliberal populist views and nationalism. What was seen as the thread of neoliberalism being pushed throughout the interviews with the business propaganda emphasising the PGR which then coincided completely with the 2016 campaign speeches.

The examination of Trump's bad behavior demonstrated the people want change more than perfection or political correctness. Marketing professionals of Trump's business brand, and the arguments for and against its viability to be effective as presidential race present a mixed review on Trump's possibilities to win. Most feel if he remained true to who he was he would win. Several marketing experts questioned whether his brand was strong enough to hold up to the political pressure. Examples of Trump's business success allow for a proper perspective

into his ability to deal with the media as well as people of differing opinions. Trump's entrepreneur abilities present themselves as the experts label them as the critique his style and abilities. All agree his name and brand are synonymous.

### **Chapter summary**

- **Peale and Positive Thinking** / The influence of the motivational Peale on Trump's father and Trump himself is reflected in his approach to his business and politics.
- **Interviews Foreground Trump's PGR** / Trump's interviews from the early 1980s to the late 1990s display the grievance populism rhetoric of Trump's past. Without past political speeches, these conversations give insight into his motivation to campaign for the presidency.
- **Bad Behavior and Business Brand in Politics** / Trump's crude comments and lack of any PC was ignored by his constituency most likely because of the strong business persona he displayed on TA/CA reality shows. This TA character carried his brand into his political campaign and PGR.
- **Marketing Trump and the Brand** / Marketing specialist opinions of Trump varied, but most agreed his TA brand carried into the realm of his political speeches. Despite the overall effect on his business could be affected by his campaign, Trump held true to himself.

## Chapter Three

### A Notion of Rhetoric: Looking into the Art of Persuasion and Politics

Political partisanship is to be expected in a legislative body – we all engage in it – but bitter personal attacks go beyond the pale of respectable propriety. Let us all be scrupulously mindful of the role that vitriolic public statements can play in the stirring of the dark cauldron of violent passions which are far too evident in our land today.

(Congressional Record Senate, Senator Robert Byrd, December 20, 1995)

#### Burke's Dramatism Reveals Persuasive Rhetoric

Burke's (1969a [1945]) examination of discourse analysis concentrated on the motives of rhetoric conceptualized as a model of dramatism. In 1945, he asserted the need to study a range of elements to determine the purpose of the motives of the speaker. His research will prove useful in analysing Trump's rhetoric as to Trump's purpose and motives in his campaigning approach. Burke's introduction to *A Grammar of Motives (GM)* proposed that the 'basic forms of thought' comprise an agreement with the essence of the environment, as people must experience it, which is then manifested in the 'attributing of motives' (1969a: xv). Burke assigned five terms to examine this principle of motives:

The *act* names what took place, in thought or deed, the *scene*, the situation in which it occurred, the *agent* indicates the what person performed the act, the *agency* reveals the means or instruments he used, and the *purpose* or answering the why it was done.

(Burke, 1969a: xv)

These terms are proportionate in value to create a 'complete statement' about motives' (ibid.). When discussing why he created the dramatisitic pentad, he determined that he would title his theory dramatism as it encouraged one to contemplate the 'matter of motives' (1969a: xxii). For this reason, dramatism will be used in this thesis. Burke's theory in *A Grammar of Motives* developed the notion that there was more to the meaning of words, and that it is necessary to consider all aspects of the scene and action in which the actor was involved (1969a: xxxii).

According to Bouzenita and Boulanouar (2016), Maslow's pyramid had been employed vigorously in 'marketing to leverage consumer perceived unmet needs and wants' (2016:70). Abulof's (2017) symposium on Maslow urged sociologists to reeducate society to understand, as 'Maslow and others have' that to define society's actions while not comprehending 'human motivations' was impossible (2017: 508). For the understanding of Burke's 'purpose', MHN was essential to determine Trump's effectiveness with voters. Burke's 'agency' and 'purpose' are used as tools in this chapter to explore the Warren, Michigan stump speech in order to understand the nature of Trump's PGR and marketing techniques.

The overall aim of this thesis is to demonstrate how Trump's PGR and the use of business and brand marketing techniques were relevant to his Presidential election success. This chapter will link the process to the whole of this thesis. Trump is paradoxical in that as he headed into the Presidential contest, he is a man who brands his name on real-estate in the United States, and in many countries across the world, lambasts seemingly all politicians, and yet he desired to become president and a political leader. In examining Trump's speeches prior to his unpredicted election, it is important to recognize that Trump is not a politician, but he succeeded as a businessman by using the tools of persuasion. Trump's rally cry of *Make America Great Again* seems to fit the demographic of the patriotic citizens to whom he hopes to appeal. The following chapter explores each theorist in turn.

Weiser (2008) contends that Burke's years as a literary critic helped him develop the understanding that all words can be used for different purposes, specifically persuasively, and he identified five divisions focusing on individual relationships and the usage of words (Weiser, 2008:31). Consideration of other scholars' investigation into Burke's dramatism and other rhetoric devices follow and then the application of his dramatism to Trump's speech rhetoric will ensue. This will include an examination of how Burke himself analysed works of literature and how his ideas demonstrated the flexibility of his model of dramatism.



For example, Burke in *Rhetoric of Motives (RM)* (1969b [1950]) examined Marx's approach to rhetoric clarifying the terminology as an 'inducement to action' with much of the influence coming from Marx urging that rhetoric was science (1969b:101). At this point, Burke clarified the reality of Marxist persuasion as that of dialectics concerned with the 'non-verbal' of intent (1969b:102). Then Burke looked at Marxist ideology such as myth or 'myth of state' for example: Give up liberties to be free (1969b:104). This idea was tied to the Marxist illusion of reality with concepts treated as essential when they are subordinate (1969b:104). Marx resembled many political thoughts of the United States politicians, as he determined if his bright ideas were not to be accepted by his homeland, then he would be a patriot and shut his mind to his opposition's bright ideas (1969b:105). Current examples would be before Trump ran for president, he was for a government healthcare system, but he spoke against the Affordable Care Act passed by President Obama while he campaigned for the presidency. Just as Senator Obama voted for a wall on the Mexico border as a Senator and voted against it as the President. According to Burke, Marx suggested an idea grew into a comprehensive growing microcosm. (1969b:106). This idea became absolute and controlled all thoughts and action of the pragmatic future, but it would not be without clashes (1969b:106-107).

Burke then examined Machiavelli's work *The Prince* in investigating a leader's rhetoric of persuasion. Burke noted how Machiavelli praised eloquence as it delivered in the subjugation 'of the public, of the senate, and of women' (1969b:158-159). According to Burke, Machiavelli's work had a strong administrative aspect which implied that persuasion was more than verbal, but instead was a mix of symbolism as well as distinct empirical actions (1969b:161). This may be useful in examining the rhetoric Trump used when stumping for the presidency, as Burke clarified the bureaucratic language of politics when one party attempted to gain approval of the masses (ibid.). Burke illustrated this use of persuasion using the term military power which brought an implication in meaning as well by actual battle (ibid.). Machiavelli's prince paralleled Trump's inexperience in leadership in government.

Next, Burke referenced his *GM* in his *RM* as an analogy to explain Machiavelli's prince's actions to maintain power over his subjects. Burke referred to the scene-act ratio of the ruler, the 'act is proper' in this scene thus the prince creates the 'political mastery' he desires through all 'changes of scene' (1969b: 162). As long as the prince's goals of persuasion are causing his people to respond accordingly, all is fine. However, Burke noted that some subjects act from their own nature (1969b:163). This brought in what Burke labeled as 'agent-act ratio' where the act was fitting to that individual while noting at times that the ruler may appeal to this kind of actor to gain the desired response by accident (ibid.). This could prove useful in examining Trump's rhetoric as he chose grievance populist terminology to gain advantage over his crowds. Burke pointed out that after the ruler developed a 'national identity' the nation can be regarded as an individual (1969b:165). Trump's mantra *MAGA* might fit this scenario.

Summarizing his view of persuasive rhetoric Burke divided persuasion into steps: The first was understanding that persuasion represented a form of communication. Secondly, communication had various viewpoints (1969b:176). Linking three through six together, Burke explained that this persuasion became one of entities that was an abstract of courtship which was tantamount to the sphere of group affiliations (1969b:177). These groups were divided by the sexes paralleling the social classes of the country (ibid.). Burke clarified that the persuasion of symbols *dialogue* must first have logic to effect existing 'productive forces in the socioeconomic' rhetoric (ibid.). This was linked to Trump's wooing the constituency of states that had previously voted democratic by using marketing tactics to highlight his business ability to tackle their hardships by changing the current trade agreements.

### **Burke's Dramatism with Motives and Ratios**

Suggesting the usefulness of the pentad to help understand the arguments, Roundtree and Roundtree (2015) examined Burke's dramatic pentad in his *GM*

to demonstrate a link between logical components of motives of discourse and features of action by analysing ‘government officials and individuals’ rhetoric. This helped identify that it was possible to look past the reality delivered to the audience (2015:350). This implied that there was more to a dialogue than what was actually said. Rountree and Roundtree suggests that the audience needed a better understanding of the ‘symbol use’ of speakers to become critical thinkers as they interpret these symbols and the use of symbols effect on the community (2015:352). This was tied to Aristotle’s argument that metaphors, antithesis, and analogies should be used to increase persuasiveness of the speech (2007:3:10:219). Trump did this in his West Bend, Wisconsin speech:

The policies put into place by Rudy ultimately brought down crime by 76 percent and murder by 84 percent. Think of how many families were saved, how much heartache was prevented, when police were put into communities and criminals were removed. Imagine how many lives could have been saved, all across this country, if Democratic politicians hadn’t blocked in their cities what Rudy did in New York City? (Agency / Trump used antithesis linking Clinton to unsuccessful crime solutions in Democratic cities) (Purpose-bringing safety) Table 1: Row 5

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Trump’s analogy referred to his friend Rudy Giuliani who was the former Republican mayor of New York City, with the referenced families saved, and crime reduced compared to his complaints of the Democrats current policy conditions that the citizens are suffering under the current administration with New York State Senator Clinton as seen through Burke’s agency.

At this point, Roundtree and Roundtree take an educational approach to Burke’s theory of dramatism as a guide for ‘symbol users’ to gain the needed base to help understand ‘human communication’ (2015:352-353). They begin with ‘action talk’ or as Burke would say ‘discourse for motives’ reminding us that communication was not a random ricocheting of ideas, but symbols with motives at its inner core (2105: 353). They examined Burke’s ‘pentad’ to answer the questions that arise when interpreting the motive: ‘act’ (what), ‘scene’ (when and

where), ‘agent’ (who), ‘agency’ (how), and ‘purpose’ (why) (ibid.). This was followed by relevant examples to demonstrate Burke’s theory: ‘a teacher teaching’ or ‘a thief stealing’ both are agent-act connections (ibid.). Similarly, ‘a king in the palace’ or ‘a teacher’ using a smartboard are agent-scene scenarios and various other relationships become probable (2015:353-354).

They used two examples of court cases to illustrate this point: ‘Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, USA’, explained his not immediately reporting the accident of the young woman who died in his car, when he drove off a bridge on a dark night, was not because he was inebriated, but from continually searching the cold water to save the young woman. Thus, the scene, not the actor was responsible for his late report of the incident (2015:355).

The other was ‘*Bush vs Gore*—the United States Supreme Court decision’ which concluded the ‘ballot- recounting in the state of Florida’ during the 2000 election. This recount of ballots gave the presidency of the United States to George W. Bush. In Burke terms, judges must weigh in on various acts: ‘counting ballots improperly, laws, the constitution’ and their own ‘opinions’ to demonstrate the law had been followed and the determination was the correct one (2015:355-356). This argument demonstrated two of the ten ratios Burke suggested. In the 2016 campaign speeches Burke’s act/agent represented Trump’s neoliberal approach to politics as to the scene/act ratio representing the globalist approach of Clinton. As Trump continued in the October 13, 2016, West Bend, Wisconsin speech the ratios are exposed in the agency and antithesis of ideas presented:

It is time for a different future. Here is what I am proposing. First, on immigration. No community in this country has been hurt (act) worse by Hillary Clinton’s immigration policies than the African-American community. Now she is proposing to print instant work permits for millions of illegal immigrants, taking jobs directly from low-income Americans (agency). I will secure (act) our border, protect (act) our workers, and improve (act) jobs and wages in your community. We will only invite people to join our country who share our tolerant values, who support (act) our Constitution, and

who love all of our people (agency) [the antithesis]. Jobs creating safety and personal needs (purpose). Table1: Row 14

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

After pointing to the scene of Clinton's America, work permits for illegal immigrants which brought hurt (act) lack of jobs (Politico, Trump, 2016c: Table 1:Row 14), Trump (agent) offered the opposite 'secure (act) borders, protect (act) jobs, and pay' as his act to contrast their opposite positions in the agency (ibid.). Trump offered an argument for the population to gain work opportunities with America first as to aiding others in contrast to Clinton's party.

Roundtree and Roundtree advocated caution to 'symbol users' in using quick and hasty credit of motives in response to situations and to choose carefully the figures of speech that one used as a singular expression could change the perception of the entirety of the rest of the rhetoric (2015:357). A clarification of the scene-act by two former presidents of the U.S. President George W. Bush and President Obama where the scene controlled the act would be the case of an armed intervention (2015: 358). Republican President Bush's concern about Iraq's President Saddam Hussein preparing to build nuclear weapons led to this declaration in 2002 fully clarifying the response act-scene: 'The United States was in imminent danger, therefore we must attack first' (ibid.). Later, Democratic President Obama followed the same 'scene-act' scenario in his 'war rhetoric' of 2011 against Qaddafi, Libya's commander, when he declared Qaddafi showed 'brutal repression' without pity so the U.S. must intercede (ibid.). Both of these leaders, even though they were from different political parties, justified their actions from the scene they were presented. Using the pentad in this way should prove useful in analyzing Trump's grievance populist rhetoric and response to his perspective on American needs, immigration, and terrorism throughout the corpus of speeches.

Jensen (2018a) also offered a perspective on political rhetoric that may prove useful. He used Burke's *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969b) and his *The War of Words* (2018) to explore Trump's *MAGA* rhetoric. Jensen specifically applied what he

called ‘rhetorical counteraction’, using Burke’s understanding of rhetoric, to say that the classes must be active in ‘identifying rhetorical devices’ to ascertain a position to take and develop a counter strategy to overcome a nationalistic encroachment on their rights (2018:385-386). Jensen suggests that Trump’s 2017 financial outline for ‘America First’, with the trimming of ‘domestic programs’ while building in armed forces spending to increase the United States hegemony throughout the world; an example that Burke warns of concerning political rhetoric (2018:384). Jensen further delved into the issue of ‘rhetorical counteraction’ in examining the first parallel that war was the contingency of rhetoric and secondly the duty in the examination of rhetoric was methodical to accurately determine threats if any (2018:387).

Jensen then tied in Burke’s analysis of Machiavelli’s warnings that a political leader might suggest the need for a country to protect itself against impending conflict to validate the need to create more weapons of war to increase the country’s economy (2018:388). This was connected directly to Trump’s campaign desire to be a self-sufficient country (act/agent) as to the Democratic goal of globalism (scene/act). With this analogy, the campaign over the text being used as an orator or politician remained an ongoing skirmish between the constituents (2018:388). To bring this more up to date Jensen cited U.S. President Harry Truman’s 1947’s ‘Executive Order 9835’ the ‘Federal Employee Loyalty and Security Act’ which created a mood of angst and a general frenzy in Washington, and commerce throughout America (2018:388-389) by creating a general mistrust and finger pointing among many in the populace with the start of McCarthyism. In his October 31, 2016, Warren, Michigan stump speech, Trump also addressed government overreach that these authors note:

Hillary (agent) wants us to think small, wants us to believe that things can't change, and wants (act) our lives to revolve around Washington, D.C (scene). I'm (agent) asking (act) you to dream big, push for bold change, and to believe in a movement powered by the people and by their love (agency) for this country (scene). I'm tired of politicians telling Americans to defer their dreams to another day – (Hillary Clinton’s purpose) ... All we have to do is stop believing in our failed politicians (agency) and start believing

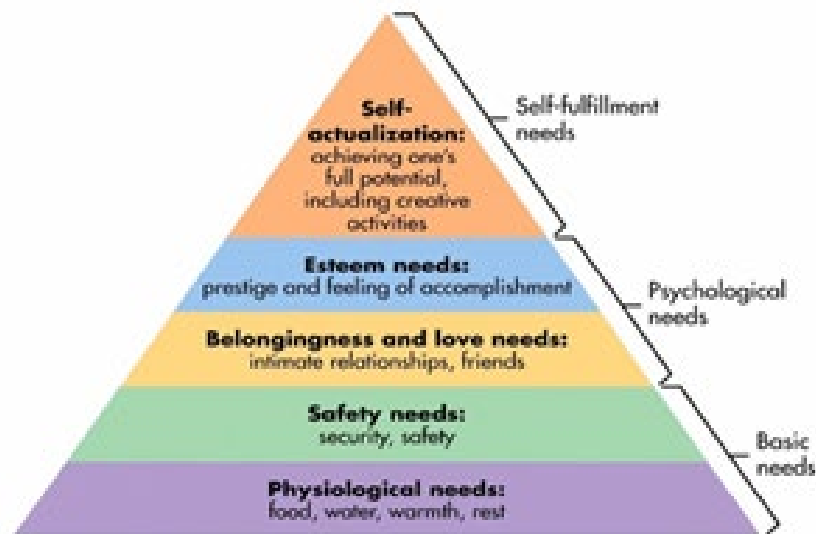
in each other and in our country. (Trump's *purpose* drain the swamp and dream big) Table:1, Row 152

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d)

Trump offered a contrasting scenario to Clinton's in the agency of the current United States government policies. Instead of depending on them to meet the needs of the people, he proposed a neoliberal policy of work to meet one's own needs and succeed now to attain the full extent of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (MHN): He asked the people to dream big, believe in change. His grievance toward big government offered hope for the future. The scenario addressed exactly what Jensen was concerned with, but also it represented quality marketing propaganda validating his grievance populist rhetoric. The people determined their desires as he marketed the dream with his rhetoric.

Figure 7: Dramatism Intersects Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

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The hierarchy of needs consisted of three levels of needs with sub-descriptors for each: The bare minimum level is the Basic consisting of physiological needs: food, water, warmth, and rest; the next basic is safety consisting of security and safety. The next level is psychology consisting of belonging and love: intimate relationships and friends; above that is esteem: prestige and feeling of

accomplishment. Self-fulfillment is the top realisation of satisfaction. It consisted of self-actualisation: achieving one's full potential, including creative activities.

The intersection between Burke's dramatism and MHN lay in the *purpose* portion of the pentad. Burke explained that the purpose represented the 'American Way' the 'pure purpose' necessary to a 'capitalist culture' (1969a:310-311). Bouzenita and Boulanouar suggested the use of MHN as a marketing tool that allowed people to understand the gap between their everyday life and their potential. Then they are motivated to act on bettering themselves (2016:69). Sättra also expressed that students of 'political science, economics, and management' are aware of Maslow and his hierarchy of needs adding further justification for applying this coherent theory to use to underpin Burke (2020:71-72).

Sheard (1993) also provided an explanation of Burke's theories, to further identify him as a modern-day sophist (1993:294). Sheard pointed out that Burke examined the connection between 'language and culture', which shared the motif: 'that thought is action', thus words are a form of action, thus words are symbolic of man's motivation (ibid.). So, it can be understood that Burke's scrutiny of the 'motives behind language' are basically kariatotic, and his interpretation of affinity of 'rhetoric and reality' had foresight into the potential of rhetoric, while still holding to 'human values' (ibid.). Then, Sheard tied Burke's ethics precept to that of Protagora's teaching that the art of *logos* is an 'art of improving appearances' which permitted people to resolve issues 'personal or social, civic or national' by composing a singular resolution that seemed superior to another alternative (1993:297). Using examples from history such as the dissolution of the Soviet Union or the insurrection of the 'university students in China' during the 1980s, Sheard demonstrated Burke's similarity with Protagora (ibid.). Both Protagora and Burke saw society as being wise enough to make sound decisions on the 'way things are and the way they should be' (ibid.). Suggesting that even though people had different opinions through discussion they find a common ground to identify with each other without detriment to either person (1993:297-298).



If we refer back to the last example given from the Warren, Michigan speech: ‘All we have to do is stop believing in failed politicians and start believing in each other and our country’ (Peters & Woolley, Trump, Table 1: Row 152, 2016d), then an argument can be made that Trump seemed to suggest *we* (universal character, as to Fairclough’s social actor) know what we want or need better than the politicians do. Even this sentence fit Burke’s dramatism. In the above example this line was the agency, but by itself: universal *we* (agent) stop believing (act) in failed politicians (agency) our country (scene), start believing (act), in each other and country (agency), to meet our needs (purpose). One of the persuasive elements of Trump’s speeches, which would be considered in the research for this thesis, was the continual repetition that reiterated his PGR and propaganda of how mistreated they are by the government. Repetition was a powerful persuasion tool, and it was a constant in Trump’s agency repertoire to enforce the purpose of his rhetoric. Trump’s October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio speech demonstrated this persuasive marketing tool:

We (agent) are going to replace (act) *our* failed and incompetent leadership (repetition starts) in Washington, that has betrayed you, squandered your wealth and sold out *our country* and *our jobs*. (agency) It’s time for us to embrace the greatness of *our country* and the greatness of *our future*. I’m asking all Americans, Republicans, Independents and even Democrats to join us in *our campaign* and that’s what’s happening folks. *You look* at it and *you see*. *You have* all over the yards, all over Ohio and lots of other states. Trump signs, Trump-Pence, Trump-Pence, and by the way, Mike Pence, *great guy, great job, a great pick*. *I am going to fight* for every citizen of every background, from every stretch of this nation. And *I am going to fight* to bring us all together. *We are* a divided country right now. All together as Americans, *we’re* going to love each other. *We are* not going to be divided for much longer. Imagine what our country could accomplish if we started working together as *one people*, under *one God*, saluting *one American* flag. A vote for me is a vote for you and it’s a vote for change which we need, change, change. Once again, *we are* going to have a government of, by and for the people. *We will make America* wealthy again. *We will make America* strong again. *We will make America* safe again. (agency) And *we will make America* great again. Thank you, *God bless you. God bless you*. (purpose – the

psychological need of belonging, friendship and future possibilities) Table:1, Row 55

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

Fairclough stated the repetition of words adds a cohesive nature to the sentence(s) cuing a connection of thoughts (2015:145-146). Adding to the effectiveness of repetition, Gregory suggested it added an emotional rhythmic emphasis to the rhetoric (2013:249). Trump created a bond with the audience with his opening *we* which he strengthened with the repetition of the pronoun *our* as a symbolic unity. The *we* used to be defined as inclusive through Fairclough's relational textual evidence (2015:185). The repetition continued as a closing unification effort to persuade that he could unite this United States for everyone's benefit. Just as Trump gave his interpretation of the state of American politics.

Weiser (2008) examined the way Burke developed his theory of dramatism as a counter to unstable events leading to and created by World War II and the political activist, government activist, and 'literary and linguistic critics' of the time (2008:1-6). Weiser provided background to Burke's work, by highlighting various subjects Burke used to develop his theory on dramatism: Burke's article 'Relation and themes Economics and Psychology' was an initial attempt to use dramatism to debate conditional components from Marxists and Freudianism, suggested substituting the severe Marxism and Freudian precepts with the dramatic possibly leading to his functions of drama (2008:26). According to Weiser, working in the College of Humanities at the University of Chicago allowed Burke to develop a more receptive audience to his bias-falling (the effort to have dialogue with 'linguist, Marxists, impressionist and traditionalist' all at once) as these word men were generalist rather than specialist (2008:31). Weiser discussed Burke's nuance of a word man as the utilising of the observation of 'society' the implications achieved from the examination of words. This caused the separation between Burke and the neo-Aristotelians, who concentrated on the entirety of the 'poetry in itself' not in affinity to 'education, morals, statesmanship, nature or being' (2008:31-32). America's basic distrust of Russia

and Putin particularly because of the Ukraine's constant harassment by Russia made the issue of Vladimir Putin important in the 2016 campaign.

The now disproven Steele Dossier put to question Trump's ability to actually deal with Russia. The FBI had since found the Trump-Russia allegation of campaign interference in the Steele Dossier during the 2016 campaign unsubstantiated (McCarthy, 2021). One of Trump's grievances was America's foreign policies, and he vigorously sold his ability to change these agreements. Understanding the concerns of his constituency, Trump answered these issues in his September 9, 2016, Pensacola, Florida speech:

The difference between me and my opponent on Vladimir Putin, and in all negotiations, is that I (agent) negotiate (act) by creating leverage, so I can extract (act) a good deal (agency) for the United States (scene). Hillary Clinton (agent) negotiates (act) but never gets anything of value (agency) for the United States (scene). Putin laughs at our leaders and takes them to the cleaners again and again (agency)[HC]. That is why we will rebuild our military, strengthen our economy, and regain our position of leadership in the world – (agency) [DT] (purpose) implied safety and prestige.  
Table:1, Row 161

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a)

Burke's dramatism, specifically the agency in these examples, provided the framework to see Trump's purpose in accordance with MHN's basic level of safety and the next level of psychological in achieving esteem and the persuasive tools of propaganda and the repetition he employed to do so (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a: Table 1:Row 161). Trump used the comparative marketing tool quite often in speeches. Atkinson called this type of argument 'contrastive pairs' the *us* against *them* scenario which was implemented by speakers to bring about a 'package and deliver' applause. This offered an advantage forecasting a finish line and 'delivering a punchline' to allow the audience to appreciate the circumstances (1984:73). Here it was seen again, as a businessman, he would negotiate with the world leader through leverage for the betterment of the United States, while his opponent does not. He made the same points at other rallies concerning NAFTA and TPP trade agreements as well as Syria and Iran. After comparing their

abilities, he ended with Maslow's unspoken purpose of safety (basic need) and esteem (psychological need) (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 161). Burke's dramatism allowed an in-depth analysis of how Trump marketed his grievances.

Weiser examined what Burke viewed as a conundrum: unity of economic 'cultural symbols' with diversity that comes with legislative bedlam (2008:81). In Burke's situation, America was united in the economic windfall of industry 'democratic *acts*', but because of the war, the nation struggled to deal with a 'non-democratic *scene*' (2008:82). Burke's resolution was to stress the *act* not the *agent* or *scene*, thus focusing on what took place instead of where or who (ibid.). Weiser impressed how this led Burke to determine that the phrasing of the United States Constitution can be understood as a 'call to action': 'We the people ordain and establish this Constitution in order to form a more perfect union and establish justice.' The people must *act* (2008:128). As a 'living document' the Constitution necessitated ongoing discourse of Congress with debates representing in general the two sides: 'essentialists (those who limit the meaning of the words in the text itself) vs the proportionalists' (those who interpretations include other 'intrinsic sources)' (2008:129). The notation of essentialists was a representation of Trump as an isolationist in the sense that he was a nationalist.

### **Dramatism's Agency Reveals Trump's Persuasion**

In the rest of this chapter, Burke's *agency* of the dramatism will be examined for the 'means or rhetorical instruments' (1969a: xv) of persuasion in Trump's rhetoric. The 'American way' was offered purely and simply as a *purpose*, our 'business pragmatism' having been thus transformed into a mystical nationalism (Burke, 1969a: 310). There are certainly arguments that Trump alienated constituents in both Democratic and Republican parties with the content of his speeches. Trump's PGR and marketing techniques throughout his rally speeches as shown in the agency manipulated the art of persuasion to overcome the negatives seen by many to convince voters to trust him to garner the people's vote. Another aspect considered lends to Aristotle's opinion of young men: the

character of the young was impetuous and optimistic (2007:2:17:149). Younger voters are yet unaffected by the travails of life and maintain a hopeful outlook on life to come (2007:2:17:150). Trump seemed aware of meeting the needs of the younger voter in his October 13, 2016, Columbus, Ohio rally as he specifically addressed the need to fix grievances of university life:

... I (agent) will take (act) steps to push colleges to cut the skyrocketing cost of tuition (agency). ... I will also make (act) it a priority to protect student's rights to free speech on campus. In the past few decades, political correctness has transformed (act) our institutions of higher education (scene) from ones that fostered spirited debate, to a place of extreme censorship where students are silenced (agency). We should support (act) schools that allow (act) people to learn skills and practice a trade so young people can have access to the education that's right for them. ... One of the biggest threats is outsourcing – jobs for college educated kids are being sent (act) to other countries (agency) (purpose, meeting all levels in hierarchy of needs: education, jobs, guidance, achievement).

Table:1, Row 134

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c)

In this portion of his rhetoric [agency], Trump addressed facts about university life: the cost of tuition, and free speech, the need for life counseling to be taking the classes needed for the career desired, and to encourage them to work in the United States because of brain drain (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 134). The *I* of Trump's 'I will' was the agent's voice of the manager in Fairclough's 'social actor' scenario (2003:149) explaining how people related to one another. Trump's *I* was taking charge of the grievances he addressed of higher education. Genter noted that Burke called the *I* a unique joining of somewhat 'conflicting corporate we's' (2010:284). This conflict of interpretation demonstrates why CDA was needed as clarification with the pronominals of the oration. In this case, Fairclough's explanation better defined the situation and the pronoun *I* which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Trump appeared to have received much of the working-class vote from mid-America which would certainly tie to the demographics presented in Chapter One. The August 17, 2016, West Bend, Wisconsin rally demonstrated to whom most of

Trump's speeches were addressed, being those who have financial concerns. In his agency, he used an Aristotlean device, the syllogism, often suggested in communication manuals, as a 'powerful tool of persuasion' (Gregory, 2013:333) where a logical argument was inferred from two or more agreed ideas:

On taxes, I am going to give a massive tax cut to every worker and small business in this country, bring thousands of new companies and millions of new jobs onto our shores, and make it very difficult for our businesses to leave (major premise). I am going to reform our regulations (minor premise), so jobs stay in America, and new businesses come to America to hire workers right here in Milwaukee (conclusion) (agency). Every policy my opponent has sends jobs overseas. I am going to bring trillions in new wealth back to the United States. (agency) Table:1, Rows 16-17

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Trump made it easy to accept his premises. By referring to tax cuts and reformed regulations his argument becomes logical (Politico, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 16-17). The list of three, as suggested by Atkinson offered a completeness concerning the three points satisfying the audience to the conclusion (1984:57). The syllogism meets these requirements with the third being the denouement the speaker desired from the crowd. Again, the corporate 'I' reflected by Fairclough's corporate manager was implemented to persuade the audience he was the man for the presidency. Trump had reflected this persona to his average of 10 million viewers of the TA/CA as noted in Chapter One (Maglio, 2016). This would help explain much of the vote from the business sector that rallied in Trump's direction.

In the world of politics, with the exception of being interviewed in 1991 by Congress, Trump was known more as a financial donor to the political arena than a politician. Certainly, his personal character had come into question, but Trump was certainly well-versed in the art of persuasion considering his business success, use of syllogisms, repetition, and other persuasive techniques added to the persuasion of his PGR.

Trump's persuasion techniques are demonstrated with his continued use of the syllogism and alliteration in the agency when he discussed Hillary Clinton's deleted emails in the October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio rally:

She did not cover up her crimes (major premise). The WikiLeaks documents show how the media conspires and collaborates with the Clinton campaign (minor premise), including giving the questions and answers to Hillary Clinton before a debate (minor premise). (Conclusion – Hillary lacks integrity.) (agency) Trump's character assassination) (purpose) Table:1, Row 36

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

Trump didn't seem satisfied just with an effective syllogism, he added alliteration with the hard C's as he described Clinton's actions, cover up her crimes, conspires and collaborates, and the Clinton campaign to keep the audience's attention on Clinton's metaphorical description to convince the constituents while adding another minor premise to punctuate the argument (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 36).

Kochin suggests, the orator needs to use quality figurative language to fill in the blanks the audience may have (2009:393). Burke related this in *A Grammar of Motives* as not simply 'figurative usage' but as part in the 'discovery and description' of reality (1969a:503). Trump did not disappoint in applying and managing the tools of persuasion again in the October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio rally employing hyperbole and symbolism in the agency:

The new emails also show members of the Clinton team, viciously attacking (hyperbole) Catholics and evangelicals. It's just the latest evidence of the hatred (hyperbole) that the Clinton campaign has for faithful people in our country (symbolism). Faithful Americans (symbolism). Hillary Clinton thinks you are deplorable and irredeemable – and irredeemable might be worse. It means you can't help yourself (hyperbole). I call you hard-working American patriots (symbolism), and together were going to save our country (symbolism) with the smartest, with the best. We're going to unify our country (symbolism)(repetition). (agency) (purpose building an antithesis between the candidates) Table:1, Row 43

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

Hillary and her assistants said it, but Trump embellished the opportunity to fully take advantage of the rhetoric mixing hyperbole of Hillary Clinton's broad statement to the patriotism of those who support him. Larson noted that the guilt-by-association was typically used in political times when vying for the vote of the people for a particular candidate. The fallacy simply argues that if one person, or a certain group of people, felt one way then anyone else who associated with them had those same qualities (2001:179). Here, Trump added a typical marketing tool, the emotional appeal, with the harsh words 'viciously attacking and hatred' which fit the verbiage of the emails by Clinton staffers. But in the world of politics, where you defended your party and your electorate, Trump did so by switching the negative to a positive, and then adding the dream: 'I call you hard-working' (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 43).

Through Burke's dramatism including those used in the agency, this thesis will argue Trump did just that. He took the words of a few of Clinton's campaign workers and Hillary Clinton's labeling his followers as deplorable and molded them to the entire Clinton campaign and established a compact union of negatives to create his reality or truth, as showed by Burke's view of perception using figurative language, to unify his base. Trump also used 'Faithful Americans' and 'American patriots' to symbolize the citizens who needed to reclaim 'our country'(twice) and to contrast his message with Clinton (ibid.). O'Shaughnessy also proposed that the 'negative propaganda' can be a positive as it united the characters, (2004:166) in this case, would be Trump voters.

By the way of example, Burke noted that political news often employed the text situation with little understanding of the reasons behind the why (1969a:12-13). He used the example of France during German occupation to exemplify the idea of scene-agent highlighting that they labeled political figures as 'prisoners of the situation' (1996a:13). Burke further clarified the act was truly an action verb not just a motion of thought (1969a:14). This was accurate for Trump's PGR as well, as he was either committing to an action or asked for actions to be taken. 'Many people in Great Britain and the United States think of these nations as vessels of



democracy' (ibid.). Burke's point was that democratic values lie within us, and thus in our thoughts the democratic acts came from the agent despite conditions which might limit those rights of the agent as in World War II (ibid.). In the scene-act scenario the situation is 'no longer a democratic one' (ibid.). With the change in ratio the situation changed thus the results change. In consideration of this the speaker (Trump) had to be careful of the scenarios he presented to the constituency to gather their votes. His carefully chosen words that contrasted himself with Clinton continued in the September 9, 2016, Pensacola, Florida speech:

We (agent) will also have a very strong border that stops people and drugs from illegally pouring into our country -- and we're going to build a border wall, and Mexico will pay for it. In this new future, we are going to raise your wages. (agency) Household incomes are over \$4,000 less today than they were in the year 2000. My tax, trade, energy, immigration and regulation reforms will get your salaries and wages up. Hillary Clinton will continue the failed economic agenda that has only made her friends rich at your personal expense. Many people in this room tonight, and across this country, haven't seen a real wage increase in 18 years. The people getting rich off of our rigged (agency) system have sent tens of millions of dollars to Hillary Clinton – much of it to her personal bank account – to keep you from having the future you deserve. Table 1: Row 157

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a)

This was the Fairclough *we* of government leadership in 'national space-time' (2013: 286-287) before Trump adds the ego *My* [representing his government if elected] tax, trade, energy, and immigration reforms leading to *your wages, your salaries* (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 157). The use of your (you) according to Fairclough suggested a solidarity between the speaker (government) and the constituency (2015:143-144). The act-agent ratio clarified Trump's relationship to their potential financial success with the contrast to Clinton's leadership. With Trump the first four levels of MHN are being met: food, safety, friends, accomplishment.

Later, Burke described a philosophical look at the terms as they all are interconnected in use. He started with the scene and the philosophies that suggested the situation was ‘materialistic’ (1969a:130). This philosophical approach had been accepted by other ‘schools’ of thought also, but Burke argued this narrows the scene back to ‘motion’ as to an ‘action’ (1969a:131). Trump’s slogan, *MAGA*, is an example of this. The agency contained the people receiving the slogan who were being urged to act which would make America (the scene of the action) great again. The act of making great again was the symbolic purpose, so that citizens could live the way they need to live. For Burke materialism, as in the different elements representing wealth or money, came with the *purpose*, why, to improve one’s life (1969a: 316).

Burke’s dramatism becomes significant when trying to persuade (purpose) an audience to vote (act) or accept ideas of change (1969a:130). Trump (agent) made many promises (acts to be done) creating situations requiring the people to support his *MAGA* agenda. A closer look at Trump’s rhetoric will demonstrate the *dramatism* Burke suggests: For instance, in Trump’s October 31, 2016, Warren, Michigan speech, he stated:

You (agent) have to vote. Vote (act) with all your heart and soul. Show the whole world how much you love Michigan, and how much you love America, (scene) by voting to take back the jobs that have been stolen (hyperbole) from you. (agency) I’m (agent) asking for the vote of the Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and first-time voters who want great jobs, safe neighborhoods, and the government that works for the people. (purpose) I’m asking you to believe in America once again. (ratio/ act-agent). (Purpose) Vote to save jobs, create safety, better democracy. Table1, Row 140

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d)

Through using the pentad, it is possible to see how: Trump’s message (agent) expressed his grievance of lost American jobs because they are going to other countries for cheaper labor and materials (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 140). The purpose of voting to regain one’s stolen jobs ties to the basic needs in MHN of security and physiological needs. He suggested that all can be

changed with a vote for him. *Why* (purpose) vote for Trump intersects with MHN allowing the people to understand what they could have. Chapters Six and Seven will examine other aspects of the pentad.

Burke's *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969b) examined a spectrum of persuasive communication. Burke made an important point in that only when people made decisions on their own was persuasion necessary, because 'persuasion involved choice and is directed at a man only insofar as he is free' (1969b:50). Brexit or *MAGA* are modern examples. Burke also looked at rhetoric and its close link to dialectics. In the case of dialectics, starting with an opinion and scrutinizing the points to determine truth was the responsibility of the audience (1969b:53).

Burke suggests that it is important to look past the classical to induce activity by looking at 'opinion and truth' as a 'dialectical pair' (1969b:54). Burke admits the speaker may manipulate the audience, but he clarifies that opinion as the 'moral order' of action as to scenic representing truth (1969b:54-55). If an orator senses the audience liked his/her performance, a lecturer could persuade his/her crowd by continuing these thoughts and forms of presentation (1969b:55). Burke declares the key from Aristotle is to 'gain advantage' of some kind (1969b:60). This advantage may be individual or partisan, but speakers searched for advantage by using a broad list of defined terms linked to rhetoric which one or another gains the rhetorician the advantage (1969b:61). Much like the politicians today, Burke suggested that the 'commercial rhetorician' created an audience interested in hearing the product, thus creating an 'active audience instead of passive' (1969b:64). Trump offers his audience himself as the product of character and business savvy to run the nation productively. Because of this salesman attitude the MHN as a tool to define Trump's purpose is essential.

### **The Agency Reveals Trump's Aggressive Rhetoric**

Lussier examined the MHN from the business perspective of motivation. He noted that MHN offered corporate management a compelling rhetoric to contend that businesses were in harmony with people prospering in 'postwar America'

(2019:320). Wodak discussed the disruptive dialogue of ‘far-right populist leaders who dare to say what they think’ exhibiting brazen behavior, disgusting some while empowering others who felt left behind due to unemployment and lacking in social status (2021:227). Saying what Trump thinks appears in many of Trump’s campaign speeches when he spoke of Clinton. She further noted that far-right populist purposely incite ‘moral emotions’, through ‘hyperbole and hysteria’ (2021:46). Looking again at the October 31, 2016, Warren, Michigan speech, Trump took advantage of the negative news on Hillary Clinton displaying his ‘moral superiority’ and his dislike of the wrongs that are happening in Washington DC to add to the distrust of politicians:

Real change also means restoring honesty to our government.  
(purpose) As you know, the FBI has reopened its investigation into Hillary Clinton has discovered another 650,000 emails. (agency)  
Hillary (agent) lied (act) under oath when she said she turned over all of her work-related emails – just one more lie out of so many.  
This is the biggest scandal since Watergate (hyperboles). (purpose)  
(Implying Washington DC’s need to drain the swamp)  
(ratio/scene-act) Table1, Row 142

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d)

The purpose of noting Clinton’s alleged shortcomings created a fear and distrust of the DC politicians. Trump branded her as someone who cannot be believed or trusted.

In *The Argument Culture* (1998), Tannen addresses the political culture of politics and the media. Trump railed on these issues from the moment he announced his run for the presidency. A look at the past in Trump’s interview with Larry King on *Larry King Live* in 1999, when Trump announced a ‘presidential exploratory committee’ showed the fickleness of the media: ‘The one, sort of negative polls, I had was in *Newsweek*, and they put me on the cover. So, I said, how can you write a poll – how could you do a poll like this, and I’m on the cover of *Newsweek*?’ (Trump, 1999). Part of his campaign targeted ‘cleaning the swamp’ and the almost daily tirade concerning ‘fake news’ was still ongoing. Tannen suggested that the problem of politics and the media has been an ongoing issue that was out

of control (Tannen,1998), and an area that will be explored within this thesis is whether Trump capitalized on that aspect of the media and politics in his speeches. One example was in Trump's October 10, 2016, West Palm Beach, Florida speech in which he spent seven minutes addressing the *New York Times*' inaccuracies on a topic which has been a significant Trump grievance populism rhetoric since his days in business:

Six months ago, the failing *New York Times* (agent) wrote (act) a massive story attacking me, and the central witness they use said the story was false; that she was quoted inaccurately. She said that I was a great guy. ... Now, today the same discredited writers, ... Tell another totally fabricated and false story (agency) that supposedly took place on an airplane more than 30 years ago (scene). Another ridiculous tale, no witnesses, no nothing. (purpose) build pathos, discredit the media Table:1, Row 89

(National Public Radio, Trump, 2016)

Trump used this narrative to gain the pathos of the audience and propagandise against the media. Applying Burke's dramatism here we can surmise that the agent was the *New York Times*, who wrote the act. The plane was the scene, the agency was the false story written and clarified by the lady interviewed, and the paper doing it again with a different story, whilst the purpose was to gain the empathy of the audience to believe in his good character, and to acknowledge and thereby ensure that he did have people who like him (National Public Radio, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 89). This point met the MHN of belonging and relationship building.

O'Shaughnessy asserted that a 'good story needed a villain' thus creating a primal strain between 'good and evil' (2004:132). In this case, Trump found his villain in the print media of the *New York Times* article concerning his alleged behavior toward a young lady. The *Times* had their villain in Trump. Trump responded likewise. ... 'she said, I was a great guy. ... We demanded a retraction, but they refused to print it' (2016) O'Shaughnessy gave the example of the UK's newspaper: *The Daily Mail* 'plays to the prejudices of the English middle class

like a Stradivarius: a ‘daily procession of bogus asylum seekers, thugs, ... EU excesses, social worker Stalinists, and politically correct lunacies parade, menacingly, and outrageously, through its pages’ (2004:133). In his scenario, Trump put his words into a cohesive narrative as his persuasive technique to counter the *Times* story concerning him, exemplifying the Larson argument that influence of the narrative approach will probably persist to permeate ‘human affairs’ for years to come (2001:58). Trump was using a wide gambit of verbal tools to add persuasion to the words he chose as he traveled from rally to rally meeting his electorate.

Tannen also explained the argument culture as ‘an adversarial frame of mind’ that assumes the ‘best way to get anything done’ is to ‘set up a debate’ instead of discussing and reporting events by finding the two most opposite views and showing them as ‘both sides’ (1998:3). Tannen discussed the politics in President Bill Clinton’s era as he was president at the time her book was written (1998:97). Ironically there was very little difference between the 1990s politics and media than of today. Tannen cited several politicians to illustrate her point: Senator Heflin of Alabama bipartisanship was relinquished for ‘sound bites and quick fixes and demonizing’ the opposition. Then Tannen reported: Senator Byrd of West Virginia cited in the ‘*Congressional Record for December 20, 1995*’ ‘...When we accuse our colleagues of lying...delivering vengeful maledictions against the President of the United States, and other senators...’ (Byrd in Tannen, 1998:129). Subsequently, Tannen demonstrated that the language used was why politicians are stepping down from office during this time period. The media reflected the role of the reporter as indicated in *The New York Times* piece: ‘Mr. Clinton also feared attacks from the press, which cannot believe that Mr. Clinton gave ground to help the country, but only because he was wishy washy’ (1998:98). Tannen’s points proved enlightening when analysing Trump’s discourse through his campaign and tenure as shown earlier.

During Trump's September 7, 2016, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania speech, he was condescending about Hillary Clinton's character, allowing him to again stress his dissatisfaction with the nation's foreign policies:

Sometimes it has seemed like there wasn't a country in the Middle East (scene) that Hillary Clinton (agent) didn't want (act) to invade, intervene, or topple. She is trigger-happy and unstable when it comes to war. Hillary Clinton is just reckless – so reckless, in fact, she put her emails on any illegal server that our enemies could easily hack (agency). overall world safety (implied purpose). Table 1: Row 113

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016b)

This exemplified the way Trump used hyperbolic techniques such as trigger-happy, unstable and reckless to brand Hillary Clinton as incapable of handling world affairs effectively and safely. He also implied he could provide that basic need if elected (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 140). See the Cincinnati, Ohio and Palm Beach, Florida speeches also.

In *That's Not What I Meant* (1986), Tannen indicated the 'power and solidarity' aspect of rhetoric. She defined power as having command over others as an expansion of the relationship while curbing themselves from being manipulated (1986:101). Meanwhile, women try to balance their life with solidarity or a concord with others. The desire to have control with peace developed an equalization between the persons (ibid.). Another way to approach this was by thinking of the salesperson (1986:109). Ironically this example fit Trump well. The 'solidarity' created by the salesperson in using your name or telling you how great you look in the car, or how great an article of clothing was, gave the illusion of friendship while stepping into a power situation to create a sale (1986:109-110). Even though Tannen was talking to women, Trump also used this persuasive technique in the October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio rally:

Manufacturing jobs, your steel jobs, your miners are going to be protected (act), your miners are going back (act) to work (scene). (agency – through repetition) That I (agent) can tell you (purpose – basic and psychological needs). Table 1: Row 32

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

Trump's purpose was to show his audience he could help them start over and see themselves achieving their goals starting with their safety and developing self-esteem following MHN. Not surprisingly, Tannen linked this concept of power and solidarity to politics, thus the politicians who are most found to be disingenuous (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 32). Tannen suggested that ambition was the link with politicians as they desired 'power as well as being liked by the constituents' (1986:112). The skillsets of a politician are much like the personal detail to build affinity (ibid.). Tannen's assessment would appear to imply that no one should be surprised that Donald Trump decided to run for the presidency or at least a political office. The reality was that politicians must be persuasive to obtain votes, and Trump had 30 plus years to prepare himself.

The Democratic Party, thus Clinton, had a platform promoting public schools, government care for immigrants, climate concerns and a globalist approach to governing. The themes of this platform all had validity, but the Republican Party had a platform promoting charter schools and freedom to choose the school you go to. It also proposed that immigrants that came in are not entitled to government funding, global warming was a long way off, and capitalism was the way to a successful country theme which also have validity. Trump gave both sides of the argument as an analogy, by saying this was what Hillary Clinton had done and this is what I will do to meet your needs. In his June 28, 2016, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania rally he illustrated with his argument against the TPP:

The transpacific partnership would be (act) the deathblow for American manufacturing. It would give up (act) all our leverage to an international commission that would put the interest of foreign countries (scene) before (agency) our own. The TPP creates a new international commission that makes decisions the American people cannot veto (agency). It should be no surprise then that Hillary Clinton (agent), according to Bloomberg, took a leading part in drafting the TPP. (Implied purpose, basic needs, job security). Table:1, Row 66

(Politico, Trump 2016a)



Trump's hyperbole (deathblow, all are leverage, cannot veto) was designed to discredit Clinton's leadership (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 66). His purpose (why) to create a vision of foreign interference, and the need for Trump to bring back those jobs (ibid.). This argument would make perfect sense to the Democratic Party, but for the Republican party the discussion would be why are foreign countries making decisions that affect American workers? The civil debate discussing the pros and cons never happens as they've been replaced by town halls and rallies as the candidates used their best persuasive techniques to win. The agency allowed for sales pitch to take place, and the purpose evoked the why.

As the above example of propaganda in the Pittsburg speech displayed, when one man's truth was revealed, the people could decide, but misinformation needed to be debated. Trump's rallies permitted him to give both sides of the argument of his grievance, thus he came out on top. Consider his stance on education in his October 13, 2016, West Bend, Wisconsin rally:

On education, it is time (act) to have school (scene) choice, merit pay for teachers, and end (act) the tenure policies that hurt good teachers and reward bad teachers. We (government management, agent) are going (act) to put students and parents first (agency). Hillary Clinton (agent) would rather deny (act) opportunities to millions of young African-American children (agency), just so she can curry (act) favor with the education bureaucracy (agency). I am going to allow charter schools (scene) to thrive, and help young kids get on the American ladder of success: a good education, and a good paying job (purpose leads to success for the people).  
Table:1, Row 18

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

He associated an antithesis of choices: school choice, educators rewarded, students prepared for jobs as to being denied opportunities by his opponent which ended with a summation, that he would meet the psychological needs of his audience's sense of achievement and accomplishment. Trump's hyperbolic addition of 'millions of African-American children' would suffer from Clinton's

education policy added to the contrast and persuasiveness of his purpose (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 18).

When discussing the negative effect of aggressive wording on democracy and political misinformation, Tarver questioned whether the ‘worst case scenarios’ would not become more damaging if not argued (2004:348). Tarver illustrated this with an example of the side or person who suggest a table discussion ‘until you see it my way’ or the opponent worded the idea so vaguely that the desired interpretation can be manipulated (2004:349). Tarver suggested if society failed to argue then we could be misled. He completely disagreed with absolutes (ibid.). Tarver backed this with his experience while stopping at Speakers Corner in London’s Hyde Park: ‘where I heard a variety of nuts and weirdoes orating away. The United Kingdom seemed none the worse for it’ (ibid.).

Trump applied combative language to many of his campaign speeches. In his October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio speech, he attacked Clinton’s character and used statistics to argue against China being allowed to join The World Trade Organisation:

And you know, when she's (agent) over in China (scene). If she goes down (act) in Tiananmen Square, they'll just leave her there, they're tough people. They're just going to leave her there. They're not going to help her up. They'll say let her come up when she's ready, these are tough people. (agency) Since China entered the World Trade Organization, another Bill and Hillary backed deal. Now listen to this, 70,000 factories, I thought they meant 500,700, 7,000, 70,000 factories have shut down or left the United States of America. (scene) 70,000. That's 15 factories closing a day on average in our country, going to other places. (agency) We are living through the greatest jobs theft in the history of the world, and it comes from our country and goes to many others. In particular, China, Mexico, Japan, but plenty of others. (purpose)  
Table: 1, Row 51

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

Trump’s first suggestion was if Clinton *goes down*, (the act branding Clinton physically/psychologically weak, costing the nation jobs), the Chinese leaders

will leave her there to make it on her own. The lack of decorum continued with his attack on the character of the Chinese leaders: they won't care, they're cruel. (agency). The tens of thousands of jobs lost 'greatest job theft' was of course Clinton's fault as well, which served as his purpose (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 51). Trump's aggressive speech in the Republican debates had brought him this far and he continued the abrasive personal attacks in his campaign speeches. (See: Bad Behavior, Chapter Two, page 101.)

Tarver strengthened his proposal by arguing that if we limit debate then precarious groupthink could become the norm (2004:350). Citing United States President Kennedy's choice to go forward with the military offensive at the 'Bay of Pigs in Cuba', Tarver borrowed from Graham Allison's analysis in *Essence of Decision* and asserted the accord led to failure because critical facts were never brought forth (2004:350). It was here that Tarver suggested that speechwriters hold a strong obligation with everyone else joining the fray of debate to assist 'people in need of argument' by clarifying the points in question precisely (2004:350).

Tarver concluded with an obvious statement that 'American politicians certainly do not spell issues as neatly' as he would suggest (2004:351). Coherently expressing the points of the disagreement should be an utmost commitment 'of an advocate in a free society' (ibid.). Although Burke's dramatism allows for a fuller understanding of the message being delivered and the methods in doing so, it does fail in discerning factual information from propaganda.

### **Summary**

This chapter unfolds a framework of Burke's dramatism intersected with MHN to investigate Trump's use of grievance populism rhetoric. Trump's persuasive marketing strategies in language as shown through Burke's agency, as he jumped into the political arena at the highest level in a campaign for the presidency allowed for his audience to understand and accept his *truths*. In Burke, the determination is if Trump revealed and met the needs of his audience and

persuaded them through his chosen rhetoric in the agency to vote for him. Burke's dramatism determines how well he developed pathos with the voters and displayed the power in the agency to meet the purpose and their needs. This chapter reveals underlying theoretical concepts that will be used to analyse Trump's success with his persuasive business techniques and grievance populist rhetoric, thus helping to explain the popularity of his appeal.

### Chapter Summary

- **Burke's Dramatism Reveals Persuasive Rhetoric** / The five points of the pentad (dramatism) are highlighted. Burke's study of Marx and Machiavelli's *The Prince* compels the usage of MHN to clarify the purpose of Trump's grievance populist rhetoric.
- **Burke's Dramatism with Motive and Ratios** / Revealing Trump's motives by the symbols of the argument which are revealed by the using dramatism and observing the ratios. According to Burke the ratios of act/agent represents capitalism and scene/act represents socialism similar to the globalist appeal of the Clinton campaign.
- **Dramatism Intersects MHN** / The crossing of paths of Burke's purpose (why) with Maslow's needs when the speaker addresses what the people should desire. Fairclough, Genter and Gregory verify the proper interpretation of the pronoun usage.
- **Dramatism's Agency Reveals Trump's Persuasion** / The rhetorical instruments that induced persuasion amongst the voters are examined: Aristotle's syllogism, hyperbole, contrast of Trump's perspective of the US to Clinton's views.
- **The Agency Underpins Trump's Aggressive Rhetoric** / Wodak explains the aggression of populist politicians. Trump plays the villain with his use of hyperbole and branding.

## Chapter Four

### LITERATURE REVIEW:

#### The Academic Debate of Politics, Rhetoric, and Trump

The fundamental premise of this thesis is that the rhetoric Donald Trump engaged in during the 2016 US presidential campaign can be categorized as populist grievance rhetoric, and that it employed persuasive neoliberal business marketing and branding techniques so successfully that it helped support the election of the country's first non-politician, or non-military office holder to the highest political office in the United States. This unorthodox happening resulted from the way in which Trump expounds a dream of nationalism by promising to Make America Great Again. This thesis questions whether Trump's populist grievance driven marketing approach, which aims to persuade the nation's communities that his plan would give them the opportunity to meet their needs, as well as fulfilling their dreams, is assessable.

The thesis examines the literature of the making of political speeches and what makes them effective. As Trump uses populist content there will be an examination of what populism is and how it works in rhetoric. The public sphere and its relationship to the electorate will be considered with a consideration of Trump's personality in correlation with politics. The figurative and literal methods of visual persuasion will be investigated. Political branding and emotional rhetoric will be explored for its impact on the audience and the speaker. Peale's influence on Trump and his interviews from 1980 until 1999 will be investigated for clues as to why Trump chose to run for the presidential office. The elements of this chapter develop a base for the direction of the thesis by the determinations made from the results of the literature. The research applies Kenneth Burke's dramatism framework and identifies the various marketing and branding techniques behind Trump's grievance rhetoric (Burke, 1969a). It also intersects A. H. Maslow's hierarchy of needs to help determine why the constituency voted for Donald J. Trump (Maslow, 2013).

This review will provide relevant concepts of psychology, sociology, persuasion, public sphere, public opinion and rhetoric, including early interviews, to examine Donald Trump's disruption of the political realm in the United States.

Furthermore, it investigates scholarly work that evaluates the shift in the social and psychological needs of the voter. These should prove applicable to the study of the discourse used by Trump. Through this research, an existential model of persuasion in the world of politics should help elucidate the above concepts.

### **Direction of Thesis**

It is noted that arrogance of the billionaire Trump is a part of his character and persona of his business and upbringing. Certainly, there is a pompous style in the man who follows in his father's footsteps continuing to build a real estate empire and becoming a reality television host and star, but Donald Trump is a businessman not a politician. Discourse analysis of Trump speeches in his campaign year for the presidency should show a marked difference between what America expects from a politician and the businessman they elected. Few believe the Trump brand would carry Trump into the White House, but, through business marketing and ignoring the etiquette of politicking, Trump's brand brought an audience from his 14 years of TA/CA, that would then enable him to persuade others to vote for him. This thesis aims to show how the businessman's speech brought him the position of President of the United States. Trump assuredly does not overwhelm potential voters with his political rhetoric but instead addresses voters in simpler terms of populist grievances which reveal their wants as a constituency group. The following research begins with the introduction of techniques for successful speechmaking political candidates may choose to use.

### **Politics and Rhetoric – Political Speech Making**

The contribution of Atkinson (1984) to the type of elements that contribute to the effectiveness of politician's rhetoric will prove beneficial. Atkinson aimed to demonstrate that politician's choice of verbal cues and gestures affects the audience reaction without realizing it (1984:6). He further identified a

measurement process for the audience's 'attention and approval' based on oral responses and applause thereby clarifying the effectiveness of the speech (1984:13). This could prove useful in determining Trump's success as a speaker, as this coincides with the populist approach used by Trump. Atkinson identified the pronoun usage with the positive *us* and *we* vs the negative *them* (1984:40) and as another tool to persuade and evaluate the audience (Wodak, 2021:162; Fairclough, 2015). He contended the *we* used by US presidents Kennedy and Reagan were 'boastfully on behalf of an entire nation' (1984:37-38) as well as for two British prime ministers Callaghan and Thatcher (1984:38). Whereas the *us* from the speaker of a political party connects the *us* to hopes and dreams of the future (1984:39). As will be shown in this research, Maslow demonstrated this increment of desires through his *Theory of Human Motivation* (2013) identified as the hierarchy of needs. This notion of the pronoun usage will be tested as a standard for examining and understanding the way in which pronouns influence the audience to believe the speaker and determining the purpose through Burke's dramatism.

Atkinson also highlighted the 'list or a contrast' or blend of the two as an element of three to bring about a positive reaction from the audience (1984:57). He suggested any list of just two left the audience feeling the thought was inadequate (ibid.). Atkinson added that this listing of like items bolstered the message of the speech even just the repetition of the same word such as *win, win, win* (1984:60). This aligned to Aristotle's syllogism allowing for two premises and drawing a conclusion creating the three as a highly effective persuasive technique for an orator (2007,1:2:41). Atkinson suggested as a unit of the three using a list of adjectives or adverbs leading to the final word, which created anticipation of an ultimate attack or insult coming (1984:63). He changed his examination to the conflict approach of rhetoric using the *us* and *them* contrast comprising of 'assertions and counter-assertions' (1984:73). These contrasts created 'advantages both for projecting a completion point and delivering a punch line' providing a reason for the constituents to continue listening (ibid.). He established that these parts must be equal in development, for if the second went too long or short and

failed to parallel the first, it would fail to connect with the audience (1984:77). Atkinson emphasized how a politician may benefit when using the contrast approach to persuasion. First, use the *our* pronoun followed by the *us* pronoun to garner the attention of the audience and add the ‘poetic qualities of alliteration and rhyme’ to create a persuasive reaction from the crowd (1984:81). Atkinson cited former Labour Party leader Michael Foot: ‘There’s no despair in this great demonstration. There is a determination to destroy them and their policies’ (cited in Atkinson,1984:81). Atkinson set the guidelines for effective stimulus of the audience by politicians applying the ‘triad and antitheses perfectly delivered (1984: xi). Atkinson set the groundwork for the populist grievance rhetoric’s capacity to persuade the citizenry through his analysis of the political voice of politics.

Vasile’s (2017) study of three of Hillary Clinton’s campaign stops and three similar campaign stops for Trump also focused on word choice that may lead to determining the impact of Trump’s rhetoric on the election. Vasile looked at the mixed messages of the words used by both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, and how it might change as the election grows nearer. The research developed a contradiction of sorts in that though Trump’s speeches used more polarizing words, and Vasile’s research suggested Trump would lead in the polls if this happened (2017:26). In fact, Trump was behind in the polls with the polarization in his speeches and then went on to win the electoral college. This could question the polls accuracy, but more importantly that the harsh rhetoric used by Trump was effective in persuading the public opinion. Vasile’s focused on ‘polarized language’ (2017:24) in the realm of politics, and the campaign trail speeches may prove useful to this thesis. Significantly, Vasile’s research argued that negative rhetoric should dispel voters (2017:29) but did offer there was more that could be considered in this research. Salter’s research cited Cicero and the idea that Trump suggested solutions as a response to this conclusion of public choice (2017:60). Again, a mention was made of the unhappiness of Trump with American politics in his speeches.



Savoy (2016) specifically focused on the debates of the primaries emphasizing the persuasive techniques of the politicians as true debaters. The underlying hypothesis of Savoy's research is 'to assume that the words serve as guides to the way the author thinks, acts or feels' (2017:4). Savoy offered a vocabulary, kind of words used, and word count, total number of words used and frequency, that is telling when one considers Salter et al. and Vasile's revelation on the public's reaction to believability of the candidates. The highest total word counts were from Clinton, Sanders, Trump, and Rubio respectively and arguably the strongest finishers with the winner included. Though not really interested so much in the count, as focusing on repetition, a worthy note on verbosity and the ability to persuade could be helpful. Savoy's comparison of artistic expression of the presidential candidates matched Jordan and Pennebaker's discernment of Trump's more simplistic style (2016:7). Trump's simplicity in word choice could prove of worthy note to explaining how a long shot won over the people. Research by Savoy seemed to demonstrate that the straightforward repetitious rhetoric of Trump (2016:8) increased his seeming concern for the focused topic and audience. What does my public want to hear? Trump clarified simply and succinctly to promote himself and his ideas (2016:17-18).

Likewise, these results were shown in Wang and Liu's (2018:301) research into Trump's rhetorical style during his debates and electoral speeches. The authors compared Trump's oratory with Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders and Barak Obama speeches and debates using quantitative lexical (vocabulary richness MATTR) and syntactic degrees (readability Flesch-Kincaid (FK) test) and content analysis with 'type: token ratio' (TTR) Thematic concentration (TC) (2018:303). Wang and Liu explained the use of content analysis to ensure the proper intention of the speaker's message (2018:301). American Presidency Project sourced the information used for the research.

As speeches were mostly written by someone other than the candidates, the debates were used to measure examples of rhetoric (2018:306). This may give better insight to Trump the candidate as a persuasive speaker. Trump's vocabulary

level was smaller almost ‘fifth grade level’ during the debates than Hillary Clinton’s or Obama’s debate levels (2018:307), meanwhile his campaign speeches reached a ‘ninth grade level’ which is higher than ‘Clinton and Obama’ (ibid.). Also, of interest was Trump’s thematic concentration as his themes, such as ‘Make America Great Again’, seemed to gain support with his audience. Wang and Liu suggested Trump’s rhetoric may ‘psychologically convince’ his audience of their needs (ibid.). Maslow’s hierarchy of needs would suggest that the desire created by Trump’s populist grievance rhetoric triggered the people’s unhappiness with their own lifestyle and with Washington DC’s politicians.

### **Populism as a Form of Persuasion**

Higgins (2009) explored populist rhetoric in the respective nomination acceptance speeches of the vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin and presidential candidate Barak Obama. According to Higgins, populism relied on the premise that ‘public will’ or the populace are the preeminent actors of political shifts (2009:131). He added that populism was not the only technique used to create the impression of universality and representation as this style of populism relies on a compelling leader who would serve as their representative against the prevailing tone-deaf system (ibid.). Higgins concluded that: ‘populism presents an empty rhetorical style readily adaptable to whatever political agenda is at hand’ (ibid.).

Higgins further presented two results from examining the pronominal usage by Palin: first the ‘clustering of pronouns’ which allowed the understanding of the structure and intention of the oration; with the second allowing for the awareness of the pattern of ‘political populism’ through her choice of pronouns (2009:132). He revealed the collection of her usage of the first-person singular *I* which he described as her depicting her ‘public persona’, a mom, and her experience in governing the state of Alaska (2009:134). This pronoun *I* of sincerity then was used to project that imagery of understanding the people’s wants to an advocate for Senator John McCain Republican presidential nominee, a hero for the people (2009:135-136). Higgin’s then explored Palin’s movement from the *I* role of to

the inclusive *we*, and then how she fluctuated her speech to the left-out constituents of Washington's tone-deaf decision making, employing *you* and *your* pronouns (2009:137-138). He suggested that Palin's true role was that of defining the Republican Party's agenda (2009:138). In doing so, Palin was then able to begin using the inclusive *we* of the voting people *we Americans* and *we need* to unite the universal *we* of the nation to the desires of the public and the Republican party (2009:139).

As Higgins' investigated Obama's pronominal usage in his party's nomination acceptance speech, he revealed that Obama also depicted his own history and abilities from his experience to deliver for the people as a state senator (2009:138). Higgin's found Obama's 'mode of inclusiveness' to that of the orations of Martin Luther King but seeking 'political converts' with a *we* to stretch across social confines (2009:140:141). In contrasting Palin's inclusive *we*, which declared the people were able to make decisions concerning the country, Higgins concluded Obama's *we* were one of exclusion as he represented the people and took the role of accountability as a leader as renowned as past Democratic leaders had before him (2009:141). The roles of the pronouns in the Palin and Obama speeches are significant to the examination of populism in Trump's campaign speeches and will be considered.

In Wodak's *The Politics of Fear* (2021), she explored the far-right rhetoric of United Kingdom, United States, and Ukraine as well as other countries. She begun by defining 'far-right-populism' (FRP) as rhetoric that tried to simplify 'social and economic' designs for 'complex and often global' details, thereby creating a stereotype of the opposing side as corrupt (2021:5). Wodak then introduced a vast assumption framework for her arguments: a 'politics of fear' in which some minority segment of society was the menace to *our* society; this concern was then answered with a savior to remove the angst; then a 'politics of emotion' as to facts and reality; as well as a growing 'normalization of far-right policies' to a say what you want without confines that Wodak labeled 'shameless

normalization' (2021: 6). These generalizations could prove important to studying Trump's 2016 campaign grievance populism rhetoric.

Wodak also explored the use of fallacies in logic that FRP often created to develop a scapegoat for the issues faced by the electorate. These fallacies range from the *argumentum ad hominem* (attack of the person), the *straw man* (developing a caricature of the opponent to easily defeat), or the *hasty generalization* (a conclusion drawn on inadequate information) (2021:9). As will be seen, the use of logical fallacies existed in some of Trump's populist campaign speeches as an attempt to persuade his audience. She further identified the left-wing populists who identified themselves as the 'open and inclusive' who would challenge the suppressive elect to create a more 'equal society' (2021:37). This area of logical fallacies to manipulate persuasion was also contributed by scholarly work: (Sarett & Foster, 1936; Larson, 2001; Cross, 1997; Gregory, 2013).

Wodak further illustrated the *us vs them* mind-set employed by the politicians of the far right to create a bond with the common man. She told the story of a cab driver who after picking up Nigel Farage 'leader of the far-right British populist 102 party,' stated that Farage talked 'to him, understood his worries, liked to go to the pub and he speaks my language' (2021:161). These excerpts, according to Wodak, represented a significant aspect of the far-right's ability to come across as a political party who spoke 'our language' and communicated at the people's level (ibid.).

Jenne, Hawkins, and Silva (2021) examined populism and nationalism in the framework of the speeches of presidents and prime ministers in Europe and North America (2021:170). They used a collection of excerpts from leaders to show they employed populism to respond to their 'political opponents' (2021:173), which they defined as a collection of arguments concerning the danger to the country's sovereignty (2021:175). They defined nationalism as a collection of standards that believed that people of like beliefs 'have the right to territorial sovereignty'

(ibid.). To determine if these two styles of persuasion had become more widespread by ‘heads of state’, they examined ‘30 European and North American countries’ prime ministers and presidents from 1998—2018’ (2021:177). In their rubrics, populism was determined if the discourse separated the worthy populace from the ‘evil establishment’ and nationalism through the division of politics into ‘national self and national others’ (2021:178). The authors recognized that populism and nationalism generally are used together, but they suggested the latter had the larger emphasis on self (ibid.).

In their findings using scenarios from speeches, they noted that ‘neither populism nor nationalism’ was that noticeable in ‘speeches of European and North American leaders’ during this time span (2021:179). They used a holistic measuring scale with ‘58 graduate students trained on the structure’ (2021:178). In the ‘populist rubric’ the range was separated by ‘good people’ and ‘an evil establishment’, and the nationalism rubric separated on the lines of ‘homeland and foreigners’ with the scale separating those that praised the ‘national self’ and opposing the ‘competition with national others’(ibid). Notably on a 0-2 scale with decimals accepted in the scoring, for the UK, Blair’s average for populism was .0125 and nationalism .045, Brown’s was .050 and .30, Cameron’s was .013 and .875, with May’s .488 and .738 respectively (2021:192). Although they stated they used Trump’s speeches for nationalism only, they did not list any results for his 2016 to 2018 speeches. They did list the two Bush presidents with the first having .212 and .250 populism and nationalism scores and then listed Obama’s two terms .15 and .108 for the first term and .288 and .15 for his second term. The highest score for populism came from Slovakia’s Vladimir Meciar with a score of 1.67 and for nationalism was Turkey’s Recep T. Erdogan with a score of 1.35 total (ibid.). With neither research on Trump’s usage of populism, nor reporting of the research on his nationalism usage, this would certainly show that there had been little change in these two elements in past political leader’s discourse. The low scores demonstrated by the two Bush presidencies and Obama’s demonstrated this. It would seem that this research demonstrated that Trump had

changed the style of United States political rhetoric to populist grievance rhetoric during his presidential campaign.

Salmela and Scheve (2017) noted the ‘radical populist right’ growth was connected to the increase in ‘globalization and economic deregulation’ (2017: 569). They also indicated that ‘Northern and Central European countries’ with ‘right-wing’ political policies seemed to have been thriving and that government assistance offset the adverse effects of ‘globalization and neoliberal policies’ of the political and liberal elites for others affected by these policies (ibid.). The countries of Austria, Switzerland, and the Netherlands were given as support for this viewpoint as well (ibid.). The researcher’s principal focus was on the ‘emotional dynamics’ behind the backing for right-wing populism (2017:571). They suggested the emotions of ‘anxiety, anger,’ and helplessness were created by the right-wing’s rhetoric which tended to focus on the ‘winning or losing’ of the constituents within the framework of ‘immigration, national culture, and employment’ or losing employment opportunities as part of that rhetoric (2017:572).

They determined that emotions of ‘anger’ and ‘insecurity’ (2017:574,576) created both individual and group motivations to act against the groups scapegoating of the lefts equivalent (2017:578). They established this right-wing populism started in the 1980s from those who desired capitalism, lower taxes, and the private sector ownership of businesses as to governmental control (2017:586). Populism had been associated with the emotions of the constituency toward the political and social elite, as critical studies have pointed out (Roberts, 2006; Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2014; Hawkins & Kaltwasser, 2017; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019; Huber, Fesenfeld & Bernauer, 2020; Wodak, 2021; Melchiorre, 2023). It appeared that Trump’s populist appeal to the middle-class constituent’s fears and frustrations on immigration and in the job loss to globalization or immigrants created an environment of disgruntlement toward politicians that led to election.

Oliver and Rahn (2016) contributed to the analysis of the populist style and rhetoric of the candidates of the 2016 presidential campaign. They explored past trends, modern dialogue, and the population's attitude to identify the populist movement with the middle-income, that they argued may have delivered the vote that made Trump president. They clarified that the 'populist movement' was an ongoing struggle between the common man and the condescending ruling class and thus it depended on who ruled, the Democratic party or the Republican party, as to who applied this term to their party (2016:190-191). It was not surprising that Oliver and Rahn noted the populist leader would bend the facts to gain an upper hand. They use their own 'custom content dictionaries' for 'populist rhetoric' and the DICTION software for the quantitative analysis (ibid.). Their first table demonstrated that Trump and Carson record high scores in political populism with Trump having the highest total of 'blame' discourse (2016:193). In the second section of the table, Oliver and Rahn mapped the populism rhetoric of pronominal usage. They find Trump and Carson again lead in the *we—they* usage of the populist rhetoric inclusive we (the people) against they (the government). Trump also led the candidates in *our country* usage (ibid.). Critical research by Wodak & Meyer (2001); Higgins (2009); Fairclough (2015); Richard Thomas & Peter Turnbull (2017) suggested these results from populist rhetoric as well.

### **Personality and Politics of Trump**

Meanwhile, Nai and Maier (2018) focused on the personalities of the two 2016 candidates H. Clinton and D. Trump as determined by 75 professionals in politics. They also looked at voting responses of the Democratic and Republican parties addressing the 'populist rhetoric, the negativity and emotional appeal' of each of the candidates as guidelines for determining the results of the study (2018:80). These terms were defined more specifically by Nai and Maier. The meaningful result from the professionals was that Trump rated extremely 'high in extraversion' yet extremely low with his 'perceived personality' (2018:81). These same experts ranked Trump high in 'fear-based' tactics toward the elitists and negative in his branding of opponents. This was similar to Trump's use of the

barb of cleaning the swamp populist rhetoric. Nai and Maier used a ‘dataset’ of information from elections around the globe from these 75 experts. Then Nai and Maier used the ‘Ten Items Personality’ (TIPI) for their second discerning factor. More importantly, the professional’s evaluation of the ‘populist rhetoric’ of the two presidential candidates was used as a factor. They measured four aspects: identification with the blue-collar people, dialogue against current government, colloquial style, and dignity toward their opponent (2018:81). The grievance orations opposed to the government could apply to the way Trump’s branded himself into the presidency, as Clinton tended to be more moderate in these areas (2018:83).

In comparison, Hart (2017) suggests a different approach in *The People’s Voice During the 2016 Presidential Campaign* (2017) to determine Donald Trump’s success by using a DICTION program that analysed the dialogue in text. Hart specifically focuses on ‘letters to the editor’ of 12 smaller American metropoli, ‘5000 texts’ such as speeches, debates, and other print media to compare with past writings (2017:566). Through Hart’s analysis of past and present there is a focus on the public’s voice, and what that voice revealed concerning Trump’s victory at the polls.

Hart validated his research by the extent of time: one year of letters, equal distribution of the political party writing the letters, and lastly the close similarity between readers and the writers of the newspapers (2017:568). These texts were then compared to larger newspaper or television news outlets. DICTION was available in Eclipse/Java and worked by identifying ‘lexical layering’ (2017:569) which weighed tone as well as meaning. The text was then broken down by three parameters: *The Hortatory Style* determined patriotism, religious belief, and society; *Pragmatic* focused on the theoretical and reality; and *The Dissatisfied Style* suggested political figures had a real concern for the constituents (2017:570). This revealed a connection to Trump’s populist approach and grievance rhetoric toward the Washington swamp.



From his research, Hart determined the people were more concerned about merit than policies (2017:580) and less pragmatic and more hortatory than in the previous four years. The text of the people was more analytical (increase funding for schools or end the welfare state) (2017:578). Hart's study revealed a distinct truth to the way the voters feel, but he left us with a question of how to join the processes of text versus qualitative study. This identified a route for further research, but Hart's research did reveal many of these probable voters wanted answers, not more promises. It looked as if the people felt Trump might give them some voice in needed changes. Critical research of the TA/CA parasocial connection to Trump by Gabriel, Paravati, Green, & Flomsbee (2018) suggested this to be the case. Further analytical populism and political branding research identified authenticity and a connection with the constituency an important issue (Smith & Speed, 2011; Peru-Balan & Bahneanu, 2014; Pich and Newman, 2019) which Trump gained while hosting TA/CA.

Earlier research on style by Tetlock (1981) focused on senator speeches of the 82<sup>nd</sup> Congress. This may prove useful in determining Trump's neoliberalist style in his speeches and help to discern motive and branding. Tetlock's study constructed a content analysis argument on isolationism that could relate to Trump's dialogue while running for the presidential office with little outside funding. One indicator was a coding system determining the 'simplistic' right or left or the more 'multidimensional' style of presentation (1981:738). This could relate to the populist approach of appealing to the masses. Tetlock's argument suggested Trump further isolated himself with the trade and tariff arguments with other countries in example, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) (ibid.). This isolation finding could tie to the anti-Washington grievance rhetoric. An implication of chauvinism in Trump's speeches seemed evident with Tetlock's research (ibid.) as he examined the isolationist personality of the Senatorial candidate's oratories and then the 'content analysis indicators' (1981:739). Tetlock's research suggests Trump being Trump in his campaign speeches is more than a ploy but a characteristic of his arrogance.

Sherman (2018) considered the psychological reasons why the public voted for Trump using information derived from the 'Trump Similarity Values Test' (2018:33). Rightly so, Sherman mentioned the challenges Trump faced from his own party and many of the leaders within the Republican hierarchy. This increased the question of how did the election swing Trump's way? Sherman suggested that 'perceived (psychological) similarity is essential' (2018:33) to determining why the unexpected outcome of the Trump campaign happened. His research was based on a six-day window of social media responses gathering 1825 useful full or partial responses. Testing attitude toward politics with three political variances and using the 10 basic merits of mankind (2018:34). These may be useful in determining the mindset of the public voter. A weakness could be Sherman's analytically answering the Trump Values Survey as he determined Trump would (2018:36). Checks do seem to balance and allow for a strong correlation to the gathered data. Results of this research showed 'personal values' exist as a part of the public's support for Donald Trump with the average supporter being high in 'Power, Commerce and Tradition' as a core value (2018:37). Again, Gabriel et al.'s. (2018) research seems to be supported with the emphasis on power of the CEO for president. Sherman offered one method of determining how Trump managed to win the office of the presidency which could help answer part of the puzzlement of these election results.

Subsequently, personality analysis of Trump's rhetoric in his debates and speeches were the focus of Jordan and Pennebaker (2017) as they determined the possible reasons for Trump's success. They suggested his dialogue could represent the wave of the future for politicians as a pattern for other campaign speeches. The researchers started with a common theme among the parties. One side considered Trump's dialogue refreshing and simple, while the other consider the speech shallow and obvious (2017:1). Jordan and Pennebaker tied in the 'analytic continuum' (2017:2) to explain the changing rhetoric of the presidential candidates and politics in general. This continuum was based on 'personality' and whether the speaker tends to be 'analytical or intuitive' based on the level of their text in their speeches or writing (ibid.). Rightfully the authors addressed the

deviation of Trump's speeches and election from the considered norm of past president's speeches and documents. Possibly a start as to how Trump becomes elected as the research showed that with few exceptions the 'analytical thinking' of all the presidents continued to decrease from their predecessors as shown by analysis of the previous president's speeches or writings. Even President Barak Obama was over 12 points lower than George W. Bush (2017:3). Jordan and Pennebaker offered three possibilities to this decline: The voter and their desires in a leader as the demographic changes, increased opposition of what the public desired in a leader as the nation had become more polarized and lastly the lack of reliance on and expectation of the governmental structure (2017:4). Their research seemed to confirm Trump's *draining the swamp* deviation from political norm interested voters and added to the populism capitalistic approach.

As with Jordan and Pennebaker, Obschouka and Fisch (2018) asked a meaningful question in their research which considered whether politics was becoming the new craze for entrepreneurs? Their research could prove valuable as they look at current writings concerning 'personality' and 'political leadership' (2018:852), and then review 'empirical analysis' of Donald Trump. They used the 'Big Five Model for personality traits' (2018:853) which suggested a child's life experience shapes the character and socialisation of that person. These traits are analysed for leadership potential: 'Openness - diversity, Extraversion – socially interactive, Conscientiousness – organized, Agreeableness – compliance, Neuroticism – negative feelings.' Obschouka and Fisch's (2018:854) research began with a short analysis of all the former president's traits much as Jordan and Pennebaker do (2017:3). This could prove valuable in further demonstrating the uniqueness of Trump's election as only a few presidents have had Trump's business experience. The conclusion to Obschouka and Fisch's (2018:864) research indicated that Trump and his followers likely were dealing with neuroticism allowing Trump to relate to the same concerns as his voters. The issue with this research was the lack of research on political figures in history with equal business experience.

## Public Sphere and Politics

Habermas' interpretation of the public sphere (1998 [1962]) in *The Transformation of the Public Sphere* should be considered when looking at how Donald Trump won the 2016 election. Habermas' interpreted the 'bourgeois public sphere' as 'the sphere of private people come together as public' (1998:27) to speak against the laws and regulations of those governing them. Habermas stated the public began to comprehend the 'use of reason' (1998:28) from the 'private conversations of home'. This public sphere blossomed as the private sphere steps out of their homes into the 'salon' for a more public debate. The weekly media journals of the day brought insight of the private out into the public sphere and freeing them from the oppression of the bourgeois (1998:42-55).

However, soon the special interests and political groups represented the public sphere without debate from the people. These factions began to influence the sphere through factors that affected the voter in some fashion whether economically or through the sense of belonging (1998:176-178). Habermas projected that mass media would soon become nothing more than a method of promotion of ideas, 'handing out slogans' to the 'hardcore loyalist' (1998:217). The public sphere then became manipulated through narrowing of the specific details the voter psychologically desires (1998:217-218). Many of Trump's speeches, as will be observed later in this research, lend to this idea of saying little, but instead using negative branding aplenty.

An example of this was in an article Habermas (2006) wrote in 'Religion in the Public Sphere' that G.W. Bush's election had to do with his appeal to the religious voters (2006:1). Acknowledging this role created the discussion of 'religion' in the American government and the public sphere. Habermas used John Rawls theory of 'public use of reason' to answer the question of the 'political role of religion' and the state. The key to Habermas' interpretation of Rawls' theory lies in this interpretation of how religion and the state can co-exist:

The principle of separation of church and state demands that the institution of the state operate with strict impartiality vis-à-vis religious communities; parliaments, courts, and the administration must not violate the prescription not to privilege one side at the cost of the other.

(Habermas, 2006:3)

Habermas justified Rawls' philosophy in that tradition of religion is used to justify moral attitudes of the public sphere (2006:10), and this morality was translated into the 'political public sphere' to be presented to the state for deliberation.

Goode (2005) further broke down Habermas' *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* theory in *Jurgen Habermas: Democracy and the Public Sphere* (2005:3). Goode suggested we look carefully at Habermas' earlier work to understand his later writings. In this article, Goode questioned some of the interpretations of Habermas public sphere as society changes. However, Goode's research did not reflect on the more recent higher turnout of voters, or Habermas' discussion of Rawls and the public sphere, but he did suggest a problem of voter apathy. Goode reflected on Habermas' recognition that the printed press allowed the public to become involved in the reasoning process of the government (2005:5). Addressing Kant's influence on Habermas, Goode noted the educated public sphere can now compel political parties and governments to uphold a moral code of conduct (2005:12). The public sphere with 'reasoning' spans the gap of public and the governmental worlds as a unit (2005:12-13). This idea of the public sphere providing the opportunity for individuals to think for themselves, and reasoning could prove to be relevant to the public that proved most of the polls mistaken in Trump's election.

In Tetlock's research *Identifying Victims of Groupthink from Public Statements* (1979:1314), he countered research that found 'groupthink decision makers' more negative to their opponents than non-groupthink. Using actual documents (as Sherman did almost forty years later), Tetlock demonstrated that written

documentation possibly proved more valuable to determining a realistic approach to groupthink people and their responses. This research could provide more validity to Sherman's hypothesis and valuable when further analysis looks more in depth at Trump's rhetoric in his speeches leading up to his election.

The problem Tetlock found with other research was the second-hand accounts and 'memoirs' of the participants possibly distorting the intentions of the event (1979:1316). Tetlock chose to use content analysis of documents to add legitimacy to the research; with 'evaluative assertion analyses to determine the results of groupthink 'in-group and out-group' dispositions (1979:1316-1317). Tetlock used documents from various annals to test his hypotheses with results demonstrating that it may be beneficial with a clear norm. Tetlock concluded 'groupthink and non-groupthink decision makers' varied significantly to foreign or home opposition (1979:1322), thus researchers should consider original records to create valid determinations. Both researchers, Tetlock and Sherman, demonstrated that the text of a speaker could correctly correlate rhetoric and public opinion.

Salter, Green, Ree, Carmody-Bubb, and Duncan's (2009) work also looked at the type of leadership and the public persona of elected officials, starting with the original study by Salter et al. discussed in this article; then Salter et al. considered the possible link of this research to the Obama and McCain campaign. The original research was limited to university students from the San Antonio, Texas area with 303 participants (2009:48).

Salter et al. research determined the significance, if any, of the voters' own character and their determination of the leadership of their candidate, in this case George W. Bush. Salter et al. used the International Personality Item Pool (IPIP) and the Big Five personality traits to rate President G.W. Bush's leadership ability (2009:51). Results indicated Bush to be a 'Transformational' leader representing Bush as appealing, thought provoking and inspiring (2009:52). Respondents of Republican party affiliation and their own feelings toward the leadership ability of

the president and their age correlated strongly to believing G.W. Bush revealed strong leadership capabilities (2009:54). Significantly, White and Hispanic Republicans rated President George W. Bush considerably above the Democratic White and Hispanic in ‘transformational’ leadership (2009:55).

Salter et al. suggested that the news media considered Barack Obama’s oratories and presentation in the 2008 campaign more transformational. Obama’s message of change was more inspiring as compared to John McCain’s ‘status quo message’ of the Bush administration era (2009:57). This suggested that Trump’s similar message to change the ways of the past administration by voting to Make America Great Again, as to Clinton’s Follow Me, would influence voters as well. If the voters felt the candidate had acceptable leadership abilities, the more likely they would vote for them (2009:57). This seemed to support Trump’s victory over Hillary Clinton as the public seemed to want a businessman to Make America Great Again just as they desired change eight years previously.

### **The Visual Persuasion of Rhetoric**

Salter, Hargrove, Duncan, Coleman, and Woodall (2017) suggest that both verbal and non-verbal communication may have an impact on the political aspirations of those running for office. They take a particular look at Cruz’s and Trump’s oratories as the two announce their intention to run for the presidency of the United States. Salter et al. recognized past studies involving ‘trait theories’ (2017: 59) were not enough to determine why voters made the decisions they made in ultimately nominating Trump as their candidate and instead noted the need to consider ‘transformational leadership’ theory (2017:60). Salter et al. examined the variables of the types of ‘non-verbal, transformational, transactional and passive’ (2017:63-66) dialogue used by the candidates. Substantial research has shown the effect of visual verbal and nonverbal persuasion on voters in campaigns and branding (Danesi, 2006; Joffe, 2008; Fairclough, 2015; Hortiguera & Favoretto, 2020; Tamerabet, 2023). Trump led in transactional evidence by rhetoric such as ‘build a wall’. According to their research he evoked decidedly

more faces of displeasure from his opponents when discussing the economy or homeland issues (2017:67). Salter et al. also acknowledged the lack of material on the 'non-verbal communication', (2017:61) but noted that Trump by far was the more visually expressive, visibly showing his disappointment in the state of America (2017:67). Trump's red ballcap with the *MAGA* slogan may fit into this category well. This may help in the determination of what swayed the public to vote for a political outsider. An important segment in Salter et al. suggested that the greater number of words spoken had a greater influence on the voter. Salter et al. called this the 'babble hypothesis' the more you say the more the populist tended to believe (2017:60). Salter's et al. mention Trump's disappointment links to the PGR of his campaign.

Scott Adams (2017) was one of the first to predict a Trump victory. Adams' book *Win Bigly: Persuasion in a World Where Facts Don't Matter* (2017) discussed the visual aspect of Trump's persuasive speech. Visual or the idea of non-verbal language was also addressed in Salter et al.'s. (2017) *Do Emergent Leaders Speak Transformational Language*. Adams' argument on the visual effectiveness of words was two-fold: Simple and easy to remember (2017:138). Trump did not just say the word wall, but he added adjectives, 'big, beautiful wall' even if he lacked details (2017:138) he had the public's attention.

Adams pointed out the lack of accuracy benefits because it simplified the message making it easier and more memorable (2017:139). In Trump's first Republican debate, Adams noted Megyn Kelly asked Trump about his calling women he disliked nasty names. Trump interrupted and stated, 'only Rosie O'Donnell' (2017:141), and then went into a discourse concerning political correctness. The public was visualizing one woman, and she was easy to remember compared to a list of those he may have insulted. Trump's dress was similar to an actual visual effect with the red hat and tie, white shirt, and the blue suit (2017:142), as he visually branded himself patriotic. Trump's brand was more than verbal, it was visual.



Figure 8: Trump Rally



received from: <https://www.theguardian.com/>

Gregory (2013) contended in his critical research that the audience was already determining their opinion of the speaker by his/her appearance before they speak, as clothing was a ‘form of self-expression’ and used by the audience in forming their first opinion of the speaker (2013:266-267).

Bernays addressed the idea of the visuality of words in his book *Propaganda* (2005 [1928]) as he defined the new propaganda as a continuing ‘effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea or group’ (2005:52). The function of developing situations and creating pictures in the minds of the world-wide audience was becoming an everyday practice (2005:52). Examples are as simple as the names given organizations: American Civil Liberties Union, the Red Cross, Make a Wish Foundation, and the Democratic Party all of which brings visual images of good to the mind. According to Bernays, propaganda’s real and everywhere around us changing the ‘mental picture’ of society (2005:53). This new propaganda focused on the wants of the people and helped them to clarify the action they desire to take place.

Bernays noted the important use of propaganda for the intellectual few to inform the broader public to become aware of new ideas and to act upon them (2005:57).

### **Political Branding**

The crux of Trump's campaign lay in his known brand name Trump. From casinos, golf courses, beauty pageants and real estate, the name Trump became a recognized brand in the United States. As a political candidate, Trump continued a practice of branding but of his opponents not products or buildings. According to Conley (2018), in his readiness to indulge in character attacks and slander, Trump relied on huge rallies while on the campaign trail, as he challenged 'much of what a presidential candidate is supposed to do' (2018:30). He further contended that the research into who attended his rallies, and how they felt about certain issues was a target of his campaign. (ibid.). This would help explain the stump speeches being adjusted for the communities he attended.

Trump did more than use his business brand and TV persona, *The Apprentice*, as a marketing tool for his campaign; he brands his opponents throughout: Washington DC politicians were the swamp, "Lyn' Ted" was Ted Cruz, and Hillary Clinton was "Crooked Hillary Clinton". Aaker (1996) defined brand identity as being like a person's identity: It provided 'direction, purpose, and meaning' (1996:68). It was fitting that Trump also connected the two as a branding tool during his campaign. Aaker further explained that the key to the brand image was how the consumer perceived the brand and that image 'as an identity statement often goes unchallenged' (1969:69). When observing Trump's campaign speeches, this should prove useful as Aaker further noted that the failure to discern between the person (product) and the brand creates a 'fixation trap' which limits complete facts concerning the person (product) brand (1967:74). As the evaluation of Trump's campaign speeches will show, Trump only attributed negatives to the brands he gave Hillary Clinton with negative descriptors as props for his branding. Danesi also argued that brands are 'fundamental essences' that elicit a

range of ‘cultural relevance’ (2006:21). Trump’s brand of Crooked Hillary Clinton was fortified by the people’s already weak opinion of politicians.

Tantillo addressed this phenomenon of branding in his book *People Buy Brands Not Companies* 2010. Tantillo demonstrated how ‘Brand Obama’ was created as he too was taking on the politicians of Washington DC; his own, that were in charge, the Democrats. President Obama signed his 2009 ‘stimulus package’ in Colorado which demonstrated that he was for the people not politics (2010:78-79). Tantillo coined the term poli-marketing and defined it this way: Poli-marketing has ‘Real Marketing’ at its roots. A candidate must discover the needs of the constituents and then deliver a resolution to the issue (2010:80). Part of Trump’s brand was marketing that he was a businessman who could deliver.

Importantly, Tantillo warned that if the Democrats do not follow poli-marketing they will not neutralize the Republican political machine which Tantillo noted had their own branding problem as the Republicans were only reacting to change without actively creating a new strategy. Flash forward nine years, and the people were still frustrated with politics and Donald Trump poli-marketed his way into the White House. Trump did what Tantillo suggested Obama had done by finding what the people seemed to want through his *MAGA* slogan. Trump railed against his Republican party and planned to ‘drain the swamp’. Tantillo suggested that Trump must avoid the pitfall of losing the ‘Target Market’ (2010:92), as he, Tantillo, warned that Obama should remain aware of meeting the target market to be successful. As seen, Trump had continued to separate himself from the Republican establishment and established the Trump poli-marketing brand as the new party.

As Tantillo continued to use his expertise of marketing in all areas, he again stepped into the world of politics and fittingly looked at the Trump campaign. In the article ‘Measuring the Trump Brand’ in the *Washington Times*, John Tantillo questioned, whether Trump’s use of his popularity as shown by the large crowds attending his rallies, would be reflected at the polls. Acknowledging the

outstanding marketing Trump managed with the publicity he received by his name brand, Tantillo will watch whether Trump's brand would overcome the established 'ground game' of the Democrats recently developed in President Obama's successful campaign (2016).

Tantillo raised a legitimate point about voters: Can Trump change the way the people select a candidate without an established ground game? At that time the numbers showed Cruz and Christie gained more ground than Trump. Tantillo suggested that if Trump's publicity driven campaign worked, a new and exhilarating technique entered the game of politics (2016). Time has shown Trump used both poli-marketing and his name brand publicity to gain the Republican party nomination and the office of President of the United States.

Conley (2018) suggested that the Clinton campaign lacked an effective reply to some of Trump's more pointed branding of issues such as the economy (2018:42). Trump talked about her failed globalism through the trade agreements and current national issues, as in his October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio rally:

We're going to renegotiate our absolutely terrible trade deals, reduce surging crime, cut taxes and regulation, lift the restrictions on American energy, end Common Core, reduce the cost of college, make childcare more affordable and repeal and replace that horrible the, the so-called Affordable Care Act (ACA), Obamacare, which is not affordable at all. Table 1: Row 30

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

Trump didn't just list one economic issue; he named nine points of contention that effected the economy. His attack on Clinton then became a brand: 'And every time I see him lately, he's [President Obama] campaigning for Crooked Hillary' (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1, Row 31). 'As a result, Clinton allowed Trump to brand her on these issues' collapsing her stand with 'millions of traditionally Democratic voters' who as a candidate could protect their civil liberties as a middle-class working person (2018:42-43). She was branded 'into the enemy' of a multitude of the white middle-class constituency (2018:43).

This ties to Speed, Butler, and Collins (2015), as they examined ‘human branding in political marketing’ using the approach of ‘association sets’ that aid in the positioning the negative or positive of the brand (2015:135). They began with an examination of politicians as human brands, as they were subjects of marketing efforts and recognised that the brand equity was dependent on the people’s knowledge of the politician (2015:137). They then noted that most ‘human brands’ were celebrity based on professions such as sports, media, or entertainment (2015:138). When considering ‘political marketing’, the authors established that ‘brand persona’ was beneficial to use for the ‘party and candidate’ to build a specific ‘brand image’ to the targeted constituents thus to create the ‘brands authenticity’ (2015:142). They presented the distinction between the U.S. elections with primaries that challenged the political aspirant to win their party’s vote and then to win over the general population’s vote was contrasted with parliamentary party elections, which they deemed less cumbersome, as they were appealing to the median voter among the party and the median voter among the ‘general electorate’ (2015:144).

Next, they examined the ‘brand authority’ within the party and determined that it seemed unlikely that a brand politician would have ‘policy commitments’ separate than that of their party, thus giving them the authority to move the party policies forward. (2015:145). This determination was made based on the history of political leaders holding previous offices following party guidelines (ibid.). They concluded with two observations regarding the political brand: The first being that the politician needed the authenticity of a proponent of the party’s platform; secondly, the candidate must have the authority to ‘deliver on the policies’ (2015:147).

Speed, Butler, and Collins’ theory came before Trump’s unforeseen successful entrance into the 2016 presidential campaign, but it showed the past narrative of branding. It also revealed that this author’s research of Trump’s *Forging of a Brand Presidency* has validity and originality. As will be seen in Trump’s campaign, the negative branding of all Washinton DC politicians as the swamp,

and Clinton being the former Secretary of State and a senator, as well as campaigning for the presidency, would make the branded association set toward Clinton an easy transition from his business expertise and experience.

Busby and Cronshaw (2015) identified the impact of ‘consumer-led branding’ of the populist Tea Party in the political arena using the Walvis model of participation branding (2015:96). They suggested the Tea Party developed from an unhappy Republican base, who felt left out of the discussion in the 2008 presidential election loss, and disappointment in the direction the nation was following (2015:97). They also agreed with the need for politicians to build a link and authenticity with the constituency (2015:98). Busby and Cronshaw argued that the Republicans lack of a ‘strong brand’ amid and after the 2008 presidential campaign created a need to fill the ‘ideological void’ after President Bush’s term in office (2015:100). The Tea Party filled the need of a diverse range of Americans who opposed ‘bailouts, healthcare reform, deficits, and taxation’ increase (ibid.). This became a band of constituents aimed at influencing the ‘Republican party brand and developed as a brand’ of their own (2015:101).

This group’s brand became their identity as an ‘anti-establishment force’ by going against the convention of politics, and the idea that they needed a single leader to succeed (2015:103). The author’s noted that the Tea Party’s problem was the basics of ‘political marketing’ — the expression of the principles the brand stands for and how those principles are then accepted by the voters (2015:106). Busby and Cronshaw suggested that marketing the Tea Party depended on the media and particularly *Fox News* and Glen Beck congratulatory response to the ‘Tea Party mandate’ helping to make the brand legitimate (2015:107). Despite their future being unsure, they began a ‘political brand’ that was missing a real strategy, a single ‘political leader’ and because of this will be hard to nullify (2015:108). More critical literature examining a quality political brand: Thomson, (2006); Smith and French (2009); Cwalina and Falkowski (2015); Grimmer and Grube (2019).

Earlier discussion of Trump's brand and a presidential run was addressed in Linnett's (2003) writing as he discussed how business groups of various expertise examine how Trump's name brand may affect voters as well. Trump's brand just as his businesses had not always been strong. In 2003, Donald Trump went about rebuilding that brand with a second adventure into the world of reality television. Linnett in *Advertising Age* discussed 'the human logo' and how Trump swore off running for president and focusing on real estate and of course developing his name (2003:29) with the television show *The Apprentice*. Linnett showed that according to 'Millward Brown, a WPP Group marketing research company', Trump in comparison to the likes of Martha Stewart, Oprah Winfrey and Sean "P. Diddy" Combs was stationary in likability but with a higher appeal to younger men with aspirations (2003:29). Time showed Trump took full advantage of his free advertising through the media to strengthen his brand once again.

Faber et al. (2017) connected unrest in country with waning capitalism as a background for the disgruntlement within the United States. They noted Trump's ability to bring out the stress and overall frustration with the current political environment in the nation's capital with his campaign rhetoric (2017:2). They further suggested Trump's framework of adopting the negative branding of his constituents and opponents bring out a repulsiveness toward the current status quo that swayed many white voters to vote for him (ibid.). Slogans such as 'draining the swamp' and 'bringing back employment' perhaps suggested to Americans that immigrants do not belong. Trump's marketing skills would then brand the bodies that were in the news and Washington D.C. as 'elite establishments', setting himself as the designated proponent of the common masses that would be 'Great Again' (ibid.). Their recognition that Trump's negative branding brought him votes implied Trump's rhetoric as a businessman and his business brand could have affected the election outcome. Trump's PGR touched a population of disgruntled Americans.

Graham (2015) writes in the *American Banker* the significance of the strength of the name in banking as well as in politics. Referencing first 'The Donald' whose

brand is emphasized with his 'Trump Towers' marking the horizons in many cities throughout the world (2015:1). Graham further explored the personal brand surpassing the corporate brand in its influence over the constituents as no one knows what the corporations stand for. Graham indicated that Trump had raised the stakes by putting his Trump brand on the line with his presidential run (2015).

Wheaton's research also observed this could hurt the business side of Trump's brand name. Wheaton seemed a bit skeptical in his evaluation of the Trump brand being strong enough to carry his entrance into the presidential race and Trump's marketing that race *Make America Great Again* (2016). Wheaton looked at Trump's talented marketing appeal as he noted Trump met modern marketing requirements. Wheaton specifically identified these qualities of Trump's Campaign: 'Earned media. Engagement. Catering to the consumer. And purpose' (2016:1). Wheaton highlighted at this point in the campaign that Trump trailed Clinton in the polls. Trump hotel corporate reservations, according to a Bloomberg report, was down '29%' but the same research showed vacation bookings up 16%' (2016:2). He correlated this to Trump possibly hurting his brand name because of Trump's entry into politics. The question of whether this business brand would transfer to the political office was relevant, as selling condominiums to wealthy clients and a dream for the middle-class was quite different.

Furthermore, Wheaton made a quick comparison to those that disliked Trump to the backlash Chick-fil-A received with the gay marriage comments by the company president (2016:3). The fan base of both had ignored the verbal mistakes of these leaders and supported the point of view (purpose) of the brand. Wheaton then questions if this was really 'purpose-driven marketing' or emotional consumers (2016:3). What cannot be ignored was the number of voters who bought into Trump's purpose of *MAGA*.

Similarly, David Taylor, president of Taylor Brand Group, a company which specializes in brand development and marketing technology, also discussed the



remarkability of Trump's rise into the Republican run-off stage. Taylor related the republican brand with the multitude of candidates who claimed to be the picture of what the 'party' (2015:1) represented. Taylor seemed amazed that the Trump brand carried him through the prelims as outrageous verbiage gushed forth from Trump's mouth daily (2015). Meanwhile Trump's own party was provoked to answer for his lack of political correctness and insults to 'veterans, all Mexicans, and most Hispanics while his brand recognition helped him gain in the polls (2015). Taylor failed to believe Trump as a viable candidate and predicted Jeb Bush and Hillary Clinton would compete for the presidency as the Republican party tried to keep its brand during the Trump circus (2015). Very few denied Trump's brand, and the same never took Trump seriously as a candidate or considered the effect of the TA/CA had on Trump's perceived image as a leader.

### **Emotion and Grievance Rhetoric in Persuasion**

This section considers how grievances as an emotion in various countries and provinces affected their elections and government will be examined for the correlation to Trump's PGR. First, Edward Aspinall (2007) addressed the 19-year dissident clash of the province of Aceh with Indonesia over identity and treatment concerning the drilling of the natural resource of Liquid Natural Gas and Indonesia's profiteering (2007:951-952). He provided two grievances from this conflict: the first being the profits created from the Aceh's gas fields almost all amass to the principal government of Indonesia, but Aceh province failed to be compensated accordingly (2007:954). This disgruntlement occurred during the year 1976 when the report of gas revenues of over 15 billion US dollars was being distributed to another province. This grievance continued to cause strife and violence for many years (2007:955). The next grievance was also an ongoing impact that was not realized until the pollution had begun to affect the people's health and homes. The people who were displaced because of the drilling were not being properly compensated for their property or loss of agricultural opportunities due to poor and damaged soil (ibid.). Not receiving dividends from the gas production and losing their only other income from agriculture displaced

the Aceh's people developed more resentment toward the company and the government creating more conflict with the loss of their rural identity (ibid.). The author reminded that the conflict of identity did not exist during Indonesia's struggle for independence as the Aceh people fought with and for the cause of the Indonesians (2007:958). It was when the Indonesia government began taking away the Aceh's sovereignty the grievances increased causing the civil discord. Aspinnall maintained that: Grievances were integral to the ideological frameworks through which the social world, including notions like justice and fairness were constructed and understood (2007:957).

More specific in examining emotions was Wahl-Jorgensen (2019); who stated that an animus emotion among the people created by Trump's populist speeches prompts his rise. She focused her research on the republican aspect of the populism emphasizing the cultural ethnicities and the ill will toward politicians through a history of disappointment with the disparaging system (2019:110 – 111). With an emphasis on populism, Wahl-Jorgensen tied the populations frustrations to lack of employment and quality jobs prompted by the side effects of globalism in the marketplace. She emphasized that this revolution against the Democratic Party was mostly from an older generation of Caucasians who feel forgotten in their values and lifestyle (2019:111). This idea of anger dealt with two concepts: financial injustice and the need for the politician to unite with their target audience on this front. The constituency had now chosen sides as to which of the political figures made the most compelling arguments (2019:112) that would affect their status and livelihood.

She further emphasized the framework for the term 'angry populism' by referencing the 2004 primal scream of a frustrated Howard Dean when behavior and actions exhibited one's temperament for a position in politics (2019:113). The author could as easily reference Gary Hart whose affair with another woman caused him to step down from his presidential run. Conversely, even though the media called Trump out on his behavior and unbecoming rhetoric, the embittered constituents seemed to allow Trump to voice their unhappiness toward a left-

leaning government (2019:113-114). She then analysed the poignant rhetoric of the news to establish that angry political rhetoric may influence the public sphere's communication as political balances alter (2019:116). Wahl-Jorgensen's research verified that news coverage of Trump suggested some form of the term anger more than doubles that of news coverage of Obama during the same time span from the November election to the January inauguration. Telling was most of the negative rhetoric from the news during Obama's swearing in was not pointed at President Obama, while over half of the media's language directly focused on Trump's personage (2019:118-121).

Gadjanova (2021) examined presidential candidate's methods of garnering votes for the presidential office against the current officeholder in Sub-Saharan Africa (2021:655). Using rally recordings and interviews to gather data, she argued the incumbent's advantage of being able to offer incentives and status quo argument of accomplishments gave them the advantage in the election (2021:654). This advantage was countered by the opposing contenders in dividing the constituency through targeted grievances representative of that community's needs. The information was tested with 'newspaper and campaign resources' to validate the findings (2021:655). Using disparate Sub-Saharan states such as Uganda (2006), Kenya (2007), and Ghana (2008) elections, Gadjanova contended the challengers were careful to only bring up grievances in areas that would incite the least controversy such as 'democracy, security, unity' and fairness in governing while staying away from ethnic issues in extensive urban hubs (2021:655).

The examination of Trump's abrasive rhetoric revealed that it reflected frustrated voters, and this was why it appealed to those middle-class workers who were losing jobs to foreign countries. This also demonstrated the contrast between the more soft-spoken community organizer language of Obama as to that of a capitalist business owner in Trump's verbiage, which was reflected in the media's coverage. To conclude, the importance of analysing emotion when examining politics has been shown to be valuable. This could be key to Trump's PGR in his speeches and will form part of the analysis for this thesis.

## Peale's Influence on Donald Trump

Merrin contended Trump's rhetoric was shaped by his pastor and 'motivational speaker Norman Vincent Peale' and his book *The Power of Positive Thinking*. No matter the combative, undignified style or personal attacks made, Trump could *will* the questionable into being by distributing his message to the masses (2019:212). Merrin then addressed the correlation of his rhetoric and his twitter as both seemed to create dysfunction and questions among some of the followers creating the need for his staff to clarify the points Trump was trying to make (ibid.). Despite the appearance of chaotic dialogue, the judgments passed onto the public by news networks and bureaucratic correspondents as well as politicians around the world and in the United States exhibited little effect on Trump or the constituency that supported him (2019:213). These points proved meaningful, as it seemed the people he was representing are unhappier with their current standing in the government than they are with the brashness of their candidate. Perhaps this proves Trump's connection to Reverend Peale and his philosophy if you believe it, and you keep saying it, it will happen.

Further emphasizing Peale's influence on Trump's character was Murphy-Gill (2017). But according to her, this influence from Peale's teachings did not begin until Trump's parents transferred their membership to Norman Vincent Peale's Marble Collegiate Church and Donald Trump was 28. She noted that Peale's sermons stressed the benefits of Christianity both 'spiritually and psychologically' which might aid in the successes of life (2017:3) Murphy-Gill further suggested that Trump needed no boost of ego concerning the desire to feel good about himself, but he wholeheartedly accepted Reverend Peale's doctrine. She further stated that Trump continued to give accolades to Peale and few presidents in history has had such a complete friendship with a minister. She explained that the evangelical community was more concerned with Trump's stance on abortion than the 'moral lapses' in character (2017:5). Adding, this was demonstrated by the increase of secularism in America with Presidents Richard Nixon, Bill

Clinton, and John F. Kennedy helping to bring about this change (ibid.). This was likely what influenced some voter's opinions of Trump as well.

Another example of Peale's influence is revealed with Trump's *Psychology Today* Dixit interview in 2009. He was asked what was the most dismal event in building his business? Followed by what in your character let you grow from such a setback (2009)? Trump's response was the billions he owed from bad investments in the casinos in the 1990s, but still making the *Guinness Book of World Records* for the largest fiscal recovery in history. 'I refuse to give in to the negative circumstances...!' (ibid.). Trump finished the interview mentioning his father's friendship with Doctor Peale and that he had read Peale's book *The Power of Positive Thinking*. 'I am a cautious optimist... I refuse to be sucked into negative thinking on any level...!' (ibid.). The research for this thesis explores how this kind of confidence would not be seen as arrogance but strength by the blue-collar worker.

### **Trump's Interviews Reveal His Populist Rhetoric & Grievances**

This section of research demonstrated Trump's unhappiness with the United States political parties, the politicians therein and their policies for the 36 years before he declared his run for the presidency. The elements of neoliberalism, populism, grievance, and the marketing tool of MHN will be found in interviews that already appeared in the years before Trump's first actual run for the presidential office.

### **Barrett 1980—the I and We/Nationalism**

The first interview happened when Donald Trump became only one of thirteen billionaires in the United States. In Rona Barrett's 1980 interview with Donald Trump, she asked him what he thought he brought to the world? Symbolically, Trump went from the individual *I* to the managerial *we* in his self-absorbed discourse:

Well, I have done a couple of things which maybe on the outside don't appear to be very humanitarian, but I think inwardly; I think they probably are. We have created thousands of jobs for people that maybe wouldn't have jobs today. We've created, you know, industry in the city which again while today its thriving and probably considered the best five years ago... and in my own way I suspect that we've just created a certain amount of happiness in many houses where instead of going on a welfare line or whatever have now come home with a nice paycheck. So, I think in a sense maybe I was put on earth to help fulfill that function, and I think that's an important function.

(Trump, 1980:30)

This individual *I* transitioned into the managerial exclusive *we* of Fairclough (2015:143), as Trump added the marketing tool MHN in: 'created a certain amount of happiness' to the difference he had made in lives. It will be seen that Trump demonstrated this same populism and techniques in his campaign speeches.

Later she asked, what he would do to make America ideal? This question allowed Trump to start listing the grievances he had with the American government under President Carter: his first issue was that America applied but a small part of its possibilities for leadership in the world, and he credited that to the lack of leadership in America to gain respect of the other nations (Trump, 1980:33). First, Trump addressed the nationalism idea that America needed the 'respect of other countries' (ibid.). As he continued with these comments, he addressed the Iranian hostage situation where Trump believed that we should send in troops and bring our hostages back. He then mentioned that 'right now we would be an oil-rich nation' (Trump, 1980:33-34). The issues of respect and oil dependency are two concepts of nationalism that Trump argued for in his 2016 campaign. Ms. Barrett asked him if he would be interested in becoming president? In his response: No, but I would like to be involved in helping choose that person, who could turn this nation around (ibid.).

### **Kruse 2016—1987 New Hampshire Speech/Neoliberalism**

In the 2016 interview with Kruse, senior staff writer for *Politico*, Trump remembered his appearance on what he called ‘a speech on success’ in New Hampshire in the fall of 1987. The local Rotary Club brought Trump in to convince him to run for president. By this time Republican Ronald Reagan was president, and Trump complained about countries like Japan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait having the United States military protecting their countries but not paying United States for doing so (Trump, 2016). And on the domestic front, the American government should reduce taxes and allow its own economic growth as to supporting others (ibid.). Again, Trump’s neoliberalism of reducing taxes and increasing economic growth was exposed with his grievance of other countries not paying the U.S. for protection and the Washington politicians letting this happen. This was a little more than a month after Trump published a full-page letter in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Boston Globe* addressed to the American people concerning the nations weak foreign defense policy. Trump also complained about politicians in general as well as the economy and Wall Street’s Black Monday crash which he blamed on the nation's trade deficit with other countries(ibid.).

### **Oprah 1988—Neoliberal Rhetoric/We vs They**

On the *Oprah Show* in April 1988, Oprah Winfrey had Donald Trump as a guest and questioned him concerning this letter, criticizing President Reagan’s foreign policies. His comments reflected his grievances and nationalism with the current state of American politics as he stated: the nations of the world mock our politics as we 'protect ships' that are not ours, that were carrying oil from other nations that we could produce, which was going to allies who really do not want to come to our aid (Trump, 1988). She asked Trump how he would handle these situations? In his response, Trump said, have them all 'pay their fair share'. Then, he began again talking about the unfair trade agreements: the Japanese ‘are beating the hell out of this country; they come over here, they sell their cars, their

VCRs' they abuse the American businesses (ibid.). She also asked Trump if he would consider running for president? His response, that it was not likely, although he was worn out watching United States being taken advantage of (ibid.). The neoliberal approach to governing was evident in his response, as he used the Fairclough, *we vs they* argument in his response.

### **Plaskin 1990—We vs They/Nationalism**

Trump's *Playboy* interview with Plaskin in 1990 during the Republican George H. W. Bush presidency, revealed a repeat of the objections against nations that were considered allies. As the interview went on, Trump explained why a large ego was important to success for an individual or a country (Trump, 1990). He then declared that America should have greater self-pride to prevent it from being taken advantage of by 'so-called allies': Japan, West Germany, Saudi Arabia, and South Korea as examples (ibid.). Specifically, he talked about how America lost '150 billion' a year defending nations without a return on that investment. Again, he voiced resentment toward the United States buying Japanese products while they bought oil from OPEC instead of the United States (ibid.). Trump's, *we vs they* grievance, *so-called allies*, continued as he pushed for a more neoliberal society. After answering questions about Russia's leader Gorbachev and the Tiananmen Square incident in China, Plaskin suggested Trump sounded like a presidential candidate looking for votes. Trump stated outright, 'I don't want the presidency' (ibid.).

Plaskin pushed for more by asking what political party would you run as?

Trump's response was compelling in that he says, if that were to happen probably as a Democrat not that I am all that liberal, but 'the working guy would elect me. He likes me' (ibid.). It was telling that he later runs as a Republican, but likely because Hillary Clinton had the 2016 Democratic party nomination locked up. In answering what he would do if he became president, he suggested he would tax products coming into this country, specifically Japanese (ibid.). On crime, Trump answered, that United States was too weak on criminals causing crime to rise. He



also related, that as a president he would want massive military power because he didn't trust Russia or our allies. The nationalism of the past which he had expressed for ten years, and during three presidencies continued. In Trump's rally speeches, he specifically addressed trade deals in seven of the speeches analyzed, and in Pensacola, Florida, and Cincinnati, Ohio, he adamantly desired to build the military. He addressed the issue of growing crime rates in the cities in all but two of the speeches in this corpus of speeches. His past grievances seemed to reflect his future campaign rhetoric and platform.

### **Congress 1991—Neoliberal Rhetoric Lower Taxes/Job Creation**

Trump was called to testify in front of the Democratic Congress House Ways and Means Committee in November 1991 to answer questions from the Chairman Frank Guarini on how to overcome the crisis of the economy that United States was still suffering due to the market collapse in the late 80s (Trump, 1991). When asked by the Chairman Guarini, if Congress failed to take any steps to address the economy what would be your estimate, Mr. Trump, how long it would take America to work its way out of the 'economic crisis' that we are in (ibid.)? Trump's answer demonstrated the neoliberal approach to governing that he espoused as he advised that without tax incentives to encourage people and businesses to invest in America it would be many years before recovery (ibid.).

There was seen in Trump's campaign speeches, this same tax break to create jobs throughout his campaigns. Trump further suggested that the changing of the tax laws for real estate investments disinclined investors to build. The chairman asked if the problem of reducing the 'depreciation schedules' by 50% and giving 'tax credits' was where it all went wrong (ibid.)? Trump's response: it was just the opposite. But it was not just about building shopping malls and buildings for businesses, there also needed to be 'low-income housing, senior citizen housing, dormitory housing' and all other housing that would create employment in cities where the lack of jobs was continuing to be a problem (ibid.). They then questioned him about tax codes and what would it benefit manufacturing if there

were 'investment tax credits' for goods made in the United States (ibid.). As will be seen in the corpus of speeches the lowering of taxes and incentives to use American-made products was one of the fundamentals of Trump's platform.

### **King 1999—Neoliberal Rhetoric/Trade**

Larry King interviewed Donald Trump on his television show *Larry King Live* in October 1999 (Trump, 1999). President Bill Clinton was entering the second half of his last term, and Donald Trump had designated a 'presidential exploratory committee' to see if he could garner enough interest for him to run in 2000 as a Reform Party candidate (Trump, 1999). When asked by Larry King why run for office as a Reform Party candidate? Trump's response was he didn't feel either party was where it needed to be. The Democratic Party was far too liberal and Republicans far too conservative. He added that there was a 'great lack of spirit in this country' (ibid.). The last four years of Clinton's presidency had been abominable. Again, he objected to the current political actions of Washington D.C. (ibid.) and pushed for a neoliberal approach to governing. Then King asked Trump who his vice-presidential candidate might be? Trump's quick response was 'Oprah, I love Oprah. Oprah would always be my first choice. She's popular, she's brilliant, she's a wonderful woman. I mean if she would ever do it' (ibid.). Even at this time Trump's approach to politics was out of step with the norm by suggesting not a politician but another television celebrity.

When discussing the qualities of what Trump would want in a president, King mentioned that Trump said Bill Clinton would have been outstanding president except for his 'character issue' with women (ibid.). Trump himself would address this issue of his own treatment toward women in his Pensacola, Florida speech. But from Clinton, Trump went to Ronald Reagan, whom he declared a 'great president', with some exception in that a country without a strong military and adequate healthcare had little purpose (ibid.). Trump then went into his argument on fair trade again specifically the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which Clinton signed as president. One more time Trump expressed his

resentment toward countries such as Germany, Saudi Arabia, France, and Japan whom he suggested have taken advantage of the United States. His clarification on trade agreements was that he's not an isolationist, but he believed the US should be treated fairly in these agreements as well (ibid.).

The grievances expressed over this 19-year span of interviews and three presidents, addressed the same emotion that he brought to the people in his campaign rhetoric in the 2016 presidential election. Trump addressed taxes, globalization, safety, and crime, what he thought was wrong with politicians, strong military, trade, and job creation with quantified emphasis on all of these in his campaign stump speeches. Some compelling questions for research could certainly be considered in Trump's suggestion of Oprah Winfrey being his running mate that he had a problem with Bill Clinton's character, and that though he wrote and published a full-page letter costing almost \$100,000 total complaining about Reagan's foreign policy; he considered him a great president (ibid.). What was sure, was that Trump felt that the above issues for the nation were important enough that 26 years later he would run on these issues for the presidency even though his own Republican party didn't fully appreciate him.

### **Summary**

This chapter has attempted to summarize a quantity of contemporary academic research using discourse analysis to establish the PGR driven marketing approach of Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign. In doing so, it focused on theories and models which may prove useful for analysis of the method in which Trump's business rhetoric is studied to determine the persuasive techniques implemented. The chapter first examined political speech making with Atkinson's (1984) *Our Master's Voice* as a blueprint for effective speaking specifically for the politician. He focused on observations and applause for determining the audience involvement. Atkinson guided the speaker through techniques such as: projecting a name to keep interest strong, using the list of three to increase believability with the audience, as well as repetition. The populism section

examined through Michael Higgins (2009) defined populism as appealing to the people as actors to the political shift desired, and then the methods in which populist rhetoric appealed to the voters. (Oliver & Rahn, 2016; Salmela & Scheve, 2017; Jenne, Hawkins, & Silva, 2021) further demonstrate how populism influenced the demographic by emphasizing their needs.

The public sphere through (Tetlock, 1979; Habermas, 1998; Goode, 2005) and others to examine the mind-set of the public audience to political issues. They assessed the importance of the visual and its usage and effectiveness. They also considered whether the visual through figurative language or the literal watching facials or gestures were more effective. This also was unfolded by (Salter et al., 2017; Fairclough, 2015; Atkinson, 1984) and other scholars. Political branding as a functional tool of marketing and persuasion examining scholars and professionals as (Tantillo, 2010; Conley, 2018; Speed, Butler, & Collins, 2015). The notion of the importance of emotions allowing audiences to understand their world from a different perspective allowed us to uncover aspects that were before imperceptible as investigated by (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2017; Gadjanova, 2021; Aspinnall, 2007). This chapter further revealed that the research literature focused on the image of Trump in examining his business persona as well as his rhetoric before and during his campaign.

The chapter also considered Reverend Peale's influence on Trump, and then Trump's interviews from 1980 forward to 1999, that expressed an unhappiness or grievances toward the political actions taken by past presidents to fully understand the candidacy of Trump. Through a variety of personality analyses and rhetorical style examinations the researchers above implied a concern of Trump's ability to lead based on personal attributes in comparison to political figures of the past and the current President Obama.

These scholars examined his populist rhetoric and negative branding with his visual verbiage to determine his capability or possibility of winning the election. This thesis took a more direct approach by employing the first unified analysis of

Trump's campaign stump speeches using Burke's (1969a) dramatic pentad with Maslow's (2013) hierarchy of needs to qualify Trump's PGR approach through business marketing. The evidence presented argued that what Trump lacked in facts in his rhetoric was bypassed by Trump's simplistic approach and old-fashioned marketing.

The thesis methodology contributes a groundwork that facilitates further probing concerning other facets of Trump's rhetoric to be examined. The thesis used this base to substantiate arguments concerning Trump's bombastic approach to whether he can be branded a businessman or politician. Thus, this thesis provides a different direction to the expanse of scholarly treatise concerning Trump's 2016 campaign rhetoric: Burke's dramatism examined Trump's rhetoric through the five terms: act, scene, agent, agency, and the purpose (the why) for this action (1969a:xv). Burke suggested a possible 10 ratios of these five elements in the pentad to further clarify the purpose of the action. The two most suited for this political corpus are the act-agent representing capitalism according to Burke and the scene-act representing socialism (1969a:310-311). Maslow's (2013) *Theory of Human Motivation* adopted by many marketing companies throughout the years, as they try to persuade the masses is used to demonstrate Trump's answer to why the public should vote for him. Maslow's theory is typically relabeled the hierarchy of needs from basic to psychological to self-fulfillment needs being met.

It is hoped that the concept and perspectives outlined will aid in implementing an understanding of how certain tools of marketing justify the usage in Trump's populist grievance campaign rhetoric to address the following research questions:

- How does Trump's grievance driven marketing approach persuade the electorate of the nation's population that his plan will allow them the opportunity to meet their needs and is an assessable concept?
- What elements of Trump's strategy could be appropriated by other politicians?

## Chapter Summary

- **Politics and Rhetoric—Political Speech Making**/ This section establishes speech guidelines for reading an audience, making effective word choices, and how to be an established political speaker.
- **Populism as a Form of Persuasion**/ Reveals the true purpose of populism of saying what the people desire to hear perhaps with half-truths or logical fallacies. The proper pronominals can be very effective.
- **Personality and Politics of Trump**/ Various scholars examine Trump's personality and political views and the effect they had or will have on the election.
- **Public Sphere and Politics**/ Studies of the public sphere in the realm of politics and voting. Discussion of the importance of the constituency talking to each other for full understanding of political rhetoric.
- **The Visual Persuasion of Politics**/ Research concerning the effects of visual clues in the rhetoric or the speaker's physical movements as in gestures or facials. The establishment that the visual is a powerful tool of persuasion.
- **Political Branding**/ An examination of creating a political brand and what it takes for the brand to be effective.
- **Emotion and Grievance Rhetoric in Persuasion**/ The demonstration that emotion created by rhetoric can be very effective. The rhetoric chosen can be manipulated through semiotic devices.
- **Peale's Influence on Trump**/ Peale's book *The Power of Positive Thinking* seems to have a profound effect on Trump's speak it into happening or say it and believe it. This helps explain the Trump being Trump persona he displays.
- **Trump's Interviews Reveal His Rhetoric and Grievances**/ Nineteen years of giving limited interviews unfolds the Trump of the past with thoughts on neoliberalism and an opportunity to complain about

politicians and their policies. These foreshadow his 2016 presidential campaign's rhetoric.

## Chapter Five

### Methodology: Means of Interpreting Trump's Rambling Rhetoric

All told, persuasion ranges from the bluntest quest of advantages, as in sales promotion or propaganda... And identification ranges from the politician who addressing an audience of farmers, says, 'I was a farm boy myself,' through the mysteries of social status, to the mystic devout identification with the source of all being.

(Kenneth Burke, *Rhetoric of Motives*, 1969b:xvi)

### Critical Discourse Analysis a Brief History

Wodak (2001) explained the history behind Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as it arose from a collaboration between scholars following a symposium in January of 1991 in Amsterdam. At this conference, the following cast of scholars Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak analysed the 'theories and methods of discourse analysis and specifically CDA' (Wodak, 2001:4). It was because of these academicians, and the others who followed in their study of CDA; this method of examination must be considered for its analytical value to discerning the essence of discourse.

Following the examination of CDA will be an exploration into Kenneth Burke's *A Grammar of Motives (GM)* Dramatistic Pentad (dramatism), which he developed to answer the questions of 'what are people doing, and why are they doing it'? (1969a [1945]:xv). 'At every point where the field covered by one of these terms overlaps upon the field by any other, there is an alchemic opportunity' to place a 'philosophy or doctrine of motivation' and replace it with another (1969a:xix). Burke explained that dramatism may and probably will overlap in its parts as part of the questions the pentad presents (ibid.).

### Critical Discourse Analysis—Understanding the Rhetoric

The work of Fairclough (2013), in *Critical Discourse Analysis*, (CDA) had 'contributed to critical social research on the neoliberal form of capitalism' which could prove significant when examining Trump's PGR with the neoliberal



emphasis as an important part of his why (2013:3). Defining CDA in *Language and Power*, Fairclough noted:

It combines critique of discourse and explanation of how it figures within and contributes to the existing social reality, as a basis for action to change that existing reality in particular respects.

(Fairclough, 2015:6)

Fairclough established three points to qualify CDA research: It is some aspect of ‘systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process’; secondly, ‘it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts’, and thirdly, it is normative as well as descriptive (2015:10-11).

Fairclough’s terms for CDA are similar to Burke’s Dramatistic Pentad (dramatism) suggesting a different version of CDA to analyse rhetoric. The philosophies are similar in the ideals of examining neoliberal capitalism. Fairclough explained that critical research using CDA allowed for the implementation of other theoretical frameworks through recontextualising the classifications (2015:11). Subsequently, he indicated that CDA prompted an understanding of ‘contemporary capitalism’ which empowered or confined persons for success (ibid.). This notion of framework for critique will be assessed as a mode for examining and comprehending rhetoric.

In the (2015) *Language and Power*, Fairclough presented the purpose of CDA as a ‘critique of discourse and explanation’ of how it fit into and benefited the existing status quo, and as a foundation for ‘action to change’ the current truth (2015:6). He concluded with a standard for defining discourse as an all-encompassing ‘multi-semiotic’ content to allow a thorough understanding. This is relevant for examining Trump’s stump speeches with the *MAGA* slogan as his neoliberal appeal.

Fairclough then focused more specifically on ‘three dimensions of discourse’ (2015:58). The first phase, description, presented the ‘formal properties of the text’; interpretation presented the ‘relationship between text and interaction’, and

explanation presented the connection between ‘interaction and social context’ (2015:58-59). He suggested that the essence of the analysis would be determined by which stage of the examination is taking place (2015:59). Then he explained that there can be a visual aspect of the speech and/or the oral text to achieve an understanding of the message (ibid.).

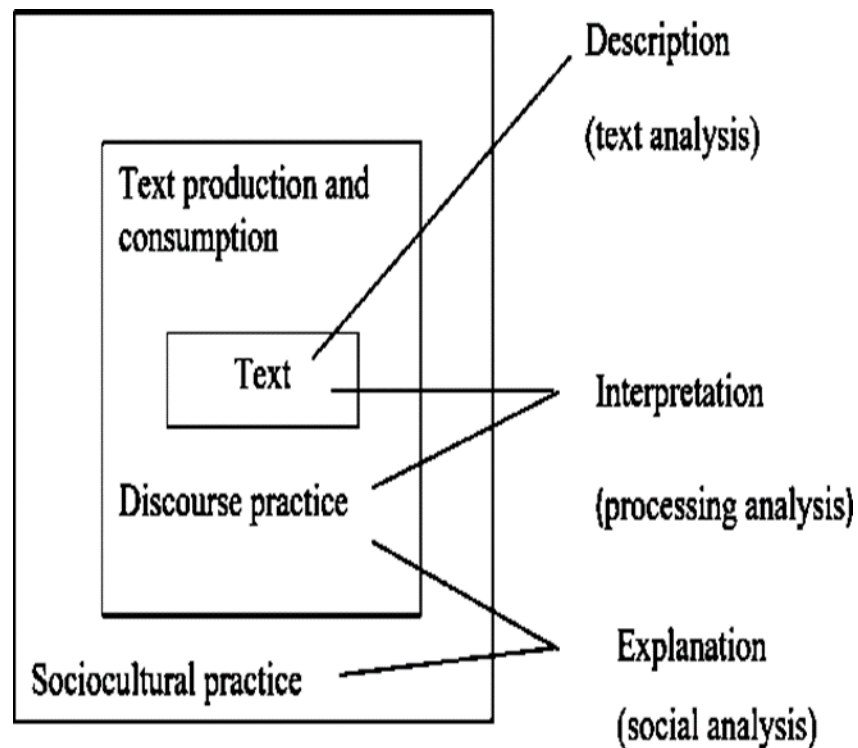


Figure 9: Fairclough's 3D model of discourse analysis

Received from: ResearchGate

[https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Faircloughs-three-dimensional-model-for-critical-discourse-analysis\\_fig1\\_349496940](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Faircloughs-three-dimensional-model-for-critical-discourse-analysis_fig1_349496940)

Fairclough argued that the visual was mingled with rhetoric as a substitute for talk:

The relative social significance of visual imagery was increasing dramatically — think of the degree to which one of the most populous and pervasive modern discourse types, advertising, works through visuals.

(Fairclough, 2015: 60)

Trump's marketing ability fits into the visual of the campaign, red ball cap and all. Hall, Goldstein, and Ingram (2016) also addressed the visual of Trump's hand gestures; through Trump's use of 'gestural methods' he diminished others while building himself up (2016:73). Salter et al. (2017) also highlighted the visual effect on the voter. Adams (2013) established the importance of the visual through vivid imagery and in the literal sense. Gregory (2013) also identified the use of figurative language and facial expressions for impact. This is an important contrast to Burke's dramatism which only considers the verbal text for interpretation. Fairclough's explanation of CDA allowed for a broader spectrum of meaning if one determined the need for more clarity.

In addition, Fairclough's introduction of societies continuous consuming of media caused an increased degree of 'control by consent' over peoples through the onslaught of media as an effect proves useful:

The constant doses of media which most people receive each day are a significant factor in social control, and they account for not an insignificant proportion of a person's average daily involvement in discourse.

(Fairclough, 2015:67)

Fairclough thus revealed that the established features found in a designated text can be determined to be singular choices of 'vocabulary or grammar' (2015:129). This meant that in the analysis the focus should consistently be switching between what was in the text, and what the text used to develop the point (ibid.). He demonstrated this in the text with the metaphor. 'Different metaphors imply different ways of dealing with things' particularly in an argument with a rival (2015:137). When analysing the text, Fairclough illustrated that questions are naturally formed and answered by the text or agency: What has happened? (verb, act) What did the subject (agent) do? (2015:139). He used four questions to connect to the specific issue at hand: What's going on? Who's involved? In what

relation? And What's the role of language in what's going on? (2015:159). These questions allowed for a quality interpretation of the text and increased the ability for discernment by the audience (2015:161). The questions permitted the examiner to explore the relations more effectively of what was happening in the text.

Fairclough determined that the choice of pronouns by the speaker connected to 'power and solidarity', the editorial inclusive *we*, as in the audience and the speaker, or the exclusive *we*, referencing the speaker and one or more, but not including the audience, could serve as examples (2015:143). For a political candidate, the exclusive *we* could well be his cabinet or political party. Fairclough included the use of *you*, when addressing the audience as individuals as a typical communication process (ibid.). This clarification of pronominals in text became an essential tool as references to the audience, oneself, or organization for clarity of meaning. In analyzing Trump's campaign stump speeches this tool of the CDA should prove a valuable asset with Burke's dramatism.

### **What is CDA? Wodak, Meyer, & Van Dijk**

The earlier work of Wodak & Meyer's *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2001) focused on qualitative methods of CDA. Wodak indicated that CDA generated a distinct attraction to the connection between 'language and power' (2001:2). She revealed that ultimately an established three notions to explain CDA's function were developed: Critical, ideology, and power. This required the scholar to be critical, they must distance themselves to the data, implant the data in the public, take a 'political stance' definitively, and concentrate on self-reflection (2001:9). Ideologies vary among scholars, but with 'critical theory' the need was to prompt attention in agents (the people) of how they were being betrayed of 'their own needs and interests' (2001:10). Power concerned the effects of the dissimilarity in 'social structures'. It did not develop 'from language, language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power for the short or long term' (2001:11).

Meyer (2001) specifically viewed different approaches to the usage of CDA. He asserted that upon the development of CDA it lacked a ‘well-defined empirical method but rather a cluster of approaches’ with a foundation in theory and ‘similar research questions’ (2001:23). Then he put forth the ‘linguistic concepts’ of CDA such as: actors, mode, time, tense, argumentation and more, but which concepts were chosen would depend on the ‘research questions’ concerning the text (2001:25). Meyer broke down the methodology of properly applying the concepts of CDA that relate to discourse.

Teun van Dijk (2001) suggested that ‘CDA can be conducted in and combined with any approach and subdiscipline in the humanities and social sciences’ (2001:99). He then contended that ‘complete discourse analysis of a large corpus of text or talk is therefore totally out of the question’ (ibid.). It could be argued that Burke’s dramatism came very close to an intense CDA on a larger text as many of the linguistic concepts are revealed in the purpose of the pentad.

### **CDA Demonstrated**

In *Talking up a Storm?* (2017), Thomas and Turnbull established the ‘divide-and-conquer’ design in Commissioner Kallas’ rhetoric to rationalize and further the ‘pan-European ports policy’ (2017:933) to examine the elements of the text. Their study demonstrated the bias in the ‘Directives’ language to which excludes some (dockworkers) while supporting (‘shipping lines, shippers, private terminal operators’) others, causing a dispute (2017:933). They revealed it through looking at the where, when, why, and the who in the narrative. Commissioner Siim Kallas took up the call to bring attention to this problem by framing speeches to deliver at the recent ‘EU port policymaking’ (ibid.). CDA was used by the researchers to clarify how the elements of rhetoric in Kallas’ speeches are intentionally used to build a directed reaction (ibid.). The focus was not just the speeches content, they also looked at the ‘where, when, why, by who, and to whom’ to identify the frame behind the text (2017:934). Clarification was given to ‘collective action framing as to policy framing which was ‘deliberate, utilitarian, and goal oriented’ (ibid.)

with the two procedures emphasising articulation unified arguments and amplification of prominent issues (ibid.).

After determining the definition for rhetoric as a persuasive delivery, they examined Kallas' discourses to establish that his 'rhetorical framing' was a calculated effort (2014:936). CDA was used to decode the reality the speaker was trying to relay to the constituents (2017:936). At this point the distinction between discourse as a 'wide range of subjects' and rhetoric as 'persuasive deployment' was given (ibid.). This then allowed the demonstration of the design of rhetorical framing and insinuating discourse in Commissioner Kallas' speeches (ibid.). The focus was on three speeches in a one-year span given the two different audiences. For speeches one and three audiences were predominantly for port reform, while the speech two crowd had some attendees still needing more information to change their mind (2017:937). Once again there was a motivation behind these speeches and in this case a neoliberal political incentive.

Then using the CDA by Fairclough, they determined that Kallas' speeches represented the neoliberal approach of proposing the 'deregulation of port transport' (2017:938). Thomas and Turnbull indicated that Kallas applied three persuasive techniques to sway his audience: the first was repetition, the second, (de)coupling, and the third, rhetorical contrast (2017:939). The repetition was employed to emphasize the current program and the (de)coupling explained the 'negative outcomes', and finished with 'rhetorical contrast' of what could be with joint action (ibid.). Then the actual examples from the speech showed the effectiveness of Kallas' efforts. Finding the duplication used in and throughout the other oratories was evidence of Commissioner Kallas's posturing his 'neoliberal agenda' to build united front among his followers (2017:939).

Examining three of Kallas' speeches in a one-year span, they found the neoliberal term of competitiveness seven times and the repeated idea of transparency to lead into the 'pan-European port reforms' (2017:940). They noted that in the second speech Kallas reminded his audience how unclear the port regulations were (ibid.). In addition, Thomas and Turnbull noted that Kallas only needed to reach a

portion of his audience with the fallacy of hasty generalizations (2017:941). This certainly connected with Trump's neoliberal arguments on the trade deficits, as he also used the neoliberal approach of cost and fairness.

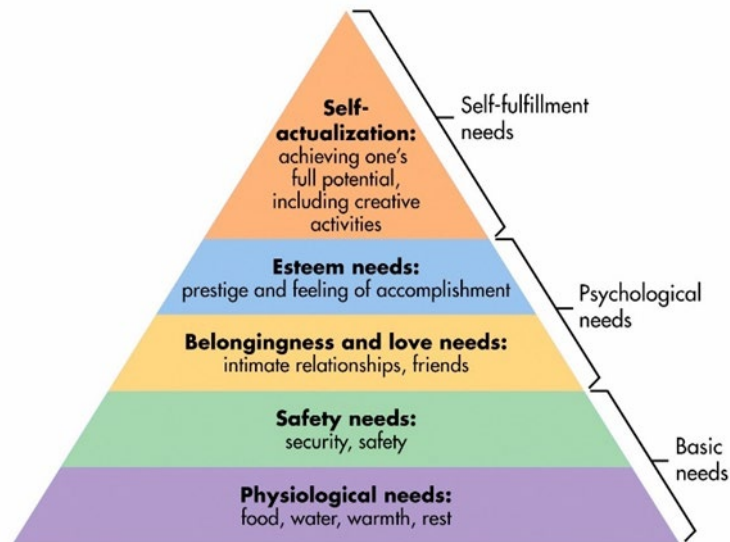
Next, Thomas and Turnbull noted the (de)coupling of current ideals of the port authority to establish Kallas values to legitimize neoliberalism (2017:942-943). They then emphasized the importance of pronominal usage as 'power structures' demonstrating that CDA revealed *we* (the legislature) promoted the 'free-market principles' for the ports (2017:945). Another of the benefits to using CDA existed in definitive clarifications of the various pronominal usage whereas Burke was more general in this approach.

### **Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Intersects Burke's Dramatism**

Before Burke's dramatism as a source of critical discourse analysis is explored, it is necessary to legitimise the strategy of intersecting Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (MHN) with one of the five dramatism terms—purpose. Each of the five terms answers a question and the *purpose* in dramatism asks—why? For Burke it was the proper question in 'pondering matters of human motivation' (1969a:xv). Trump's PGR would press the constituents to think on the issues of crime, immigration, loss of jobs, and Washington DC's bad trade deals. These points of frustration have been expressed by Trump since 1980, as his interviews have shown. He wanted the constituents to consider where they are in life under the current government, and how life could be better if he was elected. For motivation and persuasion, Griffin, Ledbetter, and Sparks (2015) concluded that it was not the 'argument that persuades people as much as it is memories of personal experiences' (2015: 14). Trump's slogan was a demonstration of this argument as he repeated over and over *Make America Great Again* in his campaign speeches with the red *MAGA* hat on his head. He was telling them to remember better times. Gregory (2013) contended in establishing persuasive strategies one should appeal to what motivated your audience (2013:359). He listed some common motivations such as health, safety, financial security, and social acceptance to

name a few, but he emphasised the popular model for ‘analysing motivations’ was MHN which started with the ‘basic biological needs to fulfilment of self-actualisation’ (ibid.).

Figure 10: Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs  
received from: PSU.edu



Gregory (2013) proposed that with persuasiveness implementing emotional appeal there should always be an inclusion of rational evidence as well, as an audience liked to think of themselves as sensible (2013:361). Because Trump addressed the threat of terrorism in his speeches, it is fitting to include Gregory’s assessment on the use of fear in speeches: ‘High-fear messages’ are the most successful when connected with definitive procedures on what response to take (ibid.). Nai and Maier’s (2018) research verified Trump’s use of fear rhetoric in his 2016 campaign speeches. Trump declared in his August, West Bend, Wisconsin speech: I laid out plans to defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism (Politico, Trump, 2016: Table 1 Row 6). The why of Burke’s dramatism was answered with the basic need of security when applying MHN to this style of rhetoric. Larson (2001) also addressed MHN’s employment of security when global competition had taken a larger percentage of industrial shares causing thousands of United State workers to be unemployed in the past, this ‘economic displacement’ and the loss of work effected election results (2001:138). The lack of job security and the



anxiety that went with it answers the why when applying MHN. The voters desired a change in their governmental representation and Trump emphasized the why.

Duncan (2005) approached MHN from three 'personal factors' of the audience that guided the decision making of their needs: Their attitude reflected a basic negative or positive inclination toward a 'person or idea'; their opinions were definitive judgments but 'emotionally neutral'; their beliefs represented an idea 'based on knowledge' (2005: 138). A successful marketing communication would reflect on these factors to achieve the highest level through MHN. These factors are reflected in the crowd's reactions to Trump's campaign speeches from the positive attitude of *MAGA* [level three, esteem] to the negative opinion of the swamp in Washington DC [level two, safety], or the belief that jobs (businesses) are going to other nations as to staying at home [physiological and job security]. All of these are reflected in one of the five levels of MHN and answer the why people voted for Trump. Groucutt (2005) approached MHN in a tabular form to present both the 'humanistic and marketing perspectives' in the theory (2005:334). He revealed how a person can go down the scale of needs as well as going up depending on what events are happening in their life (ibid.). Applying the humanistic application to Maslow's theory of marketing allowed a fluency to the person's 'self-esteem' and 'basic needs'(ibid.). He gave this example of the fluency of MHN arising out of the United Kingdom in the late 1980s when the 'stock market crashed and recession' hit. Although all the people were affected, the middle class were the most affected by the events (ibid.). The value of their property dropped creating a 'negative equity', 'companies closed', and payments for housing and personal needs could not be paid (ibid.). People had to change their entire way of life. At one point in time, they were in the self-actualisation of life, and then they were seeking the basics of life on Maslow's scale of needs. The same could be said of the people in United States after the 9/11 assaults left lives turned upside down and fear of more internal terrorist attacks (2005:335).

Trump addressed these issues in his campaign speeches. By intersecting MHN to Burke's dramatism, a better understanding of the why in the persuasiveness of Trump's PGR can be achieved. In bridging Burke's purpose with MHN, a better analytical perception resulted in answering the why, thus giving more clarity to the analysis of the rhetoric. As has been shown above and in Chapter Four, research from communications to business marketing, MHN allowed for the determination of what people desire and a good speaker manipulates their rhetoric to deliver and persuade for that purpose. This background of communication and marketing tied with Trump's business experience and reality show host experience make a logical choice to exam his rhetoric. The MHN revealed how Trump delivered to his constituents and marketed his populist grievance rhetoric to win him the presidency. MHN will be emphasized more in Chapters Six and Seven while analysing of Trump campaign speeches.

### **Burke's Dramatism Unwrapped**

In 1945, Burke's first edition of *GM* (1969a) was published. He declared it was to determine 'the basic mode of thought' with the intention of discerning a person's action and their motive which must be examined methodically 'from legal decisions, poetry or fiction, in political and the scientific' rhetoric (1969a:xv). He selected five 'terms' as the standard for the analysis of these motives each of these came with a question: The first was the *act* which asked, 'what was done', then the *scene* asked, 'when or where' the action takes place, the *agent* asked, 'who did it', then the *agency* asked, how he/she did it, signifying the what method or tool was employed and finally the *purpose* asked, the why (1969:xv). He stated: 'If you ask why, with a whole world of terms to choose from, we select these rather than some others as basic' (ibid.). Burke maintained that with the five terms a particular 'formal interrelationships' existed on account of their function as nature as 'common ground or substance' (1969a:xix). He continued that where territory topped by 'any one of these terms' overlay upon the territory topped by another, there is an 'alchemic opportunity' for modification as in using both or taking one out for the other (ibid.).

It was because of this, MHN was employed to further explain the area of purpose, connecting Burke's pentad to Trump's world of marketing. This methodology allowed Trump's populist grievance driven rhetoric to be properly tested to help understand its effectiveness during the campaign's stump speeches. Burke's dramatism interlacing with MHN provided this researcher an original and effective approach to accomplish a thorough examination of Trump's campaign stump speeches. Burke's dramatism had never been employed to the extent this research has attempted that could be found, although others have successfully used parts of the dramatism for analytic research.

Burke's dramatism was evident in the following speech. In September of 2015, Trump gave a speech at the Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, State Fairgrounds in which he addressed the need for a border wall. Trump's use of repetition and hyperbole was very evident in his attempt to sway the audience: 'I love the Mexican people. I love them. Thousands worked for me, thousands. I love Mexico, but we've got to build a wall on the border. We're going to build a wall, and we're going to have a door in the wall' (FactSquared, Trump, 2015). As an example of how Burke's dramatism would be applied: The repetition and hyperbole was the agency representing the grammatical clues to the rhetoric of how Trump persuaded the people. The *we* represented the agent, this was the exclusive *we* which implied the government (Fairclough, 2015:143). The act—are going [to build-infinitive], whilst the scene was at the border between Mexico and the United States:

You know a lot of gangs when you see gangs all throughout this country, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Baltimore. You have a lot of illegal immigrants, bad dudes in those gangs, they're out of here, they're gone, they're gone, they're gone.

(FactSquared, Trump, 2015)

This agency section of the speech interlinked to Burke's purpose. It can also be linked to MHN to show the purpose—why the audience might be persuaded to respond as it appealed to the basic need of safety by referring to the problems

with gangs. Trump repeated the term wall four times adding emphasis to the notion of the need. He mentioned the negative gangs three times, linking them to illegal immigrants and the problems in the inner cities. Twice he said thousands, indicating how many people from Mexico worked for him. His use of repetition in the hyperbole exemplified Burke's agency, acting symbolically as his tool of persuasion to help sell the idea of the need for a wall. This type of analysis using the Burke and Maslow concepts as an underpinning structure to support the thesis proves to be valid.

The manipulation of words by a politician will be perceived as truth according to their perceived integrity, as Aristotle stated (2007:2:12:148). The research for this thesis will explore how Trump also phrased and presented ideas to the electorate, in a manner which means that those ideas would be accepted with little question from his constituency. Using Burke's dramatism, the research analysis will consider how Trump repeated and reused the terrorism argument, that President George W. Bush used after 9/11, during his September Pensacola, Florida rally: 'And we will be clear in naming our enemy: Radical Islamic Terrorism. The fact that Hillary Clinton can't even say these words proves how unfit she is to lead this country' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a:Table 1, Row 179). Again, the governmental *we*—used representing Trump's future presidential style in that he would call them radical terrorist. The act—would be clear about naming United States enemy. The scene was the United States where acts of terrorism had happened and throughout the world. The agency was the terminology itself: Radical Islamic Terrorism, symbolic of the evil in the world and the United States, and the argumentum ad hominem against Clinton. The purpose was about safety, and why worry about the global effect of putting a name on terrorism, put a name on it linking to the basic level of MHN. It was because of this and the other examples of discourse analysis that Burke's dramatism would allow for original and concise perspective in the discourse of a businessman campaigning for president.

Lastly, in the consideration of Burke's dramatism, applying the pentad to Falcone's description of Trump's entrance when announcing his candidacy in the lobby of his Fifth Avenue Trump Tower in New York City, after coming down the escalator with Neil Young's *Rockin' in the Free World* blaring in the background (2015). Falcone said that the Trump Tower was a monument to Trump's success in the business world (ibid.). It was an obelisk symbolizing his ability to build something lasting in a city that welcomed 'huddled masses yearning to be free' as represented on the Statue of Liberty (Falcone, Lazarus, 1883, line 11). Burke's act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose in the pentad easily interlaced to explain this picturesque production of discourse. The breakdown of the rhetoric allowed for the development of the purpose. The agent was Trump, while the lobby of Trump Tower represented the scene with upbeat music and flashing cameras part of the scene. This tied together with the action of announcing his candidacy, which altogether symbolized the success he had developed over the years in business. The culmination of successes demonstrated his purpose to the public; I can Make America Great Again. Trump's visual success placed Trump's, *why* in the pentad at the top of Maslow's hierarchy of needs by implying, I did it. Trump marketed that all could achieve their potential and self-actualisation, after all Peale was his possibility mentor.

### **Burke's Dramatism in Practice**

As has been discussed above, discourse analysis contains multiple facets which have developed over time in line with growing academic interest in using discourse as a research methodology. Paul Jay reminded us of how Kenneth Burke's research reflected the field of rhetoric, which stemmed from his critiques of Freud and Marx's work as interpretive not 'psychological or socioeconomic' methods (1989:537).

Jensen (2018a) also demonstrated the relevance of Burke's theory of dramatism with his term 'rhetorical counteraction' that Burke utilised in an unpublished work *The War of Words* which followed Burke's *Rhetoric of Motives (RM)* (2018a:385). According to Jensen, rhetorical counteraction reduced the orator's

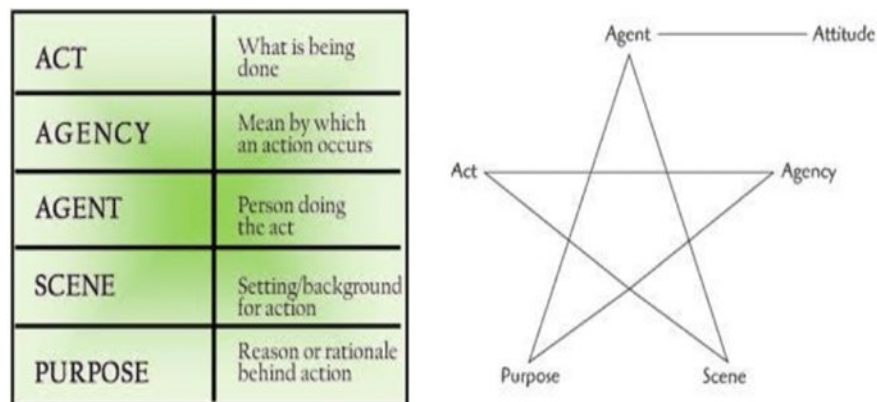
message with the manipulation of rhetorical devices (ibid.). In *The War of Words*, Burke (2017) used the example of a debater saying, 'I have proved...,' And then gave the title of his evidence thus giving a summary of his so-called facts. If the audience doesn't listen closely to the rest of the evidence besides the first lines, the speaker seemed to have proven his point. As Burke explained, it was the 'thesis of an argument' disguised as the gist of so-called factual details (2018a:185). He gave the example of this action when the United States wished to delay strong actions by United Nations against 'Franco Spain' (ibid.). The US recommended a less stringent response, while at the same time trying to appear satisfactorily firm. They thus titled their resolution: 'U.S. Calls on Franco to quit. Or for Spain to Depose Him' (ibid.). The message represented the seeming intention of the U.N.'s plan, but the rhetoric deflected the strength of the U.N.'s message (ibid.). From Burke, Jensen determined the issue of societies acceptance of patriotic aggression, whether the governments or politicians, lay in the people's inability to recognize the 'rhetorical devises' used to persuade (2018a:385). Jensen suggested that teaching the public to perceive these techniques would allow persons to counter with a reflective understanding and create a plan to neutralize the risks of conflict that at first seemed harmless in the dialogue of the politicians (2018a:385-386).

Jay (1989) suggested that Burke broaden his scope of rhetoric to the study of 'cultural criticism' using Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 'to discourses and ... beyond common drama...to Marxism, semiotics, and rhetoric' (1989:545). He also concluded that it was the 'dramatic element' in both Freud and Marx's work that stimulated Burke to develop dramatism, using Marx's idea of the 'classless stage' of dramatic purging and Freud's 'closet dramas of private life' (1989:547) as a basis for his theory. In the analysis of Trump's rhetoric, using dramatism would allow the comprehension of the deeper meanings of the scenes and the acts of Trump to realize his purpose of persuasion through populist grievance rhetoric to influence the voters.

The analysis for this thesis will consider populist grievance propaganda and persuasive marketing discourse, working on the basis that Trump’s speeches are an attempt to persuade the public to vote for him. Burke’s dramatism (Figure 11) will be specifically used with MHN and identified in Table 1 in the appendice:

- to examine the relevance of Trump’s populist grievance rhetoric by his word choices,
- to consider the figurative language,
- to investigate the propaganda,
- to study marketing and branding Clinton in his discourse to see how this led to Trump’s election,
- to establish how Trump’s populist grievance rhetoric accentuated the needs of his followers.

Figure 11: Illustration - Burke’s Dramatistic Pentad  
received from: Wizardofads.org



In addition to these five segments, MHN (Figure 10) will be used to clarify the why of the pentad’s purpose. This theory was chosen because of its use in university communication and marketing textbooks and companies around the world when using persuasive techniques thus a link to Trump’s business background as a candidate. The ratios ‘scene-act, act-agent’ will represent the ‘principles of determination’ with the ‘five terms’(1969:15). Thus, an intertwining in the methodology of discourse analysis and the application of Burke’s dramatism principles seemed appropriate to determine the success of Trump’s campaign rhetoric.

As addressed earlier in Chapter 3, Burke used Machiavelli's work to illustrate the manipulation possible through a leader's rhetoric. Jensen's example illustrated that a 'political leader' might suggest that the country's tradition was in jeopardy to substantiate the growth of commercial concerns (2018:388). Burke acknowledged the issue of naïve labeling was not new in his era, as philosophers and writers in the past developed 'public argumentation' as a response to the issue (2018:391). Furthermore, Burke yearned for the experts and novices of discourse throughout time to consider the expanse of 'rhetorical devices' when considering an understanding of 'nationalistic identification' to create a unity and understanding (2018:395).

In like manner, utilizing Burke's dramatism allowed researchers to examine the intention behind the discourse using various combinations of the pentad to explain the rhetorician's purpose. In doing so, the researcher gained a productive insight into the motives of the orator and the effects on the audience. Although the analysis of this thesis relied heavily on the printed text of Trump's speeches, the pentad allowed for examination of the other elements in the agency that developed the persuasive model of Trump's accomplishment.

For example, Sheard (1993) suggested that Burke concluded people are defined by their uniqueness, which led individuals to stress amongst the population, as they struggled with life's experiences while trying to understand how they fit in it. (1993:291). As society tried to resolve these issues it faces, Burke relied on the pentad to make sense of the 'dialectical tensions' (ibid.) that exist in rhetoric. In the beginning Sheard linked the aged word 'Kairos' or context to which text was spoken thus affecting the connotation of any verbal communication. In relation to Burke's theory, kairos was synonymous with the scene of the pentad (1993:291-292). The scene or more specifically when or where the rhetoric took place was significant when examining the motives of Trump's dialogue as well as his showmanship. This required a suitable framework to examine the oratory within the cultural setting. The dramatism conceived by Burke supplied this encompassing framework. Sheard first emphasized the importance of the scene to



the whole of the pentad. This might be applied when considering Trump's disagreement with Washington D.C.'s trade agreements with Japan, Mexico, Canada, and China both in his interviews in the 1980s to 1999, and again in his campaign speeches as well as addressing other issues as crime and immigration.

Sheard noted that Burke argued that society's ideas of life are not facts, but perceptions of reality based on past situations that with 'cultural competence' could teach us to respond accordingly. If we so desired, we could manipulate the scene around us with well-chosen rhetoric (1993:295). Thus, for Burke, rhetoric as 'symbolic action' was essentially moral as it allowed choice by the rhetorician (1993:296) which was Burke's agency. This illustrated the agency of the pentad suggesting a means to accomplish the purpose, which represented either a universal purpose or on a symbolic level. Trump's branding of his opponents, using syllogisms, figurative language, statistics, and other marketing tools are the elements employed in the agency to develop the answer to how the action took place and the purpose of his PGR.

Sheard clarified this premise further in her discussion of Burke's *god-terms*: These are 'names for the ultimate of motivation' that bring persons closer together for a common cause of the state or nation (1993:299). For example, Burke suggested that 'Democracy, Communism, Capitalism, Money, Power, Peace, Truth and Justice are all god-terms as well as Allah, Buddha, Christ, and God' (ibid.). In modern times Global Warming and Make America Great Again could be considered god-terms; all of the above create a common bond to either unite for good works, or divide society's actions, with verbal or physical violence thus a type of symbolic action was formed. Trump employed other god-terms such as globalism, NAFTA, terrorism, even 'Crooked Hillary' in his stump speeches, and these exemplified how Burke's notion of agency could be used to analyse Trump's marketing campaign for the presidency.

Sheard further revealed that Burke construed the pentad terms as analogous, implying no idea or explanation of a function using one term can be limited singularly as each term suggests the other. For instance, a soccer game can be

seen from all five aspects: As a concerted act. It can also be divided into singular units: an agency used in such a manner to bring a ‘means to an end’; a scene in such a manner that there is a specific situation in ‘time and place’; continuing with each term (1993:304). Burke’s dramatism provided a significant methodology for investigating the ‘nature of human action and language use and the circumstances in which they both take place’ (ibid.). In a similar manner, Trump’s speeches, activities, and locations are determined for the greatest impact for the greatest number of constituents during his campaign. From state fairs to manufacturing plants or rallies in a convention center, Trump spread his plan for *MAGA*. Certainly, in a country as the United States, Burke’s pentad provided a method to understand the communication of the leaders of today, specifically Trump from his speeches during his campaign.

Subsequently, the need for an education in rhetoric for college students [certainly potential voters] to understand the issues involved in today’s discourse while observing societies issues brought Roundtree and Roundtree (2015) to examine Burke’s dramatism. They maintained the pentad assembled the properties needed for the universities to assist students to develop a means to establish a comprehension of the rhetoric in their world (2015:351). Furthermore, they strengthened their case by noting ‘current rhetorical approaches to citizenship education draw on Burke’s theories’ to advocate important knowledge of societies ‘symbol-usage’ and the custom’s influence on humankind to become ‘critical citizens’ (2015:352). To put Burke and his dramatism into perspective for analyzing rhetoric, a look at his *RM* revealed that the essential concept was persuasion (1969b:xiv). The mindset of the investigator of Trump's rhetoric should assuredly consider that all his words were carefully chosen to persuade his audience. As Sheard did, Roundtree and Roundtree followed the ‘characterizations and the relationships of the terms in the pentad’ to clarify the motives which then developed the understanding of the action (2015:353). Roundtree and Roundtree explained this was not how society ‘should construct motives’ but this was how people ‘do construct motives’ (2015:354). Just as a journalist looked at the who, what, when, where, and why and their relationships

when writing a story, the general population did the same when observing a scene and connecting the relationships (ibid.). With the examination of Trump's oratories on the campaign trail, the relationships of the pentadic terms allowed for a better understanding of the motives which produced Trump's victory at the polls.

In considering Trump's campaign speeches, it was important to look at the combinations of the terms from the pentad which Burke labels as a ratio. In examining Trump's campaign rhetoric, two sets of ratios: the one being the act-agent which Burke defined as representing a 'capitalist apologetics'; and the second being the scene-act which Burke defined as socialism (1969a:16-17). Burke further described the agent to this act as one of patriotism, and the 'act-agent ratio can also be seen in democracy' (1969a:17). Trump would be linked to the act-agent set of ratios, as he pushed neoliberalism in his campaign, and Clinton's globalism brand set by Trump's formation of his campaign rhetoric to the scene-act of socialism. In Burke's, *GM*, ratios were the basis for the conclusions to be drawn when considering the ways and means of the contention(s) (1969a:15).

Roundtree and Roundtree cited several situations that clarified the rhetorical process. For example, the researchers cited Brummet's 1979 analysis of the 'rhetoric of pro-gay activists and anti-gay activists' in the United States to illustrate their argument (ibid.):

He 'finds the two groups offer opposing ratios in their discourse: Pro-gay activists feature an agent-act ratio, insisting that people are born gay and *then* engage in gay acts. Anti-gay activist features an act-agent ratio, insisting that people *choose* to engage in gay acts, and thereby become gay'.

(Brummet in Roundtree & Roundtree, 2015:354)

Both persuasive arguments created a scenario that the audience then may develop their own conclusion. Roundtree and Roundtree further demonstrated the flexibility of the Burke pentad in examining a rhetorician's purpose within the

location with other possible variables. Certainly, this would apply to today's politicians as Burke's referenced the philosopher and socialist Karl Marx as an influencer and the literary work of Machiavelli and his tragic prince.

Again, using Burke's framework rhetoric, Jensen (2018b) analysed the media and Trump's verbal warfare. This conflict with the media was an important representation of Trump's spirited haggling with rhetorical responses to the medias' treatment of him as he campaigns. Referencing *The War of Words* written by Burke after World War II's struggle with Adolph Hitler and his propaganda, Jensen noted that Burke placed the media as the actors of 'political warfare' (2018b:1). He also revealed that Burke warned society to recognize the supposed banal articles in the news which may jeopardize the principles of the users. This was certainly relevant to misinformation and for the populace to consider researching what was being heard or read on both sides.

Jensen further acknowledged that Burke also recognized the correlation between Hitler's weaponization of text focusing on the Jews, as scapegoats as to the reason for Germany's weaknesses as a nation, to the aggressive rhetoric being used by the United States (U.S.) toward the then Soviet Union (ibid.). In this case, the fear of Soviet communism spreading to America would be the downfall of the United States. Burke's concern was that this ongoing dialogue of discord could cause the U.S. to bring about another war. This became known as the Red Scare crossing America with many citizens building bomb shelters from fear of such a war. Burke, in seeking to vaccinate the American peoples' thoughts from denigrating dialogue, published his *GM* and *RM* to help the citizens understand the words and world around them (ibid.). This could be compared to Trump's campaign with his Make America Great Again slogan leaning to nationalism, against Hillary Clinton's globalism approach to governing with his fear of a growing socialism. Jensen contended clarifying the central idea to *The War of Words* as: 'Political warfare' was pervasive, persistent, and impossible to prevent. Hence all 'media coverage' required attentive audit as a daily devouring of the media was adequate to divide a democracy (ibid.). Burke's pentad allowed researchers to consider a

variety of combinations to analyze the words and works of Trump and of his audience, as they perhaps unknowingly consider the opposing sides facing them and Trump.

Next Genter (2010), as with Jensen linked Burke's development of his theory of rhetoric to the 'verbal tactics' of the 'cold war', as well as with Burke's desire to educate the masses to 'rhetorical motives' that may be obscure to the casual observer (2010:278). Burke desired the understanding of the persuasive nature of rhetoric of both politics and in daily discourse. Just as the desire by many distressed citizens developed to stop the Marxist communications during the 1940s and 50s in America, Burke longed to bring the guidelines of rhetoric back to forefront in the world of discourse by encouraging collaboration (2010:278-279). Burke advanced the Aristotelian theory of rhetoric submitted for the politicians, which used logic as the method to persuade an audience. Burke also proposed debate should allow for audience reaction developing a functioning relationship with the orator creating a dialogue (2010:279-280). To be a successful elocutionist meant to understand the audience's feelings, thoughts, body language, attitudes, and text. Genter concluded that Burke understood a rhetorician should comprehend that societal disparity and learned animosity interferes with the communication process (2010:280).

Recognizing this, allowed the speaker to apply all methods of 'symbolic action'—'art, advertising, propaganda, parliamentary procedure, conversation, flirtation, and love'—illuminating the unending link amongst dialogue and longing, government and attitude, and community and individualism (2010:281). Burke asserted persuasion was more than 'logic and reason', but the design of the whole person (2010:281-282). The author interpreted Burke's attitude to those who employed logic as to evaluating the audience's desires and attitudes were falling behind in reaching the people. This can be applied to help understand how Trump, through his marketing and PGR of government overreach swayed the voters to listen and respond by voting for him.

Because Trump on many an occasion and even in his debates, railed on political correctness (PC), it was important to consider Richard Bello's (2009 [1996]) 'Burkeian analyses of the term PC. Furthermore, each of the three sections of political correctness was seen in Trump's campaign speeches as the pentad revealed in the analysis of his orations. This again displayed the flexibility of Burke's dramatism and ratios in examining rhetoric. Specifically, Bello employed Burke's 'terministic screen' (TS) to examine the motives of PC. By analyzing the vocabulary of the decision of 'reality' or shift from 'reality', relating to the PC tendency. Bello's research through the TS analysis illustrated both sides of the PC culture trend which deviated observation from the main point to a carefully chosen skewed outlook of their reality (2009:244). Bello broke his research into three sections where each: '1) depends on unique labeling phraseology as a TS, 2) employs unique rhetoric of mystification [defined later] as a TS, and 3) relies on Burke's dramatism with (differing pentadic ratios) for TS the fundamentals of debate' (ibid).

At this point, going to Burke's (1966) *Language as Symbolic Action* was necessary to clarify Bello's use of the term 'terministic screen' created by Burke. Burke began his chapter 'Terministic Screens' with a subtitle that summarized the concept of this idea: 'Directing the Attention' (1966:44). Burke considered context of the circumstance just as important as the word choice, thus dramatism became a part of this terministic screen as accentuating language became part of the 'symbolic action' (ibid.). Burke stated, '...any given terminology is a *reflection* of reality...it must be a *selection* of reality; and ...*deflection* of reality' (1966:45). Thus, Burke revealed 'terministic screens direct the attention' and deflected the 'attention to some other channels' (1966:45). To further explain the 'terministic screen', Burke recommended looking at a single photograph through 'different color filters.' The factual photograph textures vary and 'even in form, depending upon which color filter was used' (ibid.).

First, Bello suggested the idea of political correctness implied an elimination of unrestrained dialogue and neither position desired to appear restrictive to that

excess (2009:244). The ‘conservative’ position characterized themselves by what they are opposed to therefore the PC phrase took on a negative connotation winning accolades with ‘anti-PCers’ (ibid.). This was Trump’s viewpoint of word choice; therefore, he tended to offend Pro-PCers. Dana Milbank (2015), columnist of the *Washington Post*, told of Trump’s response when asked by Megyn Kelly about his disgusting remarks concerning women: ‘The problem this country has is being politically correct’ (2015). Bello then explained the term ‘political correctness’ as an antithesis in that the anti-PCers view this PC term as a method of imposing thought and words on unwilling participants, while the pro-PCers view PC as a term representing the freedom to express their view as respective of personal position (2009:245). Another phrase employed by the pro-PCer as a ‘terministic screen’ to reflect their reality was multiculturalism. This term presented an expanded viewpoint through repetition of use and the implied Americanism as to the societal makeup that then created a ‘multiculturalism screen’, which allowed for any complaints to be considered moaning as to valid arguments (ibid.). Bello noted that the examples used in this research only represented those selected for this research; not everyone fits this profile. For this paper, globalism was a pro-PCer term because of the way Trump used it as a negative in his campaign speeches.

One example was in his October, Cincinnati, Ohio speech, when Trump accused Hillary [He used her first name out of familiarity and to distract from the surname Clinton popularity.] of desiring an everlasting finish to the ‘American independence’ that men and women had fought for and given their life for in order that we might be free. We must win this campaign or risk losing this nation (C-Span, Trump, 2016, Table 1:Row 46). Obviously, Trump was attempting to validate his argument in discussing her globalist view on trade and immigration policies. This example also offered the hyperbole of losing the country, if Hillary Clinton was elected, which led into Bello’s next point.

In Bello’s second section he examined Burke’s ‘rhetorical mystification’ which was closely connected to the ‘deception and illusion’ of the magician (ibid.).

Basically, the orator disguised the reality and lucidity of the terms of the subject by using obscure terms which manipulated the crowd's attitudes, while they determine definitions to the abstractness of the term. The TS of mystification blocked the points of the debate, while the speaker debated without claiming a stance on the subject (ibid.). Furthermore, Bello asserted 'mystifications' of the anti-PCers used figurative language to create 'reasonless passion' or disadvantageous phrasings that brought doubt to the opposition particularly the multiculturalist (MPCers) speakers (2009:246). These MPCers were then represented as being deluded by their 'passion and intensity' (ibid). An example of Burke's mystification linked with Bello's notation of anti-PC'ers use of figurative language was evidenced in Trump's economic plan oration in the August 2016, Detroit, Michigan speech:

We are going to look boldly into the future... American cars will travel the road, American planes will connect our cities, and American ships patrol the seas, American steel will send new skyscrapers soaring. We will put new American metal into the spine of this nation, it will be American hands that rebuild this country, and it will be American energy – mined from American sources – that powers this country. It will be American workers who are hired. Table 1: Row 79

(Politico, Trump, 2016b)

Trump's symbolism and repetition by employing the word 'American' represented the neoliberalism, that he was proposing for America in Detroit and every other manufacturing city in the United States to sway the voters (Politico, Trump, 2016b:Table 1:Row 79). Even this symbolic emphasis displayed his grievances of immigrant workers and globalization.

To further his point, Bello cited Silber, at that time President of Boston College, who, when addressing the Philadelphia Society, stated: 'The new doctrine of sensitivity, whereby anything that might offend anyone can be ruled off the playing field, has raised the cost of identifying barbarianism and opposing it' (Silber in Bello, 2009:246). Hereby, declaring multiculturalist as barbaric and MCers barbarians while mocking sensitivity (ibid.). Not to be declared innocent



in the world of mystification, MPCers tag anti-PCers with a fanaticism label (2009:247). Bello's example of a MPC speaker claimed of the 'level of irrationality and hysteria directed against American universities [suggesting anti-PCers] just made me wonder if we're in for a resurgence of real, old-fashioned McCarthyism' (ibid.) [United States Senator McCarthy in the 1950s, the time of the cold war with Russia and fear of nuclear war, charged many innocent Americans of being communist to further his career in politics and destroyed their reputations]. Bello's example simply demonstrated that both sides of the academic realm use many of the same tactics in their speaking. As Trump questioned Hillary Clinton's globalism, Hillary Clinton questioned anyone who might support Donald Trump by calling them deplorable's: 'Hillary Clinton thinks you're deplorable and irredeemable' (C-Span, Trump, 2016, Table 1: Row 43) which in itself was symbolism for those that are anti-progress or people with poor judgment. Thus, exemplifying the usefulness of the PC construct as an underpinning for analysis.

An example of how this had been used in practice came from, Parry-Giles and Steudeman (2017) who applied Burke's ideas to the GM discussion on the 'human Constitution' (1969:362), that they phrase as identity whether in values, motivation, or character in explaining the transformation of the actor to connect with one or all the voters. Specifically, from the campaign of Senator John McCain against then Senator Barak Obama in the 2008 United States presidential race. In this campaign McCain struggled to create an identity with the voters. The authors then compared McCain's menagerie of descriptors of himself to Trump's rhetoric in his 2016 campaign. McCain's first character dialogue of a gentleman was then shown in his defense of Senator Obama at a community gathering state of Minnesota. Some of the attendees questioned Obama's heritage and religious beliefs. Senator McCain answered the citizens by stating that Senator Obama was a respectable married man and an American with whom I differ with when the issue of his free gift-way programs. It was these concerns we need to discuss not his ethnicity (2017:66). Though McCain distinguished himself as a gentleman

even when facing the jeers of his constituency; he lost his identity as the politician for the people.

In contrast, consider Trump's response in the fall of 2015, in a 'Town Hall' gathering at Rochester in the state of New Hampshire, the crowd presented an immediate challenge of the issue of 'Muslims' in America, while declaring Obama to be one; the threat of clandestine camps of Muslims training to undermine us [the United States]. Trump's response fed the bitterness with: ... 'We are looking at that and plenty of other things' (ibid.). These examples, with McCain remaining true to himself, and Trump feeding off the audience allowed an examination of the inner workings of the political landscape of elections (2017: 67).

Serving in the Senate for over 30 years demonstrated McCain's ability to work with different people and to show himself a man of the people. Conversely, there was Donald Trump who had spent the last 30 years working with people under his terms in taking that advantage where he may. For example, in his October 2016 West Palm Beach, Florida rally, Trump stated, 'Our president is incompetent. He has led a very divided nation and it's only gotten worse. And the last thing our country needs is four more years of Barack Obama, believe me' (NPR, Trump, 2016, Table 1: Row 94). The contrast was significant and seen throughout this corpus of speeches as Trump branded his predecessor as well as his predecessor's legacy Hillary Clinton in his effort to appeal to a demographic who desired change. While McCain wanted to run on the issues such as less welfare for the people, as opposed to Obama's and the Democratic platform of more government assistance; Trump stepped away from the Republican platform and identified himself as a businessman, who was running on his own populist grievance platform of the past 30 years of government missteps and character assassination of opponents.

According to Burke, (GM) this examination of 'political platforms' came from the investigation of the rhetoric (1969:343) of the campaigner displaying their personality and legitimizing their individuality and it was this approach which

was used in the analysis for this thesis. Parry-Giles and Steudeman suggested the challenge for a nominee then became two-fold in that they must show genuineness while continuing to suit the desires of a wide demographic of constituents. Without both attributes, the politician's identity became lost (2017: 69), and they were no longer able to reflect a direction identifying with the constituency.

Burke (GM) confirmed this with his dramatism through the 'analysis of the scene-act and scene-agent ratios whereby the quality of context in which a subject is placed will affect the quality of the subject placed in that context' (1969a: 77-78). In considering this, formulating a 'political identity' required knowing one's circumstance as essentially as knowing one's individuality; just as the circumstances of the campaign molds one's conduct and demeanor (2017: 71).

These examples of McCain's inability to define himself with and opposing the Republican ideologies contrasted to Trump's independence from the party. In Trump's campaign, he had no voting record to defend and really cared less what his political party thought. Although compared to McCain, Trump used the leadership brand effectively, as his scene was identified by his business. Trump was the agent of a world-wide brand named Trump. Without hesitation, he branded his opponent Hillary Clinton, who worked in Washington DC, as crooked. He revealed this in his analogy of the two in the August 5, 2016, Green Bay Wisconsin speech:

So, I'm not part of the system (scene), outside Washington DC. I (agent) ran against the system. I ran against the donors, because I'm largely my own donor. I'm running against myself. That's sort of -- never thought of it that way. And against the status quo, and the status quo, we have to get rid of, because it is not working, folks, because the country is a mess (scene). And that is why they put up a lot of money. But while the Democrats nominated (act) the candidate of special interests, and really a candidate of total corruption (scene), I mean, you take a look at what she is doing (act), the Republicans made history by choosing a nominee from outside of this very, very corrupt the system. It is a corrupt system.

It's a corrupt system. You want something done; they can do it for you. And that is not necessarily, and usually it isn't good for the country. Table 1: Row 176

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e)

Trump (agent) clarified his position as an outsider to the Washington DC (scene) and compared it to the scene in which Hillary Clinton and her party of Democrats actions were corrupt. As Parry-Giles and Steudeman demonstrated with McCain and Obama's campaign, Burke's scene-act ratio will be applied in later chapters to analyse Trump's branding of Hillary Clinton.

Now, with the election happening in two months McCain attempted to rebrand himself again, but this time employing the symbolism of an American hero. At the Republican National Committee speech in September of 2008, McCain now attempted to combine the 'Country First' with his lone wolf attitudes of the past to clarify his brand (2017:79). However, when large banks began to fail in September, McCain attempted his working together brand by requesting his democratic opponent Barak Obama meet with him to mediate a solution. Obama's refusal countered McCain by declaring the nation required a candidate with answers (2017:81). McCain's bifurcated brand fell apart; he had to decide, but his brand cannot deliver. The scene changed and the agent-act demonstrated the same fractures that existed within the Republican party as McCain's brand. Barak Obama won.

Between the lack of experience and the news, the Democrats addressed Trump's 'vulgarity, temperament, honesty, and his personality; he is likely running a losing campaign' (2017:83-84). The authors demonstrated with the rhetoric of Obama and McCain's 2008 presidential campaign, that Burke's dramatism ratios were an effective methodology to analyse the rhetoric of Trump's 2016 presidential campaign.

In contrast, Leslie's argument noted that the art of the anecdote lies at the underbelly of the speeches in politics. She linked Habermas' public sphere with Burke's dramatism to examine the persuasive nature of the narrative in politics

(2015:67). She also found that after the 2014 mid-term elections, research by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) discovered the voters approved of the democratic agenda, but failed in their delivery of the message, while the Republican's narrative delivered on the storyline that brought in voters (ibid.). The basic theory of communications recommended the use of anecdotes or narratives to gain attention of the listener, and for the purpose of explanation. (Sarett & Foster, 1936; Larson, 2001; Gregory, 2013; Griffin, Ledbetter, & Sparks, 2015) proclaimed narratives extremely effective and more rememberable, while the anecdote as the 'exclamation points of persuasion' (Larson, 2001:166). The central idea led the listener to relate, to understand and to trust the orator, thus persuading the audience through common ground. This populism method was found throughout Trump's campaign speeches. A dramatic narrative Trump told in October, during the Columbus, Ohio rally related the story of the struggles of the inner-city supposedly caused by the past administration:

These are the people who've allowed (act) violent international cartels to invade our country (scene) ... Victims like Marilyn Pharis, raped (act) by an illegal immigrant with a lengthy criminal record and beaten (act) to death with a hammer (agency, symbolism). (Purpose, safety not met) Table 1: Row 128

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c)

Few would forget this story when Trump later spoke about stopping illegal immigration at the border, building a wall, or backing the police officers in the streets.

Leslie (2015) suggested four areas of the anecdotal scenario that led to the compelling acceptance of the accounts: 'performance, adaptation, context and iconicity' (2015:68). She tied these points to Habermas' belief that 'ethical discussion' allows critical matters to be understood by developing an accord with the stakeholders (ibid.). These narratives may create a thematic image for society to clarify the point, and then they can be debated and argued as voters associate their world with the one of politics (ibid.). Leslie also used Burke's dramatism to bring out the 'foundational metaphor for rhetorical action'; permitting us to

comprehend the intent for the dialogue (2015:69). Burke's pentad allowed the examination of latent rationale of existential structures and the conversations produced by them (ibid.). Leslie also recognized that in the deliberation of electioneering the basis of disputes was not limited to hypotheses. The attraction to the people then was grounded in 'emotion, character, and popular beliefs' (2015:70). She asserted narratives and disagreements connected with the audience's vision, thus established a logical sense for response (ibid.).

To exemplify how this was applied in the analysis, examining how Trump had brought up the crime rate in the major cities in his stump speeches is necessary. While he was speaking on August 17, 2016, West Bend, Wisconsin, he addressed his concern of the rampant crime even though some protested against police around the country:

During the last 72 hours another nine were killed (act) in Chicago and another 46 were wounded (act). More than 2600 people have been shot in Chicago (scene) since the beginning of the year(agency)... How are we (agent, current administration) serving these American victims by attacking law enforcement officers? The war on our police must end (purpose, safety). Table 1: Row 4  
(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Trump again used an emotional speech with statistics that added credibility to his narrative. These numbers are part of the agency, and the how he was persuading his audience. The action verbs added to the story: have raged, were killed, were wounded, have been shot, killed, all which set the scene of the crimes, where, in the inner cities of America. Trump's purpose for this narrative interlaced with MHN, as safety was considered one of the basic needs of humanity. It illustrated that narrative as well: ...'Peaceful citizens who want to be able to work and live and send their kids to school in safety.... Or the senior citizen waiting for a bus. Or the young child walking home from school' (Politico, Trump, 2016c, Table 1: Row 4). Trump's purpose was found higher in the MHN in the people's psychological needs: belonging, relationships, and pride in where one lives. Just as there are two agents, one - Trump who wants to change this situation

representing the act-agent ratio, and two - the current democratic administration, whether city or government officials, who allowed these crimes to exist representing the scene-act ratio. As Leslie suggested with Habermas public sphere, when the people heard the stories, they can then determine their truths by their own situations.

Once again referencing Burke's suggestion that the most important device in relating the people with the orator's intention was identification (2015:74). Leslie began with performance to address the persuasive nature of the narrative, which included the 'oral and visual' for our purposes (ibid.). She then noted the performance developed the tone in reflecting the narrator's feelings to the subject brought forth. The tone provided context to the meaning of the narrative for the audience (2015:75). Of course, the listeners may apply the anecdote to one of their experiences to further understand the scenario. The iconicity was when an entity symbolized another entity through similarity, which can work by the way of style or content (2015:76). Burke (GM) called this a 'representative anecdote' which was used as a style in compliance in which the language is composed (1969a:59). A 'representative anecdote' should adequately differentiate to develop analysis, yet adequately intricate to avoid simplicity in one's work (1969a:324). Leslie contended rightly, that the politician's bio was not an effort to convince, but a frame for debate of the 'character and fitness' of the candidate (2015:77).

She also demonstrated this theory through Bill Clinton's short video of his life during his 1992 presidential campaign. In the video, he used the details of the stepfather's alcohol use, 'abuse of his mother' and a finish with the 'allegations of infidelity' to bond his modest upbringing with the life of many of the constituents (2015:77-78). With the scene set through the anecdotes of his life, the actor, Bill Clinton, explained through the acts: abuse and alcoholism with the agent being his stepfather as a purpose to enlighten the constituency of who he was as a candidate. The influence of the narrative whether simple as with Bill Clinton or garish with Trump's golden escalator announcement and business success, a gold

TRUMP on the front of his buildings, reflected a connection to the electorate that began the road to the White House.

CDA in action came from Thomas and Turnbull's (2017) *Talking Up a Storm* which used CDA in determining the framing of the text and the persuasive neoliberal techniques that was used by Kallas to win over the port workers during the struggle for fair port policies. They examined Kallas' rhetoric using the framework to identify the rhetorical devices he employed to persuade the dockworkers. They find Kallas employed several devices of persuasion such as repetition and contrast which suggested the connection to allow Burke's dramatism as the underpinning for this thesis again using the agency to determine the how of Trump's rhetorical persuasion.

The Burkeian researchers used a portion: the rhetorical counteraction, the terministic screen, and ratios of Burke's GM to determine the motives and the why behind the rhetoric. Their use of Burke acts as carefully placed steppingstones to help develop the reasoning for using Burke's dramatism as a solid underpinning, not as a part but as a whole, to fully understand the motive and techniques employed by Trump in his stump speeches as he campaigned for the Presidency of the United States.

### **Summary**

The findings in this methodology chapter revealed the ease of dissecting a lengthy oration and sectioning it into the five elements using Burke's dramatism. The time frame of interest for the research in this thesis is from June 2016 to November 2016 of the United States Presidential election. During this time, 137 rallies were held across United States with many happening on consecutive days. These speeches are typically known as stump speeches and layout the core platform of the politician with some adjustments made for the audience of that particular city or community in which it is held according to Jacobson (2020).

This researcher selected the speeches from the five states that Trump needed to win the electoral college. West Palm Beach and Pensacola, Florida are middle



class communities in this tourism driven state. The other states: Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan are known for manufacturing, auto industry, coal, natural gas, and farming. Thus, most residents have middle class jobs, but all are at risk or have lost jobs to foreign entities and climate change agendas. All of these are topics that Trump ran against in his campaign.

For Trump, his speeches present his grievances that he has been expressing over the years, and in this case the topics range from foreign trade deals such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, globalization, illegal immigration, and crime. From this body of references, ten of the stump speeches are chosen with two each from the five states that are significant in bringing Trump the electoral college victory he needed to win the presidential election. Burke's approach may be tedious and time-consuming as the areas of examination need to be limited or it can become overwhelming. By focusing on marketing, the dramatism led to many areas of marketing and persuasion techniques that have been proven over the years in business as effective for Donald Trump in politics as well.

Many of the speeches resourced comes from the Peters and Woolley's (2016) *American Presidency Project* while others come from a spectrum of media networks. More than a few videos are no longer available nor a copy of the written transcript, but others are freely available from other sources. The states used are:

1. West Bend, Wisconsin 17/08/2016
2. Cincinnati, Ohio 13/10/2016
3. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania 28/06/2016
4. Detroit, Michigan 08/08/2016
5. West Palm Beach, Florida 13/10/2016
6. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 07/09/2016
7. Columbus, Ohio 13/10/2016
8. Warren, Michigan 31/10/2016
9. Pensacola, Florida 09/09/2016
10. Green Bay, Wisconsin 05/08/2016

Once the ten stump speeches, from the 137 given during the campaign, were selected from the five states determined for electoral votes, the time came to determine how the formation of the methodology to be visually usable would work. In the appendices, a chart (Table 1) representing the breakdown by the subject areas of each of the ten stump speeches individually were divided into the six categories across the page, the five of the pentad: act, scene, agent, agency, purpose – determining the need by using MHN, and the sixth being the ratio, which discerns the gist of the topic, whether capitalism as act-agent or socialism as scene-agent by Burke’s determination. Maslow’s theory is selected as it is presented in marketing as well as communication textbooks in universities around the world as a method illustrating people’s needs for persuasion purposes. There are 227 different sections of text in detail across these six categories. After close reading, the divisions were carefully chosen to properly apply the analysis breakdown of these speeches. These sections were then carefully analysed to determine the action verb for the act first. Then the agent and scene were determined for clarification of the ratio. Next, the aspects of the agency which consists of the persuasive tools of figurative language, repetition, syllogisms, and analogies to name a few. The purpose using Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs chart is then applied by the whole of the first four sections for a more in-depth analysis of the idea of purpose. The color coding takes place with each section of speech in the pentad row. After the chart was complete, the breakdown was figured to determine which marketing tool is applied more often by Trump for its persuasive purposes. Once the research was complete it was then determined whether it had proven or disproven my questions:

- How does Trump’s grievance driven marketing approach persuade the nation’s population that his plan will allow them the opportunity to meet their needs is an assessable concept?
- What elements of Trump’s strategy could be appropriated by other politicians?

Figure 12. Table 1: Sub-topics Color Code

|                      |                            |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| ▪ <b>Gold</b> -      | Trump Brand                |
| ▪ <b>Red</b> -       | Branding Hillary/Opponents |
| ▪ <b>Yellow</b> -    | Repetition                 |
| ▪ <b>Lt. Green</b> - | Word Choice                |
| ▪ <b>Lt. Blue</b> -  | Propaganda                 |
| ▪ <b>Green</b> -     | Syllogism                  |
| ▪ <b>Orange</b>      | Statistics                 |

Figure 12. Table 1. Extract representing the pentad and color-coded topics

There are some topics that were single coded that have overlap with other codes. The more dominant code is being selected for usage. These determinations of coding were made to clarify the discussion of the research. For example: In the October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio speech, Trump is using propaganda to brand Clinton and her campaign as ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton Campaign’ (C-Span, Trump, 2016: Table 1: Row27). More specifically he said, ‘I gave a speech earlier today on the lies, corruption, and false accusations of the ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton Campaign’ (ibid.). The hard ‘c’ of the alliteration and repetition were discussed for their auditory affect to influence in making the idea of ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton’ more believable. This researcher did not include the fallacy of attack on a person even though it exists in this part of the speech, as well as the unproven assumption in his argument as if his stating it made it true. For example, he stated, ‘I gave a speech ... on the lies, corruption, and false accusations’ (ibid.) These words cover both of these fallacies. These codes (fallacy and propaganda and branding) overlap, but the logical fallacies are more of a persuasive technique. The choice to just discuss the propaganda of the labeling and the branding of her personality was more to the point of Trump’s treatment of Clinton throughout the campaign. Certainly, more research could be done in Trump’s use of fallacies, and this researcher does address a portion in Chapter Seven to note

the lengths that Trump went, to convince his audience. The codes chosen were the codes being discussed at the time, and the other codes that were involved were then discussed later. Another critical research thesis could cover these subjects in more detail.

CDA was found to offer pronominal explanations that Burke does not. Thomas and Turnbull used CDA in examining Commissioner Kallas' port speeches and determined the framing of the text and the populist neoliberal text. The uniqueness of Burke's dramatism was shown through various scholarly disciplines revealing the extent of variables dramatism offered as a methodology to effectively evaluate rhetoric. Dramatism allowed the intertwining of MHN to further emphasise the marketing side of Trump's rhetoric and validate the motivation of his populist grievance rhetoric.

An examination of Burke's pentad from the perspective of other researchers such as Jensen suggested that the use of the pentad to help understand the political speech could lower disagreements. Jay also suggested that Burke's study of Freud and Marx influenced the effectiveness of achieving the deeper meanings in the scenes in acts of dramatism. Other authors listed terms that Burke used to clarify his rhetoric such as Rountree and Roundtree who approached Burke's symbol use to influence citizens opinions on the subject. Sheard, talked about Burke's god-terms which are terms that are meant to divide or to bond depending on the party using them to become part of the agency in the pentad. Bello's selected Burke's term of rhetorical mystification which dealt with the abstract of the argument more specifically the ratios use in the pentad.

The following chapters apply aspects of dramatism to the research questions. In Chapter Six the (Make America Great Again: Trump Election Speeches) selected speeches from the five states Trump needed to win the electoral college to examine his neoliberalism and populist grievance rhetoric. In Chapter Seven (Choice Words and Polarising Propaganda as Persuasion: Trump's Branding of Hillary Clinton) examines closely Trump's branding of Hillary Clinton as a marketing technique of propaganda.

## Chapter Summary

- **Critical Discourse Analysis a Brief History/** History of the Amsterdam symposium in 1991 that began the discussion of CDA.
- **CDA – Understanding Rhetoric/** A summary of the elements of CDA and Fairclough’s three-dimensional model explained and the four questions that should be asked. Wodak, Meyer, and Van Dijk’s discussion on CDA and its usage for the examination of rhetoric.
- **CDA Demonstration/** Examination of CDA through Thomas and Turnbull’s *Talking up a Storm*.
- **Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs Intersects Burke’s Dramatism/** Why the psychological marketing devise of MHN is used to intersect Burke’s dramatism. The art of persuasion is explained through dramatism, specifically the agency answering the how to the why of the purpose.
- **Burke’s Dramatism Unwrapped/** A history of Burke’s theory’s beginning with MHN as an interlacing tool to clarify the needs of the people Trump projected to help.
- **Burke’s Dramatism in Practice/** A summary of contemporary explorations of underpinning points in dramatism.

## Chapter Six

### Make America Great Again: Trump's Election Speeches

I don't do it for the money. I've got enough, much more than I'll ever need. I do it to do it. Deals are my art form. Other people paint beautifully on canvas or write wonderful poetry. I like making deals, preferably big deals. That's how I get my kicks.

(Trump, 1987:1)

Despite being asked by Oprah in 1988 about the idea of running for president after complaining about bad trade agreements over the years, as well as noting on the *Larry King Show* in 1999, he was exploring the possibility of running for the presidency of the United States in Chapter Four, no one expected Donald Trump to take a serious run for the office. Few gave Trump any chance to win the Republican nomination much less the presidency. This examination of Trump's speeches aimed to explore how Trump could relate to the 60 million plus people who voted for him to become president. Newt Gingrich (2017) suggested in his book *Understanding Trump*: to really comprehend President Trump, do not pay attention to those elected officials in Washington DC, or the conventional news outlets comments concerning Trump (2017:3). As an alternative begin by looking at the facts from his background that separated him from average legislators and determined how he functioned. Trump's beginnings are significant as they enlighten to the nature of the successful businessman who could so readily unite with the 'blue-collar workers' to establish the base of his 'electoral victory' (ibid.). Gabriel, Paravati, Green, and Flomsbee (2018) suggested the parasocial relationship that Trump built while hosting *TA/CA* reflecting a man who could make decisions and fire people if they failed to measure up (2018:300). Other scholarly research addressing Trump's connection to the voters: (Nai and Maier, 2018; Sherman, 2018; Gingrich, 2017).

It is relevant to examine Trump's perception of himself and preparedness for his future. Gingrich explained Trump's mindset from Trump's own personal background as he addressed an audience. 'Trump is an entrepreneur, not an academic. ... He views knowledge is a tool to get something done' (2017:6). The example Gingrich used to affirm this point was from a radio interview that Trump had where the host started asking Trump if he could list the heads of various radical assemblages throughout the Middle East. Trump answered frankly, 'Of course I don't know them. I've never met them. I haven't been in a position to meet them. ... If they're still there [when I become president], I will know them better than I know you' (2017:6-7). According to Gingrich, the Washington D.C. elitist was shocked. After all, a person running for president should know all the details of all the countries and then some. Gingrich posited that Trump was completely the contrast of this thought (2017:7): Trump understood that 'to be successful' he needed be prepared for when that moment came and not before.... The practical middle-class American worker that belonged to Trump's 'base of support' realized this way of thinking, so Trump's seeming shortage of familiarity with the minute facts of 'public and foreign policy' had little effect this movement (ibid.). Gingrich noted that Trump was a man who understood his audience and used the terminology to relate to the college educated as well as the blue-collar worker.

### **Stumping in the States**

This chapter summarises the examination the rhetoric of Trump as shown through his stump speeches in five of the states that had been voting mostly Democratic over the past years. Pennsylvania and Michigan typically voted Democratic and had done so for 28 years each, and Wisconsin voted Democratic for 32 years before the 2016 election. Florida and Ohio's voting, which continually fluctuated, had been voting Democratic for the last eight years until the 2016 election, according to Electoral Ventures (2020). Though these speeches became repetitive; they were what was termed as a *stump* speech. The Buckley School of Public Speaking accredited these as:

Having a single speech, you can give time after time is a standard item in the political candidate's toolbox. It is called a stump speech, and it is a concept that many in the business world could benefit from using. You create a speech or presentation that contains your primary messages, the ones you are called on to deliver frequently. And like the best stump speeches, you design it so there is room for the message to evolve — whether that is to update with new information, personalize the stories you tell, or drop in responses to challenge.

(Buckley School, 2019: n.p.)

As well, the Buckley School cited from *a history of the Lincoln-Douglas debates*: 'A good stump speaker could always attract a crowd, and a witty combat between two speakers representing opposite parties was a real holiday sport' (2019, n.p.).

The analysis for this thesis revealed that Trump's campaign speeches contained a continual flow of the issues that he considered important: the problems that existed in the inner cities—poor quality education and safety; policies that affected employment opportunities and immigration; bad trade deals such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) that cost Americans jobs; the illegal immigration issues on the border; radical Islamic terrorism; and of course branding his opponent. Depending on the city, Trump changed parts of his speech to fit his audience's needs.

Cmiel (1990) suggested in the 1800s, 'If the rude stump speeches dominated the campaign season, *high-falutin* bombast was widespread on ceremonial occasions' (1990: 65). Both the refined men of the United States and Europe began to question this kind of language use (*ibid.*). Brown stated, 'formal addresses in the large towns yielded chief place to the new spellbinding' (Brown in Cmiel, 1990:248), concerning the crusade for political office of 1900. Guild Jr. asserted the same opinion: 'The orator is gone replaced by the *spellbinder*, who, like the modern businessman', cared more of the outcome than the traditional approach (Guild Jr. in Cmiel, 1990:248). 'By the 1890s, the word was associated with modern stump speaking' (Cmiel, 1990:248). The political spellbinder was



informal. They spoke in common vernacular charming the crowd, while without thinking, embellished the details (ibid.).

Adams (2017) took this a bit further and suggested that an ‘intentional wrongness’ in exaggeration was a perfect persuasion technique (2017:20). He explained its process: First the politician must ‘make a claim that was directionally accurate but had a big exaggeration or factual error in it.’ Then they ‘wait for people to notice the exaggeration or error’ and then they devote limitless time discussing how incorrect the facts are (ibid.). This style resulted in focus developing on a detail that then was remembered because so much conversation made it seem even more important. ‘That’s persuasion’ (ibid.). Adams selected the example of Trump’s wall: Trump was never specific on the type of wall it would be. Symbolically, most listeners considered the term wall was a solid object, so with Trump, ‘continuing to call it a wall without details, he caused the public and media to view that as an error’ (2017:21). ‘So, they argue about it. They fact check it’ (2017:22). As Adam explained, the ‘intentional error’ certainly gathered more time and attention as criticism than it would have if Trump tried to explain what type of wall was going up (2017:23). Now in the minds of the public, the wall had become important. Just as Trump marketed his stance on immigration; it brought news whether good or bad. He received airtime.

Berenson (2016) made this observation of Trump’s early run-off speeches: Trump’s lack of notes when giving a speech does not prohibit a ‘clearly recognizable stump speech’ from taking place (2016:1). Though his method may lack panache as many of the other politicians who had prearranged orations, Trump had established a ‘particular rhythm’ of stories, motifs, and expressions (ibid.). Trump was being himself and going off-script, as he tended to do.

The ten stump speeches selected for analysis in this thesis took place between the months of June 2016 and election day on November 7, 2016. They represented a random selection of two speeches given in five democratic voting states for Trump to win the electoral college. These five states: Wisconsin, Michigan

Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Florida have been voting Democratic for many years and would need real persuasion to change that history of voting. Because of the stump style political speech, these speeches significantly demonstrated Trump's neoliberal marketing style as well as his PGR technique. Burke's pentad was uniquely useful as a tool to analyse Trump's showmanship, which he brought from his reality television shows *TA/TC*. Intertwined with MHN to define the needs Trump met with his PGR.

### **Coding for Analysis**

The campaign speeches analysed are divided into seven sections of analysis modelled within the agency of Burke's dramatism. Trump's persuasive rhetoric was evaluated through semantic study of the language of 'agency' and the analysis was further supported by the other four categories of Burke's dramatism. Once the detailed analysis had taken place the coding of Trump's business rhetoric and persuasive techniques was added to clarify the grammatical devices used within the speeches for the 'purpose' of persuasion. For example, Trump attempted to reveal his brand character (identified with gold in the coding chart) to the audience or draw an emotional reaction from the audience usually using propaganda (light blue) as he presented his argument for his election. The color coding for Table 1 separated the most common techniques Trump exhibited in the agency throughout the selected campaign speeches.

In examining the pronominal usage of the text, Fairclough's CDA will be used. The color-coding chart will be found in the appendices. The seven color sections in Table 1 are:

1. Gold: Trump's business brand and/or developing character.
2. Red: Trump's branding of Hillary Clinton and Democrats.
3. Yellow: The repetition as a persuasive device of marketing.
4. Light Green: Word devices such as: figurative language and repetition

5. Light Blue: Propaganda /globalism arguments

6. Green: Syllogisms - for persuasion

7. Orange: the statistics - a marketing persuasion tool.

This chapter focuses mainly on the Gold, Yellow, Light blue, and Orange in the legend of Appendix 1A. (See Color Legend in Appendices)

### **Trump's Character as He Presents It**

To determine what exemplified Trump's character to his audience at his rallies, the use of Aristotle's examination of political rhetoric used not only in the writing but also in the speeches of the politicians of his day, was also used as a framework for analysis. The first means of persuasion represented the 'character of the speaker', which Aristotle explained was a persuasion developing from the oration when the speaker delivered his words 'in such a way' as to develop credibility in the politician from his audience (2007:1.2.38-39). Trump demonstrated his character with the voters particularly the military service as projected in the September 9, 2016, Pensacola, Florida speech:

I (agent) am fighting (act) for you. All the people advising Hillary Clinton are the people responsible for the endless wars and conflicts, and the tragedies in the Middle East. (agency- Clinton's-character, propaganda, logical fallacy attacking the person) I am proud to have the support of the retired generals and admirals who know how to win – and how to avoid endless war. Let me also take this moment to express our deepest thanks and gratitude to everyone who has worn the uniform, but most especially to those who have given the ultimate sacrifice (agency Trump's character, patriotism) for this country (scene). There is no greater expression of love than the love shown by the men and women who have laid down their lives for their country and its people. It is our duty to ensure that their sacrifices are not in vain (agency). That means we don't issue timetables for political reasons, but that we work (act) with our generals and our leaders to produce a real plan for victory. We will pursue (act) a new, steady foreign policy that seeks to advance the national security interests of the United States – not a reckless, interventionist globalism that has failed this country so badly. (purpose: patriotism, safety, love, esteem) Table 1: Row 165

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a)

Trump began this portion of the speech with leadership and the use of “I” (agent-twice) and then uses action verbs of ‘am fighting for you’, ‘work with our generals’, and ‘pursue a steady foreign policy for you’. The *you* usage was Trump claiming an inherent relationship with the audience, which was a common marketing tool (Fairclough, 2015:143). His *we* usage; ‘we don’t issue’, ‘we work’, and ‘*We* will pursue’ (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a: Table 1: Row 165) is the governmental *we* (Fairclough, 2013:286). He quickly and symbolically demonstrated a caring persona with the personal touch of *you* and his governmental *we*, that appreciated sacrifice and a desire for a secure place to live and work. The agency allowed the audience to recognize the analogy of what was endless war and conflicts. Through dramatism as a framework Trump projected a leadership character to create a bond with the voters. His purpose was to stress his character as a patriot and a concern for the people’s security, and the esteem they will gain.

Savoy’s (2016) research demonstrated the straightforward repetitious rhetoric of Trump which reflected his concern for a focused topic and audience (2016:8). Trump repeated his slogan, *MAGA*, and variations thereof throughout his speeches. This repetition developed credibility for Trump and established his character with his audiences as he laid out his plans. The slogan created a bond for Trump with his audience every time he spoke the slogan that gave them hope. Fill (2013) completed the statement of a successful brand addressing the slogan as one of the backbones of marketing making the brand complete (2013:372). When Trump took the stage to speak, he established himself as a brand, and a candidate who cared about America through his slogan, which he typically stated in some form throughout the speech. As previously noted, Trump’s business brand was still being watched by an average of 10 million people a week from his reality shows *TA/CA*, now he was telling them he can *MAGA*.

In addition to this, Trump's business rhetoric validated his knowledge of jobs and trade deals. He expressed desire to stop radical terrorism and illegal immigration to create a safe environment, and the continued expression for the need of quality schools in the inner cities provided what the people of America needed. In the October 13, 2016, West Bend, Wisconsin speech Trump related one of his several versions of the *MAGA* slogan to create an emotional bond with his audience:

To every parent who dreams for their children, and to every child who dreams for their future (purpose), I (actor) say these words to you tonight: I'm with you, I will fight (act) for you, and I will win (act) for you. Together, we will Make (act, 3), America (scene) Strong Again. We will Make America Safe Again. And we will Make America Great Again (pathos). Thank you and God bless.  
Table 1: Row 25

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Trump understood that the slogan was not enough, so he added the symbolism of parents and children dreaming of their future to the nationalism of life in a great America with a leader who will fight and win, thus creating an image of strong actions. In this segment, he began speaking personally with his *I* in *I'm with you* as if individually, but changed with the last two *I* usage became the impersonal '*I will fight*', '*I will win*' (Fairclough. 2003:176). At this point, he changed to the governmental *we* which he used three consecutive times (Politico, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 25), (Fairclough, 2013:286). The pronominal usage insured a populist tone, telling the audience what they wanted to hear, connected with the populist *MAGA* variations to sway his audience toward his PGR. The repetition signified the importance of the dream, and Trump's purpose was demonstrated from the dream to win and from esteem to self-actualization.

Notably Burke emphasized the action verb as part of the agent's character, as he explained: 'Dramastistically, the basic unit of action would be defined as the human body in conscious or purposive motion' (1969a:14). He noted this was in 'keeping with the act-agent ratio' (1969a:227). The audience already knew Trump from his success as a businessman and his successful reality TV shows *TA/CA*.

Trump now promised an action in his slogan, that his audience could relate to and get behind. Aristotle also noted the importance of the action in developing the speaker's character: 'Moral character as reflected in deliberate choice of actions and has developed into a habit of mind' (2007:2.12.148). Other critical literature expressed this viewpoint as well: (Sarett & Foster, 1936; Savoy, 2016; Jordan & Pennebaker, 2016).

### **Trump *MAGA* & Marketing**

Donald Trump the businessman used neoliberalism in his PGR to underpin his campaigning approach for the American presidency starting with the campaign slogan. Kinsella (2017) wrote that Trump described developing his campaigns popular motto in a meeting with *The Washington Post*: 'It was after the failed run of presidential candidate' Mitt Romney to President Barak Obama in the 2012 election campaign (2017). Trump's recollected thinking, first the slogan should be, *We Will Make America Great*, then *Make America Great*, but suddenly, *Make America Great Again* just snapped in (ibid.).

That is so good. I wrote it down. I went to my lawyers, ... I said, see if you can have this registered and trademarked. It actually inspired me, because to me, it meant jobs. It meant industry and meant military strength. It meant taking care of our veterans. It meant so much.

(Trump cited in Kinsella, 2017)

The slogan and the simple red *MAGA* baseball hat drew the disenfranchised citizens to the campaign. Kinsella asserted that the *Make America Great Again* meant what Trump touted in his campaign rallies: 'America first, better trade deals, strict immigration laws, secure borders, bigger and better military, less gun control and religious freedom (ibid.)'. The analysis for this thesis confirmed that these neoliberalism topics were highlighted in Trump's speeches. It was only fitting that Trump's slogan was similar to Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign slogan, when Reagan ran against the Democratic president and incumbent Jimmy Carter (2017). Just as Reagan's slogan of *Let's Make America*

*Great Again* was well received by the people, Trump's marketing touch was seen in the campaign by putting his twist to the slogan and adding it to a red ball cap and *MAGA* was established visually and symbolically.

That was not to say that everyone has a favorable view of the red *MAGA* hat. There are those on the left who disliked the symbol of the man who was represented by the red hat. Despite some mixed reactions to the wearers of this 'bright red trucker hat', Diana Budds, (2016) a New York based writer covering design, suggested the *Make America Great Again* symbol was burned in the nation's recollection (2016). Her perception of this hat was that it was 'poorly designed', but despite this, it turned out to be 'very strong branding' (ibid.). Trump received his registered service mark for his slogan on July 14, 2015; he wore his *MAGA* cap for the first time almost two weeks later at a 'press conference in Laredo, Texas' (ibid.). By September of that year, the *New York Times* 'style section called it an ironic summer accessory', and while the media mocked the hat, American documentarist Michael Moore (2015) understood what the hat really represented to the middle class, who the Democratic Party were trying to influence to vote for Clinton (ibid.). On MSNBC's *Morning Joe Show*, November 11, 2015, Moore explained to the stars of the show that the 'Democrats and the media did not understand the true gravity of the cap to some voters: This was where we are from. 'This is where I live. We wear ball caps ... This is the reason [Middle America] had this anger at the media in this elitist thing' (cited in Budds, 2016). Trump illustrated what it would take to Make America Great Again, as the hat stated, in the conclusion to the October 31, 2016, Warren, Michigan speech as he used the CDA inclusive governmental *we* to encourage a vote for this change to greatness of America:

We (agent) are the movement of the future. Our movement represents (act) all Americans, from all backgrounds, and all walks of life. We are asking (act) for the votes of Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and first-time voters. We are asking (act) for the vote of every American who believes truth and justice – not money and power – should rule the day. We are fighting (act) for every citizen who believes that government should serve the

people – not the donors and special interests. We are fighting to unlock the potential of every American community, and every American family, who hope and pray and yearn for a better future. With your vote, we are just 8 days away from the change you've been waiting for your entire life. Together, We Will Make America Wealthy Again. We Will Make America Strong Again. We Will Make America Safe Again. And We Will Make America Great Again. Table 1: Row 153

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d)

In this selection, Trump again using the, *we*, (as the agent) ten times, but this time as an inclusive *we* with the audience (Fairclough, 2013:286). Trump was emphasizing the need for all to want a better future that led to the unlocking the potential as part of the agency. He included everyone in that call with the grand ideas of truth, justice, service, better futures, and make (act) America wealthy, strong, safe, and great again (agency) as a clincher to the meaning and flexibility of his slogan for all Americans (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d:Table 1:Row 153). This created an emotional connection with the audience by suggesting dreams can come true: They change their entire life purpose — to start where they were with the basics and change it to reach their psychological needs and the self-fulfillment of MHN. It also allowed for the hat to develop into that visible symbol of what he proposed to bring to America.

Young as cited in Budd (2016) ‘head of design in the San Francisco office of Wolf Olins’, explained to Co. Design ‘that while the hat is not a good design, it is good branding’ (ibid.). Young relegated the hat to prominence with a theatrical analogy:

The presidential theater here was a play with a single prop... Not unlike Yorick’s skull from Hamlet – the prop of death that symbolically eliminated the differences between people – the illusion of an everyman society was expediently rendered by a billionaire wearing a baseball cap.

(Young, 2016, in Budd, 2016)



Three years later, Rich Lowry (2019), editor of the *National Review* deemed the red cap reflected ‘the marketing genius of Donald Trump’, as more than just a campaign prop, but enabled Trump to leave a social symbol that defined this era in political history, much like Young, noted in 2016 (2019). There was no mistaking that something as small as a ball cap was as much about marketing as the slogan *Make America Great Again* was.

Figure 13: Supporter wearing a *MAGA* hat.  
Received from: Photo: Flickr user Gage Skidmore



Shamus (2019) illustrated this point as many people liken Trump’s hats as a symbol of patriotism. A red baseball cap was a visual symbol for many in middle class America and for the marketing world it worked. Trump dressed the part, as Shamus noted: This hat, like the brand name Trump, became one with the campaign. So much so, a company who concentrated its efforts on ‘systems and symbols in communication’, Stanford’s Symbolic Systems Program affiliates named ‘the *MAGA* cap Symbol of the Year’ (2019). This symbolic hat was a part of the character Trump projected on the dais to gain his voters trust and vote. The ball cap was a part of the manufacturing middle-class. This was similar to when President Obama would take off his jacket and roll up his sleeve, when he greeted people, after he spoke to imply, he was like them.

Wahl-Jorgensen (2019) determined the emotional appeal to be partially responsible for Trump’s election involving middle America. Explaining that many

Americans are simply mad at what had been happening economically to their life, Wahl-Jorgensen accredited ‘economist Pettifor’ for linking Trump’s ultimate victory ‘to the economic consequences of globalization’ (Pettifor in Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019:111). She concluded that the reason behind the ‘vote for Trump’ derived from ‘forms of reactionary anger, born out of a long-standing exclusion from privilege, whether economic or cultural’(ibid.). She also credited Trump’s impromptu colloquial verbiage as part of his ‘emotional engagement’ with the people (2019:71). Later she suggested that Trump developed as an impassioned orator who represented himself as a fighter for the fury of the populace (2019:124). All of this was who Trump projected himself to be as he campaigned across the United States, a man who understood the real acrimony of the American people. Trump did this twice at the August 17, 2016, West Bend, Wisconsin rally:

I wear their opposition as a badge of honor. Because it means I am fighting for real change, not just partisan change. I am fighting – all of us across the country are fighting – for a peaceful regime change in our country. Table1: Row 10

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

The use of the positive context of Fairclough’s active voice of an impersonal *I* (2003:176) followed by the image of war from the badge of honor and the use of repetition of fighting and change made an impassioned speech for the campaign as he planted a *us vs them* scenario that had to be won. Wahl-Jorgensen’s contended passion was necessary in developing an emotional appeal to influence the constituency (2019:111). Trump was rallying the voters with the marketing technique of repetition and emotion as suggested by scholars (Aristotle, 2007; Larson, 2001; Gregory, 2013).

The analysis of the success of Trump’s slogan *MAGA*, his nondescript red baseball cap, and his grievance rhetoric on trade, jobs, safety or on education illustrated Trump’s link to the desires of the American people as he campaigned across the United States. The continued examination of Trump’s speeches would

iterate his marketing ability to reflect the people's resentment toward the current national and political environment.

### **Trump's Campaign Rhetoric of Marketing**

Many of the speeches resourced came from the *American Presidency Project*, a non-profit and non-partisan research organization that attempted to include all public presidential documents on the internet, while others came from a spectrum of media networks. The analysis divided the speeches by their natural topics looking for persuasive techniques used in marketing, advertising, communications and as suggested by Burke's *GM*. Through Burke's dramatism the motives of Trump's speeches were revealed through his rhetoric. For instance, the act was any verb representing a structure or fusion of purpose which intersected with the agency as a course of action in the undertaking proposed (1969:14-15). The agent was who acts, Trump with his promises, Hillary Clinton as the opponent, or the electorate. The scene was the site of the action. This was all united into the purpose and ratios of why the people should be persuaded to vote for Donald Trump and not Hillary Clinton. Specifically, in these orations by Trump the ratio will be of act-agent as Burke declared a representation of 'democracy' or capitalism. Some speeches could show the contrast with the socialist or globalist view of President Obama and Hillary Clinton which would be the scene-act ratio. Some will show both the act-agent and scene-act. These will be noted in Table 1. The agency of dramatism was used to clarify the neoliberalism business marketing, and the PGR approach Donald Trump used to persuade or motivate his audience. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was applied to help clarify the persuasion of 'style and arrangement' (2007:3.2.197-200).

Oliver and Rahn (2016) argued that populism was a forked clash between the constituents of the lower and middle class and the 'self-serving governing class', who take advantage of their standing (2016:190). In Higgins (2017) article, he stated that populism in politics had gotten angry as too placid in tone and 'oppositional as too constructive of the potential of government' (2017:4). These

Trump displayed his populist grievance rhetoric and branding style in his August 8, 2016, rally in Detroit, Michigan, as he separated himself from his opponent Clinton:

Detroit (scene) – the Motor City – will come roaring back (act). We (agent, inclusive government) will offer (act) a new future, not the same old failed policies of the past. (agency) Our party has chosen (act) to make a new history by selecting a nominee from the outside of the rigged and corrupt system. The other party has reached (act) backwards into the past to choose a nominee from yesterday – who offers (act) only the rhetoric of yesterday, and policies of yesterday (agency). There will be no change under Hillary Clinton – only four more years of Obama (purpose, new offers MHN’s chance of improving lifestyle, old offers status quo of globalism). Table1: Row 78

(Politico, Trump, 2016b)

Burke's pentad allowed a dissection of the rhetoric above to delve into what Trump represented by the CDA inclusive government *we* meant in his attempt to persuade the constituents. Trump offered his audience, the residents of Detroit, the scene, a choice as viewed in the agency provided by new and by failed old policies, new being the agents, Trump and Republicans or old being Hillary Clinton and democrats (Politico, Trump, 2016b:Table 1:Row 78). The agency was styled after what Atkinson (1984) called ‘contrastive pairs’ which projected a positive result when showing the *us* and *them* position (1984:73). Trump’s argument countered the status quo of the past administration with a promise of a future with new ideas because the new candidate was from the outside not the inner circle of Washington DC. He was not only outside, but he labeled the current system rigged and corrupt. Benjamin and McKerrow (1994) labeled this stylistic rhetoric, as a depiction of what the speaker desired the audience to visualize which they revealed as a ‘powerful influence on the audience’ (1994:171). Trump chose to represent the old ideas with a repetition of yesterday three times: nominee from yesterday, rhetoric of yesterday, and policies of yesterday, so if you choose yesterday, you have four more years of those policies (ibid.). Trump described himself as somebody that would bring new ideas with

new policies with the distinct point that what's happening was specifically corrupt. His purpose with the repetition and depictions was to persuade the audience with his PGR of America's current and past situations, that with their vote their life only had one option to get better. If the status quo was corruption and failed policies, the contrast was hope. Trump offered them more possibilities as suggested in MHN. He emphasized this with his action verbs, the city would come roaring back. The gerund *roaring* was a stylist addition for persuasion suggested by (Fairclough, 2003:162; Benjamin & McKerrow, 1994). Because they offer and have chosen something new, so should the people. The action verbs of offering and chosen showed that the actions will take place; and join with the idea of a new experience. His purpose was for them to choose by their vote, how much they want to achieve to fulfill their needs or look at where they are now with the current policies and stay (ibid.).

In Trump's Cincinnati, Ohio speech on October 13, 2016, he marketed his brand Trump; I worked hard for me, and now, I will work hard for you. He involved the audience succinctly saying:

I (agent) have a message. You know what the message is? Make (act) America (scene) great again (purpose).' It's a good message, and that's what we're doing this for. I didn't need this folks, believe me. I built (act) a great company, I was having a lot of fun, this isn't fun. ... I must say, sort of fun. But, many of the people in this room were making (act) more money 18 years ago than they are now, and they're working (act) harder now. And in many cases, you have two jobs. So, you're working (2) harder, you're older, and you're making less. But, I'm older and I'm working (3) harder also. So, I don't feel bad for anybody in the room. We're all in the same boat (agency). But, it's going to pay off because we're going to turn our country around. We're going to turn our country around (purpose: hope for tomorrow). Table 1: Row 39

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

He used the same stylistic form as he did during the August 8, 2016, Detroit, Michigan speech. He adopted the contrastive pairs with before and after incomes and from less work hours to two jobs. Through this marketing format mentioned

in Atkinson (1984), the constituents could visualize meeting their needs (1984:151). Trump again applied the repetition technique to complete the marketing of a new future. Groucutt (2005) also suggested Trump's usage of the populist negatives were making more money, have two jobs, and working harder, and in repeating this word message three times, Trump tapped into his audience's discord and increased the need to be successful (2005:336). These marketing methods, which itself used MHN to reach clients, proved successful for Trump. He started with the government *I* as his (agent) and switched to the manager *I* when taking about his personal experience working his company, but immediately brought the audience into the action with the relationship builder pronoun *you* (Fairclough, 2015: 143). The scene and the future with his action verb, 'make' (act) 'America' (scene) 'great again' (agency) which created the (purpose) (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 39), which allowed the constituents to understand they could achieve more than the basics needs of MHN. Trump used an analogy next as he said, 'I was having fun working but this campaign was not that much fun' (ibid.). Then he put it to his audience as a statement of fact; 'many of you were making more money years ago and only working one job then and now you're older and working harder, but so am I' (ibid.). The agency was symbolic of what neoliberalism could do for a person. The next phrase referred to his slogan that it was going be okay, because 'we are going to make it better' (ibid.). This was Trump, the agent delivering the message. Better where? In 'this country' and to make sure they believed it; he repeated his case (ibid.). Trump built his character by showing he understood their work ethic, thus exemplifying the agency of dramatism. The belonging of MHN came when he included them all together with what Fairclough identified as the *we* of inclusion (2003:286). The dramatism allowed the breakdown of every element to show the neoliberalism Trump was pushing to make their America better. He stated the populist grievances: working harder, working more, and making less and encouraged them to want more and he could make that happen.

In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on June 28, 2016, in a metal recycling plant, Trump began with a neoliberalist phrase tied to his slogan, 'today, I am going to talk

about how to make America wealthy again' (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1: Row 56). He then made the speech all about how their condition was caused by the elite foreign policies. In the next segment Trump continued his neoliberal brand and populist grievance rhetoric against globalism through the American dream:

I (agent) want you to imagine how much better your life can be if we start believing (action) in America (scene) again. I want you to imagine how much better our future can be if we declare (act) independence from the elites who've led (act) us to one financial and foreign policy disaster after another (analogy). Our friends in Britian recently voted (act) to take back control of their economy, politics and borders. That's the choice we face (agency). We can give in to Hillary Clinton's campaign of fear, or we can Choose (act) to Believe in America (purpose - increase their overall success). Table 1: Row 60

(Politico, Trump, 2016a)

The continued use of repetition reinforced Trump's business and marketing background in the agency. In this case the infinitive to imagine as a universal purpose of dreaming of a 'better life' (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 60), was implied in the purpose of independence and financial security which exist at the top of MHN in self-fulfillment. His pronominal usage continued with using the personally involved *I* to the communities (ibid.), (Fairclough, 2003:176) and then to the inclusive governmental *we* (Fairclough, 2013:286) linking their dream to his election. The first analogy was the dream with the reality of failed policies with the second of the Brexit vote to make his speech more believable. Followed by the example of the successful British friends or to follow the path we are on (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row60). These stylistic analogies according to Benjamin and McKerrow promoted an action to be taken (1994:172). His use of the word imagine, like the use of the word dream, played into his slogan and the lesser used phrase of past capitalism, the American Dream (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1: Row 60). Trump tied in his build American speech at the Alumisource Plant outside of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in June 2016, to the same

problems that Detroit was facing as he spoke in Detroit, and later in October, when he addressed this issue in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Bill O'Reilly (2019) described it this way on October 19, 2016, the circumstances, the third debate against Hillary Clinton, but the setting was all Trump, as 'just off the famous Las Vegas Strip' a hotel whose owner paid Trump millions in licensing fees to use the TRUMP name on the hotel (2019:228).

This is what Trump is selling' ... A '[w]ell-managed success for the entire country is what Trump constantly promotes. Make America Great Again. Don't believe the candidate? Check out the hotel with his name on it (ibid.). He believes notoriety leads to winning. There are millions of Americans who respect decisiveness and simplicity. Trump has designed the MAGA hats for them. That's right! Make America Great Again! 'Cause it's not that great right now.

(O'Reilly, 2019: 230)

Lord (2016) asserted that Donald Trump's daughter Ivanka accredited to her father's character a blue-collar or the common man flair, when she described how her father would talk with the individual contractors such as the 'painters and electricians' for their suggestions on his developments at his introduction to the Republican National Committee (RNC) (2016: 3).

In the September 7, 2016, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania speech, Trump addressed the security of America and job creation expressing his neoliberalism and symbolically a theme of nationalism:

These new investments (agent) in cybersecurity, and the modernization of our military, will spur (act) substantial new job creation in the private sector and help create (act) the jobs and technologies of tomorrow (agency). America (scene) must be the world's dominant technological powerhouse of the 21st century, and young Americans – including in our inner cities – should get these new jobs (purpose). We (inclusive governmental next 10 we's) (agent) must also ensure (act) that we have the best medical care, education and support for our military service members and their families (agency) – both when they serve, and when they



return to civilian life (scene). Our (inclusive) debt to our men and women in uniform is eternal. To all those who have served this nation, I say: I (impersonal) will never let you down (purpose). We will protect those who protect us. And we will follow their example of unity. We will work (act) across all racial and income lines (agency) to create One American Nation (purpose). Together, we (agent) will have one great American future. We will be one people, under one God, saluting (act) one American flag. America will be a prosperous, generous and inclusive society. We will discard (act) the failed policies and division of the past (grievance), and embrace (act) true American change to rebuild our economy, rebuild our inner cities, and rebuild our country. We will bring back our jobs. We will make America strong again. We will make America safe again. And we will make America great again (purpose). Table 1: Row 124

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016b)

Again, the use of inclusive *we* the government (Fairclough, 2013:286), or Trump was the agent for this oration, and this investment was an investment in the country's future, safety, technology, and the entrepreneurs that want to take advantage of the opportunity (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016b:Table 1:Row 124). Trump was encouraging the neoliberalism stance to create jobs to put America to work. Specifically, he mentioned those from the inner city expanding his persona with the voters to first make their current life better with better schools, medical care, and jobs to allow them to move higher than living for the basics in MHN (ibid.). He recognized that an exceptional portion of voters that are serving or have served in the military and repeatedly praises and promises that they won't be forgotten and will be taken care of. At this time, the Veteran Affairs office had been strongly criticized for its treatment of the veteran, Trump assured them that this will change, without bringing up negatives but instead saying what the governmental *we* will do for the people. He repeated the governmental *we* often marketing unity, which emphasized how those in the military of all backgrounds and races work together as one, which he suggested the nation will under his governmental *we* (ibid.). The repeated form of his slogan: 'One American Nation', 'one great American future', 'saluting', 'one American flag', 'America will be prosperous', 'embrace true American change', 'make America

strong again', 'make America safe again', and 'make America great again' (ibid.): intensified Trump's association to the slogan and the audience's needs as suggested by (Larson, 2001; Gregory, 2013; Fill, 2013). For the why, he started at the top of MHN with a prosperous future self-fulfillment and worked his way down with the flag representing belonging psychological needs to the basic safe America. Nine times in this section of the Philadelphia speech, America or American was repeated and each emphasized the suggestion of unity. He used rebuilding three times and implied other rebuilding needed with his brief populist grievance allusion to the current administration's 'failed policies and division of the past' placed strategically before emphasizing the last three positive American causes (ibid.). His act-agent ratio of nationalism reflected his verbalized purpose that all may feel their self-actualization in the MHN. The use of mixed methods of Burke's dramatism with the intersecting MHN and the pronominal clarifications through Fairclough's CDA to the speech permitted a unique opportunity of examining the array of persuasive marketing techniques to the understanding of Trump's speeches.

Trump began his stump speech on October 13, 2016, at the Columbus, Ohio, rally with the basic tenants that were included in his September and October speeches on October 13 in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 9 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and on October 31 in Warren, Michigan. In Columbus, Trump again emphasised his neoliberal desires for America by appealing to college students using the methodology of treating public debt with the same standards of government employees, who are given preferential treatment, thereby highlighting a specific populist grievance:

In a Trump Administration (agent), we (governmental throughout) will work (act) every day to make America great again for millennials. First, we will lower (act) the cost of college and solve the student loan crisis. Tuition at public four-year institutions was 40% higher in the last school year (scene) than it was ten years ago. In all, Americans owe \$1.3 trillion on their student loans-- more than auto loans, credit card debt, or home equity loans nationwide. Students should not be asked to pay more on their loans than they can afford, and the debt should not be an albatross

around their necks for the rest of their lives (agency, populist grievance). That is why under my student loan program, we would cap (act) repayment to an affordable portion of a borrower's income--12.5% (agency). And if borrowers work hard and make their full payments for 15 years, we will let them get on with their lives. That's the nature of the deal we give many public employees today. Every American deserves the same deal, so we will equalize (act) treatment so everyone can start saving for their families and retirement by the time they are 15 years out of college (purpose).  
Table 1: Row 133

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c)

Beginning with the governmental *we*, Trump quickly appealed to the millennial's by going straight to college debt. The agency of his speech was the statistics of cost increased and with that student debt increased. Scholars had established statistics to be 'one of the mainstays of logical persuasion' (Larson, 2001; Gregory, 2013; Leopold, 2017).

At this point, Trump added this kind of generalized data to make his statistics more relevant. That was 'more than auto loans, credit card debt, or home equity loans nationwide' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 123). Trump's examples now added a realism to his numbers. He was not finished with his college cost concerning constituency; he created a visual metaphorical populist grievance of student debt by referencing Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. Trump made a striking comparison of the deadweight of the albatross to the deadweight of student debt from the college experience, a perfect fit in the symbolic agency of purpose (ibid.). Aristotle regarded the metaphor as not only appropriate to use, but as the grand effect of persuasion in speeches. 'If you wish to adorn, borrow the metaphor from something better in the same genus' (2007:3.2.200). In this case, the metaphor also built Trump's brand using 'customer relationship' tools of 'consistency, accessibility, responsiveness, and commitment' throughout the oration to create trust (Duncan, 2005:84-85) amongst the audience to follow through with his promises of lower cost reasonable payback plans. Trump continued building this bond with the

constituency by continued repetition to his governmental *we*. Trump had laid out the MHN for his audience, as he displayed a plan for a college graduate to be able to realize their dreams of graduating and becoming debt free and then planning for retirement with businesslike precision.

Business networking groups in the United States understand that it was important to explain who you are in a minute or less, as one never knew how much time you'll have to sell yourself. Trump, obviously aware of this technique, stumped his plan for America in a 40 second conclusion of this October 13, 2016, Columbus, Ohio speech as he promoted neoliberalism:

My (agent, inclusive) economic plan – including tax, trade, regulatory, and energy reforms – will create (act) 25 million new jobs and allow the private sector to grow at 4% per year. This includes reforms to protect and expand the sharing economy – startups like Uber – that have managed to provide great services to consumers and create lots of jobs in the process. Finally, and most importantly, the foundation for a new prosperity will be a rededication to the constitutional rule of law (agency). A vote for me is a vote for change, and a vote for me is really a vote for you. Together, we are going to make America great again (purpose to meet Maslow's hierarchy of needs). Table 1: Row 138

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c)

In the above conclusion, Trump closed with his neoliberal push for America's future and to create more believability, he became very succinct with his points. He took full ownership in three words: 'My economic plan' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c: Table 1: Row 138). Though this was an inclusive it still represented the government. This was Trump's vision with his populist grievances encompassed in the word *reforms* of his agency tax, trade rate regulation, and energy which then substantiated his push with the persuasive statistics developing millions of employment opportunities (ibid.). To keep this neoliberal approach, the nation as the implied scene followed the founding father's Constitution to the letter. What action did this take to make America great again? Vote (ibid.). Which manifested the purpose, to make their life better in the MHN was fulfilled at each

level of the basics to the psychological needs, and then fulfilling their potential. This descriptive 40 seconds was filled with hope and promise without one specific detail, only hope. Like a commercial on television, he had a closure for the advertisement, his election.

The Warren, Michigan campaign stop in late October, was much like his October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio speech a few weeks earlier. An important note on these states, they had been voting Democratic for decades, and Trump needed these blue-collar worker's votes to succeed in his presidential run. He started with a phrase that meant something even though it was a simple phrase. 'I am going to bring back your jobs' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d, Table 1: Row 139). This phrase was easy to understand as Aristotle suggested, 'the use of nouns and verbs in their prevailing meaning made for clarity; authors should compose without being noticed and should seem to speak not artificially but naturally the latter was persuasive, the former the opposite (2007:3.2.198). Trump's introduction to the speech unfolded his dream for America by bringing back a neoliberalistic society that would replace the current process and put dreams back into the hands of the people. As part of this persuasion, he gave both sides of the issue, his first and then the negatives of the current administration, ending with the promise of change:

Let me start today by making a very important promise. When we (governmental) win (act) on November 8th, I (agent) am going (act) to bring back your jobs (agency). The long nightmare of jobs leaving Michigan (scene) will be coming to an end. We will make Michigan the economic envy of the world once again (agency). The political class (agent) in Washington has betrayed (act) you. They've uprooted (act) your jobs, and your communities, and shipped (act) your wealth all over the world. They put new skyscrapers up (act) in Beijing while your factories in Michigan crumbled (act) (agency). I (agent) will end (act) the theft of American prosperity. I will fight (act) for every last Michigan (scene) job. Because, when we win (act), it's going to be America First (agency) (purpose). Table 1: Row 139

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d)

Trump didn't waste any time as the agent of change to bring about what he felt would make America a better place with the act of creating jobs and bringing nationalism back again. He used a comparative argument again which Gregory identified as a comparative-advantage pattern as this allowed for the speaker to show why their recommendation was better than the opponents (2013:312). With his governmental we, bring jobs back, as to the mistakes of the other side lost them. But before he started the grammatical methods to the marketing pitch (agency), he made a promise to make Michigan a scene of economic envy. The use of the populist grievance in the metaphor, theft of American prosperity, suggested politicians were to blame for the collapse of the state known for its manufacturing. That agent was the current politician in office. Trump wasted no time applying harsh action verbs to the agents of this downfall for these political lackeys whose acts: 'betrayed', 'uprooted', 'shipped', and 'crumbled their life away' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d: Table 1: Row 139). Not just harsh, but they all ended with the 'ed' rhythmic flow to drive home the despair of their situation and as Gregory contended built a strong negative in association to brand democrat (2013:268). And again, Trump employed the imagery of fighter to make 'America First' (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d: Table 1: Row 139). His purpose was to meet all of their needs of jobs and prosperity to fill the basic and the psychological needs in the MHN.

A few moments later, Trump addressed the corporations, who are taking their businesses to other countries with a basic threat against big corporate leadership with nine days to the election. Then he used a well-timed analogy with humor to associate the Democratic leadership in Michigan with Washington DC 's leadership. This was to persuade his audience that he would make things better and reiterate earlier points for emphasis. Trump's humor still demonstrated his populist grievances to the Democratic leadership, and what it did to the cities in America. He continued to indicate the injustices of the policies of these leaders, before he proposed the change to a neoliberal list for a lasting success.

A Trump Administration (agent) will stop (act) the flight of American jobs. If Ford, or another company, announces they want to move their jobs to Mexico or another country, then I will pick up the phone – I will call the executives – and I will tell them that if they want do that, we will charge a 35% tax when they try to ship their products back across the border. (agency) It used to be the cars were made in Flint and you couldn't drink the water in Mexico. Now, the cars are made in Mexico, and you can't drink the water in Flint. (agency) We (agent) are going (act) to turn it all around. We are going (act) to rebuild Flint. We are going to rebuild Detroit (scene). And we are going (act, 4) to rebuild Michigan (scene). (purpose, the need for the basics of living with undrinkable water and need for jobs) Table 1: Row 146

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d)

No governmental pronouns used here; He used his name as another marketing ploy, Trump could make it happen. Trump made a declarative statement that no more American jobs were leaving the country. Naming Ford, a major corporation specifically, showed how serious he was with this statement (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d: Table 1:Row 146). This was his fight against the globalization of the current administration. He immediately went to humor after the challenge to Ford about the undrinkable water in Michigan. The short anecdote softened both serious issues of jobs and good water, but let the people know he knew. The exclusive managerial *I* will as he stated a large percentage surcharge to bring the product back into the U.S. (ibid). Again, the persuasive marketing of repetition was used for the action verbs, are going, as Trump returned to the governmental inclusive, *we* on the positive aspect of change of turning it around and rebuilding the cities and state of Michigan. This was important as he had to win Michigan's electorate votes to win.

Trump promoted his neoliberalism agenda during the September 9, 2016, speech at the Pensacola, Florida rally touting the benefits for the nation. In doing so, he addressed the discrepancies in good jobs and schools for those races that are being ignored. He was aware the African- American and Hispanic typically voted Democratic and needed to change that to better his chances for success.

When I (agent) talk (act) about Making America (scene) Great Again, I'm talking (act) about making it Great Again for Everyone – but especially for all of the Americans who have been left behind (agency). We (agent, governmental for the following) are the campaign of unity, and we will deliver amazing things for all of our people (agency). New schools, new factories, new infrastructure. Beautiful skyscrapers will rise all across this nation. We will develop (act) Detroit, Not Beijing. [Detroit, MI, speech] Most importantly, we will fight (act) to end the systemic poverty in our inner cities, and to lift millions of African Americans and Hispanics out of poverty (purpose). Table 1: Row 167

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a)

The above speech portrayed the battle for the minority vote was an important one in this campaign, so Trump tried to clarify his position through his greatest strength and that was neoliberalism. As the agent, he chose his popular slogan as his scene of America. His act was important to the scene as the action of talking clarified what must happen next. His agency allowed him to clarify by again applying the repetition, that he was representing 'all of the Americans who have been left behind', although he strengthened his next future action 'will deliver, ... develop ... fight ' and still used the fighter imagery he had used in other speeches (Through the *we* usage of the government can be identified as inclusive as he focused on the inner-city vote (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 167). This time it was used after the 'we are the campaign of unity', 'we will deliver', 'we will develop', and 'we will fight' to create an emphatic tone, to add credibility to his character as he hoped to gain their trust (ibid.).

The agency allowed for a list of those promises: new schools, factories, infrastructure which suggested a quality education for the inner cities as well as jobs for those living there included in his infrastructure argument. The stump speech came as he mentioned Detroit not Beijing, in this Pensacola speech even though it was still relevant to his audience (ibid.). His purpose met all the MHN, as a *why* to vote for him, with his promises and the grammatical devices in the agency, but the specific from the infinitive to lift millions of African Americans and Hispanics out of poverty stressed the neoliberalism approach to his populist



argument (ibid.). Scott Adams in his book *Win Bigly* also suggested Trump's simplicity was a part of his persuasion: 'Journalist wrote stories that describe Trump's speaking style was below the level of a sixth grader' (2017:199). Adams suggested that if you want to persuade your audience you need to match their style because 'simpler explanations' sound more believable as the audience could comprehend the speech (2017:201). Trump met his base through the straightforwardness and unity of his language.

Figure 14: Latina supporters at a rally.



Received from: [images.search.yahoo.com](https://images.search.yahoo.com)

Larson asserted that our conceptions as a consumer develop from the different symbols the speaker created with his word choice. Thus, when we identify with someone that has the same views, that 'common ground' became a symbolically persuasive tool used by the orator (2001:92). Trump's audiences at his rallies, as illustrated by the numerous red *MAGA* ball caps in the crowd, certainly shared a nonverbal connection with the presidential candidate that united them for their cause of employment and less governmental control (Benjamin & McKerrow, 1994; Palmer, 2004; Adams, 2017).

Just as Trump stressed unity in the Pensacola speech and others, he mimicked this at the August 5, 2016, Green Bay, Wisconsin rally. In this speech, he referenced the past President Ronald Reagan, who was known for working well across the Democratic and Republican aisle, to manipulate an analogy between himself and

Reagan's ability to work with all. Trump had to manage the perception of his persona in a state that had voted Democratic for 32 years:

That is why we (agent, governmental) are going (act) to be able to deliver real change, and real safety and real opportunity (agency) to all Americans (agency) (scene implied America). We (agent) have to unite. Remember (act) that. Everything I (agent) have accomplished (act); I have done (act) by putting together a really fantastic team, including Governor Mike Pence of Indiana, who has done an incredible... Done an incredible job. My wonderful staff of people that really love what we are doing, and they are working so hard. My family, friends, and it's expanding all the time. But I need a Republican Senate and a House to accomplish all of the changes that we have to make. We have to make them, right (agency)? I (agent) understand and embrace (act) the wisdom of Ronald Reagan's big tent within the party, big, big tent, remember? Ronald Reagan, great man, great guy. Remember he included (act) Reagan Democrats and Independents and Republicans, a lot of people (agency). We (act) are going to have the same thing (purpose). There are a lot of Democrats perhaps in this room, are there a lot of Democrats? Raise your hands. I mean, I don't think we need too many to be honest with you, but -- so I embraced the wisdom that my 80 percent friend is not my 20 percent enemy, Ronald Reagan. Stated by Ronald Reagan, pretty good. (purpose, jobs and safety, psychological needs)

Table 1: Row 177

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e)

In the above selection, to help the audience accept his changes, he marketed a possibility as he mentioned Ronald Reagan four times to ensure his audience would associate the correlation between, he and President Ronald Reagan. Trump talked about possibilities for the nation, the implied scene, as well as demonstrating the functionality of his team and the inclusion of them as part of his family to exhibit his relatability (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e:Table 1: Row 177). He started with the infinitive, 'to deliver real change, real safety and real opportunity' to emphasize the potential, if the next step happens (agency), which was uniting the parties of the people together as he had with his team (purpose) (ibid.). At this point, his business leadership abilities are implied when he stated, 'Remember that. Everything *I* have accomplished; *I* have done creating

this great team' (ibid.). These two actions accomplishing and creating also reflect his business accomplishments, which was his real purpose of the remember earlier. He invoked the image of his capitalistic success to match his political endeavors (agency). He utilised the analogy of Reagan's ability to work with the Independents, Democrats, and Republicans associating his own competence with Reagan's as an assurance of what he was going to accomplish any of his campaign promises. As in business, success was only as good as the team, and he needed these political parties to join him to create his success.

### Summary

This chapter has positioned Trump's PGR and neoliberalism realm of persuasive marketing language and culture that advocated a businessman's approach to lifting those that are disenfranchised by the politics of the country. CDA was a necessary tool to clarify pronominals interlaced within the dramatism and MHN. Numerous times Trump claimed to be their fighter, even using soldier imagery to emphasize the needed change in the American system. Through the slogan *Make America Great Again*, he asked them to dream of what they wanted, and believe they could have. Much has been said about Trump's brand and whether it could help him become president or simply hurt his business brand altogether. Trump marketed his vision of a neoliberal society while contrasting it to the hardships of the global governing of the current and past administrations through proven marketing techniques employed in the business realm. This hope for a new beginning was possible for the people, if they started to believe in America again as Trump stated in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania June 28, 2016: 'I want you to imagine how much better our future can be if we declare independence from the elites who have led us to one financial and foreign policy disaster after another. ... we can choose to believe in America' (Politico, Trump, 2016a, Table 1: Row 60). According to (Benjamin & McKerrow 1994; O'Shaughnessy, 2004; Larson, 2001; Gregory, 2013), Trump techniques were typical marketing persuasion elements, as in the ploy of intensifying an argument with repetition. Whether rephrasing his campaign slogan, reiterating the problems in America or declaring America's

potential, he repeated it again for effect employing association as with President Reagan (2001:326).

This chapter has highlighted the effect of an internationally recognized name-brand as Trump's could be marketed properly to convince the public that, if they believed, they could make it happen, as Trump's mentor Dr. Norman Vincent Peale would say.

Chapter Seven will offer further scrutiny in examining the corpus in relation to Trump's branding of Senator Clinton through his word choice and propaganda using Burke's dramatism with MHN evaluating the effectiveness. An examination of the prior relationship of Trump and Bill and Hillary Clinton will assist in clarifying commonality and harsh rhetoric within the corpus.

### **Chapter Summary**

- **Stumping in the States/** The background on stump speeches usage with purposeful wrongness as a persuasive tool.
- **Coding for Analysis/** Clarifying the color coding used in Table 1 of the areas covered in the analysis.
- **Trump's Character Presents/** Speeches that have Trump attempting to market his character, that he can do the job, is trustworthy, and he cared to his constituency.
- **MAGA Marketing/** The examination of Trump's marketing his neoliberalism through his populist grievance rhetoric mostly through contrastive pairing. Use of Burke's dramatism intertwined with MHN and interlaced with CDA to explain the pronominal usage.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Choice Words and Polarising Propaganda: Trump's Branding of Hillary Clinton**

So, we have the Queen of corruption, she's the queen of corruption. She is a disaster. I said it before, if 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' becomes president, terrorism will destroy the inner workings of our country.

(Trump, Green Bay, Wisconsin 2016)

#### **History with the Clinton's**

Having had a successful career as a United States Senator from New York for two terms, and also having had the opportunity to literally live in the White House for eight years observing her husband work effectively with both parties for six of those years, Hillary Clinton faced the challenge of being the first female candidate for the office of the presidency. With experience of campaigning with her husband for his political offices, and campaigning for herself, Hillary Clinton was no stranger to politics. She had been in this position once before when she campaigned against then Senator Barack Obama for the Democratic party's presidential choice in 2008. The result of that campaign was similar, as the young Senator Barack Obama became President of the United States and served for eight years. In 2016, she had won her party's nomination as their presidential candidate, and the campaigning began against the political newcomer, Trump. Records show he had supported both herself and her husband in their past campaigns and victories (Golodrya, 2016). Rumor had it, that Bill Clinton actually suggested to Donald Trump that he should run for the Senate at some point.

This chapter investigates Trump's branding of his opponent Hillary Clinton in his campaign speeches, and his careful choice of diction and propaganda. Hillary Clinton's personal brand was quite remarkable and significant: A young lawyer who married Bill Clinton. She was First Lady of Arkansas when her husband was the state's Governor in 1992. In 1995 She led a U.S. commission to China to attend the fourth U.N. World Conference for Women to speak concerning 'human

rights are women rights' (2020). Then she became the First Lady of the United States when husband Bill Clinton won the presidency twice. She actively campaigned with and for her husband during this time. In the beginning of her own political career, she won and served two successful Senate terms. After the September terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, she was recognized for the push for billions to rebuild Ground Zero and to provide health care for all of the first responders serving the area (2020). She proved to be more than competent as Secretary of State under President Obama. Her opponent, Trump had a different advantage. His brand as a capitalist started as he developed a successful real-estate empire (Blair, 2015). He was a billionaire at the age of 34 (Barrett, 1980). He already had his name on many towers, golf courses, and other enterprises around the globe, and he had developed his enterprise over many years into the multi-billion-dollar TRUMP empire as well as starring in his own reality television shows *TA/CA* (Gingrich, 2017). These are the two candidates, one from the world of politics and the other from the world of business, who met in a run-off campaign for the presidency.

Before looking at Trump's branding of Hillary Clinton on the campaign trail, it is important to consider Trump's former relationship with Hillary Clinton and her husband, former President Bill Clinton, to explain their familiarity with each other and the awkwardness of politics and personal relationships. Golodrya (2016) revealed that Trump played the role of the wealthy special interest businessman successfully building a transactional relationship with the Clintons (2016). As the analysis revealed, Trump donated to both Bill and Hillary Clinton's political campaigns, and as they were aware, he would expect a favor benefiting him in the business world when the time came. The popular term for this in Washington DC was pay to play. Previous to branding Hillary Clinton as 'Crooked Hillary', Trump developed a camaraderie with the Clintons. For example, in early spring of 2016 the President Clinton Presidential Library released papers recognizing a very friendly relationship between the 'Clintons and Trump' (ibid.). Furthermore, many media outlets showed Trump playing golf with, and supporting, President Bill Clinton during his own impeachment trial in 1999 (ibid.).

Golodrya further noted that the same ‘Clinton Foundation’ documents showed donations above \$105,000 by ‘Donald Trump and his daughter Ivanka since 2009’ to the Foundation (ibid.). To further cement the pay for play scenario, when Hillary Clinton ran for the U.S. Senate seat for the state of New York in 2002, Trump and others in his family donated money to Hillary Clinton’s campaign several times and through the 2006 re-election campaign for her Senate run (ibid.). Also, both Donald Trump and his daughter Ivanka donated to Hillary Clinton’s 2006 presidential ‘campaign fund’ either personally or through Trump Enterprises (ibid.). During this friendly time, Bill and Hillary Clinton were invited and Hillary Clinton attended Donald Trump’s wedding to Melania his third wife. Bill Clinton arrived for the wedding greetings afterward (ibid.).

Figure 15: Trump’s wedding with wedding guests the Clintons



The Clintons at Donald and Melania's wedding on January 22, 2005.

[Photo Courtesy: Getty]

Received from: Pearl & Westfall, <https://people.com/celebrity/hillary-clinton-and-bill-clinton-at-donald-trumps-wedding-photo> Photo: Maring

Photography/Getty/Contour

This demonstrated, that even though Trump was not a politician, he was actively involved in the political arena as a donor and businessman. According to Waterhouse (2023), Trump's political party choice varied over the years, in 1999 joined the Reform party, but he registered as a Democrat in 2001 and then changing to the Republican party again in 2009 after President Obama's election (2023:1). In 2016, the Republican freshman politician to be, Donald Trump, cut ties with the Clinton political family and used his business expertise in marketing to brand his opponent in order to sell the constituents, through his PGR and neoliberalism why he should be president of the United States. Trump knew his opponent well, which was demonstrated by his frequently calling her Hillary during his speeches. When Trump questioned the special interest groups that Hillary Clinton favored in her policies, Trump spoke from experience as the critiques of this behavior of pay to play was exactly what he had participated in over the years. He had changed political parties and donated monies to those that could be useful to him.

During the Grand Old Party's (GOP), another name for the Republican Party, primary debate in August 2015, Trump stated:

I will tell you that our system is broken. I gave to many people before this – I give to everybody when they call; I give. And you know what, when I need something from them two years later, three years later, I call them. They're there for me. That is a broken system.

*(Washington Post, Trump, 2015)*

While Trump lived in New York City, Hillary Clinton was a Senator for New York state, and Trump donated to her campaign. Though his relationship with the Clintons was quite public this did not seem to interfere with the voter's opinion of him, as he branded Hillary Clinton and the political swamp of Washington DC to be corrupt. Political branding was also addressed in Chapter Four to address the branding attacks on Clinton.



### **Background of the Political Branding of Hillary Clinton**

The importance of a brand Aaker (1991) contended, was the immeasurable aspect of the equity embodied in the name (1991:14). He suggested that the focus shifted with normal day to day dealings, and in the political world that would mean what the polls were saying or what the media debate was focusing on. With this, he noted a brand can become over-extended causing the central links to wither (ibid.). To combat this, Aaker asserted it was best to understand the connections among the brand properties and forthcoming success (1991:15). By changing Sen. Hillary Clinton's brand name from one of respect as a senator or Secretary of State and creating the alliteration of 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' as a brand, Trump created what Schroeder and Salzer-Morling (2006) called a 'mechanistic metaphor' to manipulate the conceptualisation of the brand to Hillary Clinton's character (2006:121). 'Crooked Hillary Clinton's' brand was metaphorically born from choice alliteration to keep that negative connotation alive during the campaign. Trump solidified this crooked brand by leading in with another alliterative metaphor of Hillary Clinton's character during the August 5, 2016, Green Bay, Wisconsin speech:

Together we (agent, inclusive) will lead (act) our country (scene) back to prosperity, security and peace (agency). OK? When you look at the world and what's happened -- so we have the queen of corruption, she's the 'queen of corruption'. She is a disaster. (agency) I said before, if 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' becomes president, terrorism will destroy the inner workings of our country. Believe me, they are loving it. She wants to have 550 percent more people coming in from Syria and that region into our nation. And we don't know who they are, we don't know where they come from really, we don't know if they're ISIS, some will be. And look at the damage that's done in San Bernardino with a couple -- probably he became radicalized by her (agency) -- a couple, and these were friends of theirs. These were people that gave a party in celebration of the birth of their child, and they were gunned down, 14 people killed, many, many injured (agency). Table 1: Row 181

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e)

Trump began with a positive statement. We (agent) is an exclusive *we* (act) with Trump leading our country (scene) back to prosperity, security and peace (agency). This emphasised the success his leadership with their combined efforts can accomplish (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e:Table 1:Row 181) . The whole of MHN was implied as the purpose of this important statement concerning the audience's future, which is positioned in opposition to the 'queen of corruption', disaster, and 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' (ibid.). He repeated this descriptor twice adding drama with the adjective disaster working as a metaphor, before completing his alliteration with crooked. However, Trump was not finished with the brand or the metaphor of her brand name: 'if 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' became president, terrorism will destroy... our country' (ibid). Terrorism revealed a word imagery of despair and horror as represented with the final senseless killing at a child's birthday party. In the (agency) Trump wrapped his brand on 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' and used it constantly to remind and create a stronger negative brand.

To further demonstrate how Trump's brand of Hillary Clinton as crooked was effective, we must look at the purpose and workings of a brand name. Tantillo (2010) described the nature and purpose of a brand name as used in marketing and which involved recognizing the consumers desires. Legitimate brands are able to identify consumer yearnings and form a concrete shape in the consumer mind (2010: 8). He further credited what he called 'Poli-marketing', as noted earlier, the method in which political figures determined the actual desires of the people (2010:12). Tantillo accredited two former presidents in creating their own brand instead of using their party's brand: those being 'Brand Obama and Brand Reagan'. They are not about Washington, instead it was about serving the people and taking care of their wants (2010:78). This was also what the Brand Trump declared by draining the swamp, or ridding Washington D.C. of corruption, and having the politicians work for the people again in contrast to Hillary Clinton's 'Stronger Together' slogan that implied that what was happening was working with the view that they could continue with the status quo.

Next for Trump to successfully brand Hillary Clinton as the wrong candidate, he demonstrated that she did not understand the needs of the people but looked after her own interests instead. Smith and Speed's (2011) *Consumer Culture Theory* submitted that perceiving 'political parties as brands and voters as consumers' was a prevailing concept (2011:1309), and this certainly seemed to apply to the way in which Trump used his business experience to better read his audience. Smith and Speed deemed that the civil conflict and detachment between the consumers and the politicians over the past 30 years offered the best atmosphere for change, as with Dave Cameron in the UK, and the analysis revealed in the US as well, for 'new cultural political brands' to grow and represent the changing ideas in society (2011:1310). Wahl-Jorgensen expanded on their concept of the separation between the people and the politicians, as she asserted that emotions feed and guide voter's 'political energies' and enlighten their cogent verdicts (2019:172). Trump attempted to demonstrate how out of touch Hillary Clinton was with the people in his September 9, 2016, Pensacola, Florida speech:

Hillary Clinton is the candidate of the past. Ours is the campaign of the future. In this future, we (agent) are going (act) to pursue new trade policies (agency) that put American workers first – and that keep jobs in our country (purpose). All the people who got NAFTA wrong, and China wrong, and who are trying to give us the Trans-Pacific Partnership – are the same failed voices pushing for Hillary Clinton. Our trade deficit with the world is now nearly \$800 billion dollars. We've lost one-third of our manufacturing jobs since Bill and Hillary Clinton gave us NAFTA. China is manipulating its currency and taking our jobs (agency). We are going to stop (act) companies from leaving our country and keep those jobs right here in America (scene). The era of economic surrender is over (purpose). Table 1: Row 156

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a)

Trump used the technique of contrastive pairs noted by Atkinson (1984) in the agency portion of the presentation to the people's options for the nation. He did

this through his neoliberalism approach for the American people by promising a brighter future with ‘new trade policies, American workers first, and jobs’ over the negatives of the past globalism of ‘NAFTA, the TPP and China’ trade agreements as presented in the agency (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 156). the governmental *we* of the (agent) bound the people with Trump as they ‘are going’ (act) to accomplish this moving forward in their country of America (scene) where the jobs need to be (ibid.). The why was to fulfill their needs from the very basics, cost of living, to the satisfaction of meeting their dream, jobs, as MHN portends as to the status quo of the past administration.

Tantillo (2010) noted how Barack Obama ran as an outsider to Washington D.C., to bring change, and the voters showed that change was what they wanted with his election (2010:90). As a freshman senator with little national political experience, Obama could honestly say he was an outsider to Washington DC, but after two years in office, Obama failed to bring the expected difference that the voters were wanting (2010:91). Smith and Speed (2011) provided an example of their concept of ‘cultural branding’, when citing the past events of the UK’s Conservative Party with politician Dave Cameron’ whose ‘media skills’ brought back the belief in community and the people rather than bureaucracy. This concept of cultural branding was beneficial in analyzing confusing features of ‘political marketing’ (2011:1316). They suggested this should not be shocking, as evidentially for some consumers politics was about ‘values, meaning, identity, society, and culture’ and any ‘brand’ that reflected these attributes created appeal (ibid.). Trump used what Smith and Speed label as political marketing (2011:1316), and Tantillo defined as Poli-marketing (2010:12), and the branding and marketing theories will be related to these two synonymous terms.

Using marketing, Trump had to convince the American people of his plan to make America great again by effectively branding Clinton with negative inherent qualities. In like manner, Aaker submitted a brand’s ‘perceived quality’ was the main impact on the earnings on contributions (1996:18). Trump branded Clinton

with the ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton’ perception and with the repetition of hearing it. The people began to accept the label, hurting her believability. Taking Aaker’s definition of a business brand’s perspective on the consumer and considering the political perspective of Smith and Speed, Trump also needed to address Hillary Clinton’s plan for America as one that lacked quality for the consumer or in this case the voter.

It will be shown in this chapter that this was exactly what Trump did as he branded Clinton as crooked. Using what Aaker called ‘brand identity’, Trump would use his branding of Clinton to contribute to his brands ‘direction, purpose, and meaning’ (1996:68-69), for her character brand in helping to convince the constituents that she was unfit for the position of president. Gingrich asserted Trump’s ‘branding not attacking’ was what created the win in Republican primaries (2017:47). Gingrich used the example of Jeb Bush, who had two other Bush’s with the president title in the family tree and a good reputation with the media, yet Trump branded him ‘low energy’ and it did not go away. Trump saw the results and used the brand throughout the primaries (ibid.).

### **Trump’s Word Choice**

Benjamin and McKerrow (1994) proposed ‘stylistic considerations’ as a method of phrasing to produce a like state of mind, to build a feeling of unity and to inspire the voters to sense and reason as the speaker does (1994:170-171). Trump wanted his audience to visualize his view of the America surrounding them. One style that Trump used was depiction in which he mirrored a portrayal of people, for instance by offering a name such as, ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton’, or radical Islamic terrorism, or events such as a crime that existed in the inner cities and building the border wall (1994:171). This style stimulated emotional states as determined in MHN and developed ‘value judgments’ for the electorate concerning the person(s) or ideas (ibid.). This style was used often by Trump as

he marketed his agenda for creating jobs, safety, and of course branding Hillary Clinton.

However, Trump used two other techniques also, as he carefully chose his words to connect with his audience as represented in Gura and Lee's (2005) assertion of building a rapport with the audience. The first of these was universality which did not imply that his subjects would apply to the whole audience, but that his thoughts edge a 'common experience' that evoked a bond with the audience (2005:15). Trump reflected universality when he talked about jobs lost and the cost of education with carefully chosen diction to set the tone. The other persuasive device was suggestion which linked to the Habermas' public sphere as it wished the audience to take what was given and use their own knowledge to build upon the situation or person (2005:16). Trump used suggestion as he asked them to dream big or to choose the lifestyle that they have, or that they want to have by looking at their experiences. Even as he branded Clinton, he would try to sow MHN quality in his ideas of what they still desired.

### **Trump's Propaganda**

Next in considering Trump's use of propaganda, Bernays (2005) linked the visualization the audience developed with the word choice offered by the orator with the propaganda that surrounded all and deviated the cerebral picture of held by society to impact the connection between the community and the speaker (2005:52-53). He suggested the propaganda was a form of groupthink when the audience took keywords or the visualization from those words and took the speaker's desired actions (2005:74). Bernays gave the example of 'Great Britain during the war' with the term 'evacuation hospitals' creating a negative view of the hospitals as the term implied the injured soldiers are not receiving their due care. But, upon switching the title to 'evacuation posts' the criticism went away (ibid.). Trump gave visuals of inner-city riots and the closed of factories as

examples of the past administrations failures to bring about his desired effects on the audience.

### **The Speeches - Branding of Hillary Clinton**

Burke's dramatism will be employed to segment the corpus of speeches to effectively discern the methods of branding and marketing propaganda utilised to persuade the constituency to support the PGR and neoliberal approach provided in Trump's campaign. MHN will be intertwined with the purpose to help evaluate the why, while CDA will clarify pronominals. The ratio in these speeches concerning the candidate Hillary Clinton will be scene-act, as Burke designated that this represented the socialist or globalist approach to government in contrast to Trump with his neoliberalism act-agent ratio as stated in Chapter Six. At Trump's October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio rally after the opening pleasantries, the counter branding of Hillary Clinton begins. It was not enough to give her a brand name as crooked, but Trump adds the descriptors to further emphasize what he desired for them to remember. As the speech continued, Trump added further examples for this brand.

I (agent) gave (act) a speech earlier today on the lies, corruption and false accusations of the 'Crooked Hillary Clinton Campaign' (scene). ... This election is a simple choice. It's a choice between putting our faith in failed politicians (ratio, scene-act) and she is a failed politician. Look at what she has done. Everything she touches--I'm going to be very nice-- turns bad (agency) (purpose, choice to have needs met). See, I've learned. Or putting our faith in you the American people, which is what we're going to do (ratio, act-agent). This great movement that we (agent) have created (act) together. A movement like has never been seen in this country (scene). A movement they've [politicians] never, ever seen in this country. And on November 8th, we're all going out to vote (agency). And we're going to have a tremendous victory (purpose). ...Because we're tired of corruption and we're tired of incompetence. ... And with Hillary it will even be worse (agency).  
Table 1: Row 27,28

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

Trump began as if he was the resident expert on Hillary Clinton. *I* (agent impersonal) gave [act] a lecture on her corruption which started the alliteration of the hard ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton Campaign’ to add to the agency’s branding. Repetition as the reminder and persuasion, followed with ‘simple choice’ and ‘choice between’ and failed politician twice clarified with a verifier, that all she did was fail, thus connecting this terminology to the brand (C-Span, Trump, 2016: Table 1:Row 27.28). Trump used of the public sphere as evidence in allowing the people to determine the choice. He trusted them to make the correct choice. In true marketing form, Trump brought closure to his pitch for votes by involving his audience in the message with the inclusive manager, ‘*we* are all going out to vote’ (ibid.). According to Fill (2013), this type of rhetoric suggested ownership in the decision process, and that they were part of something big (2013:76). Trump then gave them the date and the action to be taken. Trump concluded the either/or with vote for yourself or vote for ‘corruption and incompetence’ (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 27.28). Trump urged the people to make the easy choice. The propaganda was effective in making the label of crooked stick to Clinton. The other option with the agent of the inclusive *we* created a movement also repeated to a new beginning with the purpose of winning not just the election, but in life fulfilling the MHN to self-fulfillment. The crowds indicated that they were with him.

In Palmer’s (2004) definition of the major attributes of a brand, he stated that a brand was basically a method of distinguishing the merchandise of one business from that of the competitor (2004:217). The link to Trump’s branding was Palmer’s clarification that to have an effect ‘a brand must have consistency’ (ibid.). As a matter of fact, he reiterated that reliability was the center of a ‘branding strategy’ (ibid.). Trump had put his personal brand of ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton’ to his ‘target market’ (Tantillo: 2010:13), those voters that he needed to win the election. Because Hillary Clinton served as the Secretary of State in President Obama’s cabinet, Trump has no problem of criticizing the president as



well as Hillary Clinton as shown in the tired repetition of ‘corruption and incompetence’ and with Hillary nothing would get better (ibid.).

An opportunity to add to the character attack on Hillary Clinton developed when he associated her with President Obama at the October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio speech:

What Hillary (agent) (inaudible) said, (act) is the hundreds of billions of dollars she raised (act) from Wall Street special interests. In fact, the e-mails show, Hillary has a private position for Wall Street,(scene) and a public position, a fraud, for the voters. She says this to Wall Street, she says this to the voters. The e-mails show how she ripped off (act) the wonderful people of Haiti. Doling out(act) favors with their friends and special interest, so true. Americans have had it with the years and decades of Clinton corruption. ...!And I will tell you, what happened with the Attorney General [Loretta Lynch] of the United States (inaudible) airplane in Arizona. Just happened to meet him [Bill Clinton], happened to be on the tarmac,(scene) said let's say hello. ... I would think she probably talked about appointing her Attorney General if Hillary wins this election, and you're not allowed to do that.'... She's a corrupt person. She should not be allowed to run for the presidency. She's a corrupt person. (agency) (purpose, taking from the voters, special interests being helped, status quo) Table 1: Row 40

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

The crooked brand now was a part of her name. To further address Clinton’s character Trump effectively used repetition of phrases as a part of his persuasive propaganda style. (Benjamin & McKerrow, 1994; Gregory, 2013; Larson, 2001) also noted the repetitive effectiveness. These declarative statements enable the constituents to easily recollect the phrase. As the phrase became more memorable, it became more important to the listener (Benjamin & McKerrow, 1994:172). Likewise, Trump practiced the marketing strategy of association, which Duncan (2005) contended was a psychological joining of brands (2005:289). Example of this was Hillary Clinton and special interests suggesting that she won’t work when she needed to be working. Trump was the discerning agent that expressed

the weakness of the current politicians. More populist grievances such as not working for the people are thus linked to ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton’. Trump equated the constituencies lack of improvement or success in life within MHN to ‘Crooked Hillary’ not caring about them but only the rich.

Because Trump was branding Clinton, as a businessman would any product, in this case an opponent, the term, only needed to conjure negative thoughts with negative actions or the lack of action. In generating a unique brand, (Palmer, 2004; Aaker, 1996; Groucutt, 2005) asserted that the brand fashions creation with one-of-a-kind ‘physical, functional, and psychological values’ that assist to convert the creation into its own uniqueness (Palmer, 2004:221). Trump had chosen the values that relate to the adjective crooked. Palmer also noted, ‘a brand is more than a name’, regardless, a title is an absolute to the character ‘of a brand and can be the most difficult to change’ (ibid.). Four years later in 2020 Hillary Clinton still carried the label of crooked, which had weakened her political clout over the years. Groucutt (2005) noted the downside of brand recognition when it came to remembering the brand. ‘If the brand (rightly or wrongly) gained a negative reputation’, the acknowledgment of the brand will also have had the consequence of an adverse sentiment from the community (2005:127). Trump’s brand of ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton’ had been repeated so often during the campaign that it was almost unnecessary to say it.

Nevertheless, Trump emphasized an explanation of the Hillary brand in the October 13, 2016, West Palm Beach, Florida rally, as he brought up several questionable actions. He now addressed her unprotected home server. He not only labeled the deeds, but again he used repetition in order to magnify the proposed offenses. The deleted emails are elaborated on in his Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Green Bay, Wisconsin speeches as well. Trump didn’t want the electorates to forget Hillary Clinton’s trespasses and questionable behavior:

The Clintons are criminals, remember that. They're criminals. This is well documented, and the establishment [implying the media] that protects them has engaged in a massive cover-up of

widespread criminal activity at the State Department and the Clinton Foundation in order to keep the Clinton's in power (agency). Never in history have we (agent) seen (act) such a cover-up as this, one that includes the total destruction of 33,000 e-mails, 13 iPhones- some by hammer - laptops, missing boxes of evidence, and many many other things (agency). People who are capable of such crimes against our nation (scene) are capable of anything (purpose). And so now we (agent, governmental) address (act) the slander and libels that was just last night thrown at me by the Clinton machine and the New York Times and other media outlets (scene, across America), as part of a concerted, coordinated and vicious attack (agency). It's not a coincidence that these attacks come at the exact same moment, and all together at the same time as WikiLeaks releases documents exposing the massive international corruption of the Clinton machine, including 2,000 more e-mails just this morning (purpose, distraction no MHN) (ratio, scene-act). Table 1: Row 87

(NPR, Trump, 2016)

The words crooked and criminals are repeated throughout. At this stage in 2016, the polls showed Trump double digits behind. With the reference to establishment, and then the State Department, Trump (agent) was linking Hillary Clinton to the cover-up of illegal activities (NPR, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 87) . He utilised the CDA inclusive *we* to bring the people onto the scene, asking them to remember, if they had ever heard anything of this nature. Now the agency listed the crimes, beginning with the act: ‘destruction of 33,000 emails, 13 iPhones – some with a hammer, laptops and many many’ more (agency) representing the overall symbolic abuse of the government (ibid.). And the same, we are to address (act) the ‘slander and libel’ against Trump. To make his opponent less likable and caring he addressed her metaphorically as the Clinton machine to the media, both she and a machine lack feelings (agency) (ibid.). A metaphoric machine out to destroy the innocent numbers was the image that Trump wanted the inclusive *we* to remember. Burke named this kind of metaphor, *perspective*, representing the literal, and this ‘type of metaphor tells us something about one character as considered from the point of another character’ (1969a:503-4). In this case, the metaphor represented Trump’s reality of Clinton,

a 'poetic realism' created by 'human motivations' (1969a:504). For Trump, the audience was being attacked as well for supporting him (purpose). The people need to be reminded that neither was she serving them, nor was the government (scene-act ratio) helping them with their needs. (Baines, Egan, & Jefkins, 2004; Danesi, 2006; Duncan, 2005) addressed this as the recall of a brand representing a more significant awareness in the retention of the public (Duncan, 2005:148). Trump desired that the voters recall the negative actions that have led Trump to brand her 'Crooked Hillary Clinton'. He also desired the audience to link her behavior with their own condition in life as people, as he emphasised the MHN intertwined in his logic; They were not to be tossed aside.

During the October 13, 2016, Columbus, Ohio rally, again Trump strengthened the metaphorical villain brand. Trump was aiding the voter's cognitive pattern by adding more connotations to Clinton's brand name. Aaker's asserted that the name was considerably more permanent than other aspects of the marketing package (1991:188), and Trump wanted his brand of Hillary Clinton to be easily recalled.

Hillary Clinton (agent) is a criminal who destroyed (act) 33,000 emails after a Congressional Subpoena. She ignored (act) hundreds of requests for security in Benghazi (scene), causing the deaths of four brave Americans – and then she lied (act) to the faces of the grieving parents about the reason for the attack. She defended (act) a man who violently and viciously raped a 12-year-old girl by horribly smearing and blaming the victim – and then she laughed (act) about getting the rapist off the hook (agency). Table 1:  
Row 130

(Peters, & Woolley, Trump, 2016c)

Criminal by connotation was a much harsher than crooked, and Trump recognized the power of a name, and his metaphor began the action tale. Aaker contended 'the name was the basic core indicator of the brand' most significantly because it produced links which assist in defining the brand's 'what' or who it is and 'does' (1991:187). To exemplify this, Trump stacked the agency narrative with a list

used to add credibility which addressed the failure of Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State and strengthened by her negative actions: ‘destroyed’, ‘ignored’, ‘lied’, ‘defended’ (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c: Table 1:Row 130). Three instances of persuasion are happening as Trump used hyperbole in ‘hundreds of requests’, and the narrative of the event itself with a statistic (ibid.). Benjamin and McKerrow, 1994; Larson, 2001; Gregory, 2013) suggested that an intense and energetic story that used statistics or hyperbole to emphasize the whys for ‘taking action’ added persuasion. In this case, the action desired was to distrust Hillary Clinton to respond to a crisis properly. The narrative completed the branded persuasion and ‘four die’ added credibility to Trumps propagandised argument (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016c: Table 1:Row 130). The power of the anecdote completed the agency of this list as he related the story from her past role as a defense attorney. His implication of how could they even achieve the basic safety of MHN if Clinton was elected.

Trump’s political marketing of Hillary Clinton consisted of his branding Clinton as crooked, and then verbalizing her actions or in the case of Benghazi, her lack thereof to prove his point. Trump’s marketing could be further demonstrated through Fill’s (2013) concept that the purpose of brands was to represent possibilities that frame the thought process of the consumer and format their beliefs (2013:326). As a businessman with multiple adventures such as hotels, golf courses, and casinos, Trump understood the importance of creating the frame for the voters to visualize, the ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton’, as he wanted them to visualize her. This was illustrated in what Fill called the ‘strategic role of branding’ which revealed three important aspects entailed in a brand: ‘attack the competitor’s brand, win the market share and deter potential competitor’s market’ (2013:335). Whether the brand sticks, the narratives will be remembered. This argumentum ad hominem was generally unethical but tended to be very persuasive when delivered as a part of the whole, giving the audience less time to consider it separately.

In the October 31, 2016, Warren, Michigan rally, Trump addressed how Hillary Clinton's past issues will lead to a disastrous future. This time Trump cited a testimony of Doug Schoen, a Democratic Pollster, to back up his assertion of Hillary Clinton's not being fit for the office of presidency. Gregory contended that the effect of a testimony from a credible source established 'instant credibility' (2013:137). Trump only had days to convince the people to follow his neoliberalism path to building America as opposed to keeping the current political system.

Hillary (agent) is likely to be under investigation (act) for a very long time. One of her longtime supporters, a top Democratic Pollster, Doug Schoen, is now totally withdrawing his support (agency). He wrote (act) an article entitled "I'm a Democrat, I worked for Bill Clinton, but I can't vote for Hillary." Schoen writes: "I am now convinced that we will be facing the very real possibility of a constitutional crisis with many dimensions and deleterious consequences should Secretary Clinton win the election (scene)." Schoen warns that if Hillary is elected, she would be under protracted criminal investigation – and probably a trial of a sitting President (agency). ... She is unfit and unqualified to be President, and her election would mire our government and our country in a constitutional crisis we cannot afford (agency). We (agent) need to be going (act) to work for the American people – we can't do that with Hillary in the White House trying to avoid prosecution. Hillary Clinton's corruption is a threat to Democracy, and the only way to save our Democracy is get out and vote (act) by the millions. The Clinton crime spree ends on November 8th. And when we close (act) the chapter on the Clintons, we open (act) a bright new chapter focused (act) on the American People.

Table 1: Row 143

(Schoen in Peters, & Woolley, Trump, 2016d)

Figure 16: Hillary Clinton with Aide Huma Abedin



retrieved from: Getty Images

Critical literature by (Fill, 2013; Groucutt, 2005; Cosgrove, 2018) proposed that to brand is a method of separation, so that the constituency can comprehend what the brand represented. Burke's agency revealed the tools Trump used to analyse a 'longtime supporter', and respected pollster, Doug Schoen to further discredit Hillary Clinton, if the title of his article was not enough to cast doubt on her campaign, the scene of the turmoil (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016d: Table1:Row143). This was more than a comment, Schoen wrote (act) an essay stating his case for withdrawing support for her. This act would be hard to spin for Clinton, but for Trump, he manipulated the assonance in the agency to announce his determination of her, unfit and unqualified (ibid.) Trump again finished with a comparative using alliteration to help the audience conclude correctly: The 'Clinton crime' was over and it was time to focus on you (purpose) (ibid.). Time to meet the people's needs. Trump followed the 'strategic role of branding' set out by Fill by attacking Hillary Clinton's character (2013:337), thus deterred her from receiving possible votes and methodically addressed her past errors of judgement and thus separated her from electorate by emphasizing the 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' brand.

### Trump's Word Choice for Clinton

The Rhetoric must lead us through the Scrabble, the Wrangle of the Market Place, the flurries and flareups of the Human Barnyard, the Give and Take, the wavering line of pressure and counter pressure, the Logomachy, the onus of ownership, the Wars of Nerves, the War.

(Burke, RM, 1969b:23)

In examining Trump's word choice in his rally speeches, the agency part of Burke's dramatism was a part of examining Trump's rhetoric. In the agency, Burke asked us to explain the universal purpose and symbolic level of rhetoric in order to determine motive. Burke admitted that the notion of agency comprised as a part of its definition the vagueness of two corroborations: The justification of an 'act by an act, as believing was the test of belief': in the justification of an 'act-less scenic statement by an act framed in accordance statement', as a person was able to check a map by using it in delineating their way (1969b:283). In Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, he addressed the asset of quality stylishness through the 'word choice and metaphors' (2007: 3.2.197), yet Aristotle stressed the orator was to make sure that the 'nouns and verbs' maintain their original meaning for simplicity and keep the prose natural in speech so that it was more persuasive (2007: 3.2.198). (Gura and Lee 2005) deem the 'sounds of words' from the drafted speech bring context and developed the connotation that influence the audiences understanding (2005:186). The 'repeated vowel sound or assonance' as (ride-time) or 'consonant sounds repeated are consonance' as (bold-brave), the 'sounds of words' intensified the imagery allowing the orator to add 'stress for clarity or contrast' in developing the fullest interpretation of the imagery (2005:186-187). Larson also acknowledged that speeches that offer linguistic selections in style are more persuasive than plain speech (2001:278). He addressed examples from the technique of figurative language stating alliteration and assonance as having beneficial qualities in bringing 'internal rhythm' to the oratory (ibid.). Further critical literature on the effect of words and sounds in



(Atkinson, 1984; McGuire, 2000; Aristotle, 2007; Gregory, 2013; Shreyasi & Filik, 2022).

During Trump's August 17<sup>th</sup> campaign speech in West Bend, Wisconsin, he addressed the crime issue in the inner cities. Burke's dramatism allowed for dissection of Trump's word choice in his orations to determine Trump's persuasion level.

Good policing saves (act) lives (purpose). ... I (agent) will make sure we (governmental) deliver (act) safe neighborhoods (agency) here in Milwaukee (scene), and all across this country (scene). It is easy for Hillary Clinton to turn a blind eye (metaphor) to crime when she has her own private security force (agency). I believe all Americans, not just the powerful, are entitled to security (purpose). Hillary Clinton (agent) has had her chance (agency). She (agent) failed (act). Now it's time for new leadership. The Hillary Clinton (agent) agenda hurts (act) poor people the most. There is no compassion in allowing drug dealers, gang members, and felons to prey on innocent people (agency). It is the first duty of government to keep the innocent safe, and when I (agent, inclusive) am President, I will fight (act) for the safety (purpose) of every American - and especially those Americans who have not known safety for a very, very long time (agency). (purpose, safety the basic in MHN) Table 1: Row 5

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Trump addressed the safety of the people, particularly in larger metropolises as it was the very basic of human needs in MHN and certainly a must for society to function effectively. As he addressed the need for secure communities, he suggested that Clinton had no difficulty in turning 'a blind eye to crime when she had her own private security force' (Politico, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 5). There are two interesting aspects to this phrase. The first is the metaphor of 'to turn a blind eye'. This very appropriate simple phrase signified inner-city crime and Clinton's emotional callousness, but the second phrase put the stinger in because it was clear that with 'her own private security', she was simply not everyone (ibid.). These last two words are enhanced by the sharp *t* to emphasize the pain of worry for those who live in the inner-city areas (ibid.). Trump went

back to the sharp *t*, with hurts but followed it with alliteration to emphasize the problem: ‘hurts poor people ... to prey on innocent people’ (ibid). The simple verb followed Aristotle’s persuasive instruction, while the alliteration in the agency created a singsong effect making his point more memorable. Although ‘saves’, ‘safe’ (2), ‘safety’ (2), and ‘security’ are abstract words, the emotional appeal was valid to his audience. Trump used this technique effectively here.

Next, Trump metaphorically became a soldier in his response to what was happening in America in this portion of his West Bend speech. His strong verbs created a soldier at war image:

I (agent, inclusive 3) wear (act) their opposition as a badge of honor. Because it means I am fighting for REAL change, not just partisan change. I am fighting – all of us across the country are fighting – for peaceful regime change in our own country. The media-donor-political complex that’s bled (act) this country dry has to be replaced (act) with a new government of, by and for the people. (agency) (purpose, basic needs)  
Table 1: Row 10

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Trump started: ‘I wear their opposition as a badge of honor’ (Political, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 10). Trump seemed to allude to American author Stephen Crane’s Civil War novel, *The Red Badge of Courage* published in 1895, in which a war wound created a bloody bandage which metaphorically represented courage and a badge of honor in battle. The list of strong action verbs starting with ‘wear’, the repetition of ‘am fighting’, ‘bled’, and ‘replaced’ followed by the negative noun ‘regime’ as to government continued the metaphor (ibid.). The strong verb ‘replaced’ represented the globalist leaning leadership by Trump’s neoliberal one for those who wanted less government (ibid.). Trump put blood in this appeal to patriotism while ending it with a paraphrase of the key parallel language found in the Gettysburg Address by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863 – ‘government of the people, by the people, for the people’ (Neely, 1982). Trump used of a military metaphor, to persuade, reached those who felt that their country had been going in the wrong direction. Considering Trump’s slogan to *Make America Great Again*

and his red and white cap effectively filling the seats at the rallies, Trump's word choice was accurate for his audience as he contrasted himself to Clinton and the current swamp.

On June 28, 2016, Trump spoke at an iron and metal recycling facility outside of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania starting with his favorite verb *make*. This declaration verb, *make* linked to the Trump *MAGA* slogan. *Make* was concise and commanding, and Trump introduced his Pittsburg speech this way:

Today, I (agent, inclusive) am going to talk about how to Make America Wealthy Again (agency). The legacy of Pennsylvania (scene) steelworkers lives in the bridges, railways and skyscrapers that make (act) up our great American landscape (scene) (purpose, MHN at its highest, esteem & self-fulfillment). Table 1: Row 56

(Politico, Trump, 2016a)

The act *make* was followed by a noun *wealthy* that focused on his desire for the American people. In short order, he was talking about 'heritage', 'jobs', and 'making money' while carefully promoting his neoliberalism outlook to the people (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1: Row 56). He had set the tone with *make* and completed the thought with a visual through the personification of the legacy and all that was involved in this world of manufacturing right there and the rest of the nation that used steel. Trump understood his surroundings, and what these workers did was the foundation to American success. He wanted them to visualize and be proud through the metaphor that the bridges that allowed people to go to work or see their families in a list of steel: 'cars made of steel', 'railways', 'skyscrapers', where people live, and businesses work out of, all of it began with them (*ibid.*). As Aristotle concluded, the 'metaphor especially had clarity' (2007, 3:2:200). Short and succinct, Trump's few words created a world of success. This word list following the verb *make* was ongoing, just as the voter's lives, and the repetition of possibilities was unending which added an emphasis creating an emotional result.

Then according to Trump, the future for these workers with this glorious heritage of earning a good living and creating was in the past as he addressed Clinton's political work. The politics of globalisation had taken over:

But our (attributive adjective) workers' loyalty was repaid (act) with betrayal. Our politicians (agent) have aggressively pursued (act) a policy of globalization - moving our jobs, our wealth and our factories (agency) to Mexico and overseas (scene). Globalisation has made (act) the financial elite who donate to politicians very wealthy. When subsidised foreign steel is dumped (act) into our markets (scene), threatening our factories, the politicians do nothing. Table 1: Row 57  
(Politico, Trump, 2016a)

Now that he had shown the steelworkers how important they are to American industry, then Trump confronted the enemy, and he called it globalisation. First the repetitive 'our' was used seven times. It served as an adjective and could be replaced with American – American workers or American politicians, the succinct, 'our' was short and to the point' He could call the politicians Americans and feel good. But our workers' 'loyalty was repaid with betrayal' (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1:Row 57.). Some irony that betrayal was the object of a preposition thus a relationship word between globalization and loyalty. The parallel listing of 'our workers' and 'our politicians' phrases increase the emotional effect that Trump was trying to achieve, which was staged by the alliteration 'politicians have aggressively pursued a policy' (ibid.). Subsequently, the visual of the verbs was created, through the use of 'dumped, threatening', to complete the metaphor of the ugliness of globalization (ibid.). This was the negative rhetoric of populism that Higgins perceived (2017:4). Let's not forget this rhetoric was toward his opponent Clinton, and the swamp that voted with her. Trump not claiming to be a politician, but a neoliberal businessman, who put the blame where much of the population saw it in Washington D. C. as an example of this. This argument explained to the electorate why they cannot reach their goals of self-actualization, as the political system was working against them.

Eventually Trump's past with women was going to be brought up and in West Palm Beach, Florida October of 2016 and less than a month from election, Trump found himself on the defensive concerning new reports in the media of his conduct with women. As Trump needed the women's vote, and his opponent was a woman, Trump realized he must answer the women issue. Of course, he would blame the Clinton machine for the articles. Trump delivered a diatribe of predicate adjectives to denounce the media for this:

These vicious claims (act) about me of inappropriate conduct with women are totally and absolutely false. And the Clinton's (agent) know it, and they know it very well. These claims are all fabricated. They're pure fiction and they're outright lies. These events never, ever happened and the people said them meekly fully understand. You take a look at these people, you study these people, and you'll understand also. The claims are preposterous, ludicrous, and defy truth, common sense and logic (agency). We (inclusive) already have substantial evidence to dispute these lies, and it will be made public in an appropriate way and at the appropriate time very soon. The media outlets did not even attempt to confirm the most basic facts because even a simple investigation would have shown that these were nothing more than false smears (purpose). As has been seen when the topic is Clinton there is not a positive persuasion for growth). (scene, media, campaign trail)  
Table 1: Row 88

(National Public Radio (NPR), Trump, 2016)

Trump began with an adjective that labeled all the other claims, vicious. Then a repetition of claims: 'false', 'fabricated', and 'fiction' (NPR, Trump, 2016:Table 1: Row 88). His list of three and alliteration for effect showed a completion of the idea of his innocence and to limit the validity of the accusations. At this point, Trump's defense was the use of the modifiers at the end of the sentences and the starkness he put into his response. Gura and Lee revealed that the placement of the modifiers in this case predicate adjectives enhanced different understandings of the oration (2005:180). They continued that when the modifier was used out of the normal sequence and was placed at or near the end of the statement, it was called 'periodic construction' (ibid.). Because a periodic sentence suspended the

conclusion of the meaning, it generated suspense making the statement ‘especially emphatic’ warranting the response (2005:180-181) given by Trump. Using the predicate adjective to modify his subject allowed him to emphasise his view more succinctly: the claims are ‘false’, ‘fabricated’, ‘fiction’, ‘lies’, ‘preposterous’, ‘ludicrous’, and ‘smears’ (2005:181). The list of modifiers demonstrated Trump’s true frustration with the media which went with his many claims that Clinton controlled the narrative [See Columbus, Ohio speech: Table 1:Row 125]. Usually, the use of repetition would be applied, as he does with the noun claim, for emphasis, but here in the agency he seemed to desire the audience to pick an adjective that was symbolic of a story that related to their personal experience.

### **Trump’s Propaganda in Rhetoric vs the Swamp**

Propaganda’s definition varied depending on the field it was being used. O’Shaughnessy (2004) suggested that in communication propaganda was ‘primarily emotional’ and not ‘rational persuasion’ (2004:16). After going through the many fields to which propaganda applied, the most relevant for this research was Jowett and O’Donnell’s (1999) notion on ‘political science’ in which one needed to investigate ‘the ideologies of the practitioners’ and the propagation and influence of community judgement (1999:1). Jowett and O’Donnell determined that ‘propaganda was a subcategory of persuasion, as well as information’ (1999:5-6). Clarifying that their ‘definition of propaganda focused on the communication process’: An intentional, methodical effort to form discernments, manipulate thoughts and conduct to gain an anticipated response (1999:6). Bernays proposed a step further revealing the makeup of propaganda was meant to ‘control the public mind’ in order to develop a civic compliance for specific idea (2005:45) which tied directly to marketing. Bernays discussed some of the history of propaganda and declared that the term propaganda received a negative aura over time, but in its truest form it is ‘just a plain forceful statement

of truth' (2005:50). He clarified the problem came when some people espouse for a direction to be taken on a debatable topic because it was the most suitable course of action, but another group expressed opposition to that viewpoint then it became propaganda (ibid.). With all of the definitions most are similar in the basic form and as any other aspect of communication propaganda may be manipulated as well giving a negative connotation to the process.

In looking at Trump's use of PGR to influence the voters of America, Trump made comparisons between what was wrong now in today's globalistic America, and how he proposed to make it better with his neoliberalism approach for the future, if they would only vote for him. Determining the meaning of propaganda, Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) center their attention on the intent of the 'communication process': 'Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perspectives, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist' (1999:6). This led to Trump's August 17, 2016, West Bend, Wisconsin rally, Trump took a moment at the beginning of his speech to appreciate the police officers in West Bend and across America for their 'service and sacrifice' in these hard periods (Politico, Trump, 2016c: Table 1:Row 2)). The PGR begins with this acknowledgement because for the last six years racial tensions have seen an increase across the United States. Trump voiced this:

Let me (agent) begin by thanking the law enforcement here in this city, and across this country (scene), for their service and sacrifice in difficult times. The violence, riots and destruction that have taken (act) place in Milwaukee (scene) is an assault on the right of all citizens to live in security and peace (purpose). Law and order must be restored (act). It must be restored for the sake of all, but most especially the sake of those living in the affected communities (agency). The main victims of these riots are law-abiding African-American citizens living in these neighborhoods (major premise). It is their jobs, their homes, their schools, and communities which will suffer as a result (purpose). There is no compassion in tolerating lawless conduct (agency). Crime and violence are an attack on the poor (minor premise) and will never

be accepted in a Trump Administration (agency). The narrative that has been pushed aggressively for years now by our current Administration, and pushed by my opponent Hillary Clinton, is a false one (agency). The problem in our poorest communities is not that there are too many police, the problem is that there are not enough police (conclusion). (purpose - safety) Table 1: Row 2

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Trump did not believe the point there was an issue, but by recognizing the officers, he indirectly addressed the current administration's negative reinforcement toward policing efforts. To make his propaganda toward the past administration's false narrative more persuasive Trump, as the agent, employed a syllogism stating his major premise: 'Victims of these riots are law-abiding African American citizens living in these neighborhoods'. His minor premise: 'Crime and violence is an attack on the poor'... He concludes: 'The problem in our poorest communities is not that there are too many police, the problem is there are not enough police' (Politico, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 2). For Trump, safety in the neighborhoods and the U.S. from terrorism was an absolute in his platform (ibid.). Trump had systematically demonstrated how the past administrations' fight against crime had been addressing the wrong issues. He stressed a very basic need of MHN safety. They must have safety to begin Trump's neoliberal approach to society, where the opposition failed using their globalism system. Aristotle's suggestion of using the syllogism argument for examining the parts of the argument which allowed for the audience to partake in the 'reasoning in relation to the probability' thus adding to the persuasiveness of the argument (2007:1:1:31). Trump was assisting the audience in finding his solution by breaking down the rhetorical argument. The effectiveness of this was supported by O'Shaughnessy's contention that 'propaganda teaches' the population 'what to think' (2004:31).

Further into the West Bend, Wisconsin speech, Trump manipulated a series of common logical fallacies to persuade the electorate why he and not Clinton should be the next President of the United States. First, Trump unfolds a divide and conquer technique as he addressed the Democratic party's words as compared



to their actions. This clarified that big government failed to help the people. He began with branding the entire party by associating them with Clinton and concluded by offering an alternative:

The other party – the Democratic Party (agent) – nominated (act) the personification of special interest corruption (agency). The Democratic Party rigged (act) the nomination to give it to Hillary Clinton, thus giving the soul of their party this year to the special interests (agency). I (agent) am running (act) to listen to your voice, to hear your cries for help. The quiet voices in our society (agency), not the loudest demonstrators, need to have their demands heard. Jobs. Safety. Opportunity. Fair and equal representation (purpose). We reject the bigotry of Hillary Clinton which panders to and talks down to communities of color and sees them only as votes, not as individual human beings worthy of a better future. She doesn't care at all about the hurting people of this country, or the suffering she has caused them. The African-American community has been taken for granted for decades by the Democratic Party(agency). It's time to break with the failures of the past – I want to offer Americans a new future. It is time for rule by the people, not rule by special interests (purpose, basic needs, esteem). Every insider, getting rich off of our broken system, is throwing money at Hillary Clinton. The hedge fund managers, the Wall Street investors, the professional political class. It's the powerful protecting the powerful (agency). Table 1: Row 8

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Trump's argument derived from the previously mentioned questions and answers given to Hillary Clinton when she was trying to gain her party's nomination.

The division Trump sought between the progressive Democrats who support Bernie Sanders, as the Democratic National Committee (DNC) manipulated the final decision of the parties' selection of the candidate. [This was also shown in the Cincinnati, Ohio speech (Politico, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 26).] So, even if the non-Hillary Clinton supporters did not agree with Trump's platform, they may be angry enough to vote for him at the polls for retaliation of Sanders treatment by the party. Trump added that Hillary Clinton personified corruption, Trump reminded them of her character according to the Trump PGR. He could

not have depicted her any more unscrupulous in the (agency) than using the imagery ‘giving the soul of their party away’ deriding Clinton verified that moderate Democrats needed another choice. Trump (agent) continued by giving them that choice. ‘The quiet voices... need to have their demands heard. Jobs. Safety. Opportunity’. ... ‘fair and equal representation’ (purpose) (Politico, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 8). Trump was demonstrating how the current system was failing to meet even the most basic need of the people. He promoted his style of government, where less government meant more for the people. Trump became very specific with his argument as he suggested that Hillary Clinton manipulated the ‘communities of color’ (ibid.) and did not really care about them. The choice words for labeling Clinton are in the meaning of the descriptors: ‘corrupt’, ‘bigot’ and ‘panderer’ (ibid.), with which Trump used his PGR to attack her as the uncaring government character in the speech. He utilized a classic argumentum ad hominem argument on Clinton’s character, as Larson would explain that Trump was not addressing the issue as much as attacking her character (2001:177).

In his June 28, 2016, Pittsburg Pennsylvania rally, Trump switched from the fallacy to statistics in addressing one of his key issues of trade and how it affected American jobs. Trump’s application of numbers to his PGR narrative of job loss in the United States placed the blame on policies and arguments brought by Bill and Hillary Clinton. Trump started with the statistic that:

America(scene) has lost (act) nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997(agency). At the center of this catastrophe are two trade deals pushed by Bill and Hillary Clinton (agent). First, the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA. Second, China's entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (agency). ...The city of Pittsburg, and State of Pennsylvania (scene), have lost one-third of their manufacturing jobs since the Clintons put China in the WTO. Fifty Thousand factories have closed their doors in that time (agency) (purpose, not met). Table 1: Row 64

(Politico, Trump, 2016a)

NAFTA and China’s entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) both happened while Bill Clinton was President of the United States and Senator

Hillary Clinton's held office [the agents]. The statistic alone was persuasive and revealed his objections to the governments trade agreements, but Trump added the second factor of statistics to the state of Pennsylvania [scene] losing one third of their manufacturing positions and 50,000 factories closing since China entered the WTO [agency] to aid the constituents in understanding the problems within the current system (Politico, Trump, 2016a:Table 1: Row 64). Trump's problem with the trade agreements resulted from employment going down for Americans because of the trade agreements pushing a global society. Then Trump revealed a short version of the formula in connecting the relationship between the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and how trade arrangements and job development work together: This was a result of neoliberalism which put more control where Trump believed it belonged with the states as to the federal government.

To understand why trade reform creates jobs, we (agent) need to understand (act) how all nations (scene) grow and prosper. Massive trade deficit subtracts directly from our Gross Domestic Product. From 1947 to 2001, a span of five decades, our inflation adjusted GDP grew at a rate of 3.5%. However, since 2002 the year we fully open our markets to China imports, that GDP growth has been cut almost in half. What is that mean to Americans? For every 1% of the GDP growth (agency), we failed (act) to generate, we failed (act) to create over 1 million jobs (agency). America's job creation deficit due to slower growth since 2002 is well over 20 million jobs (purpose MHN not met from loss of 20 million jobs).  
Table 1: Row 65

(Politico, Trump, 2016a)

The businessman in Trump took the statistics and demonstrated what a neoliberal society could do to improve the American [scene]economy and to create jobs by making these numbers personal to the constituency.

### **Summary**

This chapter explored Trump's approach to branding Hillary Clinton, his word choice and the propaganda marketing he uses in his rally speeches to persuade his audience during his presidential campaign. A consideration was given to his relationship with Bill and Hillary Clinton as a financial supporter in Bill Clinton's

presidential campaigns as well as Hillary Clinton's Senatorial campaigns. Donald Trump obviously had the upper hand in marketing and branding that he quite easily transferred to his political endeavors. Many pundits and friends had commented on his simplistic style which was demonstrated in his word choice and sentence phrasing. Simplicity certainly helped him to reach his target audience of blue-collar workers. As propaganda was certainly a part of the marketing world and business, Trump found no difficulty in blending business techniques with the grievance rhetoric to create a variety of propaganda styles to influence his electorates. He adopted the persuasive tools of his business trade to reveal the qualities of a neoliberalistic society in opposition to that of the current globalism that was being perpetuated by the past and current administrations.

In examining the relationship Trump had with the Clinton's, it was important to note what he said in his first Republican debate when seeking the nomination [See Chapter One]. In front of the televised audience in a crowd in the room surrounded by at least a dozen other candidates, Trump made a statement no one had probably ever heard on a political stage. Trump admitted to giving campaign contributions for political favors later. This said something about Trump and certainly his relationship with the Clinton's as a donor to their foundation as well as political campaigns.

When it came to branding, Trump had the experience as Gingrich noted about the primaries versus his Republican counterparts, 'branding was about establishing an identity' it was not aggression (2017: 48). Another business move that Trump implements was simply connecting the negatives of her career or decisions to the brand of 'Crooked Hillary Clinton'. Trump's business background actually gave him an advantage as he donated money, worked with, and sometimes in spite of politicians and asked for favors, when he needed them, just as he did with Clinton's. Trump understood how the financial worked with a politician. Once he's branded Hillary Clinton as crooked, he continued to magnify everything in that direction.

In examining Trump's word choice Trump did keep it simple but he used the figurative techniques of a good poet. Trump would use the catchy metaphor when it was appropriate, or he often used alliteration to make his speeches easy to listen to, and he gave them a rhythm that smoothed his delivery. He made literary analogies, but they were not burdensome, just quick references to help the people visualise. His verbal usage was much the same as there's more power in his infinitives but promises in his future tense verbs, while simplistic, they flowed easily together and became memorable.

Propaganda and marketing are in the businessman's world, so once again Trump was comfortable. Trump didn't just give them the information he wanted them to hear, but he uses a variety of techniques to do so. Whether using Aristotle's syllogism or some of the logical fallacies that exist in business as well as politics, he stated his case and most of the time supported it. Certainly, as in business and a competitor is moving in on one's territory, the need for negative propaganda became necessary. In moments like these, Trump issued the statistics to back up his motivation. Trump successfully included the well learned business techniques of branding, using the right words learned from marketing to persuade more than 60 million people to vote for him.

Burke's Dramatism has proven a worthy methodology to unfold Trump's populist grievance rhetoric and his thread of neoliberalism throughout this corpus. The agency revealed the propaganda techniques and the scene with the acts tying the persuasion to the agent to the final purpose intertwined with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs proving effective to reveal the why. The CDA proved effective and useful as it interlaced with the dramatism for pronominal usage The act-agent neoliberal ratio with the Hillary Clinton scene-act globalism ratio were revealed. The use of Burke's dramatism has proven to my knowledge the only time it has been used to scrutinize Trump's campaign speeches. This researcher did not find any other use of Burke's dramatism to this extent in any political speeches.

## Chapter Summary

- **History with the Clinton's/** Background information into Trump and the Clinton's political and personal. Trump a registered Democrat donated to their campaigns, and they attended his wedding.
- **Background of Political Branding of Hillary Clinton/** New introduction and additions were made clarifying political branding. CDA in the section noted.
- **Trump's Word Choice Background/** Examples from other scholars concerning why certain words are more effective.
- **Trump's Propaganda/** Background information to set up the analysis.
- **The Speeches – Branding of Hillary Clinton/** The examination using Burke's dramatism intertwined with MHN and assisted with the interlacing of CDA to help with pronominal usage.
- **Trump's Word Choice for Clinton/** An examination of figurative language, and why words matter in rhetoric.
- **Trump's Propaganda in Rhetoric vs the Swamp/** This examined the propaganda Trump used in his attacks on Hillary Clinton's character including logical fallacies.

## Chapter Eight

### Discussion and Conclusions

... It is a movement comprised of Americans from all races, religions, backgrounds, and beliefs, who want and expect our government to serve the people – and serve the people it will.

Working together, we will begin the urgent task of rebuilding our nation and renewing the American dream. I've spent my entire life in business, looking at the untapped potential in projects and in people all over the world.

That is now what I want to do for our country. Tremendous potential. I've gotten to know our country so well. Tremendous potential. It is going to be a beautiful thing. Every single American will have the opportunity to realize his or her fullest potential.

The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer. We are going to fix our inner cities and rebuild our highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, schools, and hospitals. We're going to rebuild our infrastructure, which will become, by the way, second to none. And we will put millions of our people to work as we rebuild it.

... We will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal. I will harness the creative talents of our people, and we will call upon the best and brightest to leverage their tremendous talent for the benefit of all. It is going to happen.

We have a great economic plan. We will double our growth and have the strongest economy anywhere in the world.

No dream is too big, no challenge is too great. Nothing we want for our future is beyond our reach.

(CNN, Trump, 2016)

November 9, 2016, President-elect Donald Trump stepped to the podium to deliver his victory speech. Much of the body of this oration of success exemplified his campaign for the change of the United States to the neoliberalism of his own business world while simultaneously addressing the objections to the incumbent government's interference with the people's livelihood. Trump guided in the teachings of positive thinking by Dr. Norman Vincent Peale personally, and

through the views of his father during childhood, Trump projected the future he saw for the American people who want more in life. The first paragraph embodied Trump's use of propaganda to move the focus of American politics from the government to the different cultures of people who expected the government to serve and generate progress as was demonstrated throughout the corpus of speeches studied for this thesis. The following two paragraphs addressed the neoliberalism of Trump's call to the American people to remake the country into their vision of life by reaching the apex of their ability, while he highlighted his populist grievance objections of the past governmental policies. This exemplified Trump's reflection of Peale's positive self-imagining and Trump's encouragement for the people to dream bigger. The use of the Make America Great Again (MAGA) slogan, clearly and effectively established his determination to bring about a neoliberal movement in American politics.

Trump's promise to restore America appeared in the fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs: 'We now begin a great conversation about economic renewal for America. It is a conversation about how to Make America Great Again for everyone' (Politico, Detroit, MI, Trump, 2016a). He promises to put Americans in those jobs. Again, he stressed his neoliberal agenda, by suggesting that the talents of the constituency can be utilised to strengthen the nation economically. He finished with a Peale inspired commitment to never give up the desire to succeed.

A large portion of Trump's victory address represented his neoliberalism ideology, as he marketed the change he planned to bring and his desire to change the American government. The address verified much of the data and denouement premised in this undertaking and therefore projected the neoliberalism direction of a Trump administration that he proposes. As has been seen in the corpus studied in this thesis, a vote for Trump projected a vote for individualism with less government intervention and fewer regulations leading to more personal choice for individual success and fulfilling ones need.

This chapter aims to address the research questions by uniting the overall conclusions from the research into Trump's neoliberalism brand narrative and



populist grievance rhetoric and its effect on the 2016 election. The purpose is not just to recap the findings in the previous chapters, but to contribute a compelling study of the findings developed through the methodology of Burke's dramatism intertwining with MHN and an interlacing of Fairclough's CDA to determining the purpose of Trump's rhetoric. Overall, the intent was to introduce a new conceptualization of how these theories can be adjusted and reappropriated to analyse and understand the application of Political Grievance Rhetoric, marketing and branding in the political arena to answer these two research questions:

- How does Trump's populist grievance driven marketing approach persuade the electorate of the nation's population that his plan will allow them the opportunity to meet their needs and is an assessable concept?
- Is this approach of PGR, marketing, and political branding a usable qualitative tool that would persuade more than half of the electorate to vote for a political candidate?

The chapter will contend that this thesis identified a push for neoliberalism in Trump's focus on making America great again along with populist grievance driven rhetoric in his campaign speeches, and that these factors helped turn the voters to support Trump. The research also supports the idea that this populist grievance rhetorical style could be successfully used for future campaigns to gain a significant number of votes. In Trump's 2020 presidential reelection campaign loss, Trump ran the same campaign style as in 2016. In 2020, he needed to win four more states: Arizona, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin to win the electoral college and the election. He lost by '124,364 votes out of the 18.6 million cast' (Pew Research Center, 2020).

It was noted in the literature review chapter, that in relation to Trump's brand there was no general agreement on whether his brand or rhetoric would carry him through the primaries or enable him to overcome an experienced political opponent. For example, Faber et.al. (2017) contended that his divisiveness separates the nation and lowers voter participation because of the overall disdain of the campaign by both candidate's responses (2017:2). Meanwhile Nai and

Maier's (2018) data determined Trump possessed little personality and rates at the extreme level in his branding of his opposition in their Ten Items Personality analysis (2018:81). Salter et. al. (2017) implemented a transformational theory to find that Trump's having a plan, even without the details, made him a more desirable leader (2017:67). This, with his more visual rhetoric and non-verbal expression presented him as a believable candidate (ibid.). These findings concerning the effect of Trump's rhetoric on the election demonstrated the need to examine these contentions.

Therefore, this thesis embarked to methodically investigate Trump's campaign rhetoric with an inquiry into older interviews to determine whether his 2016 campaign reflected and validated Trump's neoliberal marketing and populist manipulations of grievance rhetoric as the factor for his success in the 2016 election. As far as can be determined, this thesis is the first to apply Burke's pentad and Maslow's theory in studies of Trump, his populist grievance rhetoric and branding with his approach of using neoliberal marketing, that provided an original analysis technique here.

The initial findings of the ratio in analysis of the corpus uncovered: 149 instances of neoliberalism act-agent ratios promoting Trump's neoliberal ideas for America, 78 scene-act ratios representing the socialism/globalism attributes, that he tied to Senator Hillary Clinton and the current administration policies of which she was a part. These can be seen in Table 1: Analysis of Trump's speeches. There are 17 instances of both ratios when Trump applied contrastive pairs with the audience of the style of governance they might desire, or when he compared his neoliberalism with the current globalist socialism system, thus both ratios exist in the body of the argument. This finding revealed Trump promoted his brand of neoliberalism (act-agent) 63 percent of the time which brought about the success of the campaign as suggested by Sherman (2018) and Wheaton (2016).

The secondary aspect of the examination of the corpus reveals over 99 percent of the corpus is representative of his populist grievance rhetoric through the seven

areas of analysis: Trump's brand/character, branding Clinton, repetition, word choice, propaganda, syllogism, and statistics. The relevance of this number is qualified by Wahl- Jorgensen: 'Emotion's fuel and direct our political energies and inform our rational decision making' (2019:172). There are some overlaps of the textual analysis in the agency with the stronger one being emphasised in the coding:

- 45 Gold - Trump's brand/Character to express his ability through past success with his name and to gain favor with the populace by his work ethic.
- 14 Red - Branding Clinton and in the current administration by linking them to job loss, immigration issues, and fake news.
- 21 Yellow – Repetition of fact or opinion through words or phrases to highlight the objection to the current administration, Clinton, or the media, or reiterate statements he made to develop stronger believability.
- 28 Lt. Green - Word Choice to develop the tone he desired for a stronger effect on the audience at times by sound effect or figurative language.
- 80 Lt. Blue – Propaganda manipulation of figurative language to gain the emotional support of the audience in the argument for neoliberalism.
- 23 Green - Syllogisms developed for persuasive purposes to gain votes by joining two points to develop a logical conclusion.
- 17 Orange – Statistics which are shown to be persuasive to manipulate public opinion.

The content analysis revealed Trump's application of populist grievance rhetoric toward government policies affecting the economy, politicians, jobs, and immigration in America was comparative to the 'Post-Brexit Boomer blaming: The contradictions of the generational grievance' by Bristow (2021) examining a text file of newspaper articles (2021:5). These results reveal an ongoing bemoaning of the EU governing policies of politicians from losing jobs to other countries due to trade agreements, allowing in immigrants, or the decreasing of the country's military strength.

The direction of the thesis was to examine Trump's populist grievance rhetoric to discover the semiotic techniques he used to persuade 60 million people to vote for him. To do this an extensive review of academic literature relating to political speech making, populism, personality, public sphere, visual persuasion, political branding, emotion and grievances, Peale's influence, and Trump's past interviews.

## **Findings:**

### **Politics and Rhetoric**

The first section of the analysis considers the elements of political speeches in Chapter Four and determining if Trump applies them to his speeches. As these speeches are in text form only Atkinson's (1984) verbal cues will be considered. Atkinson establishes the pronoun use of the positive *us* and *we* as to the negative *them* as a method of persuasion (1984:40). He further proposes that, if the *us* as a part of the voter's desires or needs is presented by a politician, he connects with the audience (1984:39). He also concludes the list of three or list of contrasts or a combination develops an affirmative response from the audience. He suggests the perfect match to get the audience involved is the trio and antithesis. The trio coincides with Aristotle's syllogism with the major premise and at least two minor premises. Understanding that these speeches were written by speech writers, and it has been shown in the previous research that at the rallies polling of the attendees concerns and backgrounds were taken; we can conclude that the basic stump speech with variations from city to city are effectively written. Trump, as we know from research tends to go off script, but he has the responsibility to sell the dream and give solutions to their grievances. In these findings, Trump will be addressed as the deliverer of the populist grievance rhetoric with all his gusto.

To determine where he goes off script is not as important as the understanding that the marketing techniques exhibited in these speeches are effective and his branding is over the top for a politician, which Trump is not. The marketing

scholars Larson (2001), Palmer (2004) Groucutt (2005), and Fill (2013) were invaluable for their expertise in the role of persuasion.

In Chapter Six, Trump's September 9, 2016, Pensacola speech, Trump starts with the *I* of leadership and not until the end does he use the *we* of government from the CDA. But Trump does apply Atkinson's contrast starting with 'I am fighting for you'. This is followed by a negative hyperbole of Clinton's advisors being 'responsible for the 'endless wars', 'conflict', and 'tragedies'. Then he delivers another list of 'thanks', 'gratitude', and 'sacrifice' before he lists the negatives of Clinton's involvement, 'reckless', 'interventionist globalism', and 'failed this country' (Peters & Wooley, Trump, 2016a, Table 1: Row 165). This segment also represents Vasile's (2017) study of Trump projecting a polarised language in his speeches with the same text of reckless, failed, endless wars (twice) applied to Clinton by Trump. The purpose of this speech was psychological as Wang and Liu (2018) research using TTR verify that Trump's rhetoric gains support because it is very thematic and therefore psychologically convincing (2018:307).

The October 13, 2016, West Bend, Wisconsin speech illustrates Savoy's (2016) Jordan & Pennebaker (2016) finding Trump's words simplistic and straightforward:

To every parent who dreams for their children, and to every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I'm with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you. Together, we will Make America Strong Again. We will Make America Safe Again. And we will Make America Great Again. Thank you and God bless. Table 1: Row 25

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Except for the three syllable America, the words are one or two syllables and repetitive. But his commitment is all one syllable: I'm with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you. Keeping his audience in mind Trump simplifies the message and delivers it in an anecdote to be felt and imagined. Atkinson's list of three is used here as well giving the audience that feeling of completeness. Trump

is approaching his constituency with the correct semiotics to gain their trust and persuade them. Trump's populist rhetoric helps them visualize the parent/child, dreams of better days for them and self, and ends with variations of a popular slogan using the repetition make it more memorable than it already is.

In this portion of his speech, Trump has recognised that he needs to reach the common citizenry and speak to their needs in order garner their votes. He spent over 45 years in business marketing himself, and now delivered an emotional anecdote relating to putting the children to bed with sweet dreams. This emotional populist rhetoric reflects his approach to the campaign, to reach those who are still dreamers. Through dramatism his speech can be broken down into semiotic parts to reveal its effectiveness for persuasion, emotion, and purpose. In the first sentence, the 'who' is the agent, the act is the 'dreams', and are the agent and act for both parts of the compound sentence, but the modifying infinitive 'To every parent' is a part of the agency that allowed the elements of speech to come together. To finish the agency in that sentence let's put the grammatical parts together. A list of four modifiers, 'To every parent', 'for their child', and 'to every child', 'for their future' the infinitive is acting as adjectives for the agent 'who', while the prepositions show the relationship to the 'dream'. The MHN purpose is to dream of a better life and then make it happen. Fairclough (2015) maintains there must be a 'synthetic personalization' to build a relationship (2015:205). He is talking about building relations in advertising. Now the techniques of marketing have come to the doors of politics. Of course, the anecdote is over, but Trump adds the CDA's inclusive *I am with you* and continues the steps for persuasion. He commits to helping his constituents to achieve their dream. The agency interprets where they are now and the intertwined purpose with MHN exposes where they could be.

### **Research Implications**

The methodology has illustrated that Burke's Dramatism model can be adapted to a body of political speeches and presents a strong base for developing understanding of the way in which content included in the orations is used to

achieve desired outcomes. In this thesis, the methodology manages to pinpoint the persuasive ability of Trump's business campaign marketing and populist grievance rhetoric in the corpus, and this analytical approach should be manageable for other bodies of research in the same genre. For example, an analysis including the three debates between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump could be revealing. Using the dramatism to study Hillary Clinton's campaign rhetoric against Obama for the Democratic ticket in 2008 and then against Bernie Sanders in 2016 would be enlightening. Applying the dramatism to an analysis of Ross Perot's 1992 and 1996 presidential campaigns nomination speeches first as an Independent and the second as a Reform party candidate could be fruitful. It would prove thought-provoking to examine Ross Perot, also a successful businessman billionaire before Trump to be on the ballot for the presidency, and whether his speeches centered on neoliberalism, and if he adopted an emotional rhetoric. Perhaps a comparative study of these two men, Perot and Trump, offering an understanding of their approach to their campaigns and their speeches.

### **Populism as a form of Persuasion**

This is a very pivotal segment for Trump's focus on his audience. Higgins examined populist rhetoric paying special attention to the pronominals of the nomination speeches of Palin and Obama. He first defines what populism rhetoric should do: Rely on a compelling leader willing to serve the people despite being ignored by the system (2009:131). For pronouns, he directs the *I* to represent sincerity (2009:135-136), the *you* to bring in those who feel left out by the uncaring leaders (2009:137-138), and the *we* is either inclusive or exclusive as the uncaring leaders (2009:139). Wodak (2021) examines the far-right-populism (FRP) fallacies that they use as a fall guy for the issues facing their voters. Some of them appear in the October 13, 2016, Cincinnati, Ohio rally:

I gave a speech earlier today on the lies, corruption and false accusations of the 'Crooked Hillary Clinton Campaign' ... This election is a simple choice. It's a choice between putting our faith in failed politicians and she is a failed politician. Look at what she has done. Everything she touches-- I'm going to be very nice-- turns bad. Table 1: Row 27

(C-Span, Trump, 2016)

Starting with the attack of the person, Trump starts with ‘*I* gave a speech on the lies, corruption and false accusations (note the list of three again) of the ‘Crooked Hillary Clinton Campaign’ (C-Span, Trump, 2016:Table 1:Row 27). (Higgins *I* for sincerity) Then the straw man attack comes: ‘It’s a choice between putting your faith in failed politicians and she is a failed politician’ (ibid.). By doing this he weakens the argument of her political accomplishments; ‘everything she touches turns bad’. Two logical fallacies are utilized in these moments. Clinton becomes the brunt of easily defeated fallacies because for Trump she is to blame for the societal ills facing the electorate. With Burke, we could determine how the fallacies are weak attacks. Trump included the alliteration for the sticking effect of the brand/attack on Clinton. This was a key part of his campaign; all of DC is a swamp and it needs cleaning, and Clinton is the proof. Trump is not leaving a persuasive tool unused. His populist grievance rhetoric is being used to brand, degrade, and defame her career. He even manipulates the *I* as the agent from sincerity to sarcasm. When he brands his opponent there is not a motive for MHN as Clinton is the agent, and she crushes dreams; she does not make them. Everything she touches is bad. Populism is the common man’s vocabulary waiting for someone to define the message and deliver it. Wodak (2021), Higgins (2009), Oliver and Rahn (2016).

The interlaced CDA generates the fluid comprehension of pronominal usage and purpose and the critique of metaphors (Fairclough (2013)(2015), Van Dijk (2001), Wodak (2001), Meyers (2001), and Thomas and Turnbull (2017).

### **Political Branding**

Another telling aspect of Trump’s campaign embraces the branding aspect of his business. Instead of branding bottles of water or huge glass towers with his name, he brands people. His most significant branding addresses his political adversary in Hillary Clinton. Rarely did he call her by her brand without adding in other grammatical devices to complete the marketing process. What is a brand without



a narrative or anecdote to make the brand more memorable. In the August 5, 2016, Green Bay, Wisconsin speech, Trump demonstrates the significance of a marketing and FRP populist device an unproven assumption fallacy as he brands Clinton:

Together we will lead our country back to prosperity, security and peace. OK? When you look at the world and what's happened -- so we have the queen of corruption, she's the queen of corruption. She is a disaster. I said before, if 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' becomes president, terrorism will destroy the inner workings of our country. Believe me, they are loving it. She wants to have 550 percent more people coming in from Syria and that region into our nation. And we don't know who they are, we don't know where they come from really, we don't know if they're ISIS, some will be. Table 1: Row 181

(Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e)

Starting with the government *we*, Trump delivers the three results of his leadership: 'prosperity', 'security', and 'peace' each of these are a lead-in to the marketing means of persuasion MHN (Peters & Woolley, Trump, 2016e:Table: 1:Row 181). The unproven assumption follows as a contrast to his promise. He uses repetition to emphasize the negative effect calling Clinton, 'queen of corruption', a 'disaster', 'Crooked Hillary Clinton' and if she becomes president then 'terrorism will destroy the inner workings of our country'. He completed the fallacy with the individual inclusive *me*, 'Believe me'. The statement not only brands Clinton, but he unites the destruction of the U.S. to her character.

### **Emotion and Persuasion**

The application of a brand on a product or a person can have lasting effects. Conley (2018) proposed that the way Trump's connected Clinton's brand to the grievance issues of the populism loss of jobs, widespread terrorism, and bad trade agreements cost her the election. Tantillo (2010) (2016) determines that poli-marketing, 'discover' and 'deliver a solution' was an absolute necessity in gaining the trust of the public. Trump used two marketing devices in less than a minute. Burke's dramatism created a methodology to examine the significant aspects of

rhetoric. The *we* (agent) will lead (act) *our* country (a united unit) to MHN from top to bottom for the purpose, and the agency consists in the branding and fallacy of destruction.

Emotional arguments create a memory and unity with the audience. Trump's PGR created that bond with his speech on safety at West Bend, Wisconsin on August 17<sup>th</sup>.

Good policing saves lives. I will make sure *we* (governmental) deliver safe neighborhoods here in Milwaukee and all across this country. It is easy for Hillary Clinton to turn a blind eye (metaphor) to crime when she has her own private security force. I believe all Americans, not just the powerful, are entitled to security. Hillary Clinton has had her chance. She failed. Now it's time for new leadership. The Hillary Clinton agenda hurts poor people the most. There is no compassion in allowing drug dealers, gang members, and felons to prey on innocent people. (purpose, safety) Table 1: Row 5

(Politico, Trump, 2016c)

Wahl-Jorgensen's *Emotions, Media and Politics* (2019) tells us that a leading factor in Trump's victory was an uprising from a 'form of reactionary anger' growing in society from the exclusion of the governmental elite (2019: 111). Trump appealed to this populace who had lost faith in the institution of the government for all (2019: 113-114). Aspinall (2007) and Gadjanova's (2021) work in grievance rhetoric in politics continues to reaffirm the effects of emotions in politics.

After a declarative statement on the police from the current racial strife in the United States, Trump used the exclusive *I* and then the governmental *we* to address Clinton's faults and his leadership (Politico, Trump, 2016c:Table 1:Row 5). Plying on the grievance emotions of sadness or fear, Trump again goes to the unproven assumption that Clinton is responsible for crime in the U.S. 'It's easy for her to turn a blind eye to crime when she has her own security force' (ibid). Easy to disprove the fallacy He brands Clinton again: 'She failed.' And then he goes to the triad list after the 'no compassion' brand: allowing 'drug dealers',

‘gang members’, and ‘felons’ to ‘prey on the innocent’ (ibid.). The likelihood of the homophone of prey and pray was an accident seems unlikely. Trump took the fear of crime as described by his list of criminals and contrasted Clinton’s safety to the streets of a city for the electorate. With every brand and association Trump places on Hillary Clinton, doubt of her ability increases in someone.

### **Contribution**

This thesis' key contribution was extending the practical methodical use of rhetorical categories to examine the semiotic meaning behind words. This thesis conceptualized a union between two theories, that of Burke's dramatism and Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs to underpin an extensive examination of the motives and actions in populist political rhetoric. CDA was used to interrogate the pronominals as Burke’s model did not specifically address. In this thesis, this combined approach facilitated the examination of the neoliberalism, marketing, branding, and populist grievance rhetoric in a way which considered Burke’s concepts of purpose, why and, meaning in order to understand Trump’s success in motivating voters to support him.

### **Conclusion**

It was the goal of this research to demonstrate that Trump used the instruments of marketing and populist grievance rhetoric to change the dynamics of political rhetoric and convince enough people that the status quo could be changed and that a businessman could become president. The research, and the subsequent discussion, has sought to consider the contextual rhetoric and the various linguistic elements being used by Donald Trump to sway the constituencies to support a non-political participant in the campaign for the United States presidency. The research approach, in investigating the corpus of the ten selected campaign stump speeches, has concentrated specifically on the neoliberalism push which underpinned Donald Trump’s populist grievance rhetoric. This has led to the proposed charted classification and explanation of the dynamics of Trump's neoliberal marketing and populist grievance rhetoric explored through the use of Burke's dramatism and Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs as analytical tools. Finally,

it has been emphasized that the populist grievance rhetoric and a marketing approach is conceived as a compelling procedure for political marketing in certain situations and the analysis provides a set of guidelines and techniques of analysis that could be applied to investigate such uses of persuasion.

## APPENDICES

### Color Code for Burke Analysis of Trump Speeches

- 1) **Gold** - Trump Brand
- 2) **Red** - Branding Hillary Clinton
- 3) **Yellow** - Repetition
- 4) **Lt. Green** - Word Choice
- 5) **Lt. Blue** - Propaganda
- 6) **Green** - Syllogism
- 7) **Orange** - Statistics

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad  |                                |                                     |  |                        |  |   |
|--|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------|--|---|
|  | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)            | Agent (who)                         | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   | Purpose Maslow's (why) | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act   |   |
| 1<br><b>Politico, 17/08/2016c</b> 'Donald Trump Campaign Speech in Wisconsin' West Bend, Wisconsin: 'It's so great to be here tonight. I am honored to also be joined this evening by Governor Scott Walker, Chairman Reince Priebus, and Mayor Rudy Giuliani. We are at a decisive moment in this election. Last week, I laid out plans to bring jobs back to our country. Yesterday, I laid out plans to defeat Radical Islamic Terrorism. Tonight, I am going to talk about how to make our country stronger and safer for everyone.'   | Laid out (2), am going  | U.S. country, Global,community | I (Trump)impersonal                 | Character: Concern of Trump for the voters concerns/Repetition of time Aligning with the workers - <b>time spent</b> on issues: <b>Last week,yesterday, tonight/</b> Action verbs: <b>laid out (2) Infinitives: to bring back,to defeat Radical, to talk about, to make our</b>  | 1                      | Communicating the Trump Brand of a businessman working toward goals/addressing constituents wants and full potential, safety | act/agent   |
| 2<br>Let me begin by thanking the law enforcement here in this city, and across this country, for their service and sacrifice in difficult times. The violence, riots and destruction that have taken place in Milwaukee is an assault on the right of all citizens to live in security and peace. Law and order must be restored. It must be restored for the sake of all, but most especially the sake of those living in the affected communities. The main victims of these riots are law-abiding African-American citizens living in these neighborhoods. It is their jobs, their homes, their schools and communities which will suffer as a result. There is no compassion in tolerating lawless conduct. Crime and violence is an attack on the poor, and will never be accepted in a Trump Administration. The narrative that has been pushed aggressively for years now by our current Administration, and pushed by my opponent Hillary Clinton, is a false one. The problem in our poorest communities is not that there are too many police, the problem is that there are not enough police. More law enforcement, more community engagement, more effective policing is what our country needs.'  | begin(by thanking law enforcement), is (an) assault, is (an) attack, pushed | city, country                  | me (Trump)                          | Concern of Trump to community safety, Aristotles (Ethos)/Verb: <b>begin:</b> Preposition: by thanking Recognising and indirectly addressing past administrations negative attitude toward law enforcement. Then the <b>propaganda</b> using descriptors - <b>violence, riots, destruction</b> in Milwaukee ia an assault, <b>crime and violence</b> is an attack, before the action verbs - <b>The narrative[story -fairy tale] ..pushed</b> by my opponent Hillary Clinton, is a false one.   | 5                      | patriotism /safety: Pathos , portraying Trump's as a caring character with a new beginning                                   | act/agent (Trump) scene/act (Hillary)                           |
| 3<br>Just like Hillary Clinton is against miners, she is against the police. You know it, and I know it. Those peddling the narrative of cops as a racist force in our society - a narrative supported with a nod by my opponent - share directly in the responsibility for the unrest in Milwaukee, and many other places within our country. They have fostered the dangerous anti-police atmosphere in America. Everytime we rush to judgment with false facts and narratives - whether in Ferguson or in Baltimore - and foment further unrest, we do a direct disservice to poor African-American residents who are hurt by the high crime in their communities.'   | is against (2), have fostered, rush do (a direct) disservice)               | City and around the country    | I (Trump)impersonal                 | Syllogism/ major premise: <b>Hillary is against</b> miners and police; minor premis: Those <b>peddling</b> negative racist narrative share in the unrest: as others before her/ Obama (Democrats). <b>Have fostered</b> the dangerous anti-police atmosphere in America. Ethos- Trump's concern for America's internal safety with Pathos/ bringing voters to his side on Americanism with negative verbs. Conclusion - I (Trump) care about the inner city and the poor and those who protect them.   | 6                      | Values of Safety And Justice   | act/agent (Trump) scene/act (Hillary)                           |
| 4<br>During the last 72 hours, while protesters have raged against the police here in Milwaukee, another 9 were killed in Chicago and another 46 were wounded. More than 2600 people have been shot in Chicago since the beginning of the year, and almost 4000 killed in President Obama's hometown area since his presidency began. How are we serving these American victims by attacking law enforcement officers? The war on our police must end. It must end now. The war on our police is a war on all peaceful citizens who want to be able to work and live and send their kids to school in safety. Our job is not to make life more comfortable for the rioter, the looter, the violent disruptor. Our job is to make life more comfortable for the African-American parent who wants their kids to be able to safely walk the streets. Or the senior citizen waiting for a bus. Or the young child walking home from school. For every one violent protestor, there are a hundred moms and dads and kids on that same city block who just want to be able to sleep safely at night. My opponent would rather protect the offender than the victim. Hillary Clinton-backed policies are responsible for the problems in the inner cities today, and a vote for her is a vote for another generation of poverty, high crime, and lost opportunities. I care too much about our country to let that happen. We all care too much about our country to let that happen.' | have raged, were killed, were wounded, have been shot, killed,              | inner cities (cour             | I (Trump) Impersonal /We, inclusive | Use of statistics to create: Ethos - During last 72 hours - verbs: while protesters <b>have raged, 9 were killed,Milwaukee, 46 wounded</b> in Chicago, 2600 people <b>have been shot,</b> in Chicago since January, <b>4000 killed</b> in President Obama's hometown of Chicago since the beginning of his presidency. I care too much about my country to let that happen. /Pathos - safety , patriotism: Listing crime numbers and verbs as: <b>shot, wounded, killed</b> in the surrounding cities, influencing the <b>public sphere</b> with the persuasion of numbers on the increase in crime and the war on the police. | 7                      | Achieving one's full potential through safety and belonging which you did not have in the recent past                        | scene/act (Current Democratic Administration) act/agent (Trump) |
| 5<br>We all care too much about our country to let that happen. Good policing saves lives. My dear friend, Rudy Giuliani, knows a thing or two about this. The policies put into place by Rudy ultimately brought down crime by 76 percent and murder by 84 percent. Think of how many families were saved, how much heartache was prevented, when police were put into communities and criminals were removed. Imagine how many lives could have been saved, all across this country, if Democratic politicians hadn't blocked in their cities what Rudy did in New York City? I'll make sure we deliver safe neighborhoods here in Milwaukee, and all across this country. It's easy for Hillary Clinton to turn a blind eye to crime when she has her own private security force. I believe all Americans, not just the powerful, are entitled to security. Hillary Clinton has had her chance. She failed. Now it's time for new leadership. The Hillary Clinton agenda hurts poor people the most. There is no compassion in allowing drug dealers, gang members, and felons to prey on innocent people. It is the first duty of government to keep the innocent safe, and when I am President, I will fight for the saety of every American - and especially those Americans who have not known safety for a very, very long time.'  | agenda hurts and lacks compassion   | country                        | Hillary/ impersona; government      | use of sharp and definitive sounds in the verbs and adverbs of <b>hurts</b> and <b>no compassion</b> with the infinitive <b>to prey</b> , Propaganda on Hillary's stance on crime  | 4                      | Trump stresses his compassionand duty if President in meeting the needs for: security and basic needs                        | scene/act   |
| 6<br>I am asking for the vote of every African-American citizen struggling in our country today who wants a different future. It is time for our society to address some honest and very difficult truths. The Democratic Party has failed and betrayed the African-American community. Democratic crime policies, education policies, and economic policies have produced only more crime, more broken homes, and more poverty. Let us look at the situation right here in Milwaukee, a city run by Democrats for decade after decade. Last year, killings in this city increased by 69 percent, plus another 634 victims of non-fatal shootings. 18-29-year-olds accounted for nearly half of the homicide victims. The poverty rate here is nearly double the national average. Almost 4 in 10 African-American men in Milwaukee between the ages of 25-54 do not have a job. 55 public schools in this city have been rated as failing to meet expectations, despite ten thousand dollars in funding per-pupil. There is only a 60% graduation rate, and it's one of the worst public school systems in the country.'  | look at crime and jobless in Milwaukee                                      | Milwaukee                      | Democrats in office                 | Propaganda with <b>statistics</b> on Democratic leadership in major cities demonstarting the syllogism of crime up - <b>killings in this city 69%</b> - and education down - <b>55 schools failing</b> - because of the Democratic leadership.   | 7                      | Trump creates the scene of chaos and repression of the inner city residents by the Democratic party.                         | scene/act   |
| 7<br>I in 5 manufacturing jobs has disappeared in Milwaukee since we fully opened our markets to China, and many African-American neighborhoods have borne the brunt of this hit. To every voter in Milwaukee, to every voter living in every inner city, or every forgotten stretch of our society, I am running to offer you a better future. The Democratic Party has taken the votes of African-Americans for granted. They've just assumed they'll get your support and done nothing in return for it. It's time to give the Democrats some competition for these votes, and it's time to rebuild the inner cities of America - and to reject the failed leadership of a rigged political system. I'm not part of the corrupt system. In fact, the corrupt system is trying to stop me. I've been paying my own way. The voters in the Republican Party this year defied the donors, the consultants, the power brokers, and choose a nominee from outside our failed and corrupt and broken system.'   | has disappeared, opened markets   | (Milwaukee) cities as a whole  | impersonalgoverment                 | Through a syllogism of lost manufacturing jobs and open markets with China, concludes Democrat officials who opened trade deals with China do not care about African-Americans and jobs  | 6                      | lost capitalism (money & jobs)caused by Democrats takes away self-esteem and security  | scene/act   |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad  |                                       |   |  |   | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act                          |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|---|--|---|---|---|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)                   | Agent (who)   | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   |   |   |   |
| 8 The other party – the Democratic Party – nominated the personification of special interest corruption. The Democratic Party rigged the nomination to give it to Hillary Clinton, thus giving the soul of their party this year to the special interests. I am running to listen to your voice, to hear your cries for help. The quiet voices in our society, not the loudest demonstrators, need to have their demands heard. Jobs. Safety. Opportunity. Fair and equal representation. We reject the dignity of Hillary Clinton which panders to and talks down to communities of color and sees them only as votes, not as individual human beings worthy of a better future. She doesn't care at all about the hurting people of this country, or the suffering she has caused them. The African-American community has been taken for granted for decades by the Democratic Party. It's time to break with the failures of the past – I want to offer Americans a new future. It is time for rule by the people, not rule by special interests. Every insider, getting rich off of our broken system, is throwing money at Hillary Clinton. The hedge fund managers, the Wall Street investors, the professional political class. It's the powerful protecting the powerful.' | nominated, rigged, am running, reject   | communities in America                | Democratic Party, impersonal, Hillary, I (Trump) corporate impersonal       | This is a <b>divide and conquer</b> : Democratic party and Hillary answer to the special interest sector using Hillary's brand from Trump – <b>corruption</b> , rigged. While Trump proclaims: I am running to <b>listen</b> , to <b>hear</b> . Trump then lists what he hears: <b>Jobs. Safety. Opportunity. Fair and equal representation</b> without fanfare just stated. Trump then unites the crowd with - <b>We reject bigotry</b> of Hillary that panders for votes, but condescends in attitude and action. He emphasizes his actions with - <b>I want to offer</b> Americans a new future. Thus securing their paths  | 5 | Trump answers the hierarchy of needs of the people. Listening, belonging, safety, security  | act/agent   |
| 9 Insiders fighting for insiders. I am fighting for you. When we talk about the insider, who are we talking about? It's the comfortable politicians looking out for their own interests. It's the lobbyists who know how to insert that perfect loophole into every bill. It's the financial industry that knows how to regulate their competition out of existence. The insiders also include the media executives, anchors and journalists in Washington, Los Angeles, and New York City, who are part of the same failed status quo and want nothing to change. Every day you pick up a newspaper, or turn on the nightly news, and you hear about some self-interest banker or some discredited Washington insider says they oppose our campaign. Or some entrenched old politician says they oppose our campaign. Or some big time lobbyist says they oppose our campaign.'  | fighting (2), oppose (3)  | campaign trail, Washington D.C.       | insiders (Democrats), exclusive, I (Trump) we, (impersonal) our (universal) | Again defining the problem, a moment ago they were the <b>special interest</b> groups represented by Hillary Clinton - now they are <b>branded as insiders fighting for themselves</b> (politicians, lobbyist, media across the U.S.). While Trump <b>looks for you</b> , they <b>look for loopholes and regulations</b> to benefit themselves. With <b>repetition</b> Trump demonstrates the battle they face: Washington insiders - they <b>oppose</b> , old politicians - they <b>oppose</b> , lobbyist - they <b>oppose</b> our campaign. It is us against them.   | 5 | Fighting for the needs of the voter not insiders  | act/agent   |
| 10 I wear their opposition as a badge of honor. Because it means I am fighting for REAL change, not just partisan change. I am fighting – all of us across the country are fighting – for peaceful regime change in our own country. The media-donor-political complex that's bled this country dry has to be replaced with a new government of, by and for the people. The leadership class in Washington D.C., of which Hillary Clinton has been a member for thirty years, has abandoned the people of this country. I am going to give the people their voice back.'  | wear, am fighting (3), bled, has to be replaced   | campaign trail, Washington D.C.       | I (Trump), corporate impersonal   | Trump marketing: Trump <b>metaphorically</b> becomes a civil war soldier from American author Stephen Crane's <i>Red Badge of Courage</i> or a 3rd world rebel commander [implying what has become of America] using <b>war imagery</b> to inspire the <b>patriots: I wear their opposition as a badge of honor. I am fighting</b> for REAL change... <b>I am fighting</b> - all of us across the country are <b>fighting</b> - for peaceful regime change ... The media-donor-political complex that's <b>bled this country dry</b> has to be replaced... <b>for and by the people</b> ( [a bit of the U.S. Bill of Rights]). <b>I am going to give</b> the people their voices back. | 4 | Leader promising a voice - representing needs will be heard   | act/agent   |
| 11 Think about it. The people opposing our campaign are the same people who have left our border open and let innocent people suffer as a result. The people opposing our campaign are the same people who have led us into one disastrous foreign war after another. The people opposing our campaign are the same people who led to us about one trade deal after another. Aren't you tired of a system that gets rich at your expense? Aren't you tired of big media, big businesses, and big donors rigging the system to keep your voice from being heard? Are you ready for change? Are you ready for leadership that puts you, the American people, first? That puts your country first? That puts your family first?  | Think, opposing(3), asking (rhetorical) questions; Aren't you tired...?(twice) Are you ready...?(twice)                                 | Family (life)in America               | Trump, impersonal   | <b>Use of repetition</b> : People <b>opposing our campaign(3)</b> - who left our border open, led us into one disastrous foreign war after another, led to us about one trade deal after another; of <b>rhetorical questions</b> - Aren't you tired: that gets rich at your expense, big(3) media, business, donors rigging the system; Aren't you for change; Aren't you ready; for change, leadership that puts you first, your country, your family first. <b>Emphasis of abuse</b> from the current system of government.  | 3 | Needs of the people not being met by the government.  | scene/act (Current american system) act/agent (Trump)           |
| 12 Let's talk about what this means for the inner cities of America. It's time to break through the television noise, the entrenched interests. I understand that a lot of powerful people in our political system – a lot of people who've created our problems – will lose a lot of their contracts, and their special gigs, if African-American voters, and all minority voters, support my campaign. It's time to stop making the special interests rich. It's time to make the American people rich. I am going to Make America Wealthy Again.'  | talk, have created, will lose, support, am going  | inner cities                          | I (Trump), my, impersonal gov.  | Trump explains the issues ( <b>ethos</b> ) of <b>special interest groups</b> running America <b>building report</b> with those who live in the <b>inner cities</b> . A moment ago he asks them to <b>Think about it</b> . Now he says, <b>Let's talk about what this means for the inner cities</b> . [implying 'I'm listening and I care] creating pathos - It's time to break through the television noise [implication of static government], entrenched interests. These are the people who <b>have created the problems</b> . <b>Support my campaign</b> , I am going to <b>Make America Wealthy</b>  | 1 | Trump will ignore H16e special interest to provide jobs to provide for safety, feeling of accomplishment.   | act/agent   |
| 13 The Democratic Party has run nearly every inner city in this country for 50 years, and run them into financial ruin. They've ruined the schools. They've driven out the jobs. They've tolerated a level of crime no American should consider acceptable. Violent crime has risen 17% in America's 50 largest cities last year. Killings of police officers this year is up nearly 50 percent. Homicides are up more than 60% in Baltimore. They are up more than 50% in Washington, D.C. This is the future offered by Hillary Clinton. More poverty, more crime, and more of the same. The future she offers is the most pessimistic thing I can possibly imagine.'   | has run, run, have - ruined, driven, tolerated, has risen, offered  | inner city                            | Trump, impersonal   | <b>Statistics and Negative</b> word choices in areas of grammar. <b>Action verbs</b> (Burke action verbs creates persuasion) to demonstrate the negative results of the past administration(s). <b>Violent adjectives</b> : <b>Violent crime</b> up 17%, <b>Killings police officers</b> up 50%, (participle acting as adjective) <b>Homicides</b> up 60% in Baltimore, 50% in Washington D.C. <b>Statistics</b> add validity to the persuasive argument.  | 7 | Demonstrates the hopelessness of keeping the same kind of politicians in office. No jobs, no money. No self-fulfillment, feeling of accomplishment, safety, basic needs | scene/act   |
| 14 'It is time for a different future. Here is what I am proposing. First, on immigration. No community in this country has been hurt worse by Hillary Clinton's immigration policies than the African-American community. Now she is proposing to print instant work permits for millions of illegal immigrants, taking jobs directly from low-income Americans. I will secure our border, protect our workers, and improve jobs and wages in your community. We will only invite people to join our country who share our tolerant values, who support our Constitution, and who love all of our people.'   | am proposing, will secure, protect, improve, will invite, share, support, love  | America, inner city, borders          | I (Trump) impersonal gov.   | <b>Positive action verbs</b> : <b>secure</b> our border, <b>protect</b> workers, <b>invite</b> people who <b>share</b> our tolerant values, our constitution, <b>love</b> all of our people: Demonstrates Trump's ability to get things done: Reflect Trump's Business background as he goes through the process of business in the order the needs of the people are approached: First and then continues on America's needs.   | 4 | Clinton - illegal immigrants, low pay / Trump show the peoples needs - safety, jobs, belonging to community   | scene/act (current system) act/agent (Trump's plan for America) |
| 15 On Trade, I am going to renegotiate NAFTA, stand up to China, withdraw from TPP, and protect every last American job.'   | am going, stand up, withdraw, protect   | NAFTA, China, TPP                     | I (Trump) Impersonal / We, inclusive  | Uses strong action verbs (more than one syllable): <b>renegotiate</b> (NAFTA), <b>stand</b> (up to China) up, <b>withdraw</b> (from TPP), <b>protect</b> (American jobs) This and the following list of changes proposed by Trump is Aristotle's (enthymeme) syllogism producing a logical argument <i>for writing for him</i>   | 4 | Keep and create jobs: achieving one's full potential, feeling of accomplishment, security   | act/agent   |
| 16 On taxes, I am going to give a massive tax cut to every worker and small business in this country, bring thousands of new companies and millions of new jobs onto our shores, and make it very difficult for our businesses to leave.'   | give tax cuts, bring new companies and jobs, make difficult to leave  | this country (Am                      | I (Trump)   | <b>Syllogism</b> Continues <b>listing</b> positive changes. (tax cuts, new companies and jobs) Trump's use of Ethos, <b>I am going</b> , developing pathos with the audience   | 6 | create jobs; meeting the basic needs and fulfilling psychological needs as well   | act/agent   |
| 17 I am going to reform our regulations so jobs stay in America, and new businesses come to America to hire workers right here in Milwaukee. Every policy my opponent has sends jobs overseas. I am going to bring trillions in new wealth back to the United States.'  | reform, regulations   | America, Milwa                        | I (Trump)   | <b>continues the syllogism</b> and increasing the pathos of the voters/ <b>American workers-here, Business owners can expand due to decreased regulations</b> on them  | 6 | jobs/capitalism build esteem/ achieving one's full potential  | act/agent   |
| 18 On education, it is time to have school choice, merit pay for teachers, and end the tenure policies that hurt good teachers and reward bad teachers. We are going to put students and parents first. Hillary Clinton would rather deny opportunities to millions of young African-American children, just so she can curry favor with the education bureaucracy. I am going to allow charter schools to thrive, and help young kids get on the American ladder of success: a good education, and a good paying job.'   | is time( school choice, merit pay), end( tenure policies) hurt(good teachers), reward(bad teachers)                                     | America                               | I (Trump) impersonal  | reform: uses short succinct words and verbs: <b>It is time</b> , for greater impact on the audience  | 4 | feeling of accomplishment and equality for the people/ the psychological needs in MHN   | act/agent   |
| 19 On crime, I am going to support more police in our communities, appoint the best prosecutors and judges in the country, pursue strong enforcement of federal laws, and I am going to break up the gangs, cartels, and criminal syndicates terrorizing our neighborhoods. To every lawbreaker hurting innocent people in this country, I say: your free reign will soon come crashing to an end.'   | (I) am going (to support police), appoint (the best prosecutors, judges), Pursue (strong enforcement), (I) am going (to break up gangs) | American communities and neighborhood | I (Trump) impersonal/   | <b>I am going to</b> : (Trump building ethos as a doer) <b>His Brand: Trump builds and gets things done</b> .  | 1 | Safety / basic need   | act/agent   |
| 20 'On healthcare, we are going to get rid of Obamacare – which has caused soaring double-digit premium increases – and give choice to patients and consumers. Aetna, just today, announced they are dropping out – as are many of the major insurance companies.'  | (we) are going (to get rid of Obamacare   | America                               | We, impersonal Trump  | Change to <b>pathos</b> - we, with repetition of a linking verb are and then the verb <b>going</b>   | 4 | basic need  | act/agent   |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad  |                                |  |   |                        |  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|--|---|--------------------------------|--|---|------------------------|--|--|
|  | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)            | Agent (who)                                  | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose Maslow's (why) |  |  |
| 21 On government corruption, I am going to restore honor to our government. We've seen the corruption of Hillary Clinton, the mass email deletions, the pay-for-play at the State Department, the profiteering, the favors given to foreign corporations and governments at your expense. We've seen a former Secretary of State lie to Congress about her illegal email scheme, risk innocent American lives, and bring dishonor onto our government.   | (I) am going(to restore honor)  | America, the gov.              | we,impersonal gov.                           | am going: verb repeated for emphasis, <b>Trump's Brand ethos</b> , someone is in charge and it is me  | 4                      | Safety /basic need   | act/agent                              |
| 22 These are tough times. But I know we can make American Greater Than Ever Before. To do this, we are going to need a fighter in the White House. I will be your fighter. To defeat crime and Radical Islamic Terrorism in our country, to win trade in our country, you need tremendous physical and mental strength and stamina. Hillary Clinton doesn't have that strength and stamina. She cannot win for you. Most importantly, she has bad judgment. Bad judgment on terrorism, bad judgement on foreign policy, bad judgment on trade. The only individuals she's ever delivered for is her donors – not the <del>people</del> .   | are (tough) (I) know, (we) can make (Make America Greater)  | America                        | We, impersonal/I, impersonal (Trump)         | Language of persuasion: <b>I know(ethos) we can (pathos) form of campaign slogan- Make America Greater Than Ever Before.</b>  | 1                      | physiological, safety, <b>belonging</b> to a positive change, and esteem needs, Self-actualisation | act/agent                              |
| 23 "I've said it before, and I'll say it again. My opponent asks her supporters to repeat a three-word pledge. Her pledge reads: "I'm With Her". I choose to recite a different pledge. My pledge reads: "I'm With You – the American people."   | (pledge)reads, am,  | Campaign trail                 | Her, Hillary / I,my (Trump)impersonal        | Contrasting (propaganda) Hillary's pledge:(you need to support me) to Trump's pledge: (I support you (America))   | 5                      | patriotism: belonging together,prestige of being American  | act/agent                              |
| 24 I will fight to ensure that every American is treated equally, protected equally, and honored equally. We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms, and seek a new future of security, prosperity and opportunity – a future built on our common culture and values as one American people. I am asking for your vote so I can be your champion in the White House. We will once again be a country of law and order, and a country of great success."   | asking, can be, will be   | White House, country(the same) | I(Trump) we (universal)                      | Purpose of the syllogisms: <b>persuasion</b> , propaganda, <b>Vote me your champion(ethos) for country of law and order,country of great success.</b> (pathos) . Repeating <b>country</b> for emphasis of unity   | 6                      | Self actualisation   | act/agent                              |
| 25 To every parent who dreams for their children, and to every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I'm with you; I will fight for you, and I will win for you. Together, We will Make America Strong Again. We will Make America Safe Again. And We will Make America Great Again. Thank You and God Bless.'  | will fight, will win , will Make (3)  | America                        | I(Trump)impersonal/ WE, inclusive government | <b>Trump slogan/ Trump Brand - making ethos (Building Pathos- a rally cry of patriots</b>   | 1                      | Maslow's Hierarchy met: people motivated   | act/agent                              |
| 26 C-Span, 13/10/2016 'Donald Trump Campaign Rally in Cincinnati, Ohio' 'I worked in Cincinnati and I love Cincinnati, that I can tell you.'   | worked, love, can tell  | Cincinnati                     | I (Trump)impersonal                          | Verbs building ethos of Trumps commonality with the people  | 4                      | relationship   | act /agent                             |
| 27 'I gave a speech earlier today on the lies, corruption and false accusations of the crooked Hillary Clinton Campaign.'  | gave,   | earlier today                  | I (Trump)impersonal                          | Establishing an expertise of Hillary Clinton: I gave a speech <b>Propaganda</b> developing a connotation on Hillary's character: lies, corruption, false accusations: <b>Branding crooked Hillary</b>   | 2                      | Branding   | act /agent                             |
| 28 They (main stream media) want to keep us from talking about the issues. We will not let that happen, we're going to talk about the real issues which is jobs and illegal immigration, and our depleted military, and taking care of our vets and our Second Amendment Right to Bear Arms) and our Supreme Court judges and the repeal and replacement of <del>Obamacare- don't forget that!</del>   | want, will(not) let, are going, repeal, replacement, do (not) forget  | Across the nation,rallies      | We , impersonal/our, to build unity          | Identifying the opposition: the <b>media. United by pronouns: us, we (2), our (4), and</b> action verbs: <b>are going, repeal, replacement</b>  | 4                      | basic, psychological, and self-fulfillment needs   | act/agent                              |
| 29 Every day between now and the election, we're going to talk about our plans to make America great again. In 26 days we're going to defeat the corrupt establishment and we are going to save the United States of America. We are going to save the United States. And we are going to show the whole beautiful world how much we love our country. It's going to be <del>America first. It's been a long time. America first!</del>  | are going (5)   | Washington D.C./ America       | We, impersonal                               | Vocabulary Repetition of action verb <b>are going</b> , followed by infinitives reflecting the real issues to be addressed: <b>to talk, to make, to defeat, to save , to show (2)</b> with an emphasis on the <b>we</b> as the actor  | 4                      | Patriotism/esteem, feeling of accomplishment (Audience chants: USA! USA! USA!)                     | act/ agent                             |
| 30 We're going to renegotiate our absolutely terrible trade deals, reduce surging crime, cut taxes and regulation, lift the restrictions on American energy, end Common Core, reduce the cost of college, make childcare more affordable and repeal and replace that horrible the, the so-called Affordable Care Act (ACA), Obamacare, which is not affordable at all. And the governor of Minnesota, just minutes ago announced that the Affordable Care Act is not affordable. And Bill Clinton admitted the other day that it's a crazy system, and I've been saying this for years and Bill Clinton suffered last week. He made that statement and he actually told the truth. He had a rough evening. I want to tell you that. I've been talking about how it's not going to work before it was even passed. And it was a past -- if you remember -- it was passed with a big lie. Twenty-eight times, keep your plan, keep your doctor. Over and over and over and we have a real mess on our hands where the cost is going up 72 percent, 78 percent. Next year it will be over 100 percent. It's a disaster. We've got to repeal it, replace it. It's no good. Our president is incompetent, believe me, he is incompetent.' | are going,( to renegotiate) trade), reduce (crime), cut (taxes and regulations),(lift) restrictions,(end) common Core, reduce (college cost), make (childcare affordable), repeal and replace (ACA) |                                | We, impersonal                               | Use of strong <b>action verbs</b> : reduce negotiate, repeal, cut, lift, reduce   | 4                      | physiological,safety,esteem needs  | act/agent                              |
| 31 And every time I see him lately, he's [President Obama] campaigning for crooked Hillary. He shouldn't be campaigning. He ought to be working on the border; he ought to be working on illegal immigration; he ought to be working on bringing our jobs back from Mexico and all these places that have taken our jobs. He's a disaster.' Very importantly, we're going to get our economy growing again, and growing fast.'   | campaigning, ought, are going   | campaign trail                 | He (Obama) I (Trump)impersonal/ we           | <b>(propaganda)Linking President Obama's inactivity on current affairs of the nation with Hillary as Obama campaigns for crooked Hillary. Trump uses the verb/adverb combination to emphasise the inactivity of Obama with: ought to be (3) for persuasive effect. Then labels Obama a disaster.</b>  | 2                      | Branding/comparison of getting things done to meet the needs of the American people                | act/agent                              |
| 32 My economic agenda can be send--and you know this, and I think you've heard this--We want an agenda that really is represented by what three words? Jobs, jobs, jobs, and people aren't going to take our jobs, and countries are no longer going to be taking our jobs.' And one of the hardest hit has been the state of Ohio. Manufacturing jobs,your steel jobs, your miners are going to be protected, your miners are going back to work. That I can tell you.'   | want,are (not) going, are (no longer) going,will be (2) are going (2)   | United States, OI              | My,we, impersonal                            | Persuasion through <b>repetition</b> : agenda (2) Jobs (7) miners (2) , Pronouns emphasizing the people: you or your (6), our or we (3) expressing ownership and unity  | 3                      | basic needs of society/ feeling of accomplishment  | act/agent                              |
| 33 This election is a simple choice. It's a choice between putting our faith in failed politicians and she is a failed politician. Look at what she has done. Everything she touches--I'm going to be very nice-- turns bad.' 'See, I've learned. Or putting our faith in you the American people, which is what we're going to do. This great movement that we've created together. A movement like has never been seen in this country. A movement they've [politicians] never, ever seen in this country. And on November 8th, we're all going out to vote. And we're going to have a tremendous victory. ...Because we're tired of corruption and we're tired of incompetence... And with Hillary it will even be worse. The Hillary Clinton documents released by WikiLeaks just a little while ago. Make it more clear than ever just how much is at stake on November 8th. The corruption of the Clintons knows no limits and we've known that for a long time. Today WikiLeaks released new e- mails from early 2015 from Clinton campaign staffers discussing how friendly Hillary was with Attorney General Loretta Lynch, I'm shocked to hear that.'  | have created, are going(2)are tired   | America                        | I,impersonal gov (Trump)                     | Propaganda: descriptors - <b>failed politicians</b> , she [Hillary] is a <b>failed politician</b> , turns <b>bad</b> . Contrasted with (pathos) <b>...our faith in you the American people</b> [as if Hillary or politicians are not American], repetition of <b>we're or we've (6) great movement or movement (3)</b> with verb <b>created</b> (together) Trumps Brand | 5                      | Disparaging Hillary and politicians, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (MHN)                             | act /agent                             |



Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|   |  | Burke's Pentad                       |                                    |   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|--|--|
| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Act (what) action verb(s)                                | Scene (when, where)                  | Agent (who)                        | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose Maslow's (why)   | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |  |
| 34 This was only months prior to the investigation of her illegal server. And the e-mail server that gave foreign governments access to our confidential information. Think of this, this comes on the heels of the disclosure -- and you saw this disclosure -- said Clinton campaign was colluding with the State Department over the release of her e-mails, and revelations that the Clinton campaign was colluding with Obama's Department of Justice, over the investigation into Hillary's se cret server. There is never been anything like what's happening in our country. We've never had a thing like this before, and it's a disgrace and they ought to be ashamed of themselves. And like I took Hillary and told Hillary the other day, at the debate -- which we did win quite easily I will say. Look she's highly overrated, believe me. You know she couldn't pass her bar exam in Washington, D.C. Couldn't pass it. She failed. She's an overrated person. How about the debate? I'm standing there at my lectern, not moving, and she walks in front of me. Right? She walks in front of me, and she answers the question then she walks rightback, right in front of me, and the next day I read in the newspapers, that I invaded her space. Do you believe this? Me? But, we have another debate coming up and we'll do the same to her. | is overrated, could (not) pass, failed,                  | rally                                | Trump                              | Use of Propaganda, questioning Hillary's ethos and brand: negative verbs, repeated terms for emphasis/ media bias   | Branding Hillary as incompetent to lead and inability address the peoples needs in MHN   | act/agent                              |  |
| 35 Yesterday new disclosures were made showing again how Hillary Clinton's pay for play works. In 2010, Saudi Arabia was looking to buy arms from the United States. In order to get the approval, Clinton's State Department had to sign off and they couldn't get it. So what happened? What did Saudi Arabia do? They paid Bill Clinton a fortune to do a speech. Later that year, Clinton's State Department signed off on arm deals between the U.S. and Saudia Arabia, shocking, shocking. Hillary bleached and deleted 33,000 e-mails, after, not before -- before would be bad -- after is criminal, it's criminal. After a Congressional subpoena then made 13 iPhones disappear some with a hammer. Has anybody used a hammer on their iPhone?  | bleached, deleted, used; conspires, collaborates, giving | Washington D.C.                      | Hillary / media/ impersonal gov    | Listing questionable actions by Hillary: pay for play, using personal email and phones to conduct federal business: using negative action verbs: bleached, deleted for Hillary. See Union League of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania speech Sept. 2016  | Branding Hillary as crooked, globalism: concern for self not others(Americans) needs   | scene/act                              |  |
| 36 She did not cover up her crimes. The WikiLeaks documents show how the media conspires and collaborates with the Clinton campaign, including giving the questions and answers to Hillary Clinton before a debate.'  | did(not) cover up, show, conspires and collaborates      | Washington D.C.                      | Hillary / media/ impersonal gov    | Creating paths through the syllogism of Hillary's actions and the media's actions; concluding they are not trustworthy. Uses alliteration for the media's involvement with Hillary: conspires and collaborates with Clinton campaign  | Branding Hillary and media as crooked  | scene/act                              |  |
| 37 I don't get them, I want them. I'm angry at the Republicans, they don't get me the answers and the questions. The documents show how the DNC honestly betrayed Bernie Sanders. Poor Bernie, he sold out. If he wouldn't have sold out to the devil, he would have gone down in political history as quite an important man, but he sold out and his people are not happy. And now with all these e-mails that they're finding and all the documents, it's not a pretty picture for Bernie. Looks bad -- looks bad. They really did rig the system on Bernie Sanders, I'll tell you, they rigged the system.'   | show, betrayed, sold out (3), rigged(2)                  | Debate/Bernie, c                     | DNC/ Hillary, impersonal gov       | I don't get them. (The debate questions) Sarcasm as Trump doesn't play by the Republican's political playbook, does not give the Republican answers. Also, demonstrates Trump wants to be and is trying to overcome in Washington D.C.; Branding Hillary of the dishonesty in Hillary's campaign getting questions and answers for debate, DNC betrayal of one of their own in Bernie Sanders. Contrast between the political partys RNC not cheating (Did not really want Trump), DNC manipulating campaign between their own candidates | Self-serving DNC which runs in the party, not considering the peoples needs  | scene/act                              |  |
| 38 The documents also show the Clinton campaign says she has no core. She has no message. What are we doing? She's got no message.'   | show   | campaign trail                       | Hillary                            | Repetition of the negative (has) no as in no core (No heart to the message and), no message (2)   | Hillary's lack of a Brand/ no marketability, Fails to recognise needs of the people  | scene-act                              |  |
| 39 I have a message. You know what the message is? Make America great again.' It's a good message, and that's what we're doing this for. I didn't need this folks, believe me. I built a great company, I was having a lot of fun, this isn't fun... I must say, sort of fun. But, many of the people in this room were making more money 18 years ago than they are now and they're working harder now. And in many cases, you have two jobs. So, you're working harder, you're older, and you're making less. But, I'm older and I'm working harder also. So, I don't feel bad for anybody in the room. We're all in the same boat. But, it's going to pay off because we're going to turn our country around. We're going to turn our country around.'   | have, built, is going, are going                         | Rallies, worldwide business, America | I (Trump)We(universal) impersonal  | Trump's ability to brand and market himself using his name brand TRUMP: Make America Great Again, infinitives, to pay off, to turnaround, We (3) repetition   | Branding self/ A candidate with a plan and building experience and linking this to the audience: I didn't need this folks, believe me. self-actualisation, accomplishment, belonging, security, physiological needs, | act/agent                              |  |
| 40 What Hillary (inaudible) said, is the hundreds of billions of dollars she raised from Wall Street special interests. In fact, the e-mails show, Hillary has a private position for Wall Street, and a public position, a fraud, for the voters. She says this to Wall Street, she says this to the voters. The e-mails show how she ripped off the wonderful people of Haiti. Doling out favors with their friends and special interest, so true. Americans have had it with the years and decades of Clinton corruption. ...'And I will tell you, what happened with the Attorney General (Loretta Lynch) of the United States (inaudible) airplane in Arizona. Just happened to meet him (Bill Clinton), happened to be on the tarmac, said let's say hello...I would think she probably talked about appointing her Attorney General if Hillary wins this election, and you're not allowed to do that. ... She's a corrupt person. She should not be allowed to run for the presidency. She's a corrupt person.'  | says(2), reveal, ripped off, doling out,                 | campaign trail                       | Hillary Clinton/ gov               | Propaganda with negative activities: doling out favors, ripped off people of Haiti / Branding as corrupt (2) through emails and actions as Secretary of State   | Brand Hillary as more concerned with deals than the American people or other's needs (Haitians)  | scene-act                              |  |
| 41 And now as you heard last week, two boxes of information and e-mails are missing, as of last week. What are we doing folks? What are we living with? The new e-mails also show members of the Clinton team, viciously attacking Catholics and evangelicals.'   | heard, are missing, are doing, (viciously) attacking     | Washington D.C                       | Clinton's team/ gov                | Propaganda questioning why Americans are tolerating corruption and verbal attacks on Catholics and evangelicals by Hillary and her team   | Branding as manipulative and uncaring, lack of concern for voters opinions   | scene-act                              |  |
| 42 And if I win, I am going to ask my Attorney General to appoint a special prosecutor to look into her crimes, because what she did is a disgrace to the United States of America. And we're also going to look in to the investigation. In other words, we're going to investigate the investigation, because what happened is a disgrace. Other people, their lives have been destroyed for doing so much less and everybody knows it. You know when you delete something or when you don't provide the documents requested, after -- after you get a subpoena from the United States Congress. That's a criminal act. That alone -- forget about all of the other things which are even worse in many ways, but that alone is a criminal act. And now as you heard last week, two boxes of information and e-mails are missing, as of last week. What are we doing folks? What are we doing? What are we living with? What are we living with? This will finally be the year where the American people can say enough is enough. The Clintons are the past but, we are going to be together a very bright future.'  | Destroyed, are going                                     | campaign trail                       | I,(Trump)We , impersonal           | Propaganda: Building negative paths Trump continues discussing Hillary's questionable acts bringing in a subpoena from the United States Congress, referencing the missing emails. That's a criminal act. Repeating what are we doing folks? (2) what are we living with? (2) The Clintons are the past but, we are going to be together --   | Why would we want to follow someone their past is questionable: relationships/ belonging and accomplished  | act/agent                              |  |
| 43 The new e-mails also show members of the Clinton team, viciously attacking Catholics and evangelicals. It's just the latest evidence of the hatred that the Clinton campaign has for faithful people in our country. Faithful Americans. Hillary Clinton thinks you're deplorable and irredeemable--and irredeemable might be worse, it means you can't help yourself. I call you hard working American patriots, and together we are going to save our country with the smartest, with the best. We're going to unify our country.  | said, goes   | foreign bank                         | Hillary Clinton/gov                | Trump brands Hillary as Hillary brands Republican voters as deplorable and irredeemable/Trump brands Hillary as crude and brands voters as patriots, links the: we are going with (infinitive)to save.  | MHN: Hillary's motto may be follow me but she insults nearly half of the voting population by calling them deplorable.   | scene -act                             |  |
| 44 These e-mails also reveal that Clinton believes in global governance, and unlimited immigration into our country. Speaking in secret to a foreign bank, Hillary Clinton said, my dream is a hemispheric common market. There goes your jobs, the rest of your jobs. With open trade and open borders, OK? She didn't want to hear that, she didn't want that to get out. Behind closed doors, when she thought no one was listening, she pledged to dissolve the borders of the United States of America. It's what's happening folks, that's what happening. We are going to have strong borders. We are going to have a great wall. And who is going to pay for that wall?'  | are going (2)  | Border                               | We impersonal gov/Trump and voters | Propaganda on Hillary's character referencing speech at foreign bank and hemispheric common market: globalism as to nationalism. There goes your jobs creating paths with the audience. Repetition of verb, are going, and adjectives strong and great as persuasion and syllogism argument: strong borders and great wall = jobs   | Her having meetings with foreign banks as to American banks demonstrates her globalistic cause as to American concerns.  | act/ agent                             |  |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad                         |   |  |  |        | Purpose Maslow's (why)   | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act   |
|--|--|---|--|--|--------|--|--|
|  | Act (what) action verb(s)              | Scene (when, where)                         | Agent (who)                                  | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   | Agency |  |  |
| 45 100 percent. They don't know it yet, but that doesn't matter. No, the Mexico's fine. I was there two months ago, I met with the President of Mexico, very good person. And you know what, we're going to have a great relationship with Mexico. But, right now, their leaders are to smart for our leaders. We have massive trade deficits with Mexico. They beat us at the border, they beat us with trade. We have massive trade deficits with China. They make our products and others countries. We don't make things anymore, essentially. But, we're going to start making things again. We're going to start making things again. We're going to make them in Ohio, believe me. We're going to make them in Ohio.  | beat (2), do (not) make, are going (4) | Mexico, China, C                            | we / us /Inclusive,Trump                     | Repetition of verb: <b>beat</b> (us)-trade deficits, (they) <b>make</b> - how things are; repetition of <b>are going (4)</b> (future) <b>make</b> or <b>making</b> (again) Ohio(2). <b>We</b> (7) syllogism current status deficit with trade and jobs: after election, <b>we are going to make</b> : Syllogism - they make we lose, we make we win  |        | self-fulfillment needs previously not met by Hillary's agenda, but will be by Trump's  | act/agent  |
| 46 Hillary wants to end forever the American independence that our soldiers fought and died for to keep and protect us. Either we win this election or we lose our country, and that's what's happening. That's your choice, it's as simple as that. A Trump administration will secure and defend our borders. Hillary is so radical on immigration as Secretary of State, she refused to make foreign countries take back their criminal aliens. I don't know if you know what's gone on. They would catch a murderer; they would catch a drug lord; they would catch some bad people, top gang members. They'd bring them back into their countries, the countries which say, very intelligently, we don't want them. So, we'd bring them back, she would put no pressure on those countries. We'd bring them back and in many cases we just put them right back on our streets, where they reeked havoc. reeked havoc. I will get them over there, and they're not coming back, I promise you that.'   | refused, will get, promise             | office of Secretary of State/ United States | Hillary Clinton/gov                          | Propaganda branding <b>Hillary</b> so radical backed by example of Hillary refusing to send criminal aliens back to their countries  |        | lack of safety concerns by Hillary bringing in refugees  | Scene-act  |
| 47 One such killer who was set free on Hillary's watch went on to kill a young American girl named Casey Chadwick. The killer who had already been convicted for shooting a girl in the head, should have been sent home and should have never been here in the first place. Instead, he was set free, went on a rampage and murdered Casey. Hillary Clinton should be ashamed, she should be ashamed. She also wants to increase Syrian refugees coming in to our country by 550 percent. This -- even though, she admitted in private, according to WikiLeaks, just the other day. That she knows terrorists are trying to infiltrate the refugee program which they absolutely are.'  | Set free, convicted,                   |   | Hillary Clinton/gov                          | Trump builds <b>pathos</b> with the audience as he enumerates her policy problems. The killing of young American girl Casey Chadwick -- one such <b>killer who was set free</b> on Hillary's watch went on to <b>kill young American girl</b> named Casey Chadwick. [Putting a name to the victim as to the persuasiveness of his arguments, Casey Chadwick]. The <b>killer who had already been convicted</b> for shooting a girl in the head, should've been sent home. Instead he was set free. Hillary Clinton should be ashamed. She also wants to increase <b>Syrian refugees coming into our country by 550%</b> . Even though, she admitted in private according to WikiLeaks, just the other day. That she knows terrorists are trying to infiltrate the refugee program            |        | Hillary's policy shows more rights for refugees and illegal immigrants as to the Americans who actually live in United States.                         | Scene/act  |
| 48 Hillary support for open borders with the Middle East will give us the same problems as France. All you have to do is look on and see what's happening with Germany and so many other countries. With the multi-generational terrorism embedded in our communities all over -- all over the world, and all over our country. So, let me state this as clearly and as nicely as I can. I am going to keep radical Islamic terrorist the hell out of our country. At the same time, we're going to completely rebuild our very depleted military. When it comes to keeping America safe, I believe in three very important words and we don't have it now. It's called peace through strength.'   | look, embedded, Rebuild                | Europe/America                              | Hillary Clinton/gov/ I, our(Trump)individual | <b>Syllogism</b> demonstrating problems of open borders. Major premise- Hillary supports open borders. Minor premise-Look at what is happening across Europe and the problems they face. Conclusion-Need safe borders, a wall. Rebuild depleted military. <b>Peace through strength</b> . Compare and contrast scenarios - Tannen , repetition of infinitives to keep out, to rebuild, to keeping safe.  |        | Hillary is harming U.S. security/ Trump keeping danger out bringing basic need of safety. Rebuild military.  | Scene/act (Hillary) Act /agent (Trump)   |
| 49 But, to be a strong country we must also be a rich country. Sounds crass, but we've got to be a rich country. Right now we're a poor country, we're a deader nation. At the center of our economic revival, we'll be fixing our terrible, horrible, incompetently negotiated trade deals. In our country, 47 million Americans are in poverty and 45 million Americans are on food stamps, amazing right? In this day and age. This is the legacy of President Obama and Hillary Clinton. No state has been hurt worse by our trade deals than the state of Ohio. I'm going to bring back your jobs. You're going to have big expansion of your existing companies. And no more companies are going to leave the state of Ohio without there being serious economic consequence for that company.'  | Negotiated, Hurt,                      |   | We ,impersonal/ I (Trump)exclusive           | Trump builds his arguments of poverty and the need for jobs with <b>statistics</b> -- right now where a poor country, we are a debtor nation. Our economic revival -- we will be fixing our terrible, horrible, incompetently negotiated trade deals. In our country, <b>47 million Americans are in poverty</b> and a <b>45 million Americans are on food stamps</b> . This is the legacy of Pres. Obama and Hillary Clinton. No state has been hurt worse by our trade deals in the state of Ohio. I'm going to bring back your jobs.  |        | To meet the basic needs of Americans they must have job security to meet their food security.  | Act/agent  |
| 50 The state of Ohio lost three manufacturing jobs since NAFTA, signed by Bill Clinton and supported heavily by Hillary Clinton. Hillary's South Korean deal cost the U.S. another 100,000 jobs. And do you remember when Hillary Clinton ran for the Senate in New York? She said she was going to bring back 200,000 jobs to upstate New York, guess what? More and more and more companies left, they went to Mexico and other places. She did nothing but talk and that's all she's doing now when she runs for President. She doesn't have the strength, she doesn't have the aptitude, she doesn't have what it takes if we're going to be a great country again. That I can tell you 100 percent.'  | lost, signed, supported, cost          | Ohio/ U.S.                                  | Hillary Clinton/President Bill Clinton       | Propaganda on opponent with statistics: <b>Negative action verbs</b> linked with NAFTA: <b>lost jobs in Ohio</b> , President Bill Clinton signed, <b>Hillary supported</b> , cost U.S. <b>100,000 more jobs to South Korea</b> -- Hillary Ran for <b>Senate in New York promising to bring 200,000 jobs back to upstate</b> -- what happened more and more and <b>more companies left</b> . She did nothing but talk.  |        | Self-fulfillment, psychological, and basic needs harmed. Instead of jobs created jobs disappeared.   | Scene/act  |
| 51 And you know, when she's over in China. If she goes down in Tiananmen Square, they'll just leave her there, they're tough people. There's just going to leave her there. They're not going to help her up. They'll say let her come up when she's ready, these are tough people. Since China entered the World Trade Organization, another Bill and Hillary backed deal. Now listen to this, 70,000 factories, I thought they meant 500,700,7,000, 70,000 factories have shut down or left the United States of America. 70,000. That's 15 factories closing a day on average in our country, going to other places. We are living through the greatest jobs theft in the history of the world and it comes from our country and goes to many others. In particular, China, Mexico, Japan, but plenty of others. Companies like Carrier, General Electric, Motorola, Mattel, Fiat, Chrysler and so many others are moving their jobs to Mexico. And now, Ford just announced, it's moving all of its small car production to Mexico also, not good -- not good. And I will tell you this, if I win, when Ford, when Carrier, when these companies announce that they want to leave, fire all of their American workers, and go to Mexico. And in the case of Ford, build a \$2 million plant. I will tell you what's going to happen. We will tell them congratulations, enjoy your new plant. But, every time you make an air conditioning unit, or a small car, or a big car, or a big truck and you want to send it into the United States. You're going to have a 35 percent tax to pay at our now strong border. | Win, are going, will stop              | U.S. trade agree                            | I (Trump) We (Federal government)            | <b>Statistics</b> are again used to demonstrate the loss of jobs through factory shutdowns -- when China entered the WTO, another bill and Hillary back deal. Now listen to this, <b>70,000 factories</b> , I thought they meant 500, 700, 7000, 70,000 factories have shut down or <b>left United States of America. 70,000</b> . That's <b>15 factories closing a day</b> on average in our country, going to other places. In particular, <b>China, Mexico, Japan</b> , but plenty of others. <b>Companies like Carrier, General Electric, Motorola, Mattel, Fiat, Chrysler</b> and so many others are moving their jobs to Mexico. For just announced it's moving all its small car production to Mexico, not good. (You'll see this information cited in many other of Trumps speeches) |        | Clinton 's weakness would show in China and her decisions cost peoples security / Trump proposes Prestige/ achieving one's full potential/ U.S. People | Clinton- scene/act-WTO loss of businesses and jobs. Trump-act/agent -What could be |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad   |                                     |  |  |  |   |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
|  | Act (what) action verb(s)  | Scene (when, where)                 | Agent (who)                              | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   | Purpose Maslow's (why)   | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act            |
| 52 And I will tell you this, if I win, when Ford, when Carrier, when these companies announce that they want to leave, fire all of their American workers, and go to Mexico. And in the case of Ford, build a \$2 million plant. I will tell you what's going to happen. We will tell them congratulations, enjoy your new plant. But, every time you make an air conditioning unit, or a small car, or a big car, or a big truck and you want to send it into the United States. You're going to have a 35 percent tax to pay at our new strong border. And they'll never move folks, they'll never move. And if they do move, that's OK too because we're going to make a fortune. Now a lot of politicians aren't smart enough to understand that. And many do understand it but, they're taking care of the companies that are moving. It's corruption. But, they will not move and the ones that do move will pay a big price. But, when they hear this, they're not moving, it's very simple. And in Cleveland right now, and throughout Ohio, you have companies negotiating to move. Some of you work for those companies. And many of the people that work at those companies are here now. And you don't even know the owners and the leaders of the companies are negotiating. But, with me, you don't have to worry about it because we will make it economically very difficult for them to leave the United States, believe me, believe me. So, you don't have to worry about it. If I win, day one we're going to announce our plans to totally renegotiate the worst trade deal ever made, NAFTA. We will stop the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). As part of our plan to bring back jobs, we're going to lower our business tax from 35 percent to 15 percent. Wages will rise, jobs will return, and factories will come rushing onto our shore. We're also going to fix our inner cities and help African-American and Hispanic Americans who are treated very, very unfairly. | Announce,are going, will rise, will return, will come, Renegotiate, stop, lied (3) | America                             | Trump/ we (U.S. government)              | When Ford, when Carrier, when these companies announce they want to leave, fire all their American workers. Congratulations, but every time you make an air conditioning unit, or a small car, or a big car, or a big truck and you want to send it to United States. You're going to have to pay 35% tax. But when they hear this, they're not moving, it's very simple. Future to be different, winning means change, the are going verb action to take place. Trump as a doer- fix trade deals-If we don't get what we want in that renegotiation, we will leave NAFTA and start over. We will also stop the Trans-Pacific Partnership. The deal Hillary Clinton lied about during the debate when she called it the gold standard. She lied, and she lied about the line in the sand. I wasn't Secretary of State when Obama made that stupid pledge, line in the sand that he did not honor. Infinitives showing growth: to bring back jobs, to lower business tax: all from are going followed by the repetition of will rise, will return, will come/ this repetition is a guaranteed promise | Physiological, safety, feeling of accomplishment, self-fulfillment needs not met by current admin. | 3 Act /agent                                      |
| 53 Forty-five percent of African-American youth live in poverty. Fifty-eight percent of African-American youth don't have jobs. More than 3,000 people have been shot in Chicago since January 1st, a very short period of time. It's like a war zone. To those African-Americans suffering in our country, where in the inner cities, you have no jobs, horrible education. And you often times get shot just walking down the street to buy a loaf of bread. I say this, what the hell do you have to lose? Vote for Donald Trump, I will fix it -- I will fix it. They've been run by these Democrats like Hillary for over 100 years in some cases unbroken. I will fight harder for you than anyone has ever fought before. Nobody will fight like I'm going to fight for you. But, I'm also going to fight to help millions of Hispanics who are trapped in poverty also. That includes school choice, so important. For every low income African-American and Hispanic child in this nation, disadvantaged children will be able to attend the public/private charter or magnet school of their choice. Here are some of the more amazing things we are going to do for our country, starting in 2017. Won't this be nice? You've got to get out and vote -- you've got to get out and vote. Ohio's so important. We're going to have the biggest tax cut since Ronald Reagan.  | will be able, Will fix, are trapped  | America                             | I (Trump)                                | Using statistics to create Pathos. Under-privileged children will be able to have school choice-- 45% of African- American use live in poverty. 58% of African -- American youth don't have jobs. More than 3000 people have been shot in Chicago since January 1. It's like a war zone. You often times get shot just walking down the street to buy a loaf of bread. Vote for Donald Trump, I will fix it -- I will fix it. I am going to fight to help millions of Hispanics who are trapped in poverty that includes school choice. We are going to have the biggest tax cut since Ronald Reagan. [Trump linking himself to very popular Republican presidents Ronald Reagan -- great by association]  | Achieving one's full potential, Feeling of accomplishment for minorities                           | 7 Act/ agent                                      |
| 54 We're going to protect our internet system. We're going to defend religious liberty. Protect free speech on college campuses. Rebuild our depleted military and take care of our great veterans that we love and cherish. Repeat and replace the disaster known as Obamacare. We're going to save the Second Amendment folks. We're going to save it. The National Rifle Association, NRA gave me the earliest endorsement in their history. We've got to save our Second Amendment. Because they are doing numbers to your Second Amendment that are not good and are very unfair and are not what our founders had in mind. So, think about your Second Amendment, so important. We're going to appoint justices to the United States Supreme Court, who will uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. You have 26 days to make every dream you've ever dreamed for your country and for your children and for your grandchildren to come true. I honestly believe this is the last chance we'll ever get.  | are going (3)  | America                             | We (universal), Trump, government        | Word choice: Unity expressed in the universal we; the future (are going) by voting will change and protect our rights; action shown through the infinitives: to protect, to defend, to protect, to rebuild, to take care of, to repeal and replace, to save-- All of these infinitives refer to important topics in American society: free speech, healthcare, the second amendment, the internet, the American dream  | Safety, Belongingness and love, esteem, self-fulfillment needs                                     | 4 Act/agent                                       |
| 55 We are going to replace our failed and incompetent leadership in Washington, that has betrayed you, squandered your wealth and sold out our country and our jobs. It's time for us to embrace the greatness of our country and the greatness of our future. I'm asking all Americans, Republicans, Independents and even Democrats to join in in our campaign and that's what's happening folks. You look at it and you see. You have all over the yards, all over Ohio and lots of other states. Trump signs, Trump-Pence, Trump- Pence, and by the way, Mike Pence, great guy, great job, a great pick. I am going to fight for every citizen of every background, from every stretch of this nation. And I am going to fight to bring us all together. We are a divided country right now. All together as Americans, we're going to love each other. We are not going to be divided for much longer. Imagine what our country could accomplish if we started working together as one people, under one God, saluting one American flag. A vote for me is a vote for you and it's a vote for change which we need, change, change. Once again we are going to have a government of, by and for the people. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America strong again. We will make America safe again. And we will make America great again. Thank you God bless you. God bless you.   | are going (2) betrayed, squandered, embrace, will make (4)                         | America                             | Trump ,We (universal)imperial            | Repetition used to unite the crowd - [are going to replace][Note the repeated ownership pronoun OUR] our failed and incompetent leadership that has betrayed you, squandered your wealth and sold out our country, our jobs, embrace the greatness of our country, - in our campaign - Trump-Pence, Trump-Pence, Mike Pence, [ who is running] great guy, great job, great pick[quality of character] - we are going to give our country back, our country could accomplish if we started working together as- one people, under one God, saluting one flag, [patriotism at it finest for the audience he is appealing to] - Because that is when our country started turning around - vote for me is a vote for you, and it's a vote for change which we need, change, change - We will make America wealthy, will make America strong, will make America safe, will make America great with strong adjectives  | Fulfilling the peoples needs and desires/basic, psychological, self-fulfillment needs              | 3 act/agent                                       |
| 56 Politico, 28/06/2016a 'Donald Trump's jobs plan speech' at AluminSource outside of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: 'Today, I'm going to talk about how to Make America Wealthy Again. The legacy of Pennsylvania steelworkers lives in the bridges, railways and skyscrapers that make up our great American landscape.'  | make   | Pennsylvania, Ar                    | I (Trump) Steelworkers/ individuality    | Action verb: make, part of Trump's slogan and underlying theme of his speeches; in this case steel the backbone of American building and industry  |  | 4 Feeling of accomplishment,creativity act/ agent |
| 57 But our workers' loyalty was repaid with betrayal. Our politicians have aggressively pursued a policy of globalization -- moving our jobs, our wealth and our factories to Mexico and overseas. Globalisation has made the financial elite who donate to politicians very wealthy. When subsidised foreign steel is dumped into our markets, threatening our factories, the politicians do nothing.   | was repaid,have pursued, has made, is dumped                                       | Jobs, businesses to other countries | politicians supporting                   | Confronting the negatives of globalisation of America through negative verbs dealing with political actions represented by their direct objects: with betrayal, policy of globalisation. Losing jobs and businesses to other countries / Working people vs the politicians and wealthy   | Loss of : feeling of accomplishment, security,physiological needs                                  | 4 scene/act                                       |
| 58 We can turn it all around. But if we're going to deliver real change, we're going to have to reject the campaign of fear and intimidation being pushed by powerful corporations, media elites, and political dynasties. The people who rigged the system are supporting Hillary Clinton because they know as long as she is in charge nothing will ever change.   | can turn, are going(2), being pushed, rigged                                       | America , corporate america         | we, inclusiveTrump and voters            | We, pronoun sign of unity for change from fear and intimidation by the elites. Syllogism: major premise worded positively, We can/ minor premise strong rejection of current process   | physiological, safety, feeling of accomplishment, self-fulfillment needs                           | 6 act/agent                                       |
| 59 The inner cities will remain poor. The factories will remain closed. The borders will remain open. The special interests will remain firmly in control.   | will remain (4)  | America                             | Clinton and the elites                   | Repetition of negatives from globalisation: will remain - poor, factories closed, borders open, special interests in control   | Loss of potetial, feeling of accomplishment, security, safety, physiological needs                 | 3 scene/act                                       |
| 60 My campaign has the opposite message. I want you to imagine how much better your life can be if we start believing in America again. I want you to imagine how much better our future can be if we declare independence from the elites who've led us to one financial and foreign policy disaster after another. Our friends in Britain recently voted to take back control of their economy, politics and borders. That's the choice we face. We can give in to Hillary Clinton's campaign of fear, or we can Choose to Believe in America.   | want (2) start, declare, can choose  | America                             | I (Trump) we (steelworkers) individually | Aligning with the people, I want you to imagine (2), declare independence, choose; Take action with Trump's brand  | patriotism/Physiological,safety,belongingness,esteem, self-actualisation                           | 1 act/agent                                       |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad   |   |   |   |   | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|---|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)  | Scene (when, where)                     | Agent (who)   | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  |   |   |  |
| 61 America became the world's dominant economy by becoming the world's dominant producer. But then America changed its policy from promoting development in America, to promoting development in other nations. Trillions of our dollars and millions of our jobs flowed overseas as a result. It is the consequence of a leadership class that worships individualism more than Americanism.   | became, changed, flowed  | American industry                       | Politicians   | Repetition of America(nism)(4) world dominance in industry flowed [like a river] because worldview changes crushing the American dream through globalism and political shortsightedness   |   | Taking away self-actualisation esteem, security, and other basic needs  | scene/act                              |
| 62 Our original Constitution did not even have an income tax. Instead it had tariffs - emphasizing taxation of foreign, not domestic, production. We tax and regulate and restrict our companies to death, then we allow foreign countries that cheat to export their goods to us tax-free.   | Tax, regulate, restrict  | U.S. Manufacturing                      | Government/politician   | Propaganda: Emphasis on the past, original constitution, when things were better, no taxes. Now (3) negative verbs to businesses and capitalism   | 5 | MHN, Branding politicians as globalist  | scene-act                              |
| 63 Ladies and Gentlemen, it's time to declare our economic independence again.'   | is   | Now, manufacturing plant across America | Our/inclusive, American worker-Trump the successful businessman | The simplicity of the be verb [in this declarative sentence] is strengthened by the direct object (DO) time and infinitive to declare completed with the unity of our.  | 4 | Achieving one's full potential, Feeling of accomplishment/safety  | act /agent                             |
| 64 America has lost nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997. At the center of this catastrophe are two trade deals pushed by Bill and Hillary Clinton. First, the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA. Second, China's entry into the World Trade Organisation(WTO). ...The city of Pittsburgh, and State of Pennsylvania, have lost one-third of their manufacturing jobs since the Clintons put China in the WTO. Fifty Thousand factories have closed their doors in about 10 years.'  | has lost, pushed, have lost, have closed                             | since 1997, America, Mexico, China      | Bill and Hillary Clinton [as Trump states in previous speeches] | Propaganda by association with Hillary's, then President Bill Clinton, husband NAFTA, and China allowed to join the WTO: has created major job losses [while Hillary a U.S. Senator]continued globalist branding/ divide them (elite) from us(workers)  | 5 | gradual loss of MHN increasing national unemployment  | scene-act                              |
| 65 To understand why trade reform creates jobs, we need to understand how all nations grow and prosper. Massive trade deficits subtract directly from our Gross Domestic Product (GDP). From 1947 to 2001 - a span of five decades - our inflation-adjusted GDP grew at a rate of 3.5%. However, since 2002 - the year we fully opened our markets to Chinese imports - that GDP growth has been cut almost in half. What does that mean to Americans? For every one percent of GDP growth we fail to generate in any given year, we fail to create over one million jobs. America's job creation deficit due to slower growth since 2002 is well over 20 million jobs.'  | creates, subtracts, grew, has been cut, fail,                        | America/ China                          | President Bill Clinton, and Senator Hillary Clinton             | Pathos: Without insulting their intelligence, Trump aligns with the workers with a simplistic lesson on how trade and GDP affects the job market. We can create or subtract. This follows the bad trade deals emphasising that globalism fails.   | 5 | The change in American politics since 2002 lowers workers ability to achieve more than the Basic Needs in MHN           | scene-act                              |
| 66 The Transpacific-Partnership (TPP) would be the death blow for American manufacturing. It would give up all our leverage to an international commission that would put the interest of foreign countries before our own. The TPP creates a new international commission that makes decisions the American people can't veto. It should be no surprise then that Hillary Clinton, according to Bloomberg, took a leading part in drafting the TPP.'   | will undermine(2), creates, makes, can(not)                          | America/ Pacific                        | Senator Hillary Clinton   | Hyperbole spread of globalism by the TPP trade emphasised with repetition of verbs: will undermine economy and independence, can't veto: Not American business. Trump is addressing steelworkers.   | 4 | Another new trade agreement that: lowers workers ability to achieve more than the Basic Needs of safety and jobs in MHN | scene/act                              |
| 67 Here are 7 steps I would pursue right away to bring back jobs. One: I am going to withdraw the United States from the TPP, which has not yet been ratified. Two: I am going to appoint the toughest and smartest trade negotiators to fight on behalf of American workers. Three: I will direct the Secretary of Commerce to identify every violation of trade agreements a foreign country is currently using to harm our workers. I will direct appropriate agencies ... to end abuses. Four: I'm going to tell our NAFTA partners that I intend to renegotiate the terms of that agreement to get a better deal for our workers. Five: I am going to instruct my Treasurer Secretary to label China a currency manipulator. Six: I am going to instruct the U.S. Trade Representative to bring trade cases against China, both in this country and at the WTO. Seven: If China does not stop its illegal activities, including its theft of American trade secrets, I will use every lawful presidential power to remedy trade disputes, including the application of tariffs consistent with section 201 and 301 of the Trade Act of 1974 and section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.' | am going (6),  | Washington D.C.                         | I [Trump]impersonal   | Repetition: 7 steps to better trade for America followed by I am going : to withdraw, appoint, direct, tell, instruct (2). Take action. Demonstrating knowledge of government, and trade laws. World businessman.   | 3 | achieving one's full potential  | act/agent                              |
| 68 A Trump Administration will end that war by getting a fair deal for the American people. The era of economic surrender is over. A new era of prosperity will finally begin. America will be independent once more. This includes massive tax reform to lift the crushing burdens on American workers and businesses. We will get rid of wasteful rules and regulations which are destroying our job creation capacity.'  | will end, will begin, will be, includes, will get rid                | America                                 | Trump Administration, We/impersonal                             | Promises of prosperity and fair deals with definitive: will (4) by the Trump Administration [Trump Builds] Brand  | 1 | Basic needs and hope for more MHN   | act/agent                              |
| 69 'A Trump Administration will ensure that we start using American steel for American infrastructure. It will be American hands that remake this country, and it will be American energy - mined from American resources - that powers this country. On trade, on immigration, on foreign policy, we are going to put America First again.'  | will ensure, start, will be (2 ), are going                          | America                                 | Trump Administration  | Trump Brand: Patriotism: American (5): steel, hands, energy, resources, First/ Slogan broken down into detail, are going to   | 1 | Prestige and a feeling of accomplishment  | act/agent                              |
| 70 It is time to believe in the future. It is time to believe in each other. It is time to Believe in America. This is How We Are Going To Make America Great Again - For All Americans. We Are Going To Make America Great Again For Everyone - Greater Than Ever Before.  | is (4), are going (2)  | America                                 | We (universal)/ Trump impersonal                                | Repetition: Again the simple be verb demonstrates action through the infinitives: to believe (3), Make (2) America Great Again (3), Patriotism repeated, America(ns)(4), Great(er)(4). This is similar to TRUMP's name in capital letters and in gold on his towers.  | 3 | Physiological, safety, belongingness, esteem, self-actualisation, Prestige and a feeling of accomplishment              | act/agent                              |
| 71 Politico, 08/08/2016b 'Donald Trump's Detroit Speech on His Economic Plan 'Detroit, Michigan: 'It's wonderful to be in Detroit. We now begin a great national conversation about economic renewal for America. It's a conversation about how to Make America Great Again for everyone, and those who have the very least.'   | begin,   | Detroit, America                        | We (universal)/ Trump impersonal                                | Propaganda:Begin (verb): suggests something new, in this case a national conversation for economic renewal. Trump's use of we and national conversation aligns himself with the voters, uses his slogan To Make America Great Again to inspire the unhappy. Importantly includes those who have the least. Detroit lost many jobs to outsourcing. | 5 | feeling of accomplishment, basic needs  | act/agent                              |
| 72 Detroit was once the economic envy of the world. The people of Detroit helped power America to its position of global dominance in the 20th century. When we were governed by an America First policy, Detroit was booming. Engineers, builders, laborers, shippers, and countless others went to work each day, provided for their families, and lived out the American Dream.'   | helped power, were governed, was booming, went, provided, lived out, | Detroit, America, the people            | the government (politicians)                                    | Before globalism - strong constructive now past tense verbs: helped power, were governed, was booming, went, provided, lived; America(n) (3) We, the people, list of job titles, the American Dream   | 4 | Had met MHN   | act/agent                              |
| 73 But for many living in the city, that dream has long ago vanished when we abandoned the policy of America First, we started rebuilding other countries instead of our own. The skyscrapers went up in Beijing, and in many other cities around the world, while the factories and neighborhoods crumbled in Detroit. Our roads and bridges fell into disrepair, yet we found money to resettle millions of refugees at taxpayer expense.'  | has vanished, abandoned, crumbled, fell, found                       | Detroit, America                        | the government (politicians)                                    | Propaganda: Worldview by politicians creates a wealth divide: rebuilding other countries - Skyscrapers went up in Beijing, Dream Vanished, Abandoned America First, Our factories and neighborhoods crumbled in Detroit, road and bridges fell into disrepair/ found money to resettle millions of refugees                                       | 5 | Threatening worldview barely makes it possible for basic needs to be met.   | scene/act                              |
| 74 Today, Detroit has a per capita income of under \$15,000, about half of the national average. 40% of the city's residents live in poverty, over two and half times the national average. Half of Detroit residents do not work. Detroit tops the list of Most Dangerous Cities in terms of violent crime - these are the silenced victims whose stories are never told by Hillary Clinton, but victims whose suffering is no less real or permanent.'  | Live (in poverty), do (not) work, are (never) told                   | Detroit                                 | city government/Hillary   | Detroit's current state of affairs: Live results of globalism and need for change: 40% poverty, 50% unemployed, Number one in violence: using statistics to illustrate and reinforce need for change from the left's (Hillary's) agenda   | 7 | The worldview has failed most of the peoples chance to meet even their most basic need                                  | scene/act                              |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad  |   |  |   |   |  |
|---|---|---|--|---|---|--|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)                                   | Agent (who)  | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act                             |
| 75 [T]he city of Detroit is the living, breathing example of my opponent's failed economic agenda. Every policy that has failed this city, and so many others, is a policy supported by Hillary Clinton. She supports the high taxes and radical regulation that forced jobs out of your community ... and the crime policies that have made you less safe... and the immigration policies that have strained local budgets... and the trade deals like NAFTA, signed by her husband, that have shipped your jobs to Mexico and other countries... and she supports the education policies that deny your students of choice, freedom and opportunity. She is the candidate of the past. Ours is the campaign of the future.  | is living, breathing, has failed, support(ed)(s)(3), forced, have strained, have shipped, deny                  | Detroit, America                                      | city government/Hillary  | <b>Propaganda:</b> Attack on Hillary and other globalist policies emphasised: <b>high taxes, radical regulation, crime policies, immigration policies, trade deals, education policies.</b> Detroit <b>personifies</b> the nations policies: living and breathing failed agenda. Hillary - the past. Ours the future.   | Hillary supports the failed worldviews policies of the past which limits the MHN needs of the people. Trump looks forward from this scenario to the future. | 5<br>scene/act   |
| 76 As a part of this new future, we will be rolling out proposals to increase [school] choice and reduce cost in childcare, offering much needed relief to American families. I will unveil my plan on this in the coming weeks that I have been working on with my daughter Ivanka and an incredible team of experts. We will give our police and law enforcement the funds and support they need to restore law and order to this country. Without security, there can be no prosperity. We must have law and order. In the coming days, we will be rolling out plans on all of these items.  | will be rolling, offering, will unveil, have been working, will give, support                                   | America   | we(2) (universal)/ (12) (Trump) impersonal   | <b>Vocabulary:</b> Contrast to Hillary's agenda: connection to the people with <b>repetition of I and we.</b> Dividing the peoples choice with <b>action</b> shown through the <b>verbs and infinitives</b> working with to: <b>increase choice, reduce cost, offer relief, restore law and order. Unveil my plan</b> [working for the people]. <b>give funds and support</b> the police,   | Offers the people a choice to achieve their desires: safety, feeling of accomplishment,   | 4<br>act/agent   |
| 77 One of my first acts as President will be to appeal and replace disastrous Obamacare, saving another 2 million American jobs. We will also rebuild our military, and get our allies to pay their fair share for the protection we provide saving us more billions to invest in our own country. We also have a plan for a complete reform of the Veterans Health Administration. This is something so desperately needed to make sure our vets are fully supported and get the care they deserve.  | will be, will rebuild, provide  | America   | my (Trump), We (3), our (2) inclusive  | <b>Vocabulary:</b> Future action demonstrated in <b>infinitives:</b> to <b>appeal, replace,</b> and action verbs <b>rebuild, provide, reform.</b> Trump unites with the inclusiveness of his pronouns <b>WE and our.</b> He has referred to a plan several times demonstrating his brash business approach and success. Brand   | Emphasising safety / military and accomplishment  | 4<br>act/agent   |
| 78 Detroit - the Motor City - will come roaring back. We will make a new future, not the same old failed Policies of the past. Our party has chosen to make a new history by selecting a nominee from outside the rigged and corrupt system. The other party has reached backwards into the past to choose a nominee from yesterday - who offers only the rhetoric of yesterday, and policies of yesterday. There will be no change under Hillary Clinton - only four more years of Obama.  | will come back, will offer, has chosen, has reached, will be (no) change  | Detroit, America                                      | We (universal), Republican Party, Democratic Party, Hillary/Obama's shadow) impersonal | <b>Trump Brand:</b> separates the offerings for the presidency: Dividing the new (options) <b>history</b> [fresh business blood, <b>Trump</b> or the old current system, <b>Hillary (Obama).</b> Current system has Detroit a ghost city [see statistics: <b>40% poverty, income</b> ]. Choices of more taxes and less jobs or Trump.   | New (Trump) offers MHN's new life style; Old (Hillary) offers barely basic needs of existence   | 1<br>act/agent (Trump) scene/act (Hillary)                         |
| 79 But we are going to look boldly into the future. We will build the next generation of roads, bridges, railways, tunnels, sea ports, airports that our country deserves. American cars will travel the roads, American planes will connect our cities, and American ships will patrol the seas. American steel will send new skyscrapers soaring. We will put new American metal into the spine of this nation. It will be American hands that rebuild this country, and it will be American energy - mined from American sources - that powers this country. It will be American workers who are hired to do the job. Americanism, not globalism, will be our new credo.   | are going, will build, will travel, will connect, will patrol, will send, will put, will be (4), are hired      | Detroit/ America                                      | we (universal)   | [See Pittsburgh June 28, 2016, Pennsylvania and Cincinnati Oct. 13, 2016, Ohio speeches. <b>Action verbs</b> of growing and building. Trump talks of American <b>Steel</b> with knowledge as he has <b>built</b> (oversaw) [Trump Chapter] <b>Trump Tower</b> and other hotels. <b>Americanism</b> (5) [S] emphasising patriotism and jobs. The use of repetition and nationalism as to globalism to stir the pathos of the audience. | Promises the fulfillment of peoples needs and desires   | 1<br>act/agent   |
| 80 Our country will reach amazing new heights. All we have to do is stop relying on the tired voices of the past. We can't fix a rigged system by relying on the people who rigged it in the first place. We can't solve our problems by relying on the politicians who created them. Only by changing to new leadership, and new solutions, will we get new results. We need to stop believing in politicians, and start believing in America. Before everything great that has ever happened, the doubters have always said it couldn't be done. America is ready to prove the doubters wrong. They want you to think small. I am asking you to think big. We are ready to dream great things for our country once again. We are ready to show the world that America is back - Bigger, and Better and Stronger Than Ever Before. Thank you, and God bless you!   | need, start, am asking, are ready (2)   | Detroit, America                                      | we (universal), I, (Trump) impersonal  | Repetition is key in this segment as Trump closes: <b>We (3), need to stop believing</b> in politicians, <b>start believing</b> (2) in America, <b>We are ready</b> (2), to dream, to show the world <b>America is Back - Bigger, Better, and Stronger than ever Before</b> (alliteration). Personal from the <b>Brand Trump - I am asking you to think big.</b> And the evangelical touch - <b>God bless you.</b>                    | Meets all of Maslow's Hierarchy of needs  | 1<br>act/agent   |
| 81 <b>National Public Radio, 13/10/2016 'Donald Trump Speech in West Palm Beach, Florida':</b> [Note: This speech is much more verbose and uses a bigger vocabulary than the typical economy jobs speech.] "Our movement is about replacing a failed and corrupt - now, when I say "corrupt," I'm talking about totally corrupt - political establishment, with a new government controlled by you, the American people. There is nothing the political establishment will not do - no lie that they won't tell, to hold their prestige and power at your expense... The Washington establishment and the financial and media corporations that fund it exist for only one reason: to protect and enrich itself. The establishment has trillions of dollars at stake in this election. As an example, just one single trade deal [TPP] they'd like to pass involves trillions of dollars, controlled by many countries, corporations and lobbyist. ... Our campaign represents a true existential threat like they haven't seen before.   | is replacing, controlled, will (not) tell, exist, controlled,   | Washington D.C./ America                              | Washington establishment (Democratic Party)/ I, (Trump) impersonal                     | <b>Propaganda</b> by Trump with the intent of demonstrating the current <b>corrupt</b> (3) political establishment is more concerned with <b>prestige and power</b> than the people. Trump's new government that the <b>American people will control.</b> A divide and conquer scenario of <b>Our campaign</b> [Americans] vs the <b>Establishment.</b>   | Currently MHN basic needs being met. Trump campaign offers truth and choice. Thus higher levels of needs being met.   | 5<br>scene/act Washington Establishment act/agent Trump's campaign |
| 82 The political establishment has brought about the destruction of our factories, and our jobs, as they flee to Mexico, China and other countries all around the world. Our just-announced job numbers are anemic. Our gross domestic product, or GDP, is barely above 1 percent. And going down. Workers in the United States are making less than they were almost 20 years ago, and yet they are working harder.  | has brought, flee, going down, are making, are working  | America   | political establishment  | <b>Negative propaganda</b> against <b>political establishment</b> (opposite of Trump a businessman with a life-time of building experience) <b>has brought destruction of our factories, our jobs, flee</b> to Mexico, China, other countries/The threat of a world view on our jobs continued or create jobs   | Downfall of societies needs being met. Physiological needs at best  | 5<br>scene/act   |
| 83 But so am I working harder, that I can tell you. It's a global power structure that is responsible for the economic decisions that have robbed our working class, stripped our country of its wealth and put that money in the pockets of a handful of large corporation and political entities. Just look at what this corrupt establishment has done to our cities: like Detroit, Flint, Michigan and rural towns in Pennsylvania, Ohio, North Carolina and all across our country. Take a look at what's going on. They stripped away these town bare. And raised the wealth for themselves and taken our jobs away out of our country never to return unless I'm elected president.  | am working harder, is responsible, have robbed, stripped, look, take (a) look, stripped, raided, taken, elected | Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, North Carolina, America | corrupt establishment/our, (universal) I (2)   | Trump starts and finishes this worldwide discussion with the dominant <b>I am working harder,</b> unless I'm <b>elected president.</b> In the middle is the <b>sylllogism</b> with <b>abuse to the country as the major with specific states</b> the minor for the only conclusion - unless I'm elected president.  | Americas needs are not being met. I can meet the nations needs.   | 6<br>scene/act global power - act/agent Trump                      |
| 84 The Clinton machine is at the center of this power structure. We've seen this hand in the WikiLeaks documents, in which Hillary Clinton meets in secret with international banks to plot the destruction of U.S. sovereignty in order to enrich these global financial powers, her special interest friends and her donors. So true. Honestly, she should be locked up. Should be locked up. And likewise the e-mails show that the Clinton machine is so closely and irrevocably tied to the media organization that she, that she - listen to this - is given the questions and the answers in advance of her debate performance with Bernie Sanders. Hillary Clinton is also given approval and vetopower over quotes written about her in the New York Times. They definitely do not do that to me, I tell you. And the e-mails show the reporters collaborate with the Clinton campaign on helping her win the election all over. The Clinton machine is determined to achieve the destruction of our campaign, not gonna happen. | meets, should be locked up (2), is tied, is given, collaborate, conspire  | as Secretary of State/ campaign trail                 | Hillary Clinton  | <b>See Cincinnati Oct. 13, 2016 speech. Propaganda</b> on Hillary's techniques to gain supporters, to win even within her own party - <b>Crooked Hillary</b> without saying it: she <b>should be locked up (2), given answers</b> to debate questions, agreements with the media, e-mail proof  | Again demonstrates why Americans are suffering while the machine prospers/ need snot met  | scene/act  |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad  |   |                                     |   |                        |  |            |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|---|------------------------|--|------------|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)                                 | Agent (who)                         | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose Maslow's (why) | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act   |            |
| 85 Which has now become a great, great movement, the likes of which our country has never seen before, never ever... Yesterday in Florida, massive crowds, people lined up outside big arenas, not able to get in. Never happened before. It's one of the phenomina - it's one of the great political phenomina. The most powerful weapon deployed by the Clintons is the corporate media, the press. Let's be clear on one thing, the corporate media in our country is no longer journalism. They're a political special interest no different than any lobbyist or other financial entity with a total political agenda, and the agenda is not for you, it's for themselves. And their agenda is to elect crooked Hillary Clinton at any cost, at any price, no matter how many lives they destroy. For them it's war, and for them nothing at all is out of bounds. This is a struggle for the survival of our nation, believe me. And this will be our last chance to sve it on Nov.8, remember that.'   | has become, has (never) seen(2), deployed, is (to) elect, is (a) struggle   | our country (Am                                     | Movement (trump voters), Clintons   | Trump's on going encouraging argument against globalism and politicians, repetition: <b>great great movement, never seen before, never ever, never seen</b> , with promise of jobs and security vs the Clinton weapon <b>deployed - corporate media (3), political agenda, (interest) (4)</b> - to elect crooked Hillary Clinton, <b>at any cost, at any price / phrases chosen</b> to describe Hillary's campaign: most powerful weapon, lives they destroy, it's a war, struggle for survival of our nation, last chance to save it   | 3                      | Instead of meeting needs of the people the opportunities for quality of life is going away   | scene/act  |
| 86 This election will determine whether we are a free nation or whether we have only the illusion of democracy, but are in fact controlled by a small handful global special interests rigging the system, and our system is rigged. This is a reality, you know it, they know it, I know it, and pretty much the whole world knows it. The establishment and their media enablers will control over this nation through means that are very well known. Anyone who challenges their control is deemed sexist, a racist, a xenophobe, and morally deformed. They will attack you, they will slander you, they will seek to destroy your career and your family, they will seek to destroy everthing about you, including your reputation. They will lie, lie, lie, and then again they will do worse than that, they will do whatever is necessary. The Clintons are criminals, remember that. They're criminals.'  | will determine, are controlled, is rig(ged, ing) (2), know(n) (5), will control, challenges, will: attack, slander, seek (2), lie (3), will do worse, will do whatever, | America   | Clinton/establishment               | Through the use of propaganda(persuasion) Trump lays out a gambit to illustrate the <b>illusion of democracy</b> through the <b>establishment</b> (politicians) and their <b>global media</b> . First laying out the popularity of his movement, then repeating the <b>knowledge</b> all have of the <b>rigged</b> system. Trump then adds every <b>despot action verb and infinitive</b> , if necessary, after the <b>will -attack, slander, lie</b> . A harsh syllogism: <b>Major premise</b> - nation controlled by crooked establishment; <b>Minor premise</b> - Challengers will be labeled and dealt with; <b>Conclusion</b> - the election will decide if this continues | 6                      | MHN cannot be met if the status quo remains the same   | scene/act  |
| 87 This is well documented, and the establishment that protects them has engaged in a massive cover-up of widespread criminal activity at the State Department and the Clinton Foundation in order to keep the Clinton's in power. Never in history have we seen such a cover-up as this, one that includes the total destruction of 33,000 e-mails, 13 iPhones-some by hammer - laptops, missing boxes of evidence, and many many other things. People who are capable of such crimes against our nation are capable of anything. And so now we address the slander and libels that was just last night thrown at me by the Clinton machine and the New York Times and other media outlets, as part of a concerted, coordinated and vicious attack. It's not coincidence that these attacks come at the exact same moment, and all together at the same time as WikiLeaks releases documents exposing the massive international corruption of the Clinton machine, including 2,000 more e-mails just this morning.'  | is (well) documented, protects, has engaged, are capable (2), releases  | America, Media                                      | Clinton machine, Hillary, WikiLeaks | Using WikiLeaks as a source Trump navigates a series of <b>propaganda</b> scenarios of Hillary Clinton, The Clinton Foundation, the media: <b>massive coverup (2), criminal activity, total destruction of emails, iPhones</b> . Then uses <b>repetition: are capable of such crimes ... are capable of anything, vicious attack, these attacks on</b> (Trump's character), <b>massive international corruption</b> . Trump uses these terms to cement the brand of Crooked Hillary and create pathos of injustice in the voters by arousing the patriotic idea of good over crooked Hillary.   | 5                      | Nothing in this evidence shows an inclination by the Clinton machine to assist people to make their lives better and if crossed maybe worse.   | scene /act |
| 88 These vicious claims about me of inappropriate conduct with women are totally and absolutely false. And the Clinton's know it, and they know it very well. These claims are all fabricated. They're pure fiction and they're outright lies. These events never, ever happened and the people said them meekly fully understand. You take a look at these people, you study these people, and you'll understand also. The claims are preposterous, ludicrous, and defy truth, common sense and logic. We already have substantial evidence to dispute these lies, and it will be made public in an appropriate way and at the appropriate time very soon. The media outlets did not even attempt to confirm the most basic facts because even a simple investigation would have shown that these were nothing more than false smears.   | are (all) fabricated, study,  | campaign trail                                      | Clintons, media                     | Of all the verbs in this diatribe, the strongest action verb is <b>fabricated</b> . It comes early as Trump uses a mixture of noun and verb <b>modifiers</b> to elaborate his feelings and his argument of this attack on his character: <b>totally, absolutely lies, pure fiction, outright lies, preposterous, ludicrous</b> . These are used to create a credibility to his character. The argument consists of a discredited media from past reports purportedly creating the <b>lies</b> . Trump suggest the <b>voters</b> should ask the question: Can you trust the media or those (Clintons) that control it?   | 4                      | The opposition cares little of research or facts. Expressing as Burke states a 'oneness in nature' or a means to the end (1969 :308-309).  | scene/act  |
| 89 Six months ago, the failing New York Times wrote a massive story attacking me, and the central witness they used said the story was false; that she was quoted inaccurately. She said that I was a great guy. She had great courage, I'll be honest with you. She was an amazing person. And never made those remarks - that I was a great guy, and never made the remarks. And when I read the story, I was sort of surprised - how could she say that? And she didn't say it. We demanded a retraction but, they refused to print it, just like they refused to pin comments from another source who praised me in her book, or the words of another woman who said really nice things about me. They put other statements that she didn't say, they misrepresented. The story was a fraud and a big embarrassment to the New York Times and it was a big front page story. Front page, center, color picture, a disgrace. They were very embarrassed; it will be part of the lawsuit we are preparing against them.   | wrote, was quoted (inaccurately), demanded, refused (2), praised, misrepresented  | campaign trail                                      | media/ New York Times,              | Trump demonstrates another <b>propaganda</b> model used by the pro democratic paper The New York Times (NYT); He uses a time reference to add legitimacy to the details, after reassuring the audience: He will be honest with them, and she said, I was a great guy. He again uses descriptive adjectives and adverbs: <b>Six months ago</b> the NYT wrote a <b>massive story attacking me</b> , quoted <b>inaccurately</b> . But, the NYT ignoring Trump's protest of inaccuracy, <b>they imply</b> to their readers; <b>the story is accurate</b> even though the supposed woman involved counters the article and <b>embarrasses</b> them.                                  | 4                      | To convince the audience of his good character, Trump shows his mistreatment by the press to create paths of needing fair representation to the people. Unlike his opponents Trump proves to meet the psychological needs of relationships and friendship. | scene/act  |
| 90 Now, today the same two discredited writers, who should've been fired from the New York Times for what they did, tell another totally fabricated and false story, that supposedly took place on an airplane more than 30 years ago. Another ridiculous tale, no witnesses, no nothing. Then, there was a writer from People Magazine, who wrote a story on Melania and myself on our first anniversary. The story was beautiful. It was beautiful. It was lovely. But last night we hear that after 12 years - this took place 22 years ago, this story - a new claim that I made inappropriate advances during the interview to this writer. And I asked very simple question, why wasn't it part of the story that appeared 20 or 12 years ago? Why wasn't it a part of the story? Why didn't they make it part of the story? I was one of the biggest stars on television with The Apprentice and I would've been one the biggest stories of the year. Think of it, she's doing this story on Melania, who was pregnant at the time. And Donald Trump, our one year anniversary, and she said I made inappropriate advances, and by the way, the area was a public area, people all over the place. Take a look, you take a look. Look at her, look at her words. You tell me, what you think. I don't think so. I don't think so.' | should have been fired, made ... advances, asked, Take(a) look (4) [in some form],  | campaign trail                                      | media/ The New York Times, People   | Syllogism: Keeping with the time theme, Major premise: <b>Now, today, more than 30 years ago. Then, after 12 years (2)</b> , a brief use of dates and time references acting as <b>statistics</b> adds credibility to the example of the medias bias and <b>propaganda</b> against Trump. He furthers his case with two of the writers have been discredited and should have been fired. His <b>second premise</b> of the syllogism is the pertinent questions, why (3)? Why not bring this up when I was one of the top stars on television with The Apprentice. His conclusion is a challenge to: Take a look four times. I don't think so.                                   | 6                      | Trump has achieved some of the highest positions in society, self-actualisation. The time alone puts the attacks at question.  | scene/act  |
| 91 [Trump spends another three minutes addressing the falsehoods about him in the media particularly The New York Times.] The only thing Hillary has going for herself is the press, without the press, she is absolutely zero. And you saw that the other night in the debate, where some people said she made virtually a fool of herself. This is not presidential material, believe me. What they say is false and slanderous in virtually every respect. We are now less than a month from the most [important] election of our lifetime. Indeed one of the most important elections in the history of our country. And the polls are showing us in a dead heat. Don't believe what you [they] say. The new, highly respected Rasmussen poll just came out this morning. Just released. Shows up nationally 2 points ahead, Trump Beautiful.   | saw,  | rally at Palm Beach, presidential candidates debate | Hillary / Trump                     | Propaganda syllogism: Trump leads in with the <b>press making Hillary a presidential candidate through their propaganda</b> , while <b>her debating lacks substance</b> when she is on her own. Conclusion: <b>the Rasmussen poll shows Trump in the lead</b>   | 6                      | Syllogism shows Trump has substance: Make America Great Again, Meets   | act/actor  |
| 92 Just came out. So now the Clinton machine has put forward a small handful of people out of tens of thousands of people over the years that I've met, that I've worked with, that I've employed, in order to make wild and false allegations that fail to meet the most basic test of common sense. Not even common sense. Again, this is nothing more than an attempt to destroy our movement and for the Clintons to keep their corrupt control over our government. When I declared my candidacy, I knew what bad shape our country was in. And believe me, all you have to do is look at world events. All you have to do is look at the \$1.7 billion that we sent to Iran in cash - in cash.'   | has put forward, make (wild and false) allegations, declared, is look (2)   | Just came out/campaign media                        | media/ Clinton machine              | Trump building <b>pathos</b> with the audience creating sympathy for his character assassination by the <b>Clinton machine: handful of people of the tens of thousands I've met, worked with, employed over the years</b> . Basically claiming a <b>false syllogism (Aristotle warned of this with corrupt politicians)</b> by Hillary's campaign. <b>1. Handful of disgruntled citizens 2. wild and false allegations - conclusion: does not past the test of the tens of thousands Trump has dealt with in the past. Common sense (2). Emphasises Clinton's corruption with link to our movement. Look(2) at \$1.7 billion to Iran in cash(2)</b>                             | 6                      | Branding Crooked Hillary,  | scene/act  |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad  |  |  |  |                        |   |           |
|---|---|--|--|--|------------------------|---|-----------|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)                    | Agent (who)  | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   | Purpose Maslow's (why) | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act  |           |
| 93 All you have to do is see the way ISIS was created in the vacuum left by Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama out of Iraq. All you have to do, all you have to do, is look at the 800 people that were very, very not good for our nation. They were going to be deported. Lo and behold, instead of being deported, they were made citizens of the United States just recently. And lo and behold, sadly, the 800 people is wrong. It turned out to be close to 1,800 people.'  | is see, was created, is look  | America                                | Hillary Clinton/ Barack Obama  | Propaganda with statistics: results of pulling out of Iraq - ISIS in America: instead of deported <b>1800 not 800</b> become radical (very very not good) citizens   | 7                      | affects America's safety  | scene/act |
| 94 Our president is incompetent. All he wants to do is campaign, and the last thing he wants to happen is to have Donald Trump terminate Obamacare. He's led a very divided nation and it's only gotten worse. And the last thing our country needs is four more years of Barack Obama, believe me. I've seen firsthand the corruption and the sickness that has taken over our politics. You've seen it and I've seen it and we're all watching together. They knew they would throw every lie they could at me and my family and my loved ones. They knew they would stop at nothing to try to stop me. But I never knew as bad as it would be. I never knew it would be this vile, that it would be this bad, that it would be this  | have seen(2),Knew(2), (never) knew(2)   | America                                | Omama  | Propaganda: Condition of America through descriptors - <b>divided</b> nation, gotten worse, corruption and sickness in politics, they knew- every lie, to stop m: I never knew - as bad, this vile, bad, vicious   | 4                      | Needs of the nation not being met by the current administration   | scene/act |
| 95 Nevertheless, I take all of these slings and arrows gladly for you. I take them for our movement so that we can have our country back. Our great civilization, here in America and across the civilized world has come upon a moment of reckoning. We've seen it in the United Kingdom, where they voted to liberate themselves from global government and global trade deal, and global immigration deals that have destroyed their sovereignty and have destroyed many of those nations. But, the central base of world political power is right here in America, and it is our corrupt political establishment that is the greatest power behind the efforts at radical globalization and the disenfranchisement of working people. Their financial resources are virtually unlimited, their political resources are unlimited, their media resources are unmatched, and most importantly, the depths of their immorality is absolutely unlimited.  | take(2), can have, have seen,voted, have destroyed(2), are (unmatched) unlimited(4) | America, United Kingdom                | we(universal),They(citizens Of Great Britain), Corrupt political establishment (America)impersonal | Ethos: Trump - I take all slings and arrows for you... for our movement... so we can have our country back... great civilisation,Propaganda: Comparative to <b>United Kingdom(Brexit)</b> another great nation with same problems: global - government, trade deal, immigration deals - destroyed(2) : Effects: corrupt political establishment, radical globalisation,disenfranchisement, unlimited - finances, political resources,media resources, immorality.Pathos created for 'our great civilisation'   | 5                      | Globalism harms the nations of the worlds people. Meeting only the needs of the powerful                                    | scene/act |
| 96 They will allow radical Islamic terrorists to enter our country by the thousands. They will allow the great Trojan horse — and I don't want people looking back in a hundred years and 200 years and have that story be told about us because we were led by inept, incompetent and corrupt people like Barack Obama and like Hillary Clinton. We don't want to be part of that history. And by the way, President Obama should stop campaigning and start working on creating jobs, start working on getting our GDP up, start working on strengthening our borders.'   | were led  | America                                | They(Hillary run government)(Trump) , we(universal), President Obama/impersonal                    | See Cincinnati Oct. 13, 2016 speech Obama start working.Repetition as persuasive technique in the propaganda - will allow(2) radical Islamic terrorist to enter our country, Trojan horse(subterfuge). Uses past action - were led by (assonance)inept, incompetent, (hard C with sharp t) corrupt ... Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Obama start working(3) creating jobs, on GDP, strengthening our borders.  | 3                      | addressing the needs of the people if current situation in the United states is not worked on.                              | scene/act |
| 97 The corrupt political establishment is a machine, it has no soul. I knew these false attacks would come. I knew this day would arrive; it's only a question of when. And I knew the American people would rise above it and vote for the future they deserve. The only thing that can stop this corrupt machine is you. The only force strong enough to save our country is us. The only people brave enough to vote out this corrupt establishment is you, the American people.'  | would rise(and) vote  | America                                | I (Trump), American people   | Propaganda:repetition - The corrupt political establishment(CPE) is a machine, it has no soul. Corrupt machine(CM), corrupt establishment(CE), false attacks would come. American people would rise and vote (action verbs),you can stop the CM, vote out this CE, force strong (brave) enough (2) to save our country (patriotism) is us.   | 3                      | Them vs us: American people saving America (Trump slogan)meeting the needs: jobs, safety, accomplishment                    | act/agent |
| 98 We are going to have a policy: America first. They control incredibly, the Department of Justice. And they even secretly meet with the Attorney General [Loretta Lynch] of the United States. In the back of her airplane, while on the runway — remember he [Bill Clinton] was there — he was going to play golf. Oh, oh gee, there's the Attorney General. Let me go say hello — plane's on the runway. Let me go say hello to the Attorney General. He never got to play golf, I understand. And it was Arizona, a place I love, but the weather was about a hundred and some odd degrees — he's not gonna play. He was never there to play golf, folks, don't be foolish. They met for 39 minutes and most likely it was to discuss her reappointment, in a Clinton administration, as the Attorney General, just prior to making a decision over whether or not to prosecute Hillary Clinton, okay? That's what happened. That's called real life and that's pretty sad. They met for 39 minutes. Remember he said, we talked golf and we talked about our grandchildren. Three minutes for the grandchildren, two minutes for the golf, then they sat there and they twiddled their thumbs. Now I believe they talked about her remaining in her position under a crooked Hillary Clinton administration. That's what I believe. That's what I believe folks. That's what I believe and I think that's what most people in this room believe.' | are going, meet.  | Arizona airport(tarmac)                | Bill Clinton,Loretta Lynch, I (Trump)  | Propaganda, Cincinnati Oct. 13, 2016 speech - Tarmac, Loretta Lynch, Arizona-Trump starts with - We are going to have a policy: America first. Then tells of Bill Clinton supposed accidental meeting with then Attorney General Loretta Lynch on the tarmac of an Arizona airport. Repetition of I believe(5)talked about her remaining in her position under Crooked Hillary,That's what I believe (3), people in this room believe.   | 5                      | Another chance to brand Hillary as crooked. The political favors game. Not what should we do to help the people in America. | scene/act |
| 99 Likewise, they've essentially corrupted the Director of the FBI to the point at which stories are already saying that the great — and they are truly great — men and women who work for the FBI are embarrassed and ashamed of what he's done to one of our truly great institutions, the FBI itself. Hillary Clinton is guilty of all the things that Director Comey stated at his press conference and Congressional hearings and far more. He stated many things, but it's far more and he knew that. And yet, after reading all of these items, where she's so guilty, he let her off the hook. While other lives, including General Petraeus and many others, have been destroyed for doing far, far less. This is a conspiracy against you, the American people, and we cannot let this happen or continue. This is our moment of reckoning as a society and as a civilization itself.'  | have corrupted, stated have been destroyed  | Washington D.C.                        | They (political powers that be), FBI Director Comey, Hillary Clinton                               | Propaganda: The political elites have corrupted the FBI leadership -Director Comey - employees are embarrassed and ashamed, Clinton guilty of many things but not charged, General Petraeus and others have been destroyed for doing far, far less. Conspiracy against you, the American people. Trump states relevant events that has recently happened while linking to the harming the American people. You cannot trust Hillary for she's above the law. But you [Public] is not. It is us against the politically corrupt. The action verbs are a semblance of the crime. | 5                      | Taking care of the Hillary, but not the people.   | scene/act |
| 100 I didn't need to do this, folks, believe me — believe me. I built a great company and I had a wonderful life. I could have enjoyed the fruits and benefits of years of successful business deals and businesses for myself and my family. Instead of going through this absolute horror show of lies, deceptions, malicious attacks — who would have thought? I'm doing it because this country has given me so much, and I feel so strongly that it's my turn to give back to the country that I love.'  | believe(2), built, am doing, has given  | Business/Camp aign trail/ country (US) | I (Trump)impersonal  | See Cincinnati speech: Repetition/Capitalism/ Patriotism. Trump showing his ethos through what he has stepped away from to serve the people. I didn't need to do this, folks believe me(2). I built a great company, wonderful life, years of successful business deals. Going through -horror show of lies, deceptions, malicious attacks. I am doing this... this country has given me so much, and it's my turn to give back...creating pathos from audience, choice between now or possibilities   | 3                      | Trump Brand /Build, MHN needs   | act/agent |
| 101 Many of my friends and many political experts warned me that this campaign would be a journey to hell — said that. But they're wrong. It will be a journey to heaven, because we will help so many people that are so desperately in need of help. In my former life, I was an insider as much as anybody else. And I knew what it's like, and I still know what it's like to be an insider. It's not bad. It's not bad. Now I'm being punished for leaving the special club and revealing to you the terrible things that are going on having to do with our country. Because I used to be part of the club, I'm the only one that can fix it. I'm doing this for the people and for the movement, and we will take back this country for you and you will make America great again.'  | warned, will help, punished, can fix, will take back, will make                     | campaign trail, Washington D.C.        | me and I (Trump), we (universal)inclusive  | Trump creating ethos propaganda from having once belonged to the inner circle but now having left it: Mostly positive action verbs - My friends warned me...this...would be a journey to hell. But because we will help so many people, I am being punished for leaving , I'm the only one that can fix it, I am doing this for the people, for the movement, we will take back, this country for you, we will make America great again. Pathos built, Trump's been there now wants to lead the way to fixing the broken system.   | 4                      | Trump slogan desires to Make America Great Again meeting MHN  | act/agent |

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|     | Burke's Pentad  |  |                                     |   |  |                           |   |   |
|-----|---|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------|---|---|
|     | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)  | Scene<br>(when, where)   | Agent<br>(who)                      | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level   |  | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why) | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act   |   |
| 102 | <b>Specific Sentences and Speech References</b><br>The corrupt establishment knows that we are a great threat to their criminal enterprise. They know that if we win, their power is gone, and it's returned to you, the people, will be. The dark clouds hanging over our government can be lifted and replaced with a bright future. But it all depends on whether we let the corrupt media decide our future or whether we let the American people decide our future.<br>If this Clinton campaign of destruction is allowed to work, then no other highly success — and this is so true, I mean I've seen this so many times, and I've heard this all of my life. I've heard it all of my life. If we let this happen, then no other highly-successful person, which is what our country needs — it needs a certain thinking. When you look at our trade deals that are so bad, when you look, as an example, on trade, we're going to lose almost \$800 billion this year, trade deficit, almost \$800 billion. Our debt has doubled in seven and a half years to almost \$20 trillion, under Obama.' | returned, can be lifted, replaced decide(2), look(2), are going, has doubled                               | American government, campaign trail | corrupt establishment, we (American voters), corrupt media  | Trump uses a mixture of repetition: The hard consonant sounds and negative connotations: corrupt establishment, media - criminal enterprise, dark clouds (hanging), Clinton campaign of destruction, \$800 billion trade deficit, debt, doubled in seven years to almost \$20 Trillion, under Obama. These hard sounds set a dubious tone of what is and could continue if these dark clouds are not lifted by the American voter. Depends if we let the corrupt media decide on the American people decide our future. As well as key words: corrupt (2), decide(2), look (2), needs (2) highly successful person, trade (2), all of which emphasize Trump's points of a change. Here is the problem syllogism: Corrupt establishment, corrupt media - you, the American people decide - solution - I am the highly-successful person - our country needs. Starts with developing the audiences passion to ethos, Trump's Brand | 4                         | Establishment not meeting the needs of the people because they are corrupt. Trumps can. He has the business experience. | scene/act Establishment act/agent Trump |
| 103 | No other successful person, after watching this, and no other very successful person will ever again, ever — and who can blame them? Even me, I'd say, you're right — will ever again run for office. I've heard it for years, if you're very successful, you can't run for high office, especially for President. I said, I don't care, I don't care. I've done so many deals, I've done so well. It's a certain mindset that we need in our country, at least for a period of time. We have to straighten our country out. I will not lie to you. These false attacks are absolutely hurtful. To be lied about, to be slandered, to be smeared so publicly, and before your family that you love, is very painful. What is going on is egregious beyond any words. People that know the story, people that see the story, people that know the facts, they can't even believe it. It's reprehensible beyond description, it's totally corrupt.'   | will run. Trump uses a future action reflecting on the trials of campaigning and emphasising his character | campaign trail                      | I (Trump), we (voters), media, establishment (implied)  | Trump's propaganda using repetition in a syllogism on who could run and be successful as well as the trials of campaigning: No other successful person(2) will ever again, ever, will ever again run for office. You can't run, I don't care (2), I've done(2) so many deals, so well. These false attacks are absolutely hurtful - (repetition of infinitive) to be - lied about, slandered, smeared. (then repeated verb structure) is - very painful, egregious, reprehensible, totally corrupt. Major Premise: successful businessman can succeed as president, Minor Premise: many deals, done so well. Conclusion: It's a certain mindset that we need in our country. We have to straighten our country out. [Vote for me]  | 6                         | We have to straighten our country out implies meeting the needs of the people. MHN                                      | act/agent                               |
| 104 | But, I also know that it's not about me. It's about all of you and it's about our country. I know that. I fully understand that. That's why I got involved. It's about all of us together as a country. It's a movement the likes of which we have never in history in this country seen before, never in history. Even the pundits, even the media — that truly dislikes Donald Trump for their own reasons — will admit this is a movement the likes of which people have never seen before. And it's a movement about the veterans who need medical care, the mothers who've lost their beloved children to terrorism and to crime. It's about the inner cities and the border towns who desperately need our help. It's about the millions of jobless people in America. It's about the American workers who can't get jobs because our jobs have left for Mexico and so many other countries.'   | got involved, will admit   | campaign                            | I (Trump), Pundits, media   | Trump's action verb - got involved - starts what he calls a movement (3). Even the pundits will admit there is a movement. It did. Trump's involvement. Mainly he repeatedly says: It's not about me. Then lists who his campaign will affect if elected: [A very powerful commitment to help those struggling; the pathos has to go through the roof with his impassioned description] It's about you, our country, all of us together as a country, veterans who need medical care, mothers who have lost children to terrorism and to crime, inner cities and border towns who need our help, millions of jobless in America, American workers jobs because jobs have left. Starts specific then  | 5                         | All about needs of the people. MHN meets all. High persuasion   | act/agent                               |
| 105 | This election is about the people being crushed by Obamacare. And it's about defeating ISIS and appointing a Supreme Court and a Supreme Court Justice — it could be four or five — who will defend and protect our Constitution. This election is also about, so importantly to me, African-American and Hispanic-American people whose communities have been plunged into crime, poverty and failing schools by the policies of crooked Hillary Clinton. Believe me, she's crooked.'  | being crushed, will defend, have been plunged  | America                             | policies of Washington D.C. of which Hillary Clinton is a Senator                                   | Trump continues his pathos building election list of needs for America: is about - being crushed by Obamacare, defeating ISIS, appointing a Supreme Court Justice(s), who will defend and protect our Constitution, African-American and Hispanic-American people whose communities have been plunged into crime, poverty and failing schools by policies of crooked Hillary Clinton. Believe me she's crooked. Trump uses the action verbs to demonstrate the acts needed for America as well as the acts committed against the people of America, by the politician policies.  | 6                         | policies of politicians failing to meet the basic needs of the working class  | scene/act                               |
| 106 | They've robbed these citizens of their future and, if we win, I will give them their hope, their jobs, their education. I will give them their security back. The inner cities, education is almost worthless, it's horrible. We're going to have Common Core ended. We're going to bring education local. But, you look at the inner cities and you see bad education, no jobs, no safety. You walk to the grocery store with your child and you get shot. You walk outside to look and see what's happening and you get shot. In Chicago, 3,000 people have been shot since Jan. 1.'  | have robbed, will give(2), are going(3), look, see, walk(2), get shot(2), have been shot, are (not) going  | America, inner cities               | They - policies of Washington D.C. of which Hillary Clinton is a Senator, we (universal), I (Trump) | Effects of bad federal government policies on society: Action verbs with more specifics and statistic: they have robbed these citizens of their future. I will give back: - hope, jobs, education, their security. We are going to: have Common Core ended, bring education local, you look: at the inner cities, see bad education, no jobs, no safety. You walk: to the grocery store with your child and you get shot, outside you get shot. Statistic - In Chicago, 3000 people have been shot since January 1. Contrast hope with the now. The one statistic is enough to add validity to Trump and the problem.  | 6                         | Trump addresses the needs not being met and covers each level of MHN.   | act/agent                               |
| 107 | We're not going to let that happen. Our inner cities are almost at an all-time low, run by Democrats for sometimes more than a hundred years, chain unbroken. So they have no jobs. They have horrible education. They have no safety or security and I say to the African-American community, what the hell do you have to lose? I will fix it. I will fix it. I will make it good. I'll bring back our jobs. We'll have good education. We'll have great safety in the inner city. And we will help the Hispanic-American people, who have been treated so badly and so unfairly in our nation, we will help them. I will deliver like you've never seen before. I deliver. Whether people like Donald Trump or not, they all say he delivers. Vote for Donald Trump. You're going to see something and you'll be so happy. You'll be so thrilled. This election is about every man, woman and child in our country who deserves to live in safety, prosperity and peace, so true. We will rise above the lies, the smears, the ludicrous slanders from ludicrous and very, very dishonest reporters.'  | (future tense) will fix(2), Will make, bring, help(2), deliver(s)(3), Vote, will rise                      | America, inner cities               | I (Trump), We(Universal)impersonal  | Trump restates briefly the issues and asks a rhetorical question to get the audience attention and thinking: What the hell do you have to lose? Implies how could it get worse. Then Trump the builder, the businessman speaks with action verbs: I will fix it. I will fix it. I will make it good. I'll bring back our jobs. We'll have: good education, safety. Will: help the Hispanic-American, help them, deliver like you never seen. I deliver, (even those who do not like me) he delivers. Vote for Donald Trump. You'll be: happy so thrilled. We will rise.  | 6                         | creating hope, and fulfilling the needs of the voter  | act/agent                               |
| 108 | We will vote for the country we want. We will vote for the future we want. We will vote for the politics we want and we will vote to put this corrupt government cartel out of business and out of business immediately. We will vote for the special interests and say lots of luck, but you're being voted out of power. They've betrayed our workers, they've betrayed our borders and, most of all, they've betrayed our freedoms. We will save our sovereign rights as a nation. We will end the politics of profit. We will end the rule of special interests. We will end the raiding of our jobs by other countries. We will end the total disenfranchisement of the American voter and the American worker. Our Independence Day is at hand, and it arrives finally on Nov. 8. Join me in taking back our country and creating a bright, glorious, and prosperous new future for our people. We will make America great again, and it will happen quickly. 'God bless you. God bless you. Thank you. Thank you.'   | will vote(5), want(3), have betrayed(3), will end(3)join   | America                             | We (universal, me(Trump)impersonal)   | Intense repetition of quick action verbs for the voter with stronger negative action verbs for the government politicians: We will vote for the country, for the future, politics - we want. We will vote - to put this corrupt government cartel [word usually reserved for drug lords and terrorists] out of business, special interests out. They've [politicians] betrayed - our workers, our borders, our freedoms. We will - save our sovereign rights, end politics of profit, end the rule of special interest, end the total disenfranchisement of the American voter and worker. We Will Make America Great Again.   | 6                         | creating a picture of achievement meeting needs. Finish with the Trump Slogan of Making something great                 | act/agent                               |
| 109 | <b>Peters and Woolley, 2016b 'Donald J. Trump at the Union Station of Philadelphia in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:</b> 'Today, I am here to talk about three crucial words that should be at the center of our foreign policy: Peace Through Strength. We want to achieve a stable, peaceful world with less conflict and more common ground. I am proposing a new foreign policy focused on advancing America's core national interests, promoting regional stability, and producing an easing of tensions in the world. This will require rethinking the failed policies of the past. We can make new friends, rebuild old alliances, and bring new allies into the fold. I'm proud to have the support of warfighting generals, active duty military, and the top experts who know both how to win — and how to avoid the endless wars we are caught in now. Just yesterday, 88 top Generals and Admirals endorsed my campaign.'  | am proposing, can make, rebuild, bring, endorsed   | America, Philadelphia               | I (Trump) impersonal  | Foreign policy issues featuring Trump's slogan of Peace Through Strength. A strong mild and positive a common ground. President Ronald Reagan being the most recent. Through the use of future tense action verbs Trump again develops propaganda to change America's goal to ending and avoiding ongoing wars: I am proposing a new foreign policy, can make new friends, rebuild old alliances, bring new allies into the fold. To clinch the persuasive rhetoric he cites: yesterday, 88 Generals and Admirals endorsed my campaign.  | 5                         | Meets of of the basic human need of Safety  | act/agent                               |



Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad   |   |  |   |   | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|---|--|---|--|---|---|---|--|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)  | Scene (when, where)                     | Agent (who)                            | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  |   |   |  |
| 110 'In a Trump Administration, our actions in the Middle East will be tempered by realism. The current strategy of toppling regimes, with no plan for what to do the day after, only produces power vacuums that are filled by terrorists. Gradual reform, not sudden and radical change, should be our guiding objective in that region. We should work with any country that shares our goal of destroying ISIS and defeating Radical Islamic terrorism, and form new friendships and partnerships based on this mission. We now have an Administration, and a former Secretary of State, who refuse to say Radical Islamic Terrorism.'  | will be tempered, should work, produces, form, refuse                                    | Middle East/United States               | We - Trump Administration / impersonal | Word choice formulating his <b>sylogism propaganda</b> : Interestingly, Trump uses future action to represent what the Trump Administration will do: <b>will be tempered</b> by realism, <b>We should work</b> with any country that shares our goals, form new ... partnerships based on this mission, while contrasting the current administration with present action verbs: the current strategy ... <b>only produces</b> power vacuums, Obama and Hillary <b>refuse</b> to say Radical Islamic Terrorism. These verbs are <b>emphasised with prepositional phrases</b> explaining the problems of the current administration and Trump's plan: Obama's - strategy of <b>toppling regimes, with no plan, for what to do</b> the day after, filled by <b>terrorist</b> . Trump's - tempered by realism, our goal of <b>destroying ISIS</b> , partnerships based on this mission. Trump's <b>business mind-set</b> reflects through his word choice: <b>our actions... tempered by realism, should be our guiding objective, work with, form new friendships.</b> | 6 | Planning for change and doing so thinking about safety  | act/agent                              |
| 111 'Immediately after taking office, I will ask my generals to present to me a plan within 30 days to defeat and destroy ISIS. This will require military warfare, but also cyber warfare, financial warfare, and ideological warfare – as I laid out in my speech on defeating Radical Islamic terrorism several weeks ago. Instead of an apology tour, I will proudly promote our system of government and our way of life as the best in the world – just like we did in our campaign against communism during the Cold War.'   | will ask, will promote   | campaign trail                          | I (Trump)impersonal                    | Trump uses <b>future action verbs</b> (will) developing his [ethos] character as a candidate with a promise of action forthcoming: <b>I will ask</b> my generals ... defeat and destroy ISIS, <b>I will proudly promote</b> our system of government. Then he makes a clever <b>simile</b> to President Ronald Reagan's era: ... <b>just like we did</b> in our campaign against communism during the Cold War. Reagan was very well liked by the people and is remembered for his "Tear that wall down" speech. Trump demonstrates his <b>leadership [ethos]</b> in this speech with this and the - <b>ask my generals, I will proudly promote</b> our system of government, <b>like we did</b> in our campaign against communism.   | 1 | Protection against ISIS, Safety MHN   | act/agent                              |
| 112 'We will show the whole world how proud we are to be American. At the same time, immigration security is a vital part of our national security. We only want to admit people to our country who will support our values and love our people. These are the pillars of a sound national security strategy. Unlike my opponent, my foreign policy will emphasize diplomacy, not destruction. Hillary Clinton's legacy in Iraq, Libya, and Syria has produced only turmoil and suffering. Her destructive policies have displaced millions of people, then she has invited the refugees into the West with no plan to screen them, including Veteran healthcare costs, the price of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan could total \$6 trillion, according to a report in the Washington Examiner. Yet, after all this money spent and lives lost, Clinton's policies as Secretary of State have left the Middle East in more disarray than ever before.'  | will show, support, emphasize, have displaced, has invited                               | Campaign in Philadelphia, Penn. America | We(universal)exclusiv e                | Part of Cincinnati speech(only admit people will support...) <b>Sylogism Propaganda: Through softer action verbs and the harsher verbs: Show</b> the world our <b>pride</b> in being American, but using <b>security</b> by admitting only those who <b>support and love</b> ... thus developing <b>sound national security strategy</b> [alliteration]. <b>Contrasting</b> - we offer <b>diplomacy</b> not <b>destruction</b> as my opponent Hillary Clinton who has <b>produced turmoil</b> and <b>suffering</b> in Iraq, Libya, and Syria. She has <b>displaced</b> millions of people, has <b>invited</b> refugees without screening them. \$6 trillion cost of wars and the result is <b>disarray</b> . A <b>business</b> approach as to what appears what appears an unplanned response.  | 6 | Peoples needs will be met with caution when it come to refugees and their intent  | act/agent                              |
| 113 'Meanwhile, China has grown more aggressive, and North Korea more dangerous and belligerent. Russia has defied this Administration at every turn. Putin has no respect for President Obama or Hillary Clinton. Sometimes it has seemed like there wasn't a country in the Middle East that Hillary Clinton didn't want to invade, intervene or topple. She is trigger-happy and unstable when it comes to war. Hillary Clinton is just reckless – so reckless, in fact, she put her emails on an illegal server that our enemies could easily hack. Then Clinton's team used a technology called bleachbit to acid wash her emails. They even took a hammer to some of her 13 phones, to cover her tracks and obstruct justice. These email records were destroyed after she received a subpoena to turn them over. In the FBI report, she claimed she couldn't recall important information on 39 occasions. She can't even remember whether she was trained in classified information, and said she didn't even know the letter "C" means confidential.'  | has grown, defied, put, took,  | Democratic Eashington D.C.              | Hillary/ Obama                         | [Later in Cincinnati and Palm Beach Oct. 2016 speeches] Propaganda: Filled with <b>negatives</b> in reference to past <b>politics of Hillary</b> and Obama, in this case synonymous as Democrats: China <b>more aggressive</b> , North Korea <b>more dangerous and belligerent</b> , Russia <b>defied</b> this administration. Seems there wasn't a Middle East country Hillary didn't <b>want to invade, intervene, or topple</b> . she's <b>trigger-happy and unstable, reckless(2)</b> , bleachbit her e-mails, <b>took</b> a hammer to 13 phones, said she <b>didn't know</b> 'C' means confidential for classified e-mails.  | 5 | The politics of the past were careless with Americas overall world safety   | scene/act                              |
| 114 'If she can't remember such crucial events and information, she is unfit to be Commander-in-Chief. Her conduct is simply disqualifying. She talks about her experience, but Hillary Clinton's only foreign policy experience is "failure." Everywhere she got involved, things got worse. Let's look back at the Middle East at the very beginning of 2009, before Hillary Clinton was sworn-in. Libya was stable. Syria was under control. Egypt was ruled by a secular President and an ally of the United States. Iraq was experiencing a reduction in violence. The group that would become what we now call ISIS was close to being extinguished. Iran was being choked off by economic sanctions.'  | talks, got involved, look  | Middle East                             | Hillary                                | <b>Propaganda of Middle East failures to come</b> : Talks about experience, but only foreign policy experience a failure, Hillary involvement made things worse. Lists status of <b>Middle East before 2009</b> [her appointment to Secretary of State] Before <b>Look Back - Libya stable, Syria under control, Egypt ruled by ally of the U.S., Iraq violence down, ISIS dwindling in power, Iran limited</b> by economic sanctions. <b>The Before</b> . Positive adjectives  | 5 | A good business man does not change something that works, needs were being met  | scene/act                              |
| 115 'Fast-forward to today. What have the decisions of Obama-Clinton produced? Libya is in ruins, our ambassador and three other brave Americans are dead, and ISIS has gained a new base of operations. Syria is in the midst of a disastrous civil war. ISIS controls large portions of territory. A refugee crisis now threatens Europe and the United States. And hundreds of thousands are dead. In Egypt, terrorists have gained a foothold in the Sinai desert, near the Suez Canal, one of the most essential waterways in the world. Iraq is in chaos, and ISIS is on the loose. ISIS has spread across the Middle East, and into the West. Iran, the world's largest state sponsor of terrorism, is now flush with \$150 billion dollars in cash released by the United States – plus another \$1.7 billion dollars in cash ransom payments. In other words, our country was blackmailed and extorted into paying this unheard-of amount of money.** Worst of all, the Nuclear deal puts Iran, the number one state sponsor of Radical Islamic terrorism, on a path to nuclear weapons. This is Hillary Clinton's foreign policy legacy.' | Fast-forward, has (have) gained, controls, threatened, has spread, blackmailed, extorted | Middle East                             | Obama - Hillary                        | Money sent to Iran - Palm Beach Oct. 2016 speech. <b>Propaganda</b> : Looked back now <b>Fast-forward to today</b> [contrast] and see the results of a poor Middle East plan listed: <b>Libya in ruins, Syria disastrous civil war</b> . Our ambassador and three other <b>Americans dead</b> , <b>ISIS - has gained, controls large territory, refugee crisis</b> , Hundreds of thousands <b>dead</b> in Egypt, <b>terrorist gained foothold, Iraq chaos, ISIS loose</b> , Iran sponsor of terrorism, \$150 Billion cash from the U.S., Our country <b>blackmailed and extorted</b> , Nuclear deal with Iran only helps them <b>gain nuclear weapons</b> . Hillary Clinton's foreign policy legacy. <b>The After</b> . <b>Compare and contrast</b> to represent opponent's ineptness. words of discord and death, look what has happened to our country  | 5 | What happens if you don't know what to do. Needs not only not met, but life is worse and security threatened as we [Obama-Hillary] aided Iran \$150 Billion | scene/act                              |
| 116 'But that's not all. President Obama and Hillary Clinton have also overseen deep cuts in our military, which only invite more aggression from our adversaries. History shows that when America is not prepared is when the danger is greatest. We want to deter, avoid and prevent conflict through our unquestioned military strength. Under Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, defense spending is on track to fall to its lowest level as a share of the economy since the end of World War II. We currently have the smallest Army since 1940. The Navy is among the smallest it has been since 1915. And the Air Force is the smallest it has been since 1947. When Ronald Reagan left office, our Navy had 592 ships. When Barack Obama took office, it had 285 ships. Today, the Navy has just 276 ships. The average Air Force aircraft is 27 years-old. We have 2nd generation B-52 bombers – their fathers flew the same plane.'   | have overseen, shows   | U.S./ Military bases                    | Obama - Hillary                        | <b>Propaganda- backed with statistics - know</b> ones own strengths and opponents tendencies, weaknesses [good business]: President Obama and Hillary <b>deep cut</b> military which makes adversaries dangerous, <b>lowest military spending</b> since WWII. History shows a <b>strong defense</b> [military] <b>prevents</b> conflict: <b>smallest army</b> since 1940, Navy <b>smallest</b> since 1915, Air Force <b>smallest</b> since 1947, Navy <b>down</b> 9 more ships in Obama's tenure 276 from 285, Air Force average <b>aircraft age</b> 27 years. Much of these numbers reflect Trump's eye for detail that we have seen in his autobiography and other biographies. The statistics reflect facts behind propaganda leading up to this point as well as demonstrates a numbers man who has examined trends as a business man does. Implying Make America Great Again and persuading people.  | 7 | Trump has looked at the numbers. Just increasing these numbers creates two results: jobs[security] and safety. Slogan                                       | scene/act                              |

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| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad                                     |   |  |   |  | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |  |           |
|---|--|---|--|---|--|---|--|--|-----------|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)                          | Scene (when, where)                                 | Agent (who)  | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  |  |   |  |  |           |
| 117 'Our Army has been shrinking rapidly, from 553,000 soldiers in 2009 to just 479,000 today. In 2009, our Marine Corps had 202,000 active Marines. Today, it's just 182,000. Our ship count is below the minimum of 308 that the Navy says is needed to execute its current missions. President Obama plans to reduce the Army to 450,000 troops—which would hamstring our ability to defend the United States. It takes 22 years on average to field a major new weapons system. In 2010, the US spent \$554 billion on non-war base defense spending. In the current year, we are spending \$548 billion—a cut of 10% in real inflation-adjusted dollars. This reduction was done through what is known as the sequester, or automatic defense budget cuts. Under the budget agreement, defense took half of the cuts—even though it makes up only one-sixth of the budget.'  | shrinking, spent, are spending                     | U.S. / Military base                                | Obama  | statistics/ Propaganda [127-131 represents bad planning by the current Administration: <b>Army shrinking</b> from 553,000 in 2009 to 479,000 today, Obama want to <b>lower Army</b> to 450,000, <b>Marine Corps down</b> from 202,000 to 182,000, <b>ship count is below</b> the 308 the number the Navy states it needs to perform effectively, It takes <b>22 years</b> to create a major new weapons system. Trump gets more specific with the numbers of the U.S. military. Defense department <b>took half</b> of the countries <b>budget cuts</b> although it only represent <b>one-sixth of the budget</b> .   |  | If the general statistics weren't persuasive enough of a weak military standing, Trump put numbers to the men and women reduction affecting employment and national security.       | 7                                      | scene/act  |           |
| 118 'As soon as I take office, I will ask Congress to fully eliminate the defense sequester and will submit a new budget to rebuild our military. This will increase certainty in the defense community as to funding, and will allow military leaders to plan for our future defense needs. As part of removing the defense sequester, I will ask Congress to fully offset the costs of increased military spending. In the process, we will make government leaner and more responsive to the public. I will ask that savings be accomplished through common sense reforms that eliminate government waste and budget gimmicks—and that protect hard-earned benefits for Americans.'  | take, will - ask, submit, increase, ask(2), allow, | Washington D.C.                                     | I(Trump)(4)impersonal                              | Repetition of future action represented by will (after I(Trump) takes office: I will ask congress to fully eliminate the defense sequester, I will submit a new budget, increase certainty in defense community of funding, allow military leaders to plan, ask Congress to fully offset the costs, savings be accomplished through common sense reforms. The strong I representing confidence with the will demonstrating action.[As the Wollman Rink in Central Park, Trump plans to take something in disrepair and fix it. A builder. ]   |  |   | 3                                      | Safety, accomplishment                               | act/agent |
| 119 'Government-wide, improper government payments are estimated to exceed \$135 billion per year, and the amount of unpaid taxes is estimated to be as high as \$385 billion. We can also reduce the size of the federal bureaucracy through responsible workforce attrition—that is, when employees retire, they can be replaced by a smaller number of new employees. We can also stop funding programs that are not authorized in law. Congress spent \$230 billion last year on 256 expired laws. Removing just 5 percent of that will reduce spending by almost \$200 billion over 10 years. The military will not be exempt either—the military bureaucracy will have to be trimmed as well.'  | reduce(2), replace, stop,spent                     | Washington D.C.                                     | We - Trump Administration impersonal               | Trump uses statistics again to illustrate his business sense and ability to manage a budget: Government waste \$135 billion per year, unpaid taxes at \$385 billion, reduce federal bureaucracy through attrition, stop funding \$230 billion on 265 expired laws, stopping payment on out of date laws saves \$200 billion in ten years, trim the military bureaucracy.  |  | Trump promises tax cuts which can happen with cut in wasteful government spending. Creates money through lower taxes on Americans   | 7                                      | act/agent  |           |
| 120 'Early in my term, I will also be requesting that all NATO nations promptly pay their bills, which many are not doing right now. Only 5 NATO countries, including the United States, are currently meeting the minimum requirement to spend 2% of GDP on defense. Additionally, I will be respectfully asking countries such as Germany, Japan, South Korea and Saudi Arabia to pay more for the tremendous security we provide them.'  | requesting, asking, provide                        | NATO  | I(Trump)impersonal                                 | Statistics: Again Trump talks about money. This time requesting NATO nations to pay what they owe (bills) and meet the agreed upon 2% GDP for defense. Only 5 NATO countries counting the U.S. currently meet these standards. Emphasising world governmental accounting. Trump will respectfully ask Germany, Japan, South Korea and Saudi Arabia to pay more for the tremendous security we provide. Trump, without actually saying it, is finding ways to cut the United States spending which will reduce the U.S. deficit spending. Again showing a business approach to the presidential position. He uses the action verbs to reflect on his slogan Make America Great Again as well as showing leadership and partnership.  |  | Money matters in creating security, both important issues for America   | 7                                      | act/agent  |           |
| 121 'Finally, we will have at our disposal additional revenues from unleashing American energy. The Institute for Energy Research cites a "short-run" figure of as much as \$36 billion annually from increased energy production. Using these new funds, I will ask my Secretary of Defense to propose a new defense budget to meet the following long-term goals: We will build an active Army of around 540,000, as the Army's chief of staff has said he needs. We now have only 31 Brigade Combat Teams, or 490,000 troops, and only one-third of combat teams are considered combat-ready. We will build a Marine Corps based on 36 battalions, which the Heritage Foundation notes is the minimum needed to deal with major contingencies—we have 23 now. We will build a Navy of 350 surface ships and submarines, as recommended by the bipartisan National Defense Panel—we have 276 ships now. And we will build an Air Force of at least 1,200 fighter aircraft, which the Heritage Foundation has shown to be needed to execute current missions—we have 1,113 now. We will also seek to develop a state of the art missile defense system.'   | will build(4), seek                                | America   | we(7)(universal), I, impersonal                    | Statistics: Trump explains how the U.S. will create more monies by using our American energy revenues through increased production. This is backed by research from The Institute for Energy Research which cites an additional \$36 billion created from energy production. these dollars will be used to strengthen the military: We will build(4) - an active Army of around 540,000 troops, 31 brigade teams equaling 490,000, Marine Corps based on 36 battalions,(minimum required according to the Heritage Foundation) - currently there are 23, a Navy of 350 surface ships and submarines recommended by the bipartisan National Defense Panel (current number of ships is 276), an Air Force of at least 1200 fighter aircraft which the Heritage Foundation recommends to meet today's missions (current number 1113), seek a development of state of the art missile defense system. Trump cites the numbers possible and needed according to specific recognized respected sources building his ethos with his audience. I (Trump) get things done. Being specific adds to his credibility as a doer. the universal - We, uniting the people to the cause of safety with the repetition of will build suggesting jobs |  | Where's the money for America's security come from: above - others in NATO paying their share. U.S. energy production profits creates a financial path to making our nation safe.   | 7                                      | act/agent  |           |
| 122 'Under Obama-Clinton, our ballistic missile defense capability has been degraded at the very moment the US and its allies are facing a heightened missile threat from states like Iran and North Korea. As these potential adversaries grow their missile programs, US military facilities in Asia and the Middle East, as well as our allies, are increasingly in range, with the United States homeland also potentially threatened. We propose to rebuild the key tools of missile defense, starting with the Navy cruisers that are the foundation of our missile defense capabilities in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The Obama-Clinton administration tried repeatedly to remove our cruisers from service, then refused to modernize these aging ships. We will start by modernizing our cruisers to provide the Ballistic Missile Defense capability our nation needs; this will cost around \$220 million per modernization as we seek to modernize a significant portion of these 22 ships. As we expand our Navy toward the goal of 350 ships, we will also procure additional modern destroyers that are designed to handle the missile defense mission in the coming years. Accomplishing this military rebuild will be a fifty-state effort—every state in the union will be able to take part in rebuilding our military and developing the technologies of tomorrow.' | degraded, grow, tried refused, will start, seek,   | America's military during Obama-Clinton era/ future | Obama/Clinton, We (universal /Trump)gov impersonal | Propaganda: Using a compare and contrast scenario, Trump disparages the former administrations weakness toward national security with a list of necessities we need to do to develop America's security. Under Obama-Clinton, missile defense is degraded while America faces growing threats from Iran and North Korea. U.S. military facilities in the Middle East and Asia safety lessens. As Iran and North Korea abilities increase our homeland security in the the United States grow weaker. We(5) propose to rebuild key missile defense. Obama-Clinton tried to remove our cruisers from service, refused to modernise aging ships. We will start to modernise to provide Ballistic Missile Defense to our nation's needs. Cost \$220 million for 22 ships modernisation and new destroyers to handle the missile defense... military rebuild will be a fifty-state rebuild all states will be able to participate, Trump's call for national security reaches across the globe as he addresses our military bases as well. What is an American life worth, seems to be the question as he cites the cost of refurbishing these battleships. This in contrast to the cuts being made by the current administration.       |  | Once again hammering home the difference in philosophies between his opponent and himself concerning America's safety developing a picture to his slogan: Make America Great Again. | 5                                      | scene/act-Current administration act/agent-we(Trump) |           |
| 123 'In addition, we will improve the Department of Defense's cyber capabilities. Hillary Clinton has taught us all how vulnerable we are to cyber hacking. Which is why one of the first things we must do is to enforce all classification rules, and enforce all laws relating to the handling of classified information. Hillary Clinton put her emails on a secret server to cover-up her pay-for-play scandals at the State Department. Nothing threatens the integrity of our Democracy more than when government officials put their public office up for sale. We will also make it a priority to develop defensive and offensive cyber capabilities at our U.S. Cyber Command, and recruit the best and brightest Americans. One of my first directives after taking office will be asking the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and all relevant federal departments, to conduct a thorough review of United States cyber defenses and identify all vulnerabilities—in our power grid, our communications systems, and all vital infrastructure. I will then ask for a plan to immediately protect those vulnerabilities. At the same time, we will invest heavily in offensive cyber capabilities to disrupt our enemies, including terrorists who rely heavily on internet communications.'   | improve, taught, enforce, make, recruit            | America - cyber defense                             | we(universal), I (Trump)impersonal                 | Propaganda: In discussing the need for cyber security, Trump with sarcasm uses Hillary as an example: Hillary Clinton taught us all how vulnerable we are to cyber hacking using a private server to put her e-mails on to cover her pay-for-play scandals at the State Department. Turning to alteration to emphasise his actions: Trump's administration will make it a priority to develop defensive and offensive cyber capabilities at our U.S. Cyber Command while recruiting the best and brightest [who will he hire] Americans.  |  | The security of our internet is his other safety concern.   | 5                                      | act/agent  |           |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad  |   |   |   |   |  |           |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|-----------|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)   | Agent (who)                                   | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |           |
| 124 'These new investments in cybersecurity, and the modernization of our military, will spur substantial new job creation in the private sector and help create the jobs and technologies of tomorrow. America must be the world's dominant technological powerhouse of the 21st century, and young Americans – including in our inner cities – should get these new jobs. We must also ensure that we have the best medical care, education and support for our military service members and their families – both when they serve, and when they return to civilian life. Our debt to our men and women in uniform is eternal. To all those who have served this nation, I say: I will never let you down. We will protect those who protect us. And we will follow their example of unity. We will work across all racial and income lines to create One American Nation. Together, we will have one great American future. We will be one people, under one God, saluting one American flag. America will be a prosperous, generous and inclusive society. We will discard the failed policies and division of the past, and embrace true American change to rebuild our economy, rebuild our inner cities, and rebuild our country. We will bring back our jobs. We will make America strong again. We will make America safe again. And we will make America great again.' | (will) spur, create, served, protect, follow, work,discard, embrace, bring, make(3) | Across America  | I(trump) we(inclusive)                        | <b>Business rhetoric:</b> Symbolically promoting his slogan of building a future, Trump uses a business term with patriotic intertwining of the peoples affected by improving the nations condition to bring the pathos he desires from the audience: <b>New investments in cybersecurity, modernisation of our military, spurring new jobs for young Americans including the inner city families, in the private sector, must ensure best medical care, education, support for our military and their families.</b> Interject a patriotic message - <b>To all those who serve this nation, I say: I will never let you down. We will protect those who protect us. We will work across all racial and income lines to create One American Nation. Together ... one great American future, one people, under one God, saluting one American flag. We will be:</b> prosperous, generous, inclusive, embrace true American change, <b>to rebuild</b> - our economy, inner cities our country. We will make - America strong again, safe again, great again. | Trump's slogan: verbalised to meet the needs of the masses that represent America. From prosperous selfactualization, American flag as belonging, to safety for basic needs | 1                                      | act/agent |
| 125 <b>Peters &amp; Woolley, 13/10/2016c Remarks at the Renaissance Hotel in Columbus, Ohio:</b> 'I am so happy to be back here in Columbus. Make sure you request your absentee ballot to vote by mail. And remind your friends and family to do the same. We are now 26 days away from the most important election of our lifetimes. And we've only begun to fight. If we win, we will create a booming and thriving economy for young Americans. We will create safe communities, lower taxes, leaner government, affordable childcare and healthcare, and a government that is honest and fair. We are the campaign of change. We will deliver jobs, opportunity and justice for future generations.'   | request, remind, (will) create(2), deliver  | Columbus, Ohio  | I(Trump), you (voter),We universal,impersonal | Propaganda: <b>Ethos</b> - Trump starts with a <b>request</b> for absentee <b>votes</b> and <b>remind</b> your family and friends. <b>Lists</b> after an <b>action verb</b> to create ethos after the request in explaining why they should vote Trump - <b>We will create:</b> booming and thriving economy for young Americans, safe communities,lower taxes, leaner government, affordable childcare, healthcare,a government that is honest and fair. <b>We will deliver:</b> jobs, opportunity, and justice for future generations. He includes the (We) to demonstrates everyone is in <b>this together.</b> The <b>verbs create and deliver is</b> the <b>business building</b> rhetoric Trump likes to emphasise. Much like the Cincinnati speech earlier in the day.   | Trumps intro defines his business image while he address every aspect of MHN.   | 1                                      | act/agent |
| 126 'I've wanted this race to be about the issues. But the Clinton Campaign has refused to discuss the issues. They only place they want to go is the gutter. So they have slandered and libeled me with false accusations – but we will not let these lies distract us from our campaign. In an earlier speech today, I addressed the fact that I was falsely accused. It is disgraceful that you can have front page articles in the New York Times inventing false claims, without any evidence, any witnesses, anything at all.'  | refused, slandered, libeled, addressed  | Campaign trail  | Clinton campaign - they, I (Trump)            | Propaganda: Trump addresses the <b>Clinton Campaign's</b> want to <b>go to the gutter</b> [How low can they go? Trump implies this is more than the political mudslinging. They are getting personal.] as to discussing the issues. They have <b>slandered and libeled with false accusations, falsely accused by the New York Times</b> [another show of the bond between Clinton and the media conspiring against Trump - ] <b>without any evidence, any witnesses, anything at all - emphasis on the without any</b> using the repetition to suggest innocence. [See Cincinnati, Ohio, Palm Beach, Florida speeches.]  | Trump wants to talk the issues - needs to busy defending himself against the duo [Clinton and media]  | 5                                      | scene/act |
| 127 'I want to talk about the policies affecting our lives, and your future. Right now, our government has been taken hostage by global special interests that will stop at nothing to drain every last ounce of wealth from this country for their personal benefit. The greatest weapon wielded by the Clinton Machine is the media. The WikiLeaks emails show that the Clinton Machine and the Corporate Media are one in the same – they collaborate and conspire together. This Washington establishment will stop at nothing to stop all of us. These are the people who have given us decades of endless wars producing only death and bloodshed, but no victory.'   | taken, show, collaborate, conspire, given   | Campaign trail  | Clinton Machine/Media - they, I (Trump)       | Propaganda: Trump extends his argument against the <b>Clinton</b> [this time not using campaign but] <b>Machine</b> and the <b>Corporate Media.</b> The choice of the <b>C-M alliteration</b> of these titles implies evil <b>unfeeling entities in the hostage</b> taking by <b>global special interest</b> [globalism my emphasis]. After all the greatest <b>weapon</b> wielded by the Clinton Machine is the media. They <b>collaborate and conspire</b> as revealed by the <b>WikiLeaks emails</b> again bringing in Clinton's emails. The Washington establishment gives us decades of <b>endless wars</b> producing <b>death and bloodshed</b> without a victory. Creating a pathos of distrust [See Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Cincinnati, Ohio, Palm Beach, Florida speeches]   | Once again the globalism is about a world view instead of taking care of America's needs.   | 5                                      | scene/act |
| 128 'These are the same people who have flung our doors open to Radical Islam, putting us on the same path to France of multigenerational struggles with violence and extremism embedded in our communities. These are the people who've allowed violent international cartels to invade our country and prey on our most vulnerable citizens. Victims like Marilyn Pharis, raped by an illegal immigrant with a lengthy criminal record and beaten to death with a hammer. These are the people who've let drugs pour into our country and poisoning our children.'  | flung, embedded, allowed, raped, beaten   | America/ government   | Clinton/Washington D.C. Establishment         | Propaganda: After labeling <b>Clinton and the media machines,</b> the establishment, Trump now labels them <b>people</b> to link them to what they are <b>humans [without feelings] not machines.</b> They know what they are doing and they [the establishment] do not seem to care. Trump's use of fear tactics in his phrasing - <b>illustrated by the flung open borders</b> [this is what his opponents want] to <b>Radical Islam</b> [ <b>give it a name makes the problem real</b> ], <b>resembling France's</b> struggles with <b>violence and extremism embedded,</b> in American communities [they will be here not overseas]. These people <b>allow violent international cartels to invade and prey</b> on our innocent. Victims like <b>Marilyn Pharis</b> [name included to bring a realism: to his emotional appeal of the audience increases the pathos], <b>raped and beaten to death with a hammer.</b> [No pun intended, point driven home].   | Instead of meeting the desires of the people they bring in violence and death   | 5                                      | scene/act |
| 129 'These are the people who emptied the jobs out of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan and North Carolina and shipped them to other countries. The political powers trying to stop us are the people who've stripped the jobs from our inner cities, trapped millions of African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans in impoverished, crime-besieged neighborhoods, and left 70 million American women and child in poverty or near the brink of poverty. At the center of this assault on American prosperity is the Clinton Machine. They don't work for you, they don't work for America, the work only for themselves and their donors – including foreign government and foreign actors.'   | emptied, shipped, stripped trapped, left, work (3)                                  | inner cities, Ohio, Penn sylvania, Michigan, an, North Carolina | Clinton machine                               | Propaganda: <b>Negative</b> word choice in this case the <b>actions verbs</b> linked to the [again unfeeling] Clinton machine - <b>who emptied</b> jobs out of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and North Carolina [Trump wins these states] and <b>shipped</b> them to other countries, <b>trapped</b> millions of African-Americans and Hispanic Americans in [starts with <b>negative adjectives</b> - <b>impoverished, crime besieged,</b> inner cities, <b>left 70 million</b> American women and children in <b>poverty or brink of poverty</b> [note the statistic to add validity]. This assault caused by the Clinton Machine. They do not work [repetition for emphasis of repeated government policy decisions that hurt the people who need it most] - for you, or for America, they work for themselves, donors, foreign governments, foreign actors [ <b>emphasising globalism again</b> ]. Further develops a negative pathos toward his opponent.  | The Clinton Machine is not looking at the needs of inner city Americans.  | 5                                      | scene/act |
| 130 'Hillary Clinton is a criminal who destroyed 33,000 emails after a Congressional Subpoena. She ignored hundreds of requests for security in Benghazi, causing the deaths of four brave Americans – and then she lied to the faces of the grieving parents about the reason for the attack. She defended a man who violently and viciously raped a 12-year-old girl by horribly smearing and blaming the victim – and she laughed about getting the rapist off the hook.'  | destroyed, ignored, lied, defended, raped, smearing and blaming, laughed            | Hillary Clinton's past  | Hillary Clinton                               | Propaganda: Trump's concluding specific attacks toward <b>Hillary's</b> character using his <b>brand name</b> for her [Crooked Hillary] - <b>Hillary is a criminal. destroyed 33,000 emails</b> when given Congressional Subpoena [see Cincinnati, Palm Beach, Philadelphia speeches], <b>ignored request</b> for security at Benghazi four Americans die, <b>lied</b> to grieving parents of those who died there about the how, <b>defended</b> the man who <b>violently and viciously</b> [the adjectives are not needed but he adds them to further clarify action] <b>raped a 12-year-old girl</b> by <b>horribly smearing and blaming the victim and laughed</b> about getting the rapist off. This character description of Hillary is <b>heavy on the actions</b> taken <b>by Clinton and strengthened by the numbers</b> given [33,000 emails destroyed, 4 die] to develop a strong pathos of disgust for his opponent. He answers who Hillary cares about more.   | Hillary's actions in the past did not take care of the people in need only herself.   |  | scene/act |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad                                 |  |   |   |   | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|--|--|--|---|---|---|---|--|
|  | Act (what) action verb(s)                      | Scene (when, where)                    | Agent (who)                                     | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  |   |   |  |
| 131 'Speaking in secret to a foreign bank, Hillary pledged her support for "open borders." That means tens of millions of new foreign workers to compete against you for your jobs, your wages, your futures – she's selling out the future of young American, of all backgrounds, to enrich her donors. We won't let it happen. Hillary and her special interest allies want to keep children in our inner cities trapped in failing schools. Under a Trump Administration, disadvantaged children will be able to attend the public, private, charter or magnet school of their choice.'   | pledged, selling                               | foreign bank                           | Hillary Clinton                                 | Propaganda: Globalisation represented by Hillary's speaking to a foreign bank with a <b>pledge for open borders</b> thus <b>selling out</b> young Americans jobs to <b>tens of millions</b> of new foreign workers competing for <b>your(3)jobs</b> , wages futures softens the harsh rhetoric of the past three minutes. [Much like Shakespeare's comedy relief in his tragedies. The audience needs a chance to consider and relax.] The <b>action verbs are softer</b> and less invasive to an emotional response, although still negative as he suggest they want to keep the inner city students trapped in failing schools. Trump then offers school choice in preparing for his next argument against the special interest. (See Palm Beach speech)  | 5 | Hillary Clinton's actions abroad and at home benefits the special interest and global interest.   | scene/act                              |
| 132 'Under President Obama and Hillary Clinton, the national debt has almost doubled. \$20 trillion-dollar national debt is a weight around the future of every young person in this country. It would require \$120,000 from every millennial in the country to pay off. The new debt added under Obama and Clinton would have been enough to pay off all the outstanding student loans in the United States 6 times over. Yet, not one penny of that new debt has gone to lowering your tuition. The share of 16-to-28-year-olds not in the labor force has increased to 45 percent during the Obama administration.'  | doubled, added, increased.                     | America                                | Obama/Clinton                                   | Propaganda: Uses statistics. Debt link with <b>Obama</b> presidency and <b>Hillary Clinton</b> - national debt almost doubled. <b>\$20 trillion</b> . Will cost <b>\$120,000</b> from every millennial in the country to pay off [appeal to millennials]. <b>New debt</b> by Obama and Clinton would <b>pay off college student loan debts 6 times over</b> . The number of <b>16-to-28-year-olds not in the labor force has increased to 45%</b> during Obama's administration. Trump now puts numbers to the nations situation to reignite the disfavor of democrats.   | 7 | The current administration has increased debt costing the taxpayers more from their checks.   | scene/act                              |
| 133 'In a Trump Administration, we will work every day to make America great again for millennials. First, we will Lower the Cost of College and Solve the Student Loan Crisis. Tuition at public four-year institutions was 40% higher in the last school year than it was ten years ago. In all, Americans owe \$1.3 trillion on their student loans—more than auto loans, credit card debt, or home equity loans nationwide. Students should not be asked to pay more on their loans than they can afford, and the debt should not be an albatross around their necks for the rest of their lives. That is why under my student loan program, we would cap repayment to an affordable portion of a borrower's income—12.5%. And if borrowers work hard and make their full payments for 15 years, we will let them get on with their lives. That's the nature of the deal we give many public employees today. Every American deserves the same deal, so we will equalize treatment so everyone can start saving for their families and retirement by the time they are 15 years out of college.'   | work, lower, work, make, give                  | America                                | Trump Administration/we/ gov impersonal         | Ethos: <b>In a Trump Administration</b> - From here on in this speech Trump illuminates his plan for the future with <b>statistics</b> and (what successful business people do) <b>work</b> using the <b>helping verb showing future action</b> - will to develop contrast to what is, and to what will be by voting for change: Target audience at this point is <b>millennials</b> - We will <b>work every day to make America great again</b> . we will <b>Lower the Cost of College</b> , <b>solve</b> the Student Loan Crisis. Why? <b>Tuition is up 40%</b> from 10 years ago. <b>Americans owe \$1.3 trillion on student loans</b> —more than auto, credit card, and home equity loans nationwide. Then Trump cites a <b>reference to Coleridge's Rime of the Ancient Mariner - debt should not be an albatross around their necks for the rest of their lives</b> . He reaches out to the educated millennials - I am like you. Trump now <b>completes the ethos of a business ethic approach: My student loan program</b> , we would <b>cap repayment</b> to an affordable portion— <b>12.5%</b> . If they <b>work and pay full payments in 15 years</b> it is over. We will <b>equalise</b> treatment so everyone can start saving for families and retirement. | 1 | Trump demonstrates understanding of the needs of Americans and budgetary issues with jobs household and work. He appeals to Psychological and basic needs of his audience | act/agent                              |
| 134 'In addition, I will take steps to push colleges to cut the skyrocketing cost of tuition. If the federal government is going to subsidize student loans, it has a right to expect that colleges work hard to control their costs and invest their resources in their students. If colleges refuse to take this responsibility seriously, they will be held accountable—including by reconsidering whether those with huge endowments deserve to keep those endowments tax-exempt. Some schools are paying more to hedge funds and private equity managers than they are spending on tuition assistance—while taxpayers are guaranteeing hundreds of billions of dollars of student loans to pay for rising tuition. We want universities to spend their endowments on their students, not themselves. They need to use that money to cut the college debt and college tuition. Much of the skyrocketing cost of college education is due to the tremendous bloat in college administrators and bureaucrats. According to the Department of Education, the number of college administrators is up more than 60 percent since 1993—ten times the increase in tenured faculty positions. Federal regulations are responsible for much of this administrative bloat. Vanderbilt University estimated that it spends \$150 million per year—11 percent of the university's budget—to comply with government regulations. As president, I will immediately take steps to drive down college costs by reducing the unnecessary costs of compliance with federal regulations so that colleges can pass on the savings to students in the form of lower tuition.' | take, refuse, held, take                       | American colleges                      | Trump(I)/they, impersonal                       | Continuing to build his <b>ethos of a businessman</b> running the country, Trump addresses what he will do to make higher education affordable: I will <b>take steps</b> to push colleges to <b>cut the cost</b> of tuition. If the government is to subsidize tuition the universities should control cost. If colleges <b>refuse</b> , they will be <b>held accountable</b> . Their <b>tax exempt annuities could be looked at</b> to make sure they are assisting students and not their portfolios and <b>paying bloated salaries to administrators</b> and bureaucrats. The <b>Department of Education</b> has noted the number of <b>college administrators is up 60% since 1993— 10 times the increase in tenured faculty</b> . Federal regulations area part of the inflation of administration position. <b>Vanderbilt University spends about \$150 million per year—11% of their budget</b> to meet government regulations. As president, I will <b>immediately take steps</b> to drive down college costs by reducing federal regulations. Trump continues the I will and <b>statistics</b> while blaming bloated government procedures for high costs for higher education to assure that he is not one of the establishment.                                | 1 | Trump has gone right to the esteem needs in MHN while assuring he can help them achieve their desires.  | act/agent                              |
| 135 'I will also make it a priority to protect students' rights to free speech on campus. In the past few decades, political correctness has transformed our institutions of higher education from ones that fostered spirited debate, to a place of extreme censorship where students are silenced. We will end the political correctness, and foster free and respectful dialogue.'  | make, end, foster(2), silenced                 | American colleges                      | I (Trump)We(Trump Administration)impersonal gov | The next step in creating his <b>ethos</b> is in addressing freedom of speech: I will also make it a <b>priority to protect</b> [alliteration for impact] students' rights of <b>free speech</b> on campus. <b>Political correctness(PC)</b> has <b>transformed</b> [contrasted with fostered] our institutions of higher education from ones that <b>fostered spirited debate</b> to a place of <b>extreme censorship</b> [contrast old ideology with repression of now] where <b>students are silenced</b> . We will <b>end PC and foster free respectful dialogue</b> .  | 1 | Trump determines the need for self-actualisation. Debate and thinking for oneself.  | act/agent                              |
| 136 'We also have to recognize that traditional four-year degree programs are not the only path to a good job and a good career. We should support schools that allow people to learn skills and practice a trade so young people can have access to the education that's right for them. And we must hold all schools equally accountable for their performance. I will make sure that students have the information they need about all of their options before starting school, and for repaying their student loans upon leaving school. There is a lot of room for improvement in this regard. Currently, students navigate 16 complex repayment plans, 8 forgiveness programs, and 32 deferment and forbearance options—each of these programs has their own nuances and qualifications. I will simplify this confusing maze into a single Income-Based Repayment Program, similar to those that have proved so popular in recent years.'  | support, allow, hold, make, navigate, simplify | Colleges and technology centers        | We(universal)(Trump)impersonal                  | Trump changes his audience appeal [ethos] to those seeking to grow in the <b>trade field</b> improving his like-ability: We <b>also have to recognise</b> that traditional <b>four-year degree programs are not the only path</b> . [Trump the businessman acknowledges all people are not the same and have different needs and skills. <i>Trump The Art of the Deal</i> ] We should support [ethos] schools that allow people to <b>learn skills and practice a trade</b> , young people can access an education right for them. I will <b>make sure</b> that students have the information <b>they need</b> [ethos] about the <b>options for schools and repaying their loans</b> - Trump now discusses the problems with navigating the repayment of student loan process with statistics: Currently [Current administrations policies], students <b>navigate 16 complex repayment plans, 8 forgiveness programs, 32 deferment and forbearance options</b> each with their own nuances.[ethos] I will <b>simplify</b> this to a single Income-Based Repayment Program. Building report.   | 1 | Meeting the psychological needs of his audience.  | act/agent                              |
| 137 'We also have to make sure that those who have graduated college and those who are soon to graduate can find a good job to start a good career when they do. Many mothers across this country are worried their kids won't find jobs, and they are right to be worried. One of the biggest threats is outsourcing - jobs for college-educated kids are being sent to other countries. At the same time, companies are importing low-wage workers on H-1B visas to take jobs from young college-trained Americans. We will protect these jobs for Americans.'   | find, are importing, will protect              | After graduation, America's job market | We( Trump and administration)gov. impersonal    | Ethos: Trump recognising the degree does not equivocate to a job: We <b>also have to make sure ... graduate can find a good job</b> to start a good career. Biggest threat is <b>outsourcing - jobs for college graduates</b> [employability of target audience] to other countries or other countries. <b>Importing low-wage workers</b> [business practices] on the H-1B visas to <b>take jobs from young college</b> [His target audience] trained <b>Americans</b> . We will <b>protect these jobs for Americans</b> . [Trump's America first]  | 1 | Basic needs - jobs  | act/agent                              |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad  |                     |  |   |   | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|--|---|---------------------|--|---|---|---|--|
|  | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where) | Agent (who)  | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  |   |   |  |
| 138 'My economic plan – including tax, trade regulatory, and energy reforms – will create 25 million new jobs and allow the private sector to grow at 4 percent per year. This includes reforms to protect and expand the sharing economy – startups like Uber – that have managed to provide great services to consumers, and create lots of jobs in the process. Finally, and most importantly, the foundation for a new prosperity will be a re dedication to the constitutional rule of law. A vote for me is a vote for change, and a vote for me is really a vote for you. Together, we are going to make America great again.'  | will create, includes   | America             | My, me (Trump)impersonal                             | 40 seconds wrapping up his plan for America. [Part of business rhetoric practice is the ability to tell who you are and what you do in one minute. <b>Trump does it in 40 seconds. Ethos) My economic plan ... will create 25 million new jobs</b> allowing the private sector to <b>grow 4%</b> a year [a touch of statistics as if he could help himself]. This includes reforms to protect and expand the sharing economy – startups like Uber – that provides a great service and creates jobs. A re dedication of <b>constitutional rule of law</b> . A vote(4) for me is vote for: <b>change, you</b> . [This is who Trump is and plans to do] Together, we are going to make America great again. Slogan - punctuates the plan. If you did not hear anything else this 40 seconds says it all.   | 1 | Meets the MHN in all aspects, a conclusion  | act/agent                              |
| 139 <b>Peters &amp; Woolley, 31/10/2016d. Remarks at the Renaissance Hotel at Macomb Community College South Campus in Warren, Michigan:</b> 'In 8 days, we are going to win the Great State of Michigan and we are going to win back the White House. Let me start today by making a very important promise. When we win on November 8th, I am going to bring back your jobs. The long nightmare of jobs leaving Michigan will be coming to an end. We will make Michigan the economic envy of the world once again. The political class in Washington has betrayed you. They've uprooted your jobs, and your communities, and shipped your wealth all over the world. They put new skyscrapers up in Beijing while your factories in Michigan crumbled. I will end the theft of American prosperity. I will fight for every last Michigan job. Because, when we win, it's going to be America First.'  | are going(3), betrayed, uprooted, shipped, end, fight                         | Michigan, America   | We (universal)(Trump)im personal                     | Trump emphasises the verbs - <b>are going(3)</b> and the <b>infinitive - to win(4)</b> in his opening. Two of these are about <b>winning</b> and the other is a <b>promise to Americans and Michigan (4)</b> - going to <b>bring back jobs</b> . The <b>nightmare</b> [my emphasis] [lack of job security ability to feed the family , man's worst dream] of jobs leaving <b>Michigan [keeping it personal]</b> will be coming to an end. We will make Michigan the <b>economic envy</b> [he loves alliteration for emphasis] of the world. Then the reminders of why they are having these nightmares: The <b>political</b> [politics]class has <b>betrayed you, uprooted</b> your jobs and communities, and <b>shipped your wealth[salaries]</b> all over the <b>world [globalism]</b> . They put skyscrapers up in <b>Beijing while your factories in Michigan crumbled</b> . Now, Trump announces: <b>I will end the theft</b> of American prosperity(American Dream). <b>I will fight</b> for every last <b>Michigan job</b> . When we win, it's going to be <b>America First</b> . (See - Detroit, Palm Beach and Pittsburg speeches)   | 1 | Politics took away your ability to meet your needs, I(Trump) will bring back jobs, America First by ending globalism    | act/agent                              |
| 140 'So you have to make sure you get in your absentee ballots, and to get to the polls on November 8th. You have to vote. Vote with all of your heart and soul. Show the whole world how much you love Michigan, and how much you love America, by voting to take back the jobs that have been stolen from you. I'm asking for the vote of Republicans, Democrats, Independents and First-Time voters who want great jobs, safe neighborhoods, and a government that works for the people. I'm asking you to believe in America once again.'  | show, vote, stolen, asking  | Michigan            | you(Michigan voters), Bonding,relationship, I(Trump) | <b>Propaganda</b> appealing to the <b>pathos of the audience's patriotism: Vote with all your heart and soul</b> . Show the whole world how much you <b>love Michigan...love America</b> . The why is answered in the appeal - voting to <b>take back jobs</b> that have been stolen. This lack of jobs affects all as Trump appeals to <b>Republicans, Democrats, Independents and First-time voters</b> to vote for <b>great jobs, safe neighborhoods, a government that works</b> for the people. Trump completes the emotional appeal with - <b>believe in America</b> .  | 5 | Trump forecasts that with your vote, I can meet your need for jobs, safety and a government that works for you.         | act/agent                              |
| 141 'But to bring back your jobs, we must also immediately repeal and replace Obamacare. It's just been announced that Michigan residents are going to experience crushing double-digit premium hikes. In Minnesota, where the premium increase will be close to 60 percent, the Democratic Governor has said "the Affordable Care Act is no longer affordable." Hillary Clinton wants to double-down on Obamacare, making it even more expensive – in fact, much more expensive. I'm asking for your vote so we can replace Obamacare and save healthcare for every family in Michigan.'  | repeal, replace(2), announced.  | Michigan, America   | We(universal)impersonal                              | <b>Propaganda</b> concerning <b>Obamacare</b> [Obamacare is the informal name for the Affordable Care Act (ACA)] linking the <b>high premiums to the lack of jobs creation</b> . [Cost of premiums meant cutbacks in the workforce] We must immediately <b>repeal and replace</b> Obamacare. Just announced that <b>Michigan residents</b> are going to experience crushing <b>double-digit premium hikes, Minnesota an increase of 60%</b> in premiums. The <b>Democratic Governor</b> [uses one of their own] has said the 'Affordable Care Act is no longer affordable.' Hillary wants to <b>double-down</b> [ Third use of alliteration adding to the emphasis in creating pathos toward Democratic policies] on Obamacare. Trump then again asks for their vote to <b>replace and save healthcare for Michigan</b> .   | 5 | Trump's argument of meeting job needs comes with ridding them of an expensive health care system run by the government. | act/agent                              |
| 142 'Real change also means restoring honesty to our government. As you know, the FBI has reopened its investigation into Hillary Clinton and has discovered another 650,000 emails. Hillary lied under oath when she said she turned over all of her work-related emails – just one more lie out of so many. This is the biggest scandal since Watergate. Hillary wants to blame everyone else for her mounting legal troubles, but she has brought this all onto herself. Hillary is the one who set-up an illegal private email server in a closet to shield her criminal activity. Hillary is the one who engaged in a corrupt Pay-For-Play scheme at the State Department – and now there are 5 FBI probes into the Clinton Foundation and their pay-for-play activities. Hillary is the one who sent and received classified information on an insecure server, putting the safety of the American people under threat. Hillary is the one who lied to Congress under oath. Hillary is the one who lied to the FBI. Hillary is the one who made 13 phones disappear. Hillary is the one who destroyed 33,000 emails. Hillary is the one who broke the law over and over and over again. We can be sure that what is in those emails is absolutely devastating. Hillary is not the victim – the American people are the victims of this corrupt system in every way, and this is your one chance to change it.' | reopened, discovered,lied(3), set-up, engaged, probes, sent, destroyed, broke | Washington D.C.     | Hillary Clinton                                      | <b>Branding Hillary as Crooked</b> with a selection of word choices: verbs, nouns and adjectives alluding to her (crooked) character: Trump begins with an understated implication of a problem in Washington D.C. - <b>Real change means - restoring honesty</b> : [He then uses a large variety of grammar techniques and addresses Crooked Hillary] the <b>FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) reopened its investigation into Hillary Clinton</b> [Trump uses her name (Hillary) 12 times, (8 times with is the one who) and (she or her pronouns) 5 more times] and has <b>discovered another 650,000 emails, Hillary lied</b> under oath, <b>set-up an illegal private email server in a closet to shield her criminal activity, engaged in a corrupt Pay-For-Play scheme</b> at the State Department, now there are <b>5 FBI probes</b> into the Clinton Foundation and their <b>pay-for-play, sent and received classified information on an insecure server, lied to Congress under oath, lied to the FBI, made 13 phones disappear, destroyed 33,000 emails, broke the law over and over</b> . Trump finishes with this is <b>your chance to change it</b> [repetition]. (See - Palm Beach, FL, Philadelphia, PA, Cincinnati, OH for these issues as well)  | 2 | Trump as a summation of the character assassination reasons; do you trust this crooked person to worry about you.       | scene/act                              |
| 143 'Hillary is likely to be under investigation for a very long time. One of her longtime supporters, a top Democratic Pollster, Doug Schoen, is now totally withdrawing his support. He wrote an article entitled "I'm Democrat, I worked for Bill Clinton, but I can't vote for Hillary." Schoen writes: "I am now convinced that we will be facing the very real possibility of a constitutional crisis with many dimensions and deleterious consequences should Secretary Clinton win the election." Schoen warns that if Hillary is elected, she would be under protracted criminal investigation – and probably a trial of a sitting President. The investigation will last for years, a trial will probably start, nothing will get done, and our country will continue to suffer. She is unfit and unqualified to be President, and her election would mire our government and our country in a constitutional crisis we cannot afford. We need to be going to work for the American people – we can't do that with Hillary in the White House trying to avoid prosecution. Hillary Clinton's corruption is a threat to Democracy, and the only way to save our Democracy is get out and vote by the millions. The Clinton crime spree ends on November 8th. And when we close the chapter on the Clintons, we open a bright new chapter focused on the American People.'                                   | withdrawing, mire, vote, close  | Washington D.C.     | Hillary Clinton                                      | <b>Propaganda</b> - Trump again lightens his approach with his discussion of Hillary after a harsh start, but adds further evidence of her being unfit by <b>citing one of her longtime supporters: [T]op Democratic Pollster Doug Schoen is now totally withdrawing his support</b> as he states in an article - <b>I'm a Democrat, I worked for Bill Clinton, but I can't vote for Hillary</b> . I am now convinced that <b>we will be facing the very real possibility of constitutional crisis ...</b> Trump then <b>alliterates</b> that she is <b>unfit and unqualified</b> to be President, and her election would <b>mire our government in a constitutional crisis we cannot afford, Hillary Clinton's corruption is a threat to Democracy</b> . To <b>save our Democracy is get out and vote by the millions</b> . The <b>Clinton crime spree ends on November 8th</b> . When we <b>close the chapter</b> on the Clinton's, we open a bright new chapter <b>focused on the American People</b> . Even though Trump becomes harsher at the end with - <b>corruption and crime spree</b> , he successfully uses <b>assonance and alliteration</b> separated by the action <b>mire</b> to emphasise the need to vote. The well known Doug Schoen Democratic pollster adds credibility to Trumps claim. | 5 | New Chapter focused on the American People says Trump will work for you while Hillary did not.                          | scene/act                              |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad   |                                  |  |  |   | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|-----|--|--|----------------------------------|--|--|---|---|--|
|     |  | Act (what) action verb(s)                              | Scene (when, where)              | Agent (who)  | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   |   |   |  |
| 144 | 'My Contract with The American Voter begins with a plan to restore honesty and accountability to our government. I want the entire corrupt Washington establishment to hear and to heed the words we are all about to say. When we win on November 8th, We Are Going To Washington, D.C. And We Are Going to drain the swamp. At the core of my contract is my plan to bring back your jobs. Michigan has lost more than 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs since Bill Clinton signed NAFTA, a deal strongly supported by Hillary Clinton. Before NAFTA went into effect, there were 280,000 auto workers in Michigan. Today, that number is only 160,000. Our country has lost 70,000 factories since China entered the World Trade Organization – another Bill and Hillary-backed deal.'  | begins, going, lost,                                   | Michigan, America                | My (Trump), we (universal)impersonal                         | Propaganda concerning <b>globalism</b> , backed by <b>statistics</b> , through the past trade deals. Trump starts with: <b>My Contract</b> with the American Voter (suggesting this is a written signed agreement that a business man would sign that cannot be broken.) <b>begins with a plan</b> [businessman approach] to restore <b>honesty and accountability</b> [repeating above issue for emphasis] to our government. <b>We Are Going To Washington D.C. And We Are Going to drain the swamp</b> [The voters and Trump]. At the core of <b>my contract is my plan</b> to bring back jobs [Reiterating his business background, building ethos with the voters]. <b>Michigan has lost</b> more than 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs since Bill Clinton signed <b>NAFTA</b> , a deal strongly supported by <b>Hillary Clinton</b> . <b>Before 280,000 auto workers</b> in Michigan. <b>Today only 160,000</b> . Our country has <b>lost 70,000 factories</b> since China entered the <b>WTO</b> , another Bill and Hillary backed deal. (See Palm Beach, FL, Pittsburg, PA, Cincinnati, OH speeches with this argument on trade.)   | 6 | They sent jobs overseas. I, Trump, will meet your needs by planning to create jobs.   | act/agent (Trump) scene/act (Hillary)  |
| 145 | 'We have nearly an \$800 billion annual trade deficit with the world. We are living through the greatest jobs theft in the history of the world. Our trade deficit with China grew almost 40 percent during Hillary's tenure as Secretary of State. Her trade deal with South Korea killed another 100,000 America jobs. So when you look around Michigan, and you see the rusted-out factories, the empty buildings, and the long unemployment lines, remember: Hillary Clinton did much of this to you. Hillary got rich selling your jobs – the same special interests who pushed the jobs out of America are the people who've given countless millions to the Clintons. Hillary gets rich making America poor. Just look at the devastation. Delphi laid off 3,627 workers here in Michigan. Most of those jobs went to Mexico. We are going to fight for the workers at Delphi. They got a raw deal, and they deserve better. GM laid off 314 workers at the Lake Orion Assembly Plant in 2013 because of imports from the South Korean trade deal pushed through by Hillary Clinton. Lear Corporation laid off another 50 people in Rochester Hills and moved their jobs to South Korea. FTE Automotive laid off 166 people in Auburn Hills. Their jobs went to Mexico. Chrysler laid off over 5,300 workers. Those jobs went to Mexico, China, India and other countries. Ford laid off 2,155 workers. Those jobs went to other countries. Now, Ford is moving all of its small car production to Mexico.' | grew, killed, look, see, remember, pushed, laid off(6) | Michigan, America                | We(universal), Hillary                                       | <b>Propaganda</b> representing <b>globalism's effects on American jobs</b> and <b>statistics</b> with a more personal approach by naming specific companies who laid off employees to specific foreign countries: We have nearly an <b>\$800 billion annual trade deficit</b> [continued argument to rework trade deals. Living through the greatest <b>jobs theft, trade deficit with China grew almost 40%</b> during Hillary's tenure as Secretary of State. Her trade deal with <b>South Korea killed another 100,000 American jobs</b> . When you <b>look around Michigan</b> and you see the <b>rusted-out factories</b> , the <b>empty buildings</b> , and long <b>unemployment</b> lines, remember Hillary. [Trump gives them a verbal visual of the state of affairs in their state of Michigan and the perpetrator.] The same <b>special interests</b> who <b>pushed the jobs out of America</b> are the people who have <b>given millions</b> to the <b>Clintons</b> . Look at the <b>devastation: Delphi laid off used 6 times 3,627 workers</b> here in <b>Michigan</b> . Most of those jobs went to <b>Mexico</b> . We are going to fight for the workers at Delphi. <b>GM (General Motors) laid off 314 workers</b> at the <b>Lake Orion Assembly Plant</b> because of imports from the <b>South Korean trade deal</b> pushed through by <b>Hillary Clinton</b> . <b>Lear Corporation laid off another 50 people</b> in <b>Rochester Hills</b> and moved jobs to <b>South Korea</b> . <b>FTE Automotive laid off 166 people</b> in <b>Auburn Hills</b> . Those jobs went to <b>Mexico</b> . <b>Chrysler laid off over 5300 workers</b> with those jobs going to <b>Mexico, China, India</b> , and other countries. <b>Ford laid off 2155 workers</b> . Those jobs went to other countries. Now Ford is moving all of its small car production to <b>Mexico</b> . The <b>use of statistics</b> even the <b>smaller numbers like 50 or 166 laid off</b> at specific factories <b>increase the loathing pathos</b> Trump is going for as he notes the <b>Clinton's are given millions</b> for these lost jobs by special interest. (See Detroit, MI, Cincinnati, OH, Palm Beach, FL, at Alumisource plant in, PA speeches) | 6 | Loss of jobs, security, safety  | act/agent (Trump) scene/act (Hillary)  |
| 146 | 'A Trump Administration will stop the flight of American jobs. If Ford, or another company, announces they want to move their jobs to Mexico or another country, then I will pick up the phone – I will call the executives – and I will tell them that if they want do that, we will charge a 35% tax when they try to ship their products back across the border. It used to be the cars were made in Flint and you couldn't drink the water in Mexico. Now, the cars are made in Mexico and you can't drink the water in Flint. We are going to turn it all around. We are going to rebuild Flint. And we are going to rebuild Michigan.'   | stop, charge, are going (4)                            | America, Mexico                  | Trump Administration, I, We TrumpAdministration / impersonal | <b>Trump's Ethos</b> is [businessman making things happen] demonstrated by his <b>take action - I will, we will or we are going to: A Trump Administration will stop the flight of American jobs</b> . If Ford, or another company, announces they want to move to Mexico or another country, Then <b>I will pick up the phone - I will call the executives</b> [theatrics] - and I will <b>tell</b> them that if they do that, we will charge a 35% tax when they try to <b>ship</b> their products <b>back</b> . Cars were made in Flint and you couldn't drink the water in Mexico. Now cars are made in Mexico and you can't drink the water in Flint [Michigan]. This is a job at the Democrat politicians in Flint, Michigan and the state democrats.] He concludes this with the - <b>We are going to(4):</b> turn it all around, <b>rebuild Flint, rebuild Detroit, rebuild Michigan</b> . Manufacturing sites in Michigan badly hurt by loss of manufacturing jobs. (See Detroit, MI - Cincinnati, OH, - Alumisource, PA, -Palm Beach - FL speeches)  | 1 | Bring back jobs and security and safety, basic need good water  | act/agent                              |
| 147 | 'I'd like to share a special message today with the African-American community in Michigan which has been so terribly harmed by the policies of the Clintons. Look at the City of Detroit. It used to be the manufacturing hub of the world – now, nearly half of Detroit residents do not work, it has the second-highest violent crime rate in the country, and the children are trapped in failing government schools. Yet, as the people of Detroit suffer, Hillary wants to spend trillions of dollars on government benefits for illegal immigrants and refugees. I've outlined a plan for urban renewal, it's called A New Deal For Black America. That deal includes a plan to use the money we will save by securing our border, and curbing refugee admissions, to invest in communities like Flint and Detroit. It includes a pledge of school choice for African-American children.'   | harmed, look, outlined                                 | America, Michigan Flint, Detroit | I(Trump),  | Propaganda: A <b>compare and contrast</b> of past and the <b>Clinton policies</b> and what Trump calls his <b>New Deal</b> [Clever link to the New Deal offered by President Franklin Delanore Roosevelt [very popular] after the depression to assist the poor] <b>For Black America (NDBA)</b> - I would like to share a special message with the <b>African-American community</b> [For many decades the African-American voters have voted Democratic] in <b>Michigan</b> which has been <b>terribly harmed</b> by the Clintons. Look at the <b>City of Detroit, use to be the manufacturing hub, now half of Detroit residents do not work, second highest violent crime rate in the country, children trapped in failing government schools</b> . [Trump list specific problems faced by the inner city population: loss of jobs and poor schools in appealing to the pathos of a voting demographic he lags in relating too. He chooses a negative action verb when addressing his opponent] Yet, Hillary wants to spend <b>trillions on benefits for illegal immigrants and refugees</b> . I have <b>outlined a plan for urban renewal</b> [Again Trump implies planning does not seem to be a Democrat politician process] called <b>NDBA</b> which will use money saved by <b>securing our border</b> , curbing refugee admissions to <b>invest</b> [Trump now explains how the financing and plan will work. Much of this probably refers to the Democrats passing the ACA after saying-pass it now - we will read it later. Many promises made did not come true.] in communities like Flint and Detroit and a <b>pledge</b> [Thus a promise it will happen.] of <b>school choice</b> for African American children. [Trump reaching out to a specific minority whether African-Americans or Hispanic-Americans or both as in his speeches in Cincinnati, OH - Detroit, MI - Palm Beach, FL - West Bend, WI]   | 5 | My plan will provide safety [secure border] jobs and schools choice, meeting the basic and psychological needs of the voters. | act/agent                              |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad                                   |                     |   |   |  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |           |
|-----|--|--|---------------------|---|---|--|--|-----------|
|     |  | Act (what) action verb(s)                        | Scene (when, where) | Agent (who)                                   | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose Maslow's (why)   |  |           |
| 148 | 'My plan also includes a promise to cancel billions in climate change spending for the United Nations – a number Hillary wants to increase – and instead use that money to provide for American infrastructure, including clean water in cities like Flint. My plan also includes a pledge to reduce violent crime – every child in this nation has a right to grow up in safety and peace. And my plan includes a pledge to restore manufacturing in the United States. Hillary and the Democratic Party have run the inner cities for years, and only produced more poverty. The time has come for real change – I'm asking you for the honor of your vote so that together we can turn decades of political failure into generations of lasting success.'   | use, run, produced, asking                       | America             | My (Trump)impersonal                          | Trump building <b>ethos</b> through his plans for America instead of promoting globalism: The use of - <b>my plan (3) and promise or pledge (3) with the action</b> for these as a part of the <b>infinitives</b> ; not the action verbs that he <b>applies to the negative</b> aspect of the current policies; My plan includes a <b>promise to cancel billions in climate change</b> spending for the United Nations (UN) - instead use that money to <b>provide for American infrastructure</b> [Trump's America First is a constant toward the end of every speech he gives. Here again he addresses monies going to the UN instead of it working for American needs] including <b>clean water</b> for Flint. My plan includes a <b>pledge to reduce violent crime</b> - every child in this nation has the right to grow up in safety and peace. My plan includes a <b>pledge to restore manufacturing</b> in the U.S. Hillary (democrats) <b>produced</b> poverty. I am <b>asking [action]</b> for the <b>honor of your vote</b> to turn failure into lasting success. (See Detroit, MI - Cincinnati, OH - West Bend, WI)   | I have a plan and pledge - Trump to meet the needs of American infrastructure and cities                                     | 1                                      | act/agent |
| 149 | 'Hillary, on the other hand, wants to destroy what's left of manufacturing in Michigan with the Trans-Pacific Partnership. A Trump Administration will stop the Trans-Pacific Partnership. We will renegotiate NAFTA and, if we don't get the deal we want, we will terminate NAFTA and get a much better deal. We are going to lower taxes on American business from 35 percent to 15 percent. We are going to massively cut taxes for the Middle Class. We will unleash American energy – including shale, oil, natural gas and clean coal. The Obama-Clinton war on coal is going to cost this state 50,000 jobs. We will also work to restore and protect the Great Lakes. We are going to become a rich country again. But to be a rich country, we must also be a safe country.'   | stop, terminate, work, unleash                   | America             | Trump Administration, We.gov impersonal       | <b>Trump the doer and builder - His Brand - Hillary</b> wants to <b>destroy</b> what's left of <b>manufacturing</b> in Michigan with the TPP. <b>A Trump Administration will stop the TPP. We will (7) renegotiate</b> [Now Trump uses the action verbs to demonstrate his character and persona of a builder] the NAFTA - <b>lower</b> taxes on American business from 35% to 15% - <b>massively cut</b> taxes for the Middle Class - <b>unleash</b> American energy (shale,oil,natural gas, clean coal). <b>Obama - Clinton</b> war on coal <b>cost</b> Michigan <b>50,000 jobs</b> . <b>We will work</b> to restore and protect the Great Lakes - become a rich country again - a safe country. He throws in some statistics to emphasise this ability. (See Palm Beach, FL - Pisburg, PA - Detroit, MI - Cincinnati, OH - West Bend, WI speeches)   | Offering changes in policies that hurt the job markets, Putting America on the road to independence and create jobs, MHN met | 1                                      | act/agent |
| 150 | 'Hillary Clinton wants a 550% increase in Syrian Refugees. Hillary's immigration plans mean generations of terrorism, extremism and radicalism spreading into your schools and communities here in Michigan. When we win, we will suspend the Syrian Refugee Program – and we will keep Radical Islamic Terrorists out of our country. A Trump Administration will also secure and defend the borders of the United States. And yes, we will build a wall. We've received the first-ever endorsement from our ICE and Border Patrol officers. They tell us the border crisis is the worst it's ever been - it's a national emergency. They also warn America that Hillary's plan is the "the most radical proposal in U.S. history." When I become President, we will end illegal immigration, deport all criminal aliens, and put American Workers First.'  | suspend, secure, defend, build, received, deport | America             | We(universal),Trump impersonal,Administration | Trump moves to a more pure form of <b>propaganda</b> through the <b>negative - isms and crisis and emergency</b> - to develop <b>stronger paths</b> in the audience concerning their <b>safety</b> and the possibility of terrorism: <b>Hillary Clinton wants a 550% increase in Syrian Refugees</b> - meaning generations of <b>terrorism, extremism, and radicalism spreading into</b> your schools and communities here in <b>Michigan</b> . When we win, [Trump's Administration to do what the globalist will not] <b>we will(4)[The we will - contrasts the character of Trump's opponent Hillary's global thinking with his own business approach</b> i.e. build a wall as one example.] <b>suspend</b> the Syrian Refugee Program - <b>we will keep</b> Radical Islamic Terrorist <b>out</b> of our country. A Trump Administration will <b>secure and defend</b> the borders of the U.S. <b>We will build a wall</b> . The border <b>crisis</b> is the <b>worst</b> it has ever been - <b>it's a national emergency</b> . When I become President, we will <b>end</b> illegal immigration, deport criminals, <b>put</b> American Workers First. (See Palm Beach, FL - West Bend, WI - Philadelphia, PA )   | Basic need of safety met after globalist ideas shown as harmful  | 5                                      | act/agent |
| 151 | 'We will also repeal the Obama-Clinton defense sequester and rebuild our badly depleted military. We also need a new foreign policy that puts America First. Hillary led us to disaster in Iraq, Syria and Libya. Then, after Benghazi, she looked the families of the fallen in the eye and lied – she blamed it all on a video. Hillary and our failed Washington Establishment have spent \$6 trillion on wars in the Middle East, and now it's in worse shape than ever before. Imagine if some of that money had been spent building new schools, roads and bridges right here in Michigan. Now, Hillary – trapped in her Washington bubble that is blind to the lessons of the past – wants to start a shooting war in Syria in conflict with a nuclear-armed Russia, that could drag us into World War III. The arrogant political class never learns. They keep repeating the same mistakes, they keep telling the same lies, they keep producing the same failed results. How can Hillary manage this country when she can't even manage her email server? It's just one disaster after another, one scandal after another, one betrayal after another. To all Americans I say: it is time for new leadership. Just think about what we can accomplish in the first 100 days – We are going to have the biggest tax cut since Ronald Reagan; eliminate every unnecessary job-killing regulation; cancel every illegal Obama executive order; rebuild our military and take care of our Vets; support the men and women of law enforcement; save the 2nd amendment; and appoint Justices to the Supreme Court who will uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States.' | repeal, rebuild (2), spent (2)                   | America             | We(universal), I (Trump)                      | <b>Propaganda: Action</b> will be taken; <b>three in particular</b> then, <b>reminders</b> of lies or failures from previous administration: [Safety of our nation first - soft power does not exist if a nation does not have hard power - the first two statements show this - the third works when negotiating from strength. Trump as a businessman recognises the need to bargain with a strength not weakness.] <b>We will repeal</b> the Obama-Clinton <b>defense sequester</b> and <b>rebuild</b> our badly depleted <b>military</b> - <b>need new foreign policy</b> that puts <b>America First</b> [ <b>one of Trump's slogans</b> ]. <b>Hillary</b> led us to a <b>disaster</b> in the Iraq, Syria and Libya. <b>After Benghazi</b> , she <b>lied</b> , <b>blamed</b> a video. <b>Hillary</b> and the <b>Washington Establishment</b> spent <b>\$6 trillion on wars</b> in the Middle East and now it's worse. This could have been spent on <b>building</b> new schools, roads, bridges right here in Michigan. [Appeals to his base and image building] - [Now <b>Condescending</b> , hard to respect liars.] The arrogant political class <b>never learns</b> , keep repeating the <b>same mistakes</b> , <b>same waste</b> , <b>same lies</b> and producing the <b>same failed results</b> . How can Hillary manage this country when can't manage her <b>email server</b> ? One disaster one scandal, one betrayal after another. <b>To all Americans I say</b> ; it is <b>time</b> for new leadership. Just think about what we can <b>accomplish</b> in the first <b>100 days</b> [Trump will not waste time] - <b>We are going to</b> - have the biggest <b>tax cut</b> - <b>eliminate</b> job killing regulations - <b>cancel</b> every illegal Obama executive order - <b>rebuild</b> our military - <b>take care</b> of our vets - <b>support</b> our men and women of law enforcement - <b>save</b> the 2nd amendment - <b>appoint</b> Justices to the Supreme court who will <b>uphold</b> the Constitution. His list are what the Republicans and moderates desire. (See Columbus, OH - Palm Beach, FL - Philadelphia, PA - Detroit, MI - Cincinnati, OH speeches) | His final list summarises the needs of America MHN to be met (100 days)  | 5                                      | act/agent |
| 152 | 'Hillary wants us to think small, wants us to believe things can't change, and wants our lives to revolve around Washington, D.C. I am asking you to dream big, to push for bold change, and to believe in a movement powered by the people and by their love for this country. I'm tired of politicians telling Americans to defer their dreams to another day – when they really mean another decade. America is tired of waiting. The moment is now. All we have to do is stop believing in our failed politicians and start believing in each other and in our country. There is no challenge too great, no dream outside of our reach. Don't let anyone tell you it can't be done – the future lies with the dreamers, not the cynics and the critics. Hillary has been there for 30 years, and she has accomplished nothing – she's just made things worse. She is the candidate of yesterday.'  | asking, tired(2), start believing                | America             | I(Trump), individuality/We (universal)        | Trump starts with the <b>message</b> the Democrats suggests; the government knows best. <b>Hillary</b> wants us to <b>think small</b> , things can't change. I [Trump] am <b>asking you to dream big</b> , push for a <b>bold change</b> ; to <b>believe</b> in a movement <b>powered by the people</b> and <b>by their love for this country</b> . [Patriotism - the American Dream] <b>The moment is now</b> . All we have to do is <b>stop believing</b> in our failed politicians. [Globalism and government give-aways] and <b>start believing</b> in each other and <b>in our country</b> ; <b>no challenge to great</b> , <b>no dream outside our reach</b> ['Give us your huddled masses' - people who came over to America for freedom from oppression and the American dream of working to achieve success.] - the <b>future</b> lies with <b>dreamers</b> , not cynics, and critics. <b>Hillary is the candidate of yesterday</b> . (See Detroit, MI speech)   | Dream and work MHN met in the results of both  | 1                                      | act/agent |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Burke's Pentad   |   |                  |  |  |                           |  |                                   |
|-----|--|---|------------------|--|--|---------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
|     | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)   | Scene<br>(when, where)                            | Agent<br>(who)   | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level    |  | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why) | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act  |                                   |
| 153 | Specific Sentences and Speech References<br>"We are the movement of the future. Our movement represents all Americans, from all backgrounds, and all walks of life. We are asking for the votes of Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and first-time voters. We are asking for the vote of every American who believes truth and justice – not money and power – should rule the day. We are fighting for every citizen who believes that government should serve the people – not the donors and special interests. We are fighting to unlock the potential of every American community, and every American family, who hope and pray and yearn for a better future. With your vote, we are just 8 days away from the change you've been waiting for your entire life. Together, We Will Make America Wealthy Again. We Will Make America Strong Again. We Will Make America Safe Again. And We Will Make America Great Again."  | represents, asking (2), fighting (2) will make(4) | America          | We (universal), our/relational                     | Trump the man of action <b>The Brand personified: We are a movement(2)</b> of the future, represents <b>all Americans</b> . [American or America mentioned 8 times to pound home patriotism and Trump's own love for the country that made him.] We are <b>asking for the vote(s)(2)</b> of Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and first time voters, of every American who believes in <b>truth and justice</b> . We are <b>fighting(2)</b> for every citizen to <b>unlock</b> the potential of every American community. <b>American family</b> , who hope and pray and yearn for a better future. With your vote... We Will Make America Wealthy Again. We Will Make America Strong Again. We Will Make America Safe Again. We Will Make America Great Again. [Slogan variations all demonstrating the spirit that built America the first time.] (See Cincinnati, OH speech)  | 1                         | Trump left nothing out for Americans to meet their needs of safety and success. MHN  | act/agent                         |
| 154 | <b>Peters &amp; Woolley, 09/09/2016a, Remarks at the Pensacola Bay Center in Pensacola, Florida:</b> "It is so great to be back in Florida, my second home. Let me also thank our good and dear friend, Chairman Jeff Miller, for joining us here today. We've worked closely together on developing much-needed reforms to take care of our Veterans. Let me open by making this very important declaration: I love this state, I love the people of this state, and together we are going to have an amazing victory in November. Decades of political failure and corruption will come swiftly to an end, and a New American Future will begin. The citizens of this country will be in charge once more. The special interests have had their day. That chapter in our history is closing. The history book is closing on the failed politicians of yesterday. A new chapter is beginning, and this chapter will be authored by you, the American people. This will be your time. You will be running the show. Not the donors, not the insiders, not the media executives. Once more, we will have a government by and for the people. All we have to do is cut our ties to the bitter failures of the past, and anything becomes possible. Change is coming. All the people who've rigged the system for their own personal benefit are trying to stop our change campaign because they know that their gravy train has reached its last stop. It's your turn now. This is your time." | Worked, running, rigged, trying                   | Florida, America | I (Trump), we (universal) impersonal               | <b>Propaganda:</b> Trump starts with the universal administrative we – We've <b>worked</b> closely together on developing much-needed reforms to take care of our veterans. I <b>love</b> the state, I <b>love</b> the people of this state, and together we're going to have an amazing victory in November. [ <b>Trump builds paths with his audience.</b> ] Decades of political failure and corruption will come swiftly to an end, [ <b>compare and contrast</b> the politics of now with the future.] and a New American Future will begin. A new chapter is beginning, and this chapter will be <b>authored by you</b> , the <b>American people</b> . <b>You will be running [you vote you have a say]</b> the show.[ <b>Contrast</b> ] Not the donors, not the insiders, not the media executives. We will have a government of, by and for the people[ <b>Trump cites a summary of the Bill of Rights.</b> ] Change is coming. All the people who've rigged the system for their own personal benefit are trying to stop our change campaign. <b>It's your turn now. This is your time.</b> [Trump builds paths by giving ownership to the citizens, if they want it, they need to vote for him.] | 5                         | Trump offers the American people a chance at having their needs met. But, it's up to them.   | Act/agent                         |
| 155 | "The fact that so many encrusted old political insiders oppose our campaign is the best proof you will ever need that we are fighting for real change – not partisan change. We are fighting for all Americans – Democrats, Republicans, Independents, Conservatives, Liberals – who've been failed by this corrupt system. We're fighting for everyone who doesn't have a voice. We're also fighting for every region of this country. For every part of Florida, and every part of America. From Pensacola to Pittsburgh, from Baltimore to Baton Rouge, we are fighting for every last city and every last person in this country."   | Oppose, fighting (4)                              |                  | We (universal) impersonal                          | <b>Propaganda: Contrasting</b> what was; to what Trump is trying to do – the <b>fact</b> that so many <b>encrusted old political insiders oppose</b> our campaign is the <b>best proof</b> you will ever need that we are <b>fighting for real change</b> – not partisan change. [ <b>The repetition of the word fighting five times suggest it's not going to be easy and emphasizes the current insiders shortcomings to the American people.</b> ] [Trump elaborates on shortcomings of the encrusted, like barnacles on a ship.]We are fighting for all Americans – Democrats, Republicans, Independence, Conservatives, Liberals – who've been failed by this <b>corrupt system</b> – for everyone who <b>doesn't have a voice for every region</b> of this country (every part of Florida, every part of America from Pensacola to Pittsburgh, from Baltimore to Baton Rouge) fighting for <b>every last city every last person in this country</b> . [Trump mentions specific cities were the problems are the worst as shown in the speeches in those cities to <b>build paths for change.</b> ] (See appeal to voters – Warren, MI – Cincinnati, OH speeches)                                     | 5                         | Trump appeals to the Americans who are disenfranchised by what Trump calls the swamp not meeting their needs.  | Act/agent                         |
| 156 | "Hillary Clinton is the candidate of the past. Ours is the campaign of the future. In this future, we are going to pursue new trade policies that put American workers first – and that keep jobs in our country. All the people who got NAFTA wrong, and China wrong, and who are trying to give us the Trans-Pacific Partnership – are the same failed voices pushing for Hillary Clinton. Our trade deficit with the world is now nearly \$800 billion dollars. We've lost one-third of our manufacturing jobs since Bill and Hillary Clinton gave us NAFTA. China is manipulating its currency and taking our jobs. We are going to stop companies from leaving our country and keep those jobs right here in America. The era of economic surrender is over."   | Are going (2), failed, manipulating, taking       |                  | Hillary Clinton, Bill Clinton, our, we (universal) | <b>Trump targets Hillary Clinton and Bill Clinton because of the trade deals NAFTA and the transpacific partnership.</b> As he has in seven other speeches he addresses America's trade deficit with the world is nearly \$800 billion. Hillary Clinton is a candidate of the past. Ours is a campaign of the future we are going to pursue new trade policies that <b>put American workers first</b> – and that <b>keeps jobs in our country</b> . We've <b>lost one third of our manufacturing jobs</b> since Bill and Hillary Clinton gave us NAFTA. China's manipulating currency and taking our jobs. Were going to <b>stop companies from leaving our country and keeping those jobs right here in America.</b> (See Cincinnati, OH – Palm Beach, FL – Pittsburgh, PA – Detroit, MI – West Bend, WI – Warren, MI – Alumisource Mfg. PA)  | 2                         | Trump's conversation on the trade deals of NAFTA and the TPP in our trade debt demonstrates Clinton's not meeting the basic needs much any others of their constituency.                                     | Scene/act                         |
| 157 | "We will also have a very strong border that stops people and drugs from illegally pouring into our country – and we're going to build a border wall, and Mexico will pay for it. In this new future, we are going to raise your wages. Household incomes are over \$4,000 less today than they were in the year 2000. My tax, trade, energy, immigration and regulation reforms will get your salaries and wages up. Hillary Clinton will continue the failed economic agenda that has only made her friends rich at your personal expense. Many people in this room tonight, and across this country, haven't seen a real wage increase in 18 years. The people getting rich off of our rigged system have sent tens of millions of dollars to Hillary Clinton – much of it to her personal bank account – to keep you from having the future you deserve."  | Are going (two), will continue                    |                  | We (universal government) my (Trump)               | <b>Propaganda: more contrast</b> between the benefits of Trump's plan compared to the failures of the current admin's and Hillary's corruption implied: We will also have a very <b>strong border that stops people and drugs from illegally</b> pouring into our country – and we're going to <b>build a border wall</b> and, Mexico will pay for it. Trump elaborates on the new future with his future tense verb again– <b>are going to raise your wages</b> . To add to his <b>ethos – my tax, trade, energy, immigration and regulation reforms</b> will get your salaries and <b>wages up</b> . To develop the <b>negative pathos</b> – Hillary Clinton will continue the failed economic agenda that is only made her friends rich[ <b>Branding Hillary as crooked.</b> ]at your personal expense. The people getting rich off of our rigged system have sent tens of millions of dollars to <b>Again she is crooked</b> Hillary Clinton. (See Detroit, MI – Palm Beach, FL – West Bend, WI)   | 5                         | Once again Trump shows how the people's needs will be met the basic needs leading to the psychological needs that come from salaries and wages compared to the money going to Hillary's friends and herself. | Scene/act Hillary act/agent Trump |



Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Burke's Pentad   |                        |                |   |   |   |   |           |
|-----|--|------------------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|-----------|
|     | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)   | Scene<br>(when, where) | Agent<br>(who) | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level   |   | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why)   | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act   |           |
| 158 | <p>Specific Sentences and Speech References</p> <p>'But on November 8th, you get to vote for the future you want. In this future, we are going to pursue new education policies. At the center of my plan is school choice. I want every disadvantaged child in America to be able to attend the public or private school that is right for them and their family. In this future, we are also going to keep our country out of the endless wars that have defined Hillary Clinton's career. To keep our country out of war, we will remember those three very famous words: Peace Through Strength. That means rebuilding our badly depleted military. I laid out a detailed plan this week to re-invest in our military and our troops. We are going to build a 350-ship Navy, a 540,000 soldier Army, an Air Force of 1,200 combat-ready fighter jets, and a Marine Core built on 36 Battalions. Crucially, we are also going to pursue a state-of-the-art missile defense. We will start by modernizing our cruisers to provide the Ballistic Missile Defense capability our nation needs. As we expand our Navy toward the goal of 350 ships, we will also procure additional modern destroyers that are designed to handle the missile defense mission in the coming years.'</p> |                        |                |   | <p>Trump builds <b>ethos</b> by putting the voters future in their own hands. They need to vote on November 8. Stated matter-of-factly - <b>we are going to</b> pursue new education policies; <b>my plan is school choice</b>. I want every disadvantaged child in America to be able to attend the public or private school that is right for them. We're going to keep our country <b>out of endless wars</b> the defined Hillary Clinton's career. Remember those three very famous words: <b>Peace Through Strength</b>. [Trump again shows his business background by saying:] I <b>laid out a detailed plan</b> this week to reinvest in our military and our troops. [Part of meeting the safety needs of America, Trump lays out his plans to rebuild our military] <b>we are going to</b> expand to a 350 ship Navy, a 540,000 soldier Army, and Air Force of 1200 combat ready fighter jets, and a Marine Corps built on 36 battalions. <b>We are going to</b> pursue a state-of-the-art missile defense. We will <b>start by</b> modernizing our cruisers to provide the ballistic missile defense our nation needs, <b>procure</b> modern destroyers. The action verbs are symbolic of Trump's <b>building brand</b> (my emphasis) [See Philadelphia, PA – West Bend, WI – Cincinnati, OH – Columbus, OH speeches for education and military build-up]</p> | 1   | <p>Trump fulfills the need for accomplishment and prestige with the education policies. In the basic needs of safety through the strengthening of our military.</p> | Act/agent |
| 159 | <p>'Just today we were reminded of the need for missile defense after North Korea performed its fourth nuclear test since Hillary Clinton became Secretary of State. One more massive Hillary Clinton failure. Just like she failed in Iran and put them on the path to nuclear weapons. Hillary Clinton has presided over the greatest series of foreign policy failures and blunders anyone has ever seen. Her policies have produced massive global disorder. She handed Iraq over to ISIS, unleashing that terror group onto the world. ISIS would not be threatening the West today if not for the decisions Hillary Clinton made. She helped destabilize Egypt by supporting the ouster of President Mubarak in exchange for the Muslim Brotherhood. Fortunately, President El-Sisi is now in charge, but terrorists have gained a foothold in that country. She helped push Syria into a prolonged civil war by pushing regime change in that country too – without any plan for the day after.'</p>  |                        |                | <p>Propaganda: To build pay those with the audience toward Hillary Clinton's ability as Secretary of State Trump lists events that has happened in North Korea in the Middle East that has caused or extended concern or wars. To emphasize that policies during Hillary's time as Secretary of State's has created significant security issues. Trump uses negative word choices: today we were reminded of the need for missile defense after North Korea performed its fourth nuclear test since Hillary Clinton became Secretary of State. One more massive Hillary Clinton failure. She failed in Iran has presided over the greatest series of foreign policy failures and blunders; her policies have produced massive global disorder, handed Iraq over to isys, helped destabilize Egypt by supporting the ouster of Pres. Mubarak in exchange for the Muslim brotherhood. She helped push Syria into a prolonged civil war – without any plan for the day after. (See Palm Beach, FL Philadelphia, PA)</p>  | 4   | <p>Through this list Trump designates Hillary as the one responsible for many of the dangers we face today. The need for safety.</p>  | Scene/act   |           |
| 160 | <p>'She failed with China, which has only grown more aggressive. By the way, she also let China steal hundreds of billions of dollars in our intellectual property. And of course, Hillary Clinton failed with her Russian Reset. She gave up missile defense in Poland and the Czech Republic in exchange for nothing in return. Then, she gave up 20% of U.S. uranium to Russia –while those who benefited from the deal gave money to the Clintons. Let's not forget, Russia went into Crimea on President Obama's watch. Unlike Clinton and Obama, we will negotiate with Russia from a position of strength – not weakness. And weakness is all we get from President Obama and Hillary Clinton.'</p>   |                        |                | <p>Propaganda: she <b>failed</b> with China she also <b>let China steal</b> hundreds of billions of dollars in our <b>intellectual property</b>. Hillary <b>failed with her Russian Reset</b>, gave up missile defense in Poland and the Czech Republic with <b>nothing in return</b> [Trump's <b>business rhetoric appears</b>, when <b>he describes Hillary's actions</b>, as if she is a <b>failed executive</b>]. Then, she <b>gave up 20%</b> of US uranium to Russia – while those who <b>benefited gave money</b> to the Clinton's. Russia went into Crimea when Pres. Obama's watch. [Note <b>failed(2)</b>, <b>nothing in return</b>, <b>gave up(2)</b>] [While Trump will negotiate with a plan] <b>We will negotiate</b> with Russia from a <b>position of strength</b> – not weakness. (Philadelphia, PA speech)</p>  | 4   | <p>Instead of gaining in the world of business and security, America lost.</p>  | Scene/act   |           |
| 161 | <p>'The difference between me and my opponent on Vladimir Putin, and in all negotiations, is that I negotiate by creating leverage so I can extract a good deal for the United States. Hillary Clinton negotiates but never gets anything of value for the United States. Putin laughs at our leaders, and takes them to the cleaners again and again. That is why we will rebuild our military, strengthen our economy, and regain our position of leadership in the world – so we can negotiate from a position of great strength once again. If I cannot get a good deal for the United States, I will follow the example of Ronald Reagan and walk away. That is completely contrary to the way President Obama and Hillary Clinton negotiate which gets nothing of value for the United States, ever. They just keep losing. I will end this legacy of failure and strongly defend the interests of the United States.'</p>   |                        |                | <p>Trump <b>builds ethos</b> by using his <b>business rhetoric</b> as from his book <i>The Art of the Deal</i>: The difference between me and my opponent on Vladimir Putin, and in all negotiations, is that I <b>negotiate by creating leverage</b>, so that I can extract a good deal for the United States. Hillary <b>negotiates</b> but never gets anything of value. [Trump ties the same <b>negotiating skill</b> of Hillary to that of Obama as well.] Then Trump states, <b>Putin laughs at</b> our leaders and takes them to the <b>cleaners again and again</b>. [Trump emphasizes Hillary and Obama was lack of negotiating skills using repetition to the cleaners again and again]. We will <b>rebuild</b> our military, <b>strengthen</b> our economy, and <b>regain</b> our position of leadership in the world – so we can <b>negotiate</b> from a position of great strength. If I cannot get a good deal for the United States, I will follow the <b>example of Ronald Reagan and walk away</b>. [Trump reminds the voters of his business background and of Ronald Reagan who told Gorbachev 'take that wall down'.] I <b>will end this legacy of failure</b> and <b>strongly defend</b> the interests of the United States. (See Philadelphia, PA speech Reagan reference.)</p> | 1   | <p>To regain and fulfill the needs of the American people Trump promises to negotiate for America as he did in his own business with leverage.</p>  | Act/agent   |           |
| 162 | <p>'But I will also keep focused on the ultimate goal. We will not seek endless conflict and hostility; we won't get trapped in the failed approaches of the past. A future where America can find common ground with countries like Russia and China is a better future for our children. We will pursue these relationships with our eyes wide open, and a clear understanding of our many, many differences. I will advocate the American position with a strength and clarity President Obama and Hillary Clinton never have. No more apology tours. No more bowing to foreign powers. We proudly defend America at every single turn. America will get the respect it deserves. And if we don't, I will walk away from the deal like you've never seen anyone walk before. And, believe me, within a short while, they will come back – but only on my terms, therefore the terms of the American people. On these principles, we will pursue our long-term goals of peace – for the sake of our kids, and for the sake of the world's future.'</p>   |                        |                | <p>Trump uses a <b>sylligism</b> to convince his audience of his negotiation skills. <b>Major premise</b> – America can find <b>common ground</b> with countries like Russia and China. We will pursue these relationships with our <b>eyes wide open</b>, and a <b>clear understanding</b> of our many many differences. <b>Minor premise</b> – I will <b>advocate the American position</b> with a strength and clarity; no more apology tours no more bowing to foreign powers. <b>Conclusion</b> – America will get the <b>respect</b> it deserves. And if we don't, I <b>will walk away from the deal</b>. [Trump again alludes to his strong <b>business background</b> and ability to negotiate] Trump concludes on these principles, we will pursue our long-term goals of peace – for the sake of our kids(2), and for the sake of the world's future. Developing a trust in his ability, <b>pathos</b>, from the audience by using his <b>ethos</b> of a successful businessman.</p>  | 6   | <p>The Maslow hierarchy of needs when he links his negotiating skills for the purpose of long-term peace for the sake of our kids and for the sake of the world's future, not only is he dealing with safety but prestige and accomplishment.</p> | Act/agent   |           |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad  |                      |                                 |   |   | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|---|---|----------------------|---------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)  | Agent (who)                     | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  |   |   |  |
| 163 'Hillary Clinton has failed in every single country where she has ever gotten involved, and at a very high price for the world. Her policies have produced only death and destruction, not diplomacy. She's trigger-happy, pushing recklessly for regime change – but never creating or promoting stability, or advancing the core interests of the United States. Her only real achievement as Secretary of State has been getting away with her massive email scandal. She bleached, deleted and destroyed her emails after a subpoena from Congress. She lied to Congress while under oath, and smashed her phones with a hammer to keep them from getting to authorities. By the way, who has thirteen phones in the first place? Only somebody with a whole lot to hide. And we all know what Hillary Clinton was hiding. She was hiding her pay-for-play scandals as Secretary of State. Hillary Clinton isn't just part of the corrupt establishment, she is the corrupt establishment.'   | Failed, produced, bleached, deleted, destroyed, smashed, lied, was hiding (2) | America              | Hillary Clinton                 | Trump begins with attacking Hillary Clinton's policies, and then her scandals involving the emails and phones with her pay for play scandals as Secretary of State. He then effectively brands her as corrupt and inept. She has failed in every single country where she has ever gotten involved. Her policies have produced only death and destruction not diplomacy. [Note the alliteration] She's trigger-happy, pushing recklessly for regime change – but never creating stability. Her only real achievements has been getting away with her massive email scandal. She bleached, deleted and destroyed [list and alliteration] her emails after a subpoena from Congress. She lied while under oath and smashed her phones with a hammer. Rhetorical question, by the way who has 13 phones in the first place? Trump then uses the word hide three times: Somebody with a whole lot to hide, we all know what Hillary was hiding. She was hiding her pay for play scandals. Hillary Clinton isn't just a part of the corrupt establishment, she is the corrupt establishment. (See Warren, MI – Cincinnati, OH – Palm Beach, FL – Philadelphia, PA – Columbus, OH speeches)   | 2 | Through Trump's branding Hillary as corrupt, he demonstrates her caring about herself more than the United States.  | Scene/act                              |
| 164 'I just saw her press conference today where Hillary Clinton complained about all of the problems in the world. If only we'd had a competent Secretary of State who could have prevented all of these problems from happening. Throughout it all, Hillary Clinton and her Foundation raked in millions and millions of dollars from the most oppressive and brutal regimes on earth. Hillary Clinton and her Foundation have cozied up to regimes that oppress and brutalize women, that murder gays, and that violate human rights on an unimaginable scale. My Administration will be a voice for all people who are oppressed, including the millions of women being oppressed by Radical Islam. Hillary Clinton has been there for 30 years and produced only failure. Yet people keep giving her money and protecting her. It's the powerful protecting the powerful. [Warren, MI] The insiders fighting for insiders.'  | Complained, raked, oppressed, produced, protecting                            | America, Middle East | Hillary Clinton                 | Trumps propaganda against Hillary once again lightens after a very harsh description of her corruption. He does this to show his humanity to help define his ethos as to Hillary's: I just saw her press conference today where Hillary Clinton complained about all the problems in the world. [Reference to Hillary's global views] Clinton and her foundation raked in millions and millions of dollars from the most oppressive and brutal regimes on earth. [Trump makes a quick analogy to his administration compared to Hillary's] my administration be a voice for all people who are oppressed, including the millions of women being oppressed by Radical Islam. Hillary has been there for 30 years and produced only failure yet people keep giving her money and protecting her it's the powerful protecting the powerful. Note the repetition of the word protecting her and then again protecting the powerful he actually uses alliteration in that last line the powerful protecting the powerful to emphasise Hillary's questionable character. (See Warren, MI)   | 5 | Trumps declaring his administration will be the voice for all the people who are oppressed demonstrates is desired to meet the needs of the people even including the millions of women oppressed by radical Islam. Trump stating this serves two purposes one he's representing the people in the United States and secondly his disagreement and support for women around the world who are oppressed. This helps his eat those as well as showing he cares about the needs of the people at home and abroad. | Scene/act                              |
| 165 'I am fighting for you. All the people advising Hillary Clinton are the people responsible for the endless wars and conflicts, and the tragedies in the Middle East. I am proud to have the support of the retired generals and admirals who know how to win – and how to avoid endless war. Let me also take this moment to express our deepest thanks and gratitude to everyone who has worn the uniform, but most especially to those who have given the ultimate sacrifice for this country. There is no greater expression of love than the love shown by the men and women who have laid down their lives for their country and its people. It is our duty to ensure that their sacrifices are not in vain. That means we don't issue timetables for political reasons, but that we work with our generals and our leaders to produce a real plan for victory. We will pursue a new, steady foreign policy that seeks to advance the national security interests of the United States – not a reckless, interventionist globalism that has failed this country so badly.' | am fighting, work, will pursue  | America, Middle East | I (Trump)individuality, bonding | Trump builds his character by tying his fighting for Americans, to our soldiers fighting for our country: I am fighting for you. Hillary advisors are responsible for the endless wars and conflicts in the tragedies in the Middle East. At this point Trump notes his support from military: I am proud to have the support of retired generals and admirals who know how to win. He further build his ethos as he states, 'Let me also take this moment to express our deepest thanks and gratitude to everyone who has worn the uniform.[note here that Trump attended a military academy during high school] but most especially to those who have given the ultimate sacrifice for this country. It is our duty to ensure that their sacrifices are not in vain that means we don't issue timetables for political reasons.[this refers to the continued announcements from the past administration of what the military would be doing] but that we work with our generals and leaders to produce a real plan for victory. We will pursue a new, steady foreign policy to advance the national security interest of the United States – not a reckless interventionist globalism. With two slight mentions of Hillary one of the endless war in the Middle East and the second globalism, he labels the administration Hillary works with as globalist thus not concerned with America (See Cincinnati, OH – Palm Beach, FL – Aluminisource, PA – Pittsburgh, PA – West Bend, WI military & globalism) | 1 | Trumps steady foreign policy implies safety from outside forces as well as the national security interest emphasizing safety in the United States. Patriotism and esteem Basic safety and psychological needs, esteem   | Act/agent /democracy                   |
| 166 'And we will be clear in naming our enemy: Radical Islamic Terrorism. The fact that Hillary Clinton can't even say these words proves how unfit she is to lead this country. This is one single fact she can never escape. Any country that shares our goal of defeating this enemy will be our partner in this mission. We will break the cycle of regime change, and refugee crisis, that has gone on for so many years. We simply can't afford to continue down the road we are on right now. That applies to everything. Change is needed at every single level of our society.'  | Break,  | America              | We (universal), impersona I     | We will be clear in naming our enemy: Radical Islamic Terrorism. The fact that Hillary Clinton can even say those words proves health unfit she is to lead this country. [Again Trump notes that the current administration does not use the term Radical Islamic Terrorism] We will break the cycle of regime change, and refugee crisis, that has gone on for so many years that applies to everything. Changes needed at every single level of our society. (See West Bend, WI speech)   | 5 | This is not about globalism and taking care of the world, but about taking care of United States.   | Act/agent                              |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad   |  |                                    |   |                        |   |           |
|--|--|--|------------------------------------|---|------------------------|---|-----------|
|  | Act (what) action verb(s)  | Scene (when, where)                            | Agent (who)                        | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose Maslow's (why) | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act  |           |
| 167 'When I talk about making America Great Again, I'm talking about creating a future that includes each and every American. I want the most inclusive, generous and prosperous society we have ever had. The possibilities for our future are unlimited. The Hillary Clinton campaign is so small, so petty, so tired. If we just break from this bitter, divisive past, we can achieve anything. That also means breaking from the lies and the deceit of the Clintons. They want to scare you out of voting for change. The most recent smear comes from Bill Clinton, who said that the theme of Make America Great Again is somehow racist – now they've unearthed video footage of Bill Clinton repeatedly using this same phrase. It's just one more Clinton lie, one more desperate slander to keep the people from having the future they deserve. When I talk about Making America Great Again, I'm talking about making it Great Again for Everyone – but especially for all of the Americans who have been left behind. We are the campaign of unity, and we will deliver amazing things for all of our people. New schools, new factories, new infrastructure. Beautiful skyscrapers will rise all across this nation. We will develop Detroit, Not Beijing. [Detroit, MI] Most importantly, we will fight to end the systemic poverty in our inner cities, and to lift millions of African-Americans and Hispanics out of poverty.' | Talk, talking, break, can achieve smear, lie, slander, will rise, will fight | America, Detroit, MI, any large city in the US | I (Trump) we (universal)impersonal | Ethos: using four different methods of saying make America great again Trump does a compare and contrast of character between himself and the Clintons while reiterating Trump's slogan - Make America Great Again: when I talk about making America great, I'm talking about creating a future that includes each and every American. I want the most inclusive, generous and prosperous society we have ever had. The Hillary Clinton campaign is so small, so petty, so tired [repetition]. If we just break from this bitter, divisive past[negatives], we can achieve anything. The most recent smear comes from Bill Clinton, who said that the theme of make America great again is somehow racist. It's just one more Clinton lie, one more desperate slander[raising the negative pathos in the audience] to keep the people from having the future they deserve. When I talk about making America great again, I'm talking about making it great again for everyone – a campaign of unity, new schools, new factories, new infrastructure; Beautiful skyscrapers will rise[promises of new beginnings - jobs] across this nation we will develop Detroit, not Beijing [Globalism]. Most importantly we will fight to in the systemic poverty in her inner cities and lift millions of African-Americans and Hispanics out of poverty [See Cincinnati, OH – Palm Beach, FL – alumisource, PA – Pittsburgh, PA – West Bend, WI, globalism – every speech ends with Make America Great Again] My Brand My Slogan | 1                      | Every aspect of Maslow's hierarchy of needs leading to persuasion is used. Make America great again – education jobs roads skyscrapers a symbol of success will rise in Detroit not Beijing fight in poverty in the inner cities appeals to the minorities. | Act/agent |
| 168 'Here, in Florida, we have such an amazing and diverse community of Hispanic-Americans – from Cuba. From Puerto Rico, from Venezuela, from Haiti, from all over. These incredible Americans will have in Donald J. Trump a President who is determined to fight for their jobs, their wages, their schools, and their futures. [Palm Beach FL] To all Hispanic-Americans who want better jobs and higher wages: I will be your champion. All working people, of all backgrounds and from all places, will have a true friend in Donald Trump. In particular, I have a very special place in my heart for those who make a living as tradesmen, craftsmen and construction workers. I've spent my professional life among construction workers, bricklayers, electricians and plumbers. I feel more comfortable around blue collar workers than Wall Street executives. There's a reason the hedge fund managers are funding Hillary Clinton's campaign, and not mine.'   | Determined   | Florida, America                               | We (universal) I (Trump)impersonal | Trump continues to demonstrate ethos in reaching to the people concerning diversity of the Americans in the United States: here in Florida we have such an amazing diverse community of Hispanic – Americans – from Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Haiti – these incredible Americans will have Donald J Trump a president who is determined to fight for their jobs, wages, schools, and futures [he used their in front of each of those nouns representing their America not his America]. (This was referenced in his Palm Beach, FL speech) Trump continues to emphasize the Hispanic Americans who want better jobs and higher wages: I will be your champion. Now demonstrating his experience in building his many towers Trump proclaims: I have a very special place in my heart for those who make a living as tradesmen, craftsmen, construction workers. I've spent my professional life among construction workers, bricklayers, electricians and plumbers. I feel more comfortable around blue-collar workers and Wall Street executives. Some irony in his next claim there is a reason the hedge fund managers are funding Hillary Clinton's campaign and not mine. The irony is the stock market has risen since Trump election.   | 1                      | Trump offers jobs to all working people of all backgrounds meeting the very basic needs as well as psychological  | Act/agent |
| 169 'My campaign is powered by my own money, but also small dollar donations from people like all of you who just want their country back. This is our chance. It's our last chance to give the people control over their own futures once again. Gleaming new plants stretching across our nation. Young Latino children getting an amazing education at the school of their choice – and their parents having their jobs protected from unfair competition. Our Veterans will get the best healthcare in the world. You can read the whole plan on our website, DonaldJTrump.com. Massive tax reductions and tax simplification – so that you can keep more of your precious time and your hard-earned money. Hillary Clinton wants to raise your taxes big time. Most importantly, 2017 will be about unity. Once again, we will be One American Nation.'   | Powered, donations, reductions, simplifications, keep                        | America  | My (Trump)impersonal               | Trump emphasizes his individuality as to being a part of the swamp: Ethos – my campaign is powered by my own money also small dollar donations from all of you who just want their country back. Trump's promises – gleaming new plants across our nation. Young Latino children getting an amazing education at the school of their choice – [West Bend, WI – Columbus, OH – Detroit, MI – Cincinnati, OH] – and their parents having their jobs protected from unfair competition, our veterans getting the best healthcare [Cincinnati, OH] in the world. There will be massive tax reduction tax simplification so you can keep more of your hard-earned money. Once again, we will be One American Nation.   | 1                      | Meeting needs: education jobs healthcare  | Act/agent |
| 170 'We Will Be One American People. Just imagine what we can accomplish together if we set aside our differences, and focus on what we have in common as Americans. We will be one people, living under One God, saluting one beautiful American flag. We Will Make America Proud Again. We Will Make America Prosperous Again. We Will Make America Safe Again. Friends and fellow citizens, We Will Make America Great Again!'  | Accomplish, set aside, saluting, will make (4)                               | America  | We (universal)inclusive            | Trump's ultimate bonding is the American pride appealing to the promise to Make America Great Again with his audience, uniting with them with the pronoun we: We will be one American people. We can accomplish together if we set aside our differences and focus on what we have in common as Americans. We will be one people, living under one God, saluting one beautiful American flag. We will make America proud again. We will make America prosperous again. We will make America safe again. Friends and fellow citizens, we will make America great again! A closing filled with repetition and patriotism promising to unite and succeeding because of a single goal of a country – America  | 3                      | The promise make America great again  | Act/agent |
| 171 Peters & Woolley, 05/08/2016e, Remarks at the KI Convention Center in Green Bay, Wisconsin: 'Hello, everybody. Your football team is going to have a great year. [applause] I watch. I watch. You've got the quarterback, you've got the whole deal. I think it's going to be a very good year. [applause] OK? And if you get into that Super Bowl, I will be going, all right? So, you know, I wrote something down before, and I think it is important, because – I love you too. [applause] Because we need unity, we have to win this election. This is truly one of the most important elections, certainly in my lifetime. Because we are about to go -- we lose it, we are in the wrong direction, and maybe it's gone. Supreme Court justices, always remember that.'  | watch, Wrote, lose   | Green Bay, Wisconsin                           | inclusive/ (Trump) we (universal)  | Trump build ethos by bonding with the Green Bay audience. It is important to note that Green Bay's football team is publicly owned and they have an outstanding quarterback. Trump states, I watch. I watch. You've got the quarterback, you've got the whole deal. And if you get into that Super Bowl, I will be going, all right? I wrote something down before I think it's important. Because we need unity, we have to win this election. We lose it, were going in the wrong direction. Supreme Court justices, always remember that. [1 of the things the two political parties are always concerned about is the balance of liberal and conservative judges and them wanting to sway the balance for their party, in this case the conservative party and a conservative judge to rule for conservative ideals.] Trump bragging on Green Bay's football team shows he cares and creates a bond.  | 1                      | The key to this speech was Supreme Court justices: more conservative ideals that typically reflect a broader spectrum of the American people.   | Act/agent |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Burke's Pentad  |                        |                     |  |  |   |
|-----|---|------------------------|---------------------|--|--|---|
|     | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)  | Scene<br>(when, where) | Agent<br>(who)      | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act |
| 172 | <p>Specific Sentences and Speech References</p> <p>'But so many different levels, and when you see what happened with crooked Hillary today, it was a disaster. [applause] A disaster. She had a disaster. She lies folks, she lies badly. [applause] So, I want to -- I just wrote this out. I wanted to say to the group, you know, I had a great time when I was in Wisconsin, and I did not quite eke it out. I thought I was going to, but after that, it worked out well. You built me up, you taught me about politics. And when I left here, I said, I think I've learned a lot. [applause] So, I love it. I love the people. I have many friends in Wisconsin. And they're -- they're incredible people. You're incredible people. I have to tell you that. [applause] And we're going to have a lot of fun. We are going to have a lot of fun but I had to write this. This campaign is not about me or any one candidate. It is about America.'</p> <p>See, lies (2) taught, built, learned</p>  | Wisconsin              | I (Trump)impersonal | <p>Trump starts with <b>propaganda on Hillary</b> and then builds <b>pathos</b> within the audience by saying what <b>they taught him</b>, while he was traveling the state: When you see what happened with <b>crooked Hillary</b> today it was a <b>disaster. A disaster. She had a disaster. She lies folks, she lies badly.</b> [Trump immediately uses his brand for her <b>crooked</b> and then gives <b>three disasters</b> and two lies to emphasize her character.] Now he talks about his time in Wisconsin [building a positive pathos on his character] -- it worked out well. <b>You built me up, you taught me about politics.</b> And when I left here, I said, I think I've learned a lot. They are <b>incredible people. Your incredible people,</b> and were going to have a lot of fun. Were going to have a <b>lot of fun.</b> Trump ads I had to write this. This campaign is not about me or any one candidate. It is about America. [Note the Trump implies he writes his own speeches or at least adds to them.] Trumps repetition solidify's the character of Hillary and then himself.</p>   | It is about America. Trump states I learned from you. Implying I'm here to help you and America. | Scene/act Hillary<br>Trump Act/agent      |
| 173 | <p>'It is time for a change. We need a change. A real change, not an Obama change. We don't need an Obama change. We have had enough. It is time to change a rigged political system that works only for the insiders, and replace it with a government that serves the people. [applause] Have to do it. And know both sides. I've been on the other side. Believe me. I actually like this side better; this is a movement. This is a movement like they may have never seen in this country, according to even the political pundits that truly hate me, OK? This is a -- they -- oh, this is a movement that some say, most say is one of the great phenomenon's that they've ever seen in politics. Some say it's the single greatest phenomenon. [applause] Though the media doesn't want to talk about it, we have done something -- we. All of us, together. I'm a messenger; I'm only a messenger. We have done something truly historic together, standing before you as nominee for president and I'm not a politician, proudly.'</p> <p>Replace, serves</p>   | America                | I (Trump)           | <p><b>Propaganda through repetition</b> Trump uses the word <b>change</b> six times, and he finishes with a positive action word <b>movement</b> then re-emphasizes that with <b>phenomenon</b> twice and then adds <b>messenger</b> twice. Trump once to emphasize to his audience why he's running he does this with repetition of the word change: <b>It is time for a change. We need a change. A real change, not an Obama change.</b> [Obama's 2008 campaign slogan was CHANGE We Can Believe In] <b>We don't need an Obama change.</b> It is time to <b>change a rigged political system</b> that only works for the <b>insiders.</b> [Trump continuously through his speeches announces the insiders that Hillary works for, the swamp or Washington D.C. politicians.] It is time to <b>replace</b> (the rigged political system) with a government that <b>serves [action verbs by Trump]</b> the people. I've been on the other side. <b>Believe me.</b> I actually like this side better; this is a <b>movement.</b> This is a <b>movement</b> like they have never seen in this country. Even according to the political pundits that truly hate me. This is a <b>movement</b> that some say, most say is one of the greatest <b>phenomenons</b> that they've ever seen in politics. The single greatest <b>phenomenon.</b> All of us together. <b>I am a messenger; I'm only a messenger.</b> We have done something truly historic together. I'm not a politician, proudly. Trump's use of the repetition with the key words of his campaign - change and movement - with the <b>messenger</b> title clarifying his <b>not being a politician, proudly. With the alliteration to punctuate the idea of repetition as well P.</b></p>  | Change - the need for people to have jobs and have someone help them get there.                  | act/agent                                 |
| 174 | <p>'I'm not part of the system. I ran against the system, and I'm probably better off running against the system. [applause] I ran against the donors. I'm my own donor, essentially. I have a lot of money under this deal. This is a very expensive crisis, I want to tell you. [laughter] I funded-- as you know, I funded the primaries. And I'm in for under \$60 million, and I'm largely funding my campaign as we go forward. In addition to that -- in addition to that, we have raised tremendous amounts of money, and much of it from small donors,\$61; \$61. As a Republican, that doesn't happen. It happens because of what you are seeing in front of you today. And if you remember, just prior to June, they did a story, "Donald Trump has not really done too well with fund raising." Well, that is because I did not even know if I was getting the nomination. I'm not going to raise funds -- I would've had enough if I didn't make it. I would have said, "Bye, bye, politics." But I wanted to make sure -- so I got it. And then I started raising money for the Republican Party, and we raised a lot of money. We started really on June 14th, Flag Day, my birthday. [applause] And in June, we raised approximately -- think of this -- \$51 million. Can you imagine?'</p> <p>Ran (2), funding, raised (5) some form of, are seeing, started.</p>   |                        | I (Trump)impersonal | <p>Trump establishes his <b>ethos through repetition</b> in first declaring -- <b>I'm not a part of the system. I ran against the system,</b> and I'm probably <b>better off running against the system.</b> The quick repetition <b>against the system</b> bonds Trump to the crowd as many are unhappy with D.C. He then discusses the <b>finances:</b> this is a very <b>expensive crisis,</b> [the system] I want to tell you. <b>I funded</b> as you know, <b>I funded</b> the primaries. I am largely <b>funding my campaign</b> [Trump's repeating <b>I funded</b> separates him from the large Political Action Committees (PAC) dollars that represent Washington D.C. politics] as we go forward. We have <b>raised</b> tremendous amounts of money and much of it from small donors, <b>\$61; \$61.</b> [Trump talks about small donations in his Pensacola, FL speech]. The media commented that I wasn't doing well <b>fundraising</b> -- I didn't even know if I was getting the nomination. I'm not going to <b>raise funds</b> if I didn't get the nomination. So I got it and then I started <b>raising</b> money for the Republican Party, and we <b>raised</b> a lot of money we start <b>illustrating</b> the average person wants him elected ed on <b>June 14, Flag Day, my birthday. My birthday.</b> Certainly suggesting a correlation between his birthday and American patriotism. Trump's character.] And in June think of this we <b>raised</b> \$51 million.</p>   | I am an American spending my money to become president to help you. Give what you can for you.   | act/agent                                 |
| 175 | <p>'And those people couldn't believe it; they were really surprised. Big headlines, you know. Because they don't give me too many good headlines. I could do the greatest things. I do things that I think a fantastic. I say, good, there is no way they cover this badly. And they cover it badly. I gently tell a woman that I love her baby, and let the baby cry. It is OK. As the baby that had a voice that was superior to Pavarotti continued to cry -- I remember, I told her to stay, don't worry, ma'am. But after about 3 or 4 minutes, and I'm trying to speak and it was in Jacksonville, we had this massive, massive crowd, filled up the stadium. And the baby's screaming. So, I said, ma'am, I would like to reverse my order. Perhaps you could nicely take -- take the baby out. Your baby is great. I did it so nicely. She was happy. Even the baby was happy. He stopped crying. [applause] And maybe you could take the baby out, would that be possible? The whole place was cracking up. And the next day in the newspaper, it said, "Trump throws baby out of arena." Terrible. Now, they are very dishonest. That was a tough one, when I -- and I just had a reporter come up to me, backstage, a reporter come up -- "Mr. Trump, sir, but why did you throw that baby out of the arena?" I said, "I was having fun. I was so nice, I was so nice. Everybody likes me. The baby liked me, the mother liked me. We had a good time. I try to keep the baby in, but the baby was such -- had such a powerful voice. [applause] In fact, I want to find out who that baby is, because I want to sponsor the baby. And that baby will sing someday in Philharmonic Hall. I'm telling you. New York City. OK? The great Philharmonic.'</p> <p>Surprised, cover (2) tell, take, throws,</p> |                        | I (Trump)           | <p>Trump emphasizes his <b>ethos</b> by telling a story about the baby who cried during part one of his rally speeches. It starts with the media couldn't believe he got the Republican nomination: those people couldn't believe it; they were really surprised. Big headlines, you know. They don't give me too many good headlines. I do things that I think are fantastic. I say, good, there's no way they cover this badly. And they cover it badly -- I gently tell a woman that I love her baby, and let the baby cry. It is okay. As the baby that had a voice that was superior to Pavarotti continue to cry -- I remember, I told her to stay, don't worry, ma'am. But after three or four minutes, and I'm trying to speak and it was in Jacksonville, we had this massive, massive crowd filled up the stadium. In the baby's screaming. So I said ma'am, I'd like to reverse my order. Perhaps you could nicely take -- take the baby out. Your baby is great. I didn't so nicely. She was happy. Even the baby was happy. He stopped crying. No place was cracking up. In the next day in the newspaper -- Trump throws baby out of the arena. Terrible. Another very dishonest. Backstage, a reporter comes up -- Mr. Trump, sir, but why did you throw that baby out of the arena? I said I was having fun I was so nice everybody likes me. The baby liked me, the mother liked me. I tried to keep the baby in, but the baby was such -- had such a powerful voice. In fact, I want to find out who that baby is, because I want to sponsor the baby. That baby will sing someday in Philharmonic Hall. I'm telling you. New York city okay? The great Philharmonic. [This simple narrative tells his audience of the media's bias to Trump. A baby cries -- loudly -- he personally asked the mother to take the baby out because of its loudness in the headline says Trump throws.] A humorous story to illustrate his character and media bias.</p> | This story illustrates the psychological needs of an audience the belonging                      | Act/agent                                 |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Burke's Pentad   |                        |                                   |  |                           |   |
|-----|--|------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------|---|
|     | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)   | Scene<br>(when, where) | Agent<br>(who)                    | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why) | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act   |
| 176 | Specific Sentences and Speech References<br><p>'So, I'm not part of the system. I ran against the system. I ran against the donors, because I'm largely my own donor. I'm running against myself. That's sort of -- never thought of it that way. And against the status quo, and the status quo, we have to get rid of, because it is not working, folks, because the country is a mess. [applause] And that is why put up a lot of money. But while the Democrats nominated the candidate of special interests, and really a candidate of total corruption, I mean, you take a look at what she is doing, the Republicans made history by choosing a nominee from outside of this very, very corrupt system. It is a corrupt system. It's a corrupt system. You want something done, they can do it for you. And that is not necessarily, and usually it isn't good for the country.'</p>  |                        |                                   | Trump reverts back two repetition to again note that he is not political (ethos): I'm not a part of the system. I ran against the system. I ran against the donors, because I'm largely my own donor. And against (4) the status quo, and the status quo, we have to get rid of because it's not working. The Democrats nominated the candidate of special interest, and really a candidate of total corruption. You take a look at what she's doing, the Republicans made history by choosing a nominee from the outside of this very, very corrupt system. It is a corrupt system. It's a corrupt (4) system. Trump is really trying to relate to Wisconsin estate he has to win to help him win the presidency. He emphasizes he's not taking political money; he emphasizes that is not a part of the status quo; he emphasizes that the Republicans chose a nominee from outside of a four times emphasized corrupt system. Of course with the word corrupt the name Hillary is synonymous.   |                           | I'm not apart of the crooked system I've been nominated for something the Democrats will not do and that is meet your needs |
|     | Ran (2), running, nominated,   |                        | I (Trump)we inclusive             |  | 3                         | Act/agent   |
| 177 | 'That is why we're going to be able to deliver real change, and real safety and real opportunity to all Americans. We have to unite. Remember that. Everything I've accomplished, I have done by putting together a really fantastic team, including Governor Mike Pence of Indiana, who has done an incredible... [applause] Done an incredible job. My wonderful staff of people that really love what we are doing, and they are working so hard. My family, friends, and it's expanding all the time. But I need a Republican Senate and a House to accomplish all of the changes that we have to make. We have to make them, right? [applause] I understand and embrace the wisdom of Ronald Reagan's big tent within the party, big, big tent, remember? Ronald Reagan, great man, great guy, Remember he included Reagan Democrats and Independents and Republicans, a lot of people. We're going to have the same thing. There a lot of Democrats perhaps in this room, are there a lot of Democrats? Raise your hands. I mean, I don't think we need too many to be honest with you, but -- so I embraced the wisdom that my 80 percent friend is not my 20 percent enemy, Ronald Reagan. [applause] Stated by Ronald Reagan, pretty good.' |                        |                                   | Trump again developing his ethos but this time talking about his team and his philosophy. That is why were going to be able to deliver real change, and real safety and real opportunity to all Americans. We have to unite. Remember that. Everything I've accomplished, I've done by putting together a really fantastic team, including Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana[Vice Presidential running mate], who has done an incredible job. My wonderful staff of people that really love what we are doing. My family, friends, and it's expanding all the time. But I need a Republican Senate and a House to accomplish all of the changes that we have to make. And then again, as in other speeches, calling on the favorite Republican president Ronald Reagan's memory -- I understand and embrace the wisdom of Ronald Reagan's big tent within the party, big, big tent, remember? Ronald Reagan, great man, great guy, Remember he included Reagan Democrats and Independents and Republicans, a lot of people. So I embraced the wisdom that my 80% friend is not my 20% enemy, Ronald Reagan. Stated by Ronald Reagan pretty good. (See Pensacola, FL - Philadelphia, PA - Aluminisource Mfg, PA) Trump mentioning of Ronald Reagan, a very popular Republican president of the United States, reflects that Trump will be same by working across the aisle.  |                           | Trump's emphasis on real safety and real opportunity reflects on Maslow's basic and psychological needs.                    |
|     | Are going, accomplished, are doing, are working, expanding, understand and embrace   |                        | We (universal) I (Trump)inclusive |  | 1                         | Act/agent   |
| 178 | 'We will be the big tent party. We are going to have a lot of cross help. We are going to have a lot of Bernie Sanders people coming in because of trade, because Bernie Sanders knew we were being ripped off by trade. Trade is a disaster with China, with Japan, with Mexico, with Vietnam, with so many countries, with every country, every country. We don't win at any level with anything, and as a unified party, we will lead our country to unity as well, very important. We need the unity, we have to win the election. [applause] No we have to win it -- have to win it. Otherwise, our big movement was not as big as we thought and that's not good. That's why November 8th, you've got to get everybody you know -- and you know, all this voter ID nowadays, a lot of places aren't going to have voter ID. Now what does that mean? What does that mean? You just keep walking in and voting? So you have to be very careful, very vigilant -- you have to be careful. But we will have disagreements, but we will disagree as friends and never stop working together toward victory, and very importantly, toward real change.'   |                        |                                   | Trump begins with the universal we and back to the reference of Reagan's the big tent party. He then uses the we as in those that are voting for Trump including the Bernie Sanders people that will be voting Republican instead of Democrat due to recognizing the bad trade deals: trade is a disaster with China, with Japan, with Mexico, with Vietnam, with so many countries (3). In short Trump addresses globalism again; we don't win at any level with anything talking about the current situation. A unified party, we will lead our country to unity. We need the unity, we have to win the election. No we have to win it -- have to win it.[Trump pushes the grass-roots movement of people telling other as to why we need change.] Our big movement was not as big as we thought and that's not good that's why November 8 you've got to get everybody you know know. But we will have disagreements, but we will disagree as friends and never stop working to gather toward victory, and very importantly toward real change. Trump wants the voters to understand that we will not always agree. ( Globalism - Palm Beach FL - Cincinnati, OH - Pttsburg, PA - West Bend, FL - Detroit, MI)   |                           | Globalism through trade has negatively affected American jobs.  |
|     | Are going, lead, keep walking and devoting   | Our country            | We (universal)impersonal          |  | 5                         | Act/agent   |
| 179 | 'So in our shared mission to make America great again, I support and endorse our speaker of the House, Paul Ryan. [applause] Paul Ryan, he's good. He's a good man. He's a good man and he's a good guy. And we may disagree on a couple of things, but mostly we agree and we're going get it done and we're going to do a lot of wonderful things. [applause] He's a good man. And while I'm at it, I hold in the highest esteem Senator John McCain for his service to our country, in uniform and in public office, and I fully support and endorse his re-election. Very important. [applause] We'll work together. I also fully support and endorse Senator Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire. [applause] A state I truly love, primarily because that was my first victory, but I love New Hampshire. No, I love New Hampshire, one of the most beautiful places. She's a rising star and will continue to represent the great people of New Hampshire so very well for a long, long time. Senator Kelly Ayotte.'   |                        |                                   | Trump tries to show unity across the Republican party to develop a proper pathos within the party, so the support of those Republicans that really didn't want him as a candidate will grow. He starts with perhaps his biggest critic speaker the house Paul Ryan -- I support and endorse our speaker of the house. Paul Ryan, he's good. He's a good man. He's a good man and is a good guy.(5)[He repeats he's a good man because of the background the to have had in the primaries. No hard feelings.] And we may disagree on a couple of things, but we mostly agree and were going to get it done and were going to do a lot of wonderful things. He's a good man. And while I'm at it, I hold in the highest esteem Sen. John McCain for his service to our country, in uniform and in public office, and I fully support and endorse his re-election. Very important. We'll work together. I also fully support and endorse Sen. Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire. Trump won the primary in New Hampshire. The Republicans he mentions Paul Ryan and John McCain in particular has very strong feelings toward Trump's verbosity and before he got the nomination spoke against him. Though Trump may seem like he's desperate; be assured he's looking at votes and it is a businessman he understands that you don't have to like someone to have to work with them. He states is much in his book The Art of the Deal. |                           | To meet the people's needs Trump will have to work with other elected officials.  |
|     | Support and endorse (3), work  | States across Am       | Our, I (Trump)inclusive           |  | 5                         | Act/agent   |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Burke's Pentad  |                        |                 |   |  |   |   |
|-----|---|------------------------|-----------------|---|--|---|---|
|     | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)  | Scene<br>(when, where) | Agent<br>(who)  | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level   |  | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why)   | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act |
| 180 | <p>"Working hand-in-hand, we will grow our majority in the House and in the Senate. We need that, we've got to get things done. Arm in arm, we will rescue the nation from the Obama-Clinton disaster, which is exactly what it is, that has bled our country dry and spread terrorism unabated across the world, that's what's happening. You saw it just now, Maps came out yesterday, they said ISIS far bigger, it's all over the place. It's all over the place. We're going to get rid of it, folks. [applause] Our military is depleted. We're going to build up our military, we are going to get others with us. Believe me, we're going to get plenty of others with us. And speaking of others, wouldn't it actually be wonderful if we could get along with Russia? Wouldn't that be nice? [applause] They talk so big and so brave and so tough, they're the tough ones. You know, Hillary's real tough, give me a break. Wouldn't that be great? We get along with Russia, we go out together with others and we knock the hell out of ISIS, wouldn't that be great?"</p> |                        |                 | <p>Still working on the <b>audience pathos</b>, Trump assures that by working together we can fix the problems that we will inherit especially with ISIS: <b>working hand-in-hand</b>, we will grow our majority in the House and in the Senate. <b>Arm in arm</b>, we will rescue the nation from the <b>Obama – Clinton disaster</b>, that has <b>bled</b> our country dry and <b>spread terrorism</b> unabated across the world. Maps came out yesterday, they said <b>ISIS is far bigger</b>, it's all over the place. It's all over the place. We're going to get rid of it, folks. Our military is <b>depleted</b>. Were going to <b>build up</b> our military, were going to get others with us. Wouldn't that be great? We get along with Russia, we go out together <b>with others</b> and we knock the hell out of ISIS, wouldn't that be great? Trump is showing his understanding that as a country alone we cannot stop ISIS but united with other countries that also has ISIS cells; ISIS can be defeated. This is in a man who doesn't look at the world with anything but realism as a businessman would. (Military/ISIS - Detroit, MI - Philadelphia, PA - Cincinnati, OH - Columbus, OH - Pensacola, FL)</p>   |  | <p>Trump understands that working together creates unity and success.</p>   | Act/agent                                 |
| 181 | <p>"Together we will lead our country back to prosperity, security and peace. OK? When you look at the world and what's happened – so we have the queen of corruption, she's the queen of corruption. She is a disaster. I said before, if crooked Hillary Clinton becomes president, terrorism will destroy the inner workings of our country. Believe me, they are loving it. She wants to have 550 percent more people coming in from Syria and that region into our nation. And we don't know who they are, we don't know where they come from really, we don't know if they're ISIS, some will be. And look at the damage that's done in San Bernardino with a couple – probably he became radicalized by her – a couple, and these were friends of theirs. These were people that gave a party in celebration of the birth of their child and they were gunned down, 14 people killed, many, many injured."</p>   |                        | Hillary Clinton | <p><b>Trump starts with what we as the elected party will do and immediately brands Hillary Clinton and the result of her tenure as Secretary of State: Together we will lead our country back to prosperity, security and peace. When you look at the world and what's happened – so we have the Queen of corruption, she's the queen of corruption. She is a disaster. I said it before, if crooked Hillary Clinton becomes president, terrorism will destroy the inner workings of our country. She wants to have 550% more people coming in from Syria and that region into our nation. We don't know who they are, we don't know where they come from, we don't know if there is ISIS, some will be. With specific examples Trump addresses what we will inherit – Look at the damage done in San Bernardino with a couple – probably he became radicalized by her – a couple, and these were friends of theirs. These were people that gave a party in celebration of the birth of their child and they were gunned down, 14 people killed, many many injured. Yes, Trump is branding Hillary but he also addresses one of our greatest fears and that is terrorism in our own country. Developing a strong pathos of distrust toward Hillary. (Refugee crisis - Pensacola, FL - Warren, MI speeches)</b></p> |  | <p>Another form of globalism bringing in more people from another country without vetting them to know whether they are a terrorist or innocent needing aid.</p>  | Scene/act                                 |
| 182 | <p>"Take a look at Orlando – take a look at Orlando, how disgusting that was. Take a look at the World Trade Center and so many other places. Go to the probably toughest gun laws anywhere in the world, go to Paris and take a look at that, 130 people gunned down. You know, if people had guns, on the other side where the bullets are flying in the other direction, like you sir, you sir, you and you, ma'am. [applause] First of all, if they knew guns were in the room, they probably wouldn't have gone there. There were no guns. They were just sitting ducks, 130 people. In San Bernardino you had 14 people. But in Paris, just like this, boom – get over here, boom – get over here, boom – 130 people with many still in the hospital, many so gravely wounded. It's horrible. And if they had bullets flying in the other direction, maybe they wouldn't have shown up, and if they did, I'll tell you what, you wouldn't have had that kind of carnage. You would have had people lying on the other side of the floor instead."</p>                             |                        | Hillary Clinton | <p>In this piece of <b>propaganda</b> Trump addresses the <b>results of terrorist and terrorism</b> and in the United States the <b>Second Amendment's</b> right to bear arms. Take a look at <b>Orlando</b> – take a look at Orlando, how <b>disgusting</b> that was. Take a look at the <b>World Trade Center</b> and so many other places. Go to <b>probably the toughest gun laws anywhere</b> in the world, go to <b>Paris</b> and take a look at that, <b>130 people gunned down. If people had guns on the other side</b> where the bullets are flying in the other direction like you sir, you sir, you and you, ma'am. If they knew guns were in the room, they probably wouldn't have gone there. There were no guns. They were just sitting ducks, 130 people. In <b>San Bernardino</b> you had <b>14 people</b>. I tell you what, you wouldn't of had that kind of carnage. You would've had people lying on the other side of the floor instead. The last line you would've had people lying on the other side of the floor instead goes back to if people had guns. Trump show support for the Second Amendment. This is all tied to Hillary's refugee policy. (Cincinnati, OH)</p>   |  | <p>Trump supported the Second Amendment coincides with Maslow's basic need of safety.</p>   | Scene/act                                 |
| 183 | <p>"So Hillary Clinton wants to do major damage, as you know, to our Second Amendment. Hillary Clinton wants to put judges – she wants to put justices of the Supreme Court – she's going to make them nice and liberal, wait until – wait until you see what that does to your rights. Wait until you see what that does to your Second Amendment. You will not recognize it, you will not recognize it. National Rifle Association, NRA, endorsed me. [applause] They're great people, Wayne – they're great people, Chris, they love this country. They endorsed me very early and it's really a – it's really an honor. I'll tell you what, they are phenomenal people when you get to know them. They love the country – you know, they love the country. They take a lot of heat, but they love the country, I'll tell you that right now."</p>   |                        | exclusive       | <p><b>Propaganda</b> addressing Hillary Clinton's gun-control view and Supreme Court justices: <b>Hillary Clinton</b> wants to do major <b>damage to our Second Amendment</b>. She wants to put judges – she wants to <b>put justices on the Supreme Court to make the courts nice and liberal</b>, wait until you see what that does to your rights. Wait until you see what that does to your Second Amendment. You will <b>not recognize it</b>, you will <b>not recognize it</b>. The National Rifle Association, <b>NRA, endorsed me</b>. They endorsed me very early and it's really it's really an honor. They love the country – you know, <b>they love the country</b>. They take a lot of heat, but they love the country(3)Trump linking the conservative group of the NRA with himself. (Palm Beach, FL - Cincinnati, OH)</p>   |  | <p>Hillary not concerned for the peoples safety, see the above attacks on people without guns. Trump showing that he has concern for the basic safety needs of the American people according to the Constitution Second Amendment the right to bear arms.</p> | Scene/act Hillary Act/agent Trump         |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|  |  | Burke's Pentad  |                        |                                    |   |   |  |   |
|--|--|---|------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| Specific Sentences and Speech References |  | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)  | Scene<br>(when, where) | Agent<br>(who)                     | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level   |   | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act |
| 184                                      | <p>"And I heard Mike, Governor Pence, talking about 1.2 growth -- 1.2 percent growth, the lowest in memory since the 1940's. When you think about it, it's the lowest. So a lot of differences between all of us, but I thought I would mention because I've known Hillary Clinton over the years -- I know her -- and she makes statements. She makes statements and they are statements coming out of her playbook. Well, let's see, "we can't get them for this -- can't get them for this." I've always heard that I have the best temperament, people tell me I have the best temperament, I have a temperament to win. We got to win. We got to win. [applause] She said not so long ago, "I don't like Donald Trump's tone". Now, she is reading it off teleprompters only. "I don't like Donald Trump's tone." And I said, you know, "we need a tough tone today. We have people -- we need a kind tone, but we need a tough tone."</p>  | Talking, mention, make statements (3)                               | United States          | I (Trump)                          | Trump moves to repetition again to show the contrast between Hillary and himself to increase the pathos against Hillary: I heard Mike, Gov. Pentz, talking about 1.2 growth -- 1.2% growth, the lowest in memory since the 1940s. [Trump is talking about the national GDP, probably in reference to Pres. Obama saying that we will never see anything higher than a 1.5 GDP, because Trump had spoke about increasing the nation's GDP.] So a lot of differences between all of us, but I thought I would mention -- because I've known Hillary Clinton over the years -- I know her -- [at one point Trump was actually a Democrat and had supported Bill Clinton in his campaign for president] and she makes statements. She makes statements and they are statements coming out of her playbook. Let's see, as if quoting from Hillary's playbook 'we can't get them for this -- can't get them for this.' I've always heard that I have the best temperament, people tell me I have the best temperament, I have a temperament to win. We got to win. We got to win. [Trump's three-time repetition of temperament and the word win is one of the oldest persuasive techniques used between repetition itself in the three times he indicates on the man with the temperament it takes to win.] Now, she is reading it off teleprompters only 'I don't like Donald Trump's tone.' [1st Trump is making a point that this couldn't even be something she ad libs, she has to read it from the teleprompters.] And I said, we need a tough tone today. We have people -- we need a kind tone, but we need a tough tone. [As a businessman Trump knows that tone makes a difference and there's a time for a tough tone at a time with certain people to change your tone it's a part of the persuasive technique.] | 3 | The low 1.2 growth GDP shows the lack of jobs available in the United States. Thus Maslow's hierarchy of needs are not being met for the people. | Act/agent                                 |
| 185                                      | <p>"We have people being beheaded all over the Middle East and other places. We have crime that is rampant. We have people in the Middle East being drowned in steel cages. This is like medieval times, and she is worried about my tone. So they chop off heads and they drown people, and they bury people in sand. And then they ask me, "Mr. Trump, sir, -- at one of the debates in which I won, I'm very happy about that -- "Mr. Trump, sir, how do you feel about waterboarding?" I'm seeing chopped off heads, drowned people, burying in sand -- I said, "I'm absolutely OK with it, let me tell you." [applause] Can you imagine what the enemy must say -- can you imagine the enemy -- ISIS in this case -- can you imagine what they must say as they spent the day chopping off the heads of Christians -- "come back, get together and start talking -- and they say waterboarding is not allowed in the United States -- by the United States, waterboarding is not allowed."</p>  | Being beheaded, being drowned, chop off, drown, buried, allowed (2) | Middle East/America    | We (universal) I (Trump)impersonal | <b>Syllogism/Propaganda, Graphic word choice to open eyes to a real problem Safety -</b> Trump addresses the conflict between terrorist values and American values. He also addresses the values of the liberal Democrats as to the conservative Republicans in protecting the United States. <b>graphically -- We have people being beheaded all over the Middle East and other places. We have crime that is rampant. We have people in the Middle East being drowned in steel cages this is like medieval times, and she is worried about my tone. So they chop off heads and they drown people, and they buried people in the sand. [Trump creates a visual to the radical terrorism he is mentioned in his other speeches.]</b> And then they asked me, Mr. Trump, sir, -- at one of the debates in which I won, Mr. Trump, how do you feel about waterboarding? I'm seeing chopped off heads, drowned people, bearing and sand -- I said, I'm absolutely okay with it. Can you imagine what the enemy must say -- can you imagine the enemy -- ISIS in this case -- can you imagine what they must say as they spent the day chopping off the heads of Christians -- come back, get together and start talking, and they say waterboarding is not allowed in the United States -- by the United States, waterboarding is not allowed. [The atrocities performed by ISIS versus some American attitudes and Trump points them out for what they are.] (Palm beach, FL -- Philadelphia, PA -- West Bend, WI -- ISIS radical terrorism)  | 4 | Graphically Trump points to the need for safety not just in America but throughout the world.  | Act/agent                                 |
| 186                                      | <p>"Folks, we better get smart and tough and we are playing games with Hillary, we are playing games. It is just games, she is not the right person and everybody knows it. Her single greatest achievement is being caught in a crime and getting away with it. [applause] This is true, 33,000 e-mails. [applause] So I wrote this before on the way over to another rally at also a very nice place that's very full and very nice in Iowa. And we love Iowa don't we, yes? Right? [applause] I thought it was accurate, unstable -- and she is, she is unstable. Hillary Clinton lacks the judgment that Bernie Sanders had. You just have to pay attention, as soon as he said it, I started writing notes. [applause] "She has bad judgment. She lacks the judgment, temperament and moral character to lead this country. Plus, she is a weak person." We don't need a weak person. He just said, "plus, she is a criminal." She is a dangerous liar who has disregarded the lives of Americans, and who has put all of us at great risk while supporting economic policies that have destroyed our economy. We have a long way to go. She is unwhinged, she's truly unwhinged, and she is unbalanced, totally unbalanced."</p> | Playing (2), being caught,  | America                | I (Trump)impersonal                | <b>Not as harshly, but Trump uses a variety of word choices mostly nouns some predicator adjectives to brand Hillary Clinton.</b> Folks, we better get smart and tough and we are playing games with Hillary. [He mentions playing games 3 separate times, his point is we need to stop playing games get the election behind us to change things.] She is <b>not the right person</b> and everybody knows. Her single <b>greatest achievement is being caught</b> in a crime and getting away with it. This is true, 33,000 emails. So I wrote this before -- I thought it was accurate -- <b>unstable</b> -- and she is, she is <b>unstable</b> . Hillary Clinton <b>lacks the judgment</b> that Bernie Sanders had. He said it, I started taking notes. She has <b>bad judgment</b> . She <b>lacks the judgment, temperament and moral character</b> to lead this country. Plus she is a weak person. We don't need a weak person. Plus she is a <b>criminal</b> . She is a <b>dangerous liar</b> who has disregarded the lives of Americans. She has put all of us at great risk while supporting economic policies that have destroyed our economy. She is <b>unwhinged</b> , she's truly <b>unwhinged</b> , and she is <b>unbalanced</b> , totally unbalanced. Bernie Sanders said it when he was campaigning against her for the presidential nomination. Trump adds to the character analysis of Hillary using Sanders description as a validation for his own backing it with her record as the Secretary of State. (Warren, MI -- Cincinnati, OH -- Columbus, OH -- Palm Beach, FL -- Philadelphia, PA)   | 2 | Creating credibility brand, Trump then addresses the economic policies that have taken away jobs.  | Act/agent                                 |
| 187                                      | <p>"And you can see, in the words of a secret service agent who just wrote a book, I bought the book, I wanted to see what he had to say; "she simply lacks the integrity and temperament to serve in the office." "From my bottom of my soul" he said, "I know this to be true." He was there. "Her leadership style, volcanic impulsive as it is, disdainful of the rules set for everyone else hasn't changed a bit. She's unqualified to become president." And she really is, and Bernie said that too. [applause.] Thank you. What great people. Wow. No, but it is true, no games, it is true. In one way she is a monster, OK? Look at what happened, look at her history. In another way, she is a weak person, she is actually not strong enough to be president. So she's got both, but she is not strong enough to be president. She will be a be a disaster. She will be so bad for our country, and I'm not just talking about Justices of the Supreme Court. She will be so bad for our country and we can't let it happen. We can't let it happen."</p>  | Wrote, bought, look   | America                | you, I (Trump)relational           | Trump attacks <b>Hillary's character</b> through one of her former <b>Secret Service agents</b> book and quoting <b>Bernie Sanders</b> who was vying for the Democrat nomination as well. (Remember Trump's Cincinnati Ohio speech where he discusses the DNC's betrayal of Bernie Sanders in the media giving Hillary questions and answers for the debate); the words of a Secret Service agent who just wrote a book. <b>I bought the book</b> ; I wanted to see what he had to say; "she <b>simply lacks the integrity and temperament</b> to serve in the office." He was there. "Her <b>leadership style, volcanic impulsive</b> as it is disdainful of the rules set for everyone else has it changed a bit." "She's <b>unqualified to become president</b> ," and Bernie says that to. So Trump adds to this description by saying, 'she is a monster okay look at what happened, look at her history. She actually is not strong enough to be president. She will be a disaster. I'm not just talking about the Justices of the Supreme Court. She will be so bad for our country, and we can't let it happen. We can't let it happen'.  | 5 | Trump again implies Hillary will not meet the needs of the country   | Act/agent                                 |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad                                      |                                |   |  |   | Purpose Maslow's (why)   | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|-----|--|---|--------------------------------|---|--|---|--|--|
|     |  | Act (what) action verb(s)                           | Scene (when, where)            | Agent (who)                                       | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   |   |  |  |
| 188 | "You know, Mike Pence told me a story, and maybe I should not say it, but I found it interesting, but of the reasons -- I guess the primary reason that he's in politics is because he watched the crookedness of the Clintons when they were in the White House. And he said "he ran, he ran again and he ran again, and he won." You have to hand it to him, this is the guy that does not give up. He does not quit. He never ever quits. [applause] But he watched the Clintons -- and I'm sure they will be thrilled to hear that -- but that actually got him into politics, which is interesting."  | Told, watched, ran                                  | Indiana, America               | you,I(Trump)relationa                             | Trump brands Hillary as crooked again including her husband Bill; again he uses a second source to verify his description of Hillary -- Mike Pence told me a story, and maybe I should not say it, but I found it interesting. I guess the primary reason that he's in politics is because he watched the crookedness of the Clintons when they were in the White House. He watched the Clintons -- and I'm sure they'll be thrilled to hear that -- but that actually got him in the politics. Pence is respected Governor of Indiana who is running as Trump's VP. Trump is adding validity to his classification of Hillary through another respected person.   | 2 | Hillary is crooked how can she help America.   | Act/agent                              |
| 189 | "So then we make these horrible deals; Iran Deal, horrible deal, we got \$150 billion -- and how about \$400 million -- think of it, \$400 million in cash, different currencies, different denominations. Now, lot of people say that money went toward terror. I'm nicer than that, see, I don't have that horrible thought process that some people have in this room have. I say, some of it went to terror, but a lot of it went into their bank accounts, believe me, that's the way it is. It went into their pockets, can you imagine these guys sitting there with \$400 million in cash? You think they're giving that money to terror, they are giving that money to them and I guess terror got some of it, but most of it they kept. I mean, the concept of paying \$400 million in cash is mind-boggling. I mean, you wouldn't think -- who can authorize such a thing? Where did they get it? What did they do, go to a bank teller and say, "give me \$400 million in cash? I want in euros, I want it in Swiss francs, wrap it up, we will come back in 10 minutes." I mean, it is just inconceivable. So we are witnessing a horror show in this country and throughout the world. You look at what is going on throughout the world with these same people, these people funding terror -- these people are funding terrorism. For us to have given \$400 million to basically free our hostages."  | Make, got, went (4), are witnessing                 | Iran                           | We (current administration), I (Trump) impersonal | Trump uses repetition to create pathos, as a businessman critiquing Hillary's, as Trump puts it, horrible deals with Iran -- so then we make these horrible deals; Iran Deal, horrible deal, we got \$150 billion -- and how about \$400 million -- think of it, \$400 million in cash, different currencies, different denominations. I say some of it went to terror but a lot of it went into their bank accounts, believe me, that's the way it is. Can you imagine these guys setting their with \$400 million in cash? You think you're giving that money to terror, they're giving that money to themselves, and I guess terror got some of it, but most of it they kept. I mean the concept of paying \$400 million in cash is mind-boggling. Who can authorize such a thing? Where did they get it? What did they do, go to a bank teller and say, give me \$400 million in cash? I mean, it is just inconceivable. So, we are witnessing a horror show in this country and throughout the world. You look at what is going on throughout the world with the same people, these people funding terror -- these people are funding terrorism. For us to have given \$400 million to basically free our hostages. Trump repeats \$400 million in cash four times to illustrate a horrible deal and literally -- these people are funding terrorism. Trump uses the word terror or terrorism five times. His point: How is this leadership? (Philadelphia, PA)   | 3 | How can we meet the needs of Americans if we're giving \$400 million in cash to terrorists?  | scene/act                              |
| 190 | "Now, Obama, just like he lied about Obamacare which was a tremendous lie, that was a tremendous lie, remember? "You can keep your plan, you can keep your doctor." Really? How many people have been able to keep the doctor or their plan? Keep your plan, keep your doctor -- not working that way, folks. It is a disaster. By the way, it is going to be repealed and replaced 100 percent. [applause] And -- and honestly, I hope I win, because we will do a great job. We are going to make America great again. We're going to make America great again. [applause] But I actually think that regardless of who wins, Obamacare is going to fold in any event. It is so expensive. People can't afford it and the country can't afford it. Other than that, it is just wonderful. So, in Texas, they just had almost a 60 percent increase. Now the increases are starting to come out. The big increase is going to be announced on November 1st. The election is November 8th. Folks, they want to delay it, because it is election-changing. It is a mess. It is election changing, and they want to change it. And we can't let that happen. Because the numbers -- and I can see some of the numbers already -- the numbers are going to be astronomical. They are going to be astronomical. They're going to be so big, so horrible, and the health care, you know, the plan is terrible. It's terrible. And we're going to take care of everybody, but we're going to end up with a great plan that costs much less money for the people and much less money for the country. This plan is a total rip. It does not work, so it's going to fall, because economically, it is a disaster for the country, too. But what about people where they said they had a 30, 40, 50, 60 percent increase? And it's going to be worse than that, I predict on November 1st. So, we'd better get smart and we'd better start thinking properly." | Lied, can keep (2), repealed and replaced, make (2) | America, Texas                 | Obama, current administration, we (universal)     | In this propaganda Trump reminds the people of the false promise that came with Obamacare to increase the pathos against the current administration -- Obama, just like he lied about Obamacare which was a tremendous lie that was a tremendous lie, [Trump again uses repetition to increase the pathos] remember? You can keep your plan, you can keep your doctor. Really? How many people have been able to keep the doctor or your plan? Keep your plan, keep your doctor -- Not working that way, folks. By the way, it's going to be repealed and replaced 100%. We're going to make America great again. We're going to make America great again. But I actually think that regardless of who wins, Obamacare is going to fold in any event. It is so expensive. So in Texas, they just had almost a 60% increase. Now the increases are starting to come out. The big increase is going to be announced on November 1st. The election is November 8th. Folks, they want to delay it, because it is election changing. It is a mess. It is election changing, and they want to change it. I can see some of the numbers already -- the numbers are going to be astronomical. They're going to be astronomical. They're going to be so big, so horrible, and the healthcare, you know, the plan is terrible. It's terrible. But we're going to end up with a great plan that cost much less money for the people and much less money for the country. It does not work, so it's going to fall, because economically, it is a disaster for the country. What about the people where they said they had a 30, 40, 50, 60% increase? It's going to be worse than that, I predict on November 1st so, we'd better get smart and we better start thinking properly. (Palm Beach, FL -- West Bend, WI -- Cincinnati, OH) | 5 | To meet the needs of a minority number of peoples insurance needs the past administration passes a universal healthcare that instead of helping the people raises the average person's cost by varying percentage amounts across the nation. Thus instead of meeting the needs of healthcare made it unaffordable. | scene/act                              |
| 191 | "Now, I want to talk about what is going on at the borders, because money... [applause] Oh, we're going to build it. So, listen, so we have people coming to our country that should not be coming to our country. We have thousands and thousands of people from certain terrorist states, from certain parts of the world that we are allowing to come into our country. Most of the politicians, almost all of them don't even know where they are, where they are being put, they know nothing about these people. This could be the great Trojan Horse of all time. And Hillary wants thousands more to come in over and above Obama. Right? So, tall -- and the wall is getting taller every day."   | are going, coming, listen, allowing, put            | southern border, United States | I (Trump), we, (Universal) impersonal             | Trump talks border safety and the lack of knowledge of the current administration: Now, [Trump has a habit of putting some kind of time stamp in his speeches to give a sense of urgency and attentiveness to detail on his part.] at the borders we are going to build it. So, listen, so we have people coming to our country that should not be coming to our country. We have thousands and thousands of people from certain terrorist states, that we are allowing to come into our country. [Using repetition to punctuate the need for safety measures] Most politicians don't even know where they are, where they are being put. This could be the great Trojan Horse [Trump use of the Greek story to demonstrate a distrust of those coming in as they could be subversive] of all time. Hillary wants thousands more to come in over and above Obama. So, tall -- and the wall is getting taller every day. (Cincinnati, OH -- West Bend, WI -- Pensacola, FL)   | 3 | Trump's border wall brings safety to the United States   | act/agent                              |



Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

| Specific Sentences and Speech References  | Burke's Pentad  |                     |  |   |              | Purpose Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act |
|---|---|---------------------|--|---|--------------|---|--|
|   | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where) | Agent (who)                                    | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Agency (who) |   |  |
| 192 'If you think of this, I just wrote this, the Obama-Clinton foreign-policy has handed huge portions of Iraq, Libya and Syria to ISIS. Huge portions. It has undermined stability in Egypt, and you know what they have to do over there. And empowered Iran as never before. Iran, three years ago was -- was dying. In fact, when they were marching in the streets, if Obama would have just encouraged them a little more, it would have been taken over by the people. But Obama played ball with the thugs that are running it right now. Think of this, think of this. Look, look. We're making a deal, and the deal is not made, and they are dancing in the streets of Iran saying how stupid the Americans are to be making this deal. The leaders, and in particular the leader of Iran, is calling us stupid, and the deal means nothing. And yesterday, I think he just said that the United States is essentially nothing. This is our -- this is our great, great partner.'   | Think, has handed, undermined, have been taken over, are making, are dancing, saying, calling |                     | I (Trump), we (universal)impersonal            | Trump berates the Obama- Clinton deals with Iran as bad and harmful--if you think of this, Obama - Clinton foreign - policy has <b>handed</b> huge portions of Iraq, Libya and Syria to ISIS.It has <b>undermined stability</b> in Egypt. And <b>empowered</b> Iran as never before. Iran, three years ago -- was dying. If Obama would have just <b>encouraged</b> them, it would <b>have been taken over</b> by the people. Look, look. [Trump puts an emphasis on the action verbs handed, undermined, empowered, encouraged, whether he is talking about what Obama Clinton deals did or could have done with more efforts the actions are significant because then the action verbs become mocking are dancing because of the deal saying how stupid the Americans are calling us stupid] We're <b>making a deal</b> , and the <b>deal</b> is not made, and they are <b>dancing</b> in the streets of Iran <b>saying how stupid</b> that the Americans are to be making this <b>deal</b> . The leaders, and in particular the leader of Iran, is <b>calling us stupid</b> , and the <b>deal</b> means nothing. [Trump again emphasizes his expertise in dealmaking by emphasizing the harms of the Obama - Clinton administrations deals with Iran. This adds to his ethos and stresses the need for a stronger America with a man whose background is making successful deals.] And yesterday, I think he just said that United States is essentially nothing. This is our great partner. (Palm Beach, FL)  |              | Obama - Clinton foreign policy has caused weakness and instability in the Middle East including Egypt as well as in the United States.  | Act/agent                              |
| 193 'But when you have somebody -- if I was making this deal, and if the other side was bragging about it, the deal wasn't made, I'm not making that deal. I'm not making it. I'm walking. But we kept it going, and we should have never ever started negotiating that deal until we had our hostages back. OK? [applause] We should have walked. We should have doubled up the sanctions and walked. And they would have -- and I say it. Before the plane reached New York City or Washington, you could just turn it around, because they'll call you, they'll say, let's go. Take your hostages. But when you think about it, you probably read today and yesterday, one of the hostages was waiting for a very long period of time. Now, Obama said that it had nothing to do with the hostages. That he would not do that for kidnapers. He would not do that for kidnapping. OK? No, no, think of that. You have got to think about it. He wouldn't do it -- now, it was the same day, right, same day. We have to be exactly accurate, because they'll catch us, right? Same day. The money came in, and one of the hostages, a good guy, I saw him interview on television. Good guy, hard time. But didn't he say he waited forever, he waited. And somebody said, nope, we are waiting for either something or a plane to come in.' | Making, bragging, walking, walked   |                     | I (Trump), we (Trump administration)impersonal | Trump the dealmaker who is stated in his book <i>The Art of the Deal</i> you negotiate from strength. Because of that he says I'm walking. In emphasizes the idea of walking out to demonstrate strength. [As the future President]I <b>was making this deal</b> , and if the other side was bragging about it, the <b>deal wasn't made</b> , I'm not making that <b>deal</b> . I'm not making it. <b>I'm walking</b> . [ <i>The Art of the Deal</i> ] <b>we should have never ever started negotiating</b> that deal until we had our hostages back. We should have <b>walked</b> . We should have <b>doubled up the sanctions and walked</b> . Now, Obama said it had nothing to do with the hostages. He would not do that for kidnapping. Now it was the same day, right, same day. We have to be exactly accurate, because they'll catch us, right? (Pensacola, FL - Philadelphia, PA - Palm Beach, FL)  |              | Trump the dealmaker would create safety.  | Act/agent                              |
| 194 'And here Obama stands up yesterday, and for seven minutes is telling us one thing had nothing to do with the other. Just a lie. You know, at least be truthful. [applause] And we're talking about the same day, \$400 million, and we could have had something that would have been a much better deal. And you know what, I'm all in favor of deals when it gets to nuclear. But we could have made it -- we should have walked. And we should have walked with \$150, too; we have said, sorry, we don't have the money, can't pay. We don't have the money. We owe almost \$20 trillion. I'm sorry, fellas, we love you, we think you're the greatest guys on Earth. But we can't give you the money. We don't have it. And they will get angry and they will be upset, and two days later, you'll be back negotiating. You just saved yourself \$150 billion, right? Hundred and -- \$150 billion.'   | Stands, telling, talking, owe   |                     | I (Trump) we (Trump administration)impersonal  | Trumps time stamps this <b>yesterday</b> [Time is money] and more specifically for <b>seven</b> minutes; to a businessman record keeping and specifics are everything. Trump is very specific in these details of his counterparts though not necessarily in his own methods. Obama <b>stands up</b> yesterday, and for seven minutes is telling us one thing had nothing to do with the other. <b>Just a lie</b> . You know, at least be truthful. Were talking about the same day, \$400 million, and we could have had something that would have been a <b>much better deal</b> . <b>I'm all in favor of deals</b> when he gets to nuclear. We should've <b>walked</b> . And we should have <b>walked</b> with \$150 billion too. [From makes a suggestion we would've said, sorry, we don't have the money, can't pay. We don't have the money. We owe almost \$20 trillion. I'm sorry fellas... You just saved yourself 150 billion, right? \$150 billion.   |              | Trump again addresses safety but also the psychological in the feeling of accomplishment in meeting the needs of Americans  | Act/agent                              |
| 195 'So, we have terrorists pouring into our country, we have people coming in. I don't know if you saw this, in Maine -- and Maine knows, because Maine is -- I was up there yesterday -- a great place. A great governor, great governor. Paul is doing a great job. And I think the most important issue facing civilization right now is radical Islamic terrorism. And we have a president that refuses to use the term, and we have crooked Hillary who does not want to use it. Now, she's being forced to use it by me. Did you notice she gave a speech, she said, I will use it. She called it, I think, radical Islam. But she said, I will use it. I will. Just like the Trans-Pacific Partnership. She called it the gold standard. It is a horror show. It's almost as bad or maybe it's going to worse than NAFTA, signed by her husband, which cleaned out many of the states in our country, cleaned them out from manufacturing. Moved to Mexico and other places. NAFTA, a total disaster. NAFTA, signed by Bill Clinton. He never suffered the ravages, because he signed it, then he got out and other people did suffer with it.'   | pouring, coming, refuses, gave, called (2), signed, cleaned out, moved                        |                     | We (universal)inclusive                        | Trumps propaganda deals with the influx of immigrants into the United States from countries with known radical Islamist ties.[To represent the issue facing America Trump uses strong action verbs to represent the atrocities facing America from Hillary in the previous administration -- pouring into the country refuses to use the term [radical Islamic terrorism], when she gave a speech, she called it radical Islam. The TPP, she called it the gold standard. NAFTA signed by her husband cleaned out many of the states of manufacturing. Moved to Mexico. Succinctly Trump uses these action verbs to illustrate what has been done that is taken away jobs and our safety because of the past administration featuring crooked Hillary.] We have <b>terrorist pouring</b> into our country. Maine knows, because Maine is facing an [influx of people from countries that have radical Islamic terrorism]. We have a president that <b>refuses</b> to use the term, and we have <b>crooked Hillary</b> who does not want to use it. Did you notice she <b>gave</b> a speech, she said, I will use it. She <b>called</b> it, I think, radical Islam she said, I will use it. I will. Just like the Trans - Pacific Partnership. She <b>called</b> it the gold standard. It is a horror show. Maybe it's gonna be worse than NAFTA, <b>signed</b> by her husband, which <b>cleaned out</b> many of the states in our country, cleaned them out from manufacturing. <b>Moved</b> to Mexico and other places. NAFTA, a total disaster. [Cincinnati, OH - Palm beach, FL - Pensacola, FL - Pittsburgh, PA - Aluminisource Mfg, PA - Detroit, MI - Warren, MI - West Bend, WI] |              | The needs of the American people were not met by a president and a Secretary of State who would not call radical Islamic terrorism what it is. As well as the TPP that Hillary backed as a trade deal and the NAFTA signed by her husband which as Trump put it cleaned out our states of manufacturing jobs. | Scene/act                              |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Burke's Pentad  |   |   |  |  |   |           |
|-----|---|---|---|--|--|---|-----------|
|     | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)  | Scene<br>(when, where)  | Agent<br>(who)  | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level  | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act |           |
| 196 | Specific Sentences and Speech References<br>"But we are going to renegotiate NAFTA, and if they don't want to make a great deal for us so we get our jobs back, at least a lot of them, if we can't make a great deal -- and she can't do that, by the way, if she wanted to. Number one, her donors would not let her. Her special interests would never let her. Her lobbyists would never let her. Number three, she could not do it anyway. Even if she wanted to. But we're going to renegotiate. And did you hear her the other day? After years of saying how wonderful it is, even though you look at New England, and you look at New York state and you look at Pennsylvania and Ohio, if you look at a lot of other places, one of the reasons I won Indiana so big -- well, one of the reasons was the great Bobby Knight, OK? Bobby Knight in Indiana. [Applause] That's gold standard right? As she said about TPP. But one of the reasons I won was because Carrier Air Conditioning was moving to Mexico from Indiana, and they let go of 1,400 people."  |   | We (Trump administration) exclusive                       | Trump makes a comparative between what he is going to do and where Hillary has failed -- we are going to renegotiate NAFTA, if they don't want to make a great deal for us so we get our jobs back, at least a lot of them, if we can't make a great deal -- and she can't do that by the way, if she wanted to, one her donors won't let her; her special interest would never let her; three, she could not do it anyway. But we're going to renegotiate. After years of saying how wonderful [NAFTA] is, look at New England, look at New York State, look at Pennsylvania and Ohio look at a lot of other places as well. As she said about TPP the reasons I one [the Republican nomination] was because carrier air conditioning was moving to Mexico from Indiana, and they let go of 1400 people.[Trump list states that of lost jobs to Mexico and other countries because of the trade agreements made by Democrat presidents and of course Hillary is Secretary of State.] And just to gain some pathos from the crowd -- Trump throws out the name of Bobby Knight head coach Indiana University who won three national championships in basketball -- and states that's the gold standard right? (Add to list of carrier air conditioning moving to Mexico with his list of companies that moved in jobs that are lost to Mexico in his Warren, Michigan speech in Cincinnati, Ohio speech)   | Trump again talks about the loss of manufacturing jobs which means a loss of security as well as a as well as the physiological needs of the American people.  | 5   | Act/agent |
| 197 | "And I've been talking about this, and I know how to stop it, and you've heard me before, so easy to stop. There have to be consequences when Mexico takes our companies. And not only Mexico; there have to be consequences when China devalues its currency so that our companies can no longer compete with China, even though we make better product. I have friends who are manufacturers. We make better product. They can't get their product into China. And when a few times arise where they can, they have to pay an incredible tax, beyond what anybody would even think costs. But yet, we open our doors and just throw away your stuff, and we lose our jobs and it is very, very sad."  | Talking, takes, devalues, compete, make, open and lose  | I (Trump) we (universal) inclusive                        | Trumps ethos -- I've been talking about this, and I know how to stop it, and you've heard me before so easy to stop. There have to be consequences when Mexico takes our companies. Not only Mexico; there have to be consequences when China devalues its currency so that our companies can no longer compete with China, even though we make a better product. [From the businessman again emphasizes his ability and his knowledge of dealmaking. His statements I have friends who are manufacturers shows he understands more than just building towers.] have friends who are manufacturers. We make better product. We open our doors and just throw away your stuff, and we lose our jobs. (Warren, MI -- Cincinnati, OH)   | Trump again assures that he knows how to make a deal and use political strength to benefit American workers.   | 1   | Act/agent |
| 198 | "But look, as many know, a major destination -- Maine, has become a major destination for Somali refugees. We admit hundreds of thousands of refugees into the United States from many of the most dangerous and unstable regions in the world. And you are getting them here too folks, you just don't know it because you just don't know. Anybody in this room -- anybody in this room from a terror territory? All right, a practice -- and this is a practice which will continue under Hillary Clinton except it will expand five, six, seven fold. I don't get it. I mean, I know they will vote Democrat, OK, that's what I know, but they will not be voting for a long time. I just -- I don't get it, how can anybody even think this way? Now, the Washington Times reported, "of the Somali refugees -- the program in Minnesota -- that the effort to resettle large groups of Somali refugees is having the unintended consequence of creating an enclave of immigrants with high unemployment that is both stressing the state safety net" -- tremendous problems for safety -- "and creating a rich pool of potential recruiting targets for the Islamic terror groups."   | Admit, will expand, reported, creating  | Current administration, Obama, Hillary Clinton, exclusive | Trumps propaganda now deals with more specifically what he mentioned of refugees entering the United States-- Potential terror cells -- Maine, has become a major destination for Somali refugees. We admit hundreds of thousands of refugees into the United States from many of the most dangerous and unstable regions in the world. And you're getting them here to folks. This practice which will continue under Hillary Clinton except it will expand five, six, seven fold. I don't get it. I know they will vote Democrat, okay, that's what I know, but they won't be voting for a long time. Washington Times reported, quote: 'of the Somali refugees -- the program in Minnesota -- that the effort to resettle large groups of Somali refugees is having the unintended consequence of creating an enclave of immigrants with high unemployment that is both stressing the state safety net and creating a rich pool of potential recruiting targets for the Islamic terror groups.' (Warren, MI)  | The policies of the current administration creates possible terrorist cells in the United States which demonstrates the problems with globalism and takes away American safety.                        | 5   | Scene/act |
| 199 | "Aren't we smart? We are having this problem across our refugee and immigration programs. Here are some of the examples -- I will give you a few examples, and this came out of the Senate subcommittee just recently. "The Boston bombers" -- remember those horrible, disgusting people? "The Boston bombers arrived through the political asylum process. The younger brother applied for citizenship and was naturalized on September 11, 2012. The older brother had a pending application for citizenship." And look what happened, we took them in. Look what happened, aren't we smart? The Moroccan national who came to the United States on a student visa was arrested for plotting to blow up a university in a federal courthouse. Great. A Uzbek refugee living in Idaho was arrested and charged with providing support to a terrorist organization in the form of teaching terror recruits how to build massive and very dangerous bombs. We let him in. An immigrant from Syria who later applied for and received U.S. citizenship was accused by federal prosecutors of planning to go to a military base in Texas and kill three or four American soldiers, execution style if possible -- more than that, if at all possible. A college student who immigrated from Somalia who later applied and received U.S. citizenship, attempted to blow up a Christmas tree lighting ceremony in Oregon. An immigrant from Afghanistan who later applied for and received U.S. citizenship, and a legal permanent resident from the Philippines were convicted for plotting to join Al Qaeda and the Taliban in order to kill as many Americans as possible -- as many as possible. An Iraqi immigrant who later applied for and received U.S. citizenship was arrested for lying to federal agents about pledging allegiance to ISIS, his travels to Syria, and how many Americans he wanted to kill. Two immigrants from Pakistan who later applied for and received U.S. citizenship were sentenced to decades long prison sentences for plotting to detonate a bomb -- and a very big bomb, in the middle of New York City. An immigrant from Yemen who later applied for and received U.S. citizenship was arrested for trying to join ISIS. He was also charged with attempting to illegally buy firearms to try to shoot as many American military personnel as possible. | Came out, arrived, applied, naturalized, took, came, was arrested (2) charged, applied and received (6) was accused, attempted to blow up, were convicted, was arrested, were sentenced, was arrested, charged, | Current administration, President Obama, Hillary Clinton  | These statistics aren't actual numbers, but actual incidents of refugees allowed into the United States from Middle East countries with Islamic terrorist groups -- aren't we smart? We're having this problem across our refugee and immigration programs here are some examples -- this came out of the Senate subcommittee just recently. The Boston bombers arrived through the political asylum process. At this point note all of the applied and received US citizenship [problem with vetting refugees] the younger brother applied for citizenship and naturalized on September 11, 2012 the older brother pending application. We took them in. Look what happened. The Moroccan national who came to United States on a student visa was arrested for plotting to blow up a university. A Uzbek refugee living in Idaho was arrested and charged with providing to support to a terrorist organization in the form of teaching terror recruits how to build massive and very dangerous bombs. [Trump will mention several states in the United States that have accepted refugees in an effort to help people from countries that are suffering from Islamic terrorism, but the current administration did not vet.] We let him in. An immigrant from Syria who later applied for and received U.S. citizenship was accused by federal prosecutors of planning to go to a military base in Texas and killed three or four American soldiers, execution style if possible. A college student who immigrated from Somalia repeat applied and received attempted to blow up a Christmas tree lighting ceremony in Oregon. An immigrant from Afghanistan put verbs here with a legal permanent resident from the Philippines were convicted for plotting to join Al Qaeda and the Taliban man in order to kill as many as Americans as possible. Trump gives for more examples of refugees and immigrants who've come to United States during this time an attempt to kill American citizens and American military personnel. (See speeches from Cincinnati, OH -- Palm Beach, Pensacola, FL -- Pittsburgh, PA -- Detroit, Warren, MI -- West Bend, WI -- Aluminsource Mfg. PA) | Numerous examples of the current administration not meeting the safety needs of Americans emphasized by state after state example what is happened because of globalism and not putting America first. | 7   | Scene/act |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Burke's Pentad  |                     |                                     |  |                        | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act   |   |
|-----|---|---------------------|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------|--|---|
|     | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where) | Agent (who)                         | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   | Purpose Maslow's (why) |  |   |
| 200 | Specific Sentences and Speech References<br>"All right folks. So, I just say, what are we doing? What are we doing? And Hillary Clinton wants more and more to pour in. You can almost say, you know, politics aside, whether you are a Democrat, whether you are a liberal, a Republican, a conservative; what are they doing? I don't care who you are, what the hell are they doing? [applause] So we are going to have strong borders, our southern border is going to be very powerful. We are going to stop the drugs from pouring into Wisconsin and every place else. [applause] The heroin epidemic is beyond belief. In New Hampshire, a great place, that is where I realized the extent of what is going on. I met with the people of New Hampshire and they tell me, "the biggest problem they have is heroin." I said, "it can't be with the beautiful lakes and streams, it so beautiful." Right, and their biggest problems heroin. I said, "you have to be kidding, that can't be right, " and it was. Their youth is being poisoned. And then you go to Massachusetts, and you go to North Carolina, and South Carolina, and you come here, you come here -- I just left Iowa, you go to Iowa and you see the tremendous problems they have with heroin and drugs that pour in from the southern border. And look, here's the story, we are going to have strong borders. We are going to have a wall, it will be a big and powerful wall -- a big powerful wall."  |                     | I (Trump) we (Trump administration) | Trump again demonstrates his ethos -- so, I just say, <b>what are we doing?</b> [Trump asked this question 4 times] Hillary Clinton once more and more to pour in. Politics aside, whether you are a Democrat, liberal, Republican, a conservative; [he uses the same list to appeal to all who might be in his audience or hear the speech from his Warren, MI speech] what are they doing? We are going to have <b>strong borders</b> , our southern border is going to be very powerful. We're going to stop the drugs from pouring into Wisconsin and everywhere else the <b>heroin epidemic</b> is beyond belief in New Hampshire, the biggest problem they have is heroin. Their youth is being poisoned. And then you go to Massachusetts, and you go to North Carolina, and South Carolina, and you come here, you come here [ Green Bay] -- I just left Iowa and you see the tremendous problems they have with <b>heroin and drugs that pour in from the southern border</b> . We are going to have strong borders. We're going to have a wall, it will be a big and powerful wall -- a <b>big powerful wall</b> . (A wall or secure border -- Warren, MI -- Cincinnati, OH -- Pensacola, FL -- West Bend, WI)   |                        | Weak borders allow easy access to American roads for transporting drugs, creating more crime. Safety   | 1 |
| 201 | "You know that Hillary Clinton wanted a wall a number of years ago? She wanted a wall. And the primary research, as we understand it, looking back, not that long ago, she wanted a wall. You know, walls do work folks, all you have to do is ask Israel. All you have to do is ask some of the nations that are in Europe right now that are building walls. You know, it's sort of interesting, Obama talks about, "there will be no wall." But in the White House, which he just said, which is a lot stronger, they want to build essentially a wall, they want to build a fence a lot bigger, and a lot higher, and a lot stronger. You know, it is interesting. I say, "don't build that fence right, don't build that fence," because they say, "walls don't work" -- fences don't work, don't build that fence."   |                     | I (Trump)impersonal                 | You know that <b>Hillary Clinton wanted a wall</b> a number of years ago? She wanted a wall. Looking back, not long ago, she wanted a wall. You know <b>walls do work</b> folks all you have to do is <b>ask Israel</b> . Ask some of the nations that are in Europe right now that are building walls. Obama talks about there will be no wall. They essentially want to build a wall, they want to build a fence a lot bigger, and a lot higher, and a lot stronger.   |                        | Obama's first term as a senator he voted for a wall and spoke of the need for a wall between Mexico and the United States. Now the arguments not for a wall which provides safety. | 5 |
| 202 | "When Hillary doesn't want to let you have your guns, she is surrounded by people like this that have more firepower on them than any human beings on earth, and I think she doesn't want to have guns. I think that all of her bodyguards and all of her Secret Service should immediately give up their weapons. [applause] OK, I mean it. They should immediately give up their weapons. They should immediately give up those weapons and if somebody comes at you with a gun, you just try to talk them out of it, I guess. You got to do some quick talking. You got to do some quick talking, Hillary. I don't think even Hillary with her phony lies and disgusting habits, I don't think Hillary could get away with that one."  |                     | I (Trump)impersonal                 | Propaganda with <b>satire-- Hillary doesn't want to let you have your guns</b> , she is surrounded by people like this that have more firepower on them than any human beings on earth. All of her bodyguards all over Secret Service should immediately <b>give up their weapons</b> . [He repeats this two more times for emphasis] Trump then uses a quick example certainly satire when he says -- <b>if somebody comes at you with a gun, you just try to talk them out of it, I guess</b> . You gotta do some quick talking. You gotta do some quick talking, Hillary. <b>I don't name think Hillary with her phony lies and disgusting habits, I don't think Hillary could get away with that one</b> . [His suggesting that Hillary the Democrats want to take your weapons and the only defense is to talk the criminals out of shooting you because they're the only ones with the guns and even Hillary with her silver tongue probably couldn't talk one of them out of shooting her if they wish to] (this shows why the NRA's supporting Trump -- Cincinnati, OH speech)   |                        | Again Trump talk safety as he alludes to the Democrats wanting more gun control even though they also want open borders allowing a criminal element in.                            | 5 |
| 203 | "So we are going to have a little contrast. [Domestic] And I did this very quickly but it is so simple, Hillary wants to raise taxes, Trump is going to lower taxes very substantially, the biggest tax decrease of all on business and on person. Hillary wants to significantly expand regulations.[booming] Trump is going to get rid of many, many, many regulations. [applause] Which, by the way, are stopping your businesses both small and big from succeeding, from expanding and more than anything, from starting. You can't start a business today the regulations are so onerous and horrible. Hillary wants to shut down energy production. [booming] Trump wants to expand it significantly. And we'll start paying off our debt. [applause] Hillary wants to essentially abolish the Second Amendment, take away your right. [booming] Donald Trump will protect it more so than any president that has ever served. [applause] Crooked Hillary wants far left activities judges forced over there by Bernie and by Pocahontas. [laughter] Who will destroy our Constitution. I want judges who will support and defend our Constitution. [applause] As close, by the way, to Justice Scalia who was great as we could get. OK? [applause] Hillary wants to open our borders, just open them up because her special interests and donors want it that way. There are reasons, I understand that. I want to totally secure our borders. But I want people to come in. But they come in through a process and they come in legally."   |                     | I (Trump)impersonal                 | Trump starts so were going to have a little contrast, but of <b>Venn diagram better describes what Trump is doing</b> . So, in picturing his conversation with the audience is Hillary on the one side of the circle with his ideas on the other side of the circle but where they overlap their talking about the same subject just differences on what they want to do with the subject thus the perfect Venn diagram to show both sides of the arguments, and they certainly do contrast. This is the <b>Domestic arguments- Hillary wants to raise taxes. Trump is going to lower taxes</b> . Hillary wants to significantly expand regulations. Trump is going to get rid of many, many, many regulations. Side note by the way these regulations are stopping your businesses both big and small from succeeding in expanding and more than anything from starting. Hillary wants to shut down energy production. Trump wants to expand it significantly. Side note and will start paying off our debt. Hillary once to essentially abolish the Second Amendment. Donald Trump will protect it more so than any president that has ever served. [The audience reaction increases his urge to insult his opponent.] <b>Crooked Hillary</b> once far left activist judges forced over there by <b>Bernie and by Pocahontas</b> who will destroy our Constitution. I want judges who will support and defend our Constitution. Hillary wants to open our borders. I want to totally secure our borders. I want people to come in. But, they come in through a process and they come in legally. (West Bend, WI) |                        | Trump lists the contrasts between globalist thinking and thinking about America first which brings jobs and a safe place to live.  | 5 |
| 204 | [Foreign] "Hillary wants to invade foreign countries. You ever see the one where she says "Donald Trump with the nuclear" -- I'm -- I didn't want the war in Iraq. And I'm on record. I didn't want the war in Iraq. I didn't want all of -- what they've done. And I said, if you read Esquire Magazine from a long time ago, you'll see everything I said was exactly right. It's going to de-stabilize the Middle East. I said the meanest, toughest group of people, the people that hate the United States and its people the most, they're going to take it over. That's exactly what's happening. They're taking over the oil, they're taking over the land, they're taking over everything. I didn't want it, but I'm always being accused like the war hog they think I'm a tough guy, the war hog. Right? They think she wants to be tough with Russia. So she said well, Donald Trump likes Putin. I don't know Putin, folks. I don't know. I hope I like him, I hope he likes me because I'd love to get along with Russia. OK? [applause] Love to. But I don't know. But she goes Donald Trump, Donald Trump -- think about it -- wants to befriend Putin and other things, she said right? And I'm saying to myself what's wrong with that? That's good. But she's going to be the tough one, see? She's going to be the tough one. She's going to play with nuclear weapons, you know? They have all the nukes, nice nukes. She's going to be the tough one. I'll tell you what, you put her in the office of the president -- you know, she hates Putin and Putin hates her, right? That's what I hear. No, no, no -- Putin probably doesn't respect her more than anything else. But Putin hates her. But she's going to be tough. We're going to be tough with Russia -- oh, we're going to be tough, right? Let me tell you, we're in a different world today, folks. We're in a different world. But she makes it sound like I'm this tough guy that will have a temperament. You know, she uses the word -- you know who gave her the word? Her people that write the speeches, we'll say Trump with a temperament." | wants, taking       | I (Trump)impersonal                 | A new Venn diagram the last was domestic affairs while this one addresses <b>foreign affairs</b> -- Hillary wants to invade foreign countries. Unlike the domestic program Trump starts defending himself backing it up with facts -- <b>I didn't want the war in Iraq</b> . An ongoing record. I didn't want to war in Iraq, if you read <b>Esquire</b> magazine for a long time ago, you'll see everything I said was exactly right. It's going to <b>destabilize the Middle East</b> . I said the meanest, toughest group of people, the people that hate the United States and its people the most, they're going to take over. They are <b>[ISIS]</b> taking over the oil, they're taking over the land, they're taking over everything. So she said well, Donald Trump likes Putin. I don't know proving, folks I don't know I hope I liking, OP likes me because I'd love to get along with Russia. Okay? We're going to be tough with Russia. Hillary has the Middle East war and Trump's temperament -suggesting he will cause a war- Trump presents the interview showing his concern for the U.S. policies in the Middle East.  |                        | Current M.E. policies are causing terrorist concerns with ISIS.  | 5 |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Burke's Pentad  |                        |             |  |  | Purpose Maslow's (why) | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act  |           |
|-----|---|------------------------|-------------|--|--|------------------------|---|-----------|
|     | Act (what) action verb(s)   | Scene (when, where)    | Agent (who) | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level     |  |                        |   |           |
| 205 | Specific Sentences and Speech References<br>They said Trump in a speech with tweets. I've got -- I've got between Facebook and Twitter like almost 21, 22 million people. It's an asset, it's an asset. I tweet well. But -- but she said -- she made the statement during her speech, you know, I heard it barely because I was falling asleep, you couldn't watch it. [laughter] All right. So remember that one. Hillary wants to invade foreign countries. Look at Libya. Look at that. We did a great job there. You know, a spot hit on Gaddafi maybe, but I mean even that, what the hell do we get out of this? It's a disaster. Then you have Benghazi, then you have ISIS -- then you have ISIS -- then you have ISIS taking over the oil, large portions of the oil. And it's some of the finest oil in the world. And you have ISIS grabbing it.'   |                        |             |  | The Venn diagram continues as Trump gets back to his point -- [Trump defends his tweets and Facebook with the statistics of 21 to 22 million followers. It's an asset, it's an asset.] Hillary wants to invade foreign countries. Look at Libya. We did a great job there. But, I mean even that, what the hell do we get out of this? It's a disaster. Then you have Benghazi, then you have ISIS -- then you have ISIS taking over the oil, large portions of the oil. That is some of the finest oil in the world. And you have ISIS grabbing it. (Pensacola, FL -- Warren, MI -- Philadelphia, PA)   |                        | Trump again addresses the acts of the terrorist group ISIS  |           |
| 206 | 'We don't know what we're doing. We have people that don't know what we're doing. We have people that militarily -- in fact, they said well, who is your military consultants? And I give them names. But they're not working now, you know they're not working now. And I said of course they're not working now, look what working now people have gotten us. Havoc, who the hell wants the people who are working now? I mean... [applause] You know, a lot of it's common sense and a lot of it's instinct and she has very bad judgment, she's got no instinct whatsoever. And when I was asked one of the big networks about NATO, they said what do you think of NATO? Now, you know it's not like it was my primary subject in all fairness. I've only been doing this for 12 months. Now, it's actually almost 14 months, hard to believe, right? But NATO -- so I said I know enough. And sometimes knowing a little is better than knowing too much. You understand, you can't see the forest through the trees, right? So I said NATO in my opinion is obsolete because it's not covering terrorism. Obsolete for that reason and also you have many countries that aren't paying their fair share, they're not paying what they're supposed to be paying.'   | Look, taking, grabbing |             | I (Trump) impersonal                             | In this portion Trump takes complete business approach toward what the current administration is doing and who he has chosen to work with him even when it comes to paying bills -- current administration -- we don't know what we're doing. We have people that don't know what we're doing. We have people that militarily -- in fact, they said well, who is your military consultants? And I give them names. But they're not working now, you know they're not working now. Of course they're not working now, look what working now people have gotten us. Havoc, who the hell wants the people who are working now? You know, a lot of it's common sense and a lot of it's instinct and she has very bad judgment, she's got no instinct whatsoever. [Trump's business approach just like his television show The Apprentice if they can't do the job-- You're fired-- in a business logic says, if in a mess now why do I want to keep the same people working for me] One of the big networks ask about NATO, they said what you think of NATO? Now not like it's one of my primary subjects in all fairness. I've only been doing this for 12 months. Now it's actually 14 months. But NATO -- I said NATO in my opinion is obsolete because it's not covering terrorism. Obsolete for the reason that also you have many countries that aren't paying their fair share, they're not paying what they're supposed to be paying. [Every country involved in NATO's post of pay their share based on their GDP many have not been paying anything and expecting United States to cover all costs for defending their nations]   | 5                      |   | Act/agent |
| 207 | 'And we're protecting those guys and we're supposed to get into World War III for all these countries that aren't paying their fair share. And even the commander of NATO -- and I so respect what he did. He came out the other day and he said Donald Trump is right, we have cut you see that's right did you see the letter -- the big story? Donald Trump is right. I'm sure Obama was thrilled when he saw that. [laughter] Donald Trump is right; you have countries that aren't paying. And he said how he goes in and he talks to them. He says look, you've got to pay your bills. I have budgets -- which is true. And I have to go back to Congress and I have to say what's happening. They don't pay their bills though because people don't ask properly. And they probably say to the president or whoever may handle the country. "Sir, we owe the United States millions of dollars. We're ready to pay." Oh, have they asked for the money? No. They'll pay, OK. But I will say the commander of NATO said I was right. And then you have these people back here -- stupid people -- right here. They said Donald Trump -- now they're the worst. They're the worst. They said Donald Trump -- Donald Trump doesn't like NATO. He is going to abandon NATO. That's not what I said. I said they've got to pay. They've got to pay. Now, you have to walk. You may have to walk. But they've got to pay. We're going to get in World War III for all these countries that are laughing at the stupidity of the United States, right? No, they've got to pay. And they probably will, in all fairness.'                                      | Are doing (2)          |             | We (current administration), I (Trump) exclusive | Trump's business rhetoric continues -- it's important to note that Trump does business all over the world. He's not a politician -- we're protecting those guys and were supposed to get into World War III for all these countries that aren't paying their fair share. The commander of NATO -- he came out the other day and said Donald Trump is right. [The next statement simply shows Trump's rapport and ethos with the audience.] I'm sure Obama was thrilled when he saw that. Donald Trump is right; you have countries that are paying. And he said how he goes in and he talks to them. He says look, you've got to pay your bills. I have budgets -- which is true and then you have these people back here -- stupid people -- right here. They said Donald Trump -- Donald Trump doesn't like NATO. He is going to abandon NATO. That's not what I said. I said they've got to pay. [The next statement demonstrates again Trump's dealmaking abilities when it's a bad deal you have to leave the table; you may have to walk.] Now, you have to walk. You may have to walk. But they've got to pay.  | 1                      |   | Act/agent |
| 208 | 'But Hillary said about Japan -- because Japan, we're defending Japan you know that, right? Now, in all fairness before I came along put yourself back three years ago. Did anybody know that we defend Japan? Raise your hand who knew. All right, there's about 12 percent. Not bad. I think some of you are lying, OK? I think some of you are related to Hillary Rodham Clinton. I think some of you are lying. But we defend Japan and a man comes up, general or something, a few months ago, I remember so vividly. And he said at a news conference because they were embarrassed because I kept saying they've got to pay their way. And if they don't -- if they don't, you always have to be prepared to walk you have to do that. You know, we don't want to do that, I understand the reason. It'd be nice to have them but you know this isn't again 40 years ago. We owe \$20 trillion. We're defending all these -- we defend Japan. We defend Germany. We defend Saudi Arabia. You think they have the money to pay -- how about we have military bases that we rent -- we pay rent to Saudi Arabia to protect them? No. No, think of it. Think of it, think of the stupidity. Think of the stupidity. So this general comes up, has a news conference a few months ago. And he said, "Mr. Trump doesn't understand that Japan is paying 50 percent of the cost to defend them." So a reporter goes up who I think is there and said to me, "Mr. Trump, we'd like your comment. They say that Japan is paying 50 percent of the cost to defend." And I said why aren't they paying 100 percent? The reporter said, OK." Not a bad question.' | Protecting, paying,    |             | We (current administration), I (Trump) exclusive | The business rhetoric continues another ethos moment as Trump admits he didn't know we were defending Japan as a part of the NATO agreement -- Japan, were defending Japan you know that, right? Did anybody know that we defend Japan? Raise your hand who knew. All right, there's about 12%. Not bad. I think some of you are lying, okay? I think some of you related to Hillary Rodham Clinton. [Only a man that's very confident in himself and call members of his audience liars and yet he does that he even compares him to Hillary] think some your lying. But we defend Japan and a man comes up, general or something, few months ago, I remember so vividly. He said at a news conference because they were embarrassed because I kept saying they've got to pay their way. If they don't, you always have to be prepared to walk you have to do that. It's nice to have them, but you know this isn't 40 years ago. We owe \$20 trillion. [National debt] we defend Japan. We defend Germany. We defend Saudi Arabia. You think they have the money to pay -- how about we have military bases that we rent -- we pay rent to Saudi Arabia to protect them? No think of it. Think of it, think of the stupidity. Think of the stupidity. [As Trump's words show -- stupidity -- why are we paying other people to defend them and why we renting military bases when were there to defend them. So this general comes up at a conference few months ago and since Mr. Trump doesn't understand that Japan is paying 50% of the cost to defend them. Sorry Porter says to me we'd like your comment. They say that Japan is paying 50% of the cost to defend and I said why aren't they paying 100%? | 1                      | Globalism reading paying people to defend themselves and were not protecting the people in our country from illegal immigration and terrorist refugees. | Act/agent |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|  |   | Burke's Pentad                                 |                        |                             |  |   |  |   |
|--|---|--|------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| Specific Sentences and Speech References |   | Act<br>(what) action verb(s)                   | Scene<br>(when, where) | Agent<br>(who)              | Agency<br>(how)universal purpose/symbolic level  |   | Purpose<br>Maslow's (why)  | Ratio in pentad<br>act/agent vs scene/act |
| 209                                      | 'Here is -- that's why she changed her last -- that's why she doesn't want to use the name anymore, because everybody was saying that. I don't know. I've been saying it. But look, here is -- here is why it doesn't work for Hillary. She saw that I said that we have to get reimbursed for our costs, at least, right? Japan, economic behemoth. Germany -- see how well they're doing -- economic behemoth. Saudi Arabia, nothing but money. They were making \$1 billion a day with their high oil prices, now they're making a fortune, the same thing. Economic behemoth. Why are we defending them, and why aren't we being fully reimbursed? Now, if we do that, your budget already is starting to look real good. OK. You know, you have budgets, so we losing our assurance; we have an \$800 billion trade deficit, folks. We trade with companies. We have a deficit with other countries, think of it -- \$800 billion a year. Trade deficit. Do we make the deals? No. With China, \$505 billion trade deficit. And they cheat us because they devalue their currency all the time. Whenever it gets a little bit tough, devalue, devalue, and our companies can't compete with that. Right?'  | Defending, reimbursed, losing, cheat, devalue, |                        | We (US government)exclusive | Before Trump continues the economic aspects of putting America first when it comes to our defense he takes a moment to <b>brand Hillary</b> again -- now, here's the problem with Hillary -- <b>Hillary rotten Clinton</b> . [Rotten is a play on Hillary's maiden name Rodham] That is why she changed her last -- that's why she doesn't use the name anymore, because everybody was saying that. <b>I've been saying it</b> . [Now back to budgeting our military] She saw that I said that we have to get reimbursed for our costs. <b>Japan, economic behemoth. Germany, economic behemoth. Saudi Arabia, nothing but money.</b> They're making up \$1 billion a day with their high oil prices. Economic behemoth. [The repetition of <b>economic behemoth</b> says it all these are wealthy countries that we've made bad trade deals with yet we are paying them to defend them who makes that deal as Trump asked earlier] Why aren't we being fully reimbursed? Now, if we do that, your budget already is starting to look real good. You know you have budgets, we have an <b>\$800 billion trade deficit</b> , folks. We have a deficit with other countries, think of it -- \$800 billion a year. <b>Do we make the deals? No.</b> With China, \$505 billion trade deficit. And they <b>cheat us</b> because they <b>devalue their currency</b> all the time. When it gets a little bit tough, devalue, and our companies can compete with that. [A good businessman knows you do not make trade deals that are going to cost you money] (Alumisource Mfg., PA -- Palm Beach, FL)  | 1 | For America to achieve their full potential and create jobs and safety they have to make good deals.   | Act/agent                                 |
| 210                                      | 'Now, here's the problem with the Hillary -- Hillary rotten Clinton. Here's the problem. So, here's the thing. So, Hillary says about Japan, how dare he not stay with our allies, how dare he not do that? I will never abandon our allies, ever, ever, ever. Now, how do you negotiate when you're telling somebody will never going to leave? We may have to leave. Look, Japan has problems because you have the maniac in North Korea making missiles. But I mean, you know, so we'll get it. Now, South Korea, it is an economic behemoth. You can't buy television that is not made in South Korea, except Sony, which is made in Japan, which has sort of lost its way. Whether it is LG or Samsung. I order thousands of television sets; you can't buy them in the United States. I'd love to. Show me one company. One of the pundits said, they do make them. There's a company. And he showed me, it's a little company. What they do is, all the parts come in for -- from all over the world, they put them together, and they give you a television that doesn't work and nobody ever heard of it. [applause] And then I put it into a luxury hotel, and everybody complains, right? So, you can't say to people when you're negotiating -- because we're talking about tremendous billions and billions of dollars. You can't say to people -- you can't say to people when you're negotiating, we'll never leave you. Think of this, we're going to never leave you; we love you, we'll never leave you. Could you pay more? No, we're not going to pay anymore. You're not going to leave us. Why should we pay more? So, there's a chance we'll have to leave. And there's a chance that, you know, Japan will have to take over this monster and figure it out. We're very far away. It's very expensive.' | Abandon, negotiate, making, showed, complains  |                        | I (Trump)impersonal         | Trump addresses the attacks because he makes these comments publicly -- Hillary says about Japan, how dare he not stay with our allies, how dare he not do that? <b>I will never abandon our allies, ever, ever, ever. Now, how do you negotiate when you're telling somebody we are never going to leave?</b> We may have to leave. Look, Japan has problems because you have the maniac in <b>North Korea making missiles.</b> Now <b>South Korea, is an economic behemoth.</b> You can't buy a television that's not made in South Korea, except Sony, which is made in Japan. Whether it is LG or Samsung. I ordered thousands of television set; you can't buy them in the United States. I'd love to. [Trump adds an anecdote] one of the pundits said, they do make them. And he showed me, it's a little company. What they do is, all the parts come in from all over the world; they put them together, and they give you a television doesn't work and nobody's heard of it. <b>And then I put it into a luxury hotel, and everybody complains, right? So, you can't say to people when you're negotiating --</b> because we're talking about tremendous billions and billions of dollars. <b>You can't say, when you're negotiating, will never leave you.</b> [Trump repeats you can't tell them you never going to leave them and ask him to pay more money when they know you're not a leaf] There's a chance will have to leave. We're very far away. It's very expensive. [It makes complete business sense to charge people for what they're receiving.]   | 1 | The Art of The Deal -- globalization is hurting our economy and the American people.   | Act/agent                                 |
| 211                                      | 'You know, we have a treaty with Japan. And if the United States is attacked, they don't have to do anything. But if Japan is attacked, we have to go in there with our full force and might, and who the hell knows what's going to happen, right. World War III, who knows what's going to happen. But if we're attacked, they don't have to do anything. You tell me, who makes these deals? It's like Sergeant Bergdahl, right? So, we trade a dirty, rotten traitor where five or maybe even six people were killed when he deserted, and we knew that they were killed and we knew that he was a traitor. We trade for five of the greatest killers, the greatest killers in the Middle East, the five people that they wanted the most. That is our deal. So, we get a traitor and they get five people that are right now, most of them, already back on the battlefields trying to kill everybody, including us. No more, folks. That is called the five for one president. That's -- that is the same guy that made the deal for \$400 million. The other guys couldn't leave the airport, the hostages. And then all of a sudden, they were able to leave.'  | Attacked (3), makes, trade, killed             |                        | We (universal)exclusive     | We have a <b>treaty with Japan.</b> And if the United States is <b>attacked they don't have to do anything.</b> But if <b>Japan is attacked, we have to go in there with our full force and might, and who the hell knows what's going to happen, right. World War III, who knows what's going to happen.</b> But if we are attacked, they <b>don't have to do anything.</b> You tell me, <b>who makes these deals?</b> It's like <b>Sgt. Bergdahl;</b> we trade a dirty, rotten traitor five or maybe even six people were killed when he deserted, and we knew they were killed. We trade for five of the greatest killers, the greatest killers in the Middle East. So we get a traitor and they get five people that are right now, most of them already back on the battlefields trying to kill everybody, including us. That's the same guy that made the <b>deal for \$400 million.</b>   | 5 | Trump shows frustration with agreements made with other countries concerning their safety without a reciprocal agreement for United States safety. America's safety needs are not being met.                   | Act/agent                                 |
| 212                                      | 'And then you watched him yesterday saying that, can you believe it? This had nothing to do with that. OK? Just a coincidence. No, no, just a coincidence -- no. You know, she is unfit to serve as president for a lot of reasons. He is unfit also. He has done so bad. He has been so incompetent. We have doubled our debt during his -- think of it. Over the years of our country -- over the years of our country, he gets in, and in eight years by the time his term is up, we will have doubled our national debt. Think of it. So, we have to win this election. This is a very important election. I do not need to do this, folks, believe me. I could be elsewhere right now, I love being with you. But I could be elsewhere. I could be -- I might be in Wisconsin, just a different location. OK? But I felt I had to do it. I want to give back. I will give back give back, I'm going to give back. I'm going to give back. [applause] I want to give back. Because our country does not win anymore. Our country does not win anymore. And it is not going to win with crooked Hillary Clinton. Not going to win. It's not going to win. She does not know how to win. Our country is not going to win with her. We're going to be worse than we are with Obama. I mean, if you want four more years of what is going on, ISIS, all over the place, ISIS expanding.'  | Watched, doubled (2)                           |                        | I (Trump)                   | Trump demonstrates his <b>ethos</b> and concern for America while creating a <b>negative pathos</b> for Obama and his former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton -- again using time in specifics, Trump reminds the nation that the problems still happening now: <b>you watched him yesterday</b> saying that, can you believe it? Just a coincidence. You know, <b>she is unfit</b> to serve as president for a lot of reasons. <b>He is unfit</b> also. He has been so incompetent. We have <b>doubled our debt</b> during his eight years, we have doubled our national debt. So, we have to win this election. This is a very important election. <b>[Trump reminds the audience he's not a politician, that he could be even though he doesn't say it making money, I could be elsewhere right now. He uses repetition when he says I will give back implying his patriotism and appreciation for the American dream.] Okay? With crooked,</b> but I felt I had to do it. I want to give back. I will give back, I'm going to give back. I'm going to give back. I want to give back. Because our country does not win anymore. Our country does not win anymore. And it's not going to win with Hillary Clinton. Not going to win. It's not going to win. She does not know how to win. [Again the repetition with our country does not win anymore and then tying Hillary with the inability to win. He mentions the increase in national debt with Obama and links Hillary with Obama implying a continued increase from all of his other speeches this has to be from globalism and giveaways.] We're going to be worse than we are with Obama. (Philadelphia, PA -- Columbus, Cincinnati, OH -- Palm Beach, FL -- Detroit, MI -- all address Hillary's the lack thereof leadership) | 1 | The country's debt has doubled. Our country doesn't win anymore. Maslow's hierarchy of needs of self-fulfillment esteem safety physiological needs, none of these are being met by the current administration. | Act/agent                                 |

Table 1: Analysis of Trump's Speeches Using Burke's Pentad

|     | Specific Sentences and Speech References   | Burke's Pentad               |                     |  |  |                        | Ratio in pentad act/agent vs scene/act  |           |
|-----|--|------------------------------|---------------------|--|--|------------------------|---|-----------|
|     |  | Act (what) action verb(s)    | Scene (when, where) | Agent (who)                                  | Agency (how)universal purpose/symbolic level   | Purpose Maslow's (why) |   |           |
| 213 | 'And by the way, our policeman are great, great people. [applause] And we are not going to allow our policeman to be shot down anymore. Anymore. No more. No more. So, November 8th, you have a big election. I promise you this, if I win, we're going to start winning again. We are going to win on trade, we're going to win with our military, we're going to take out ISIS, we are going to win for our veterans who have been totally mistreated. Our veterans are great. We have a great plan for the veterans. We're going to win for our veterans, first time, maybe ever. We are going to win on trade deals. We are going to make the finest, we are going to bring our jobs back. We're not going to make it easy for these companies to leave and fire everybody. It going to be very, very expensive when they do it. Believe me, it's going to be very, very expensive. They're going to say, you know what? Maybe we'll stay Wisconsin, OK? Maybe we will stay. [applause] No, it's going to be very, very hard. We're going to have strong borders, we're going to have the wall. Mexico is going to pay for the wall 100 percent, 100 percent. applause] We are going to get rid of Obamacare. We're going to get rid of Common Core, we're going to bring our education -- local. We're going to have local education. We're going to appoint great Supreme Court justices.' | Are going (10) future action |                     | I (Trump) we (Trump administration)exclusive | Promises-- two very important things: first with the rise in violent crime, Trump praises our beleaguered police officers -- by the way, our policemen are great, great people. And we are not going to allow our policemen to be shot down anymore. No more. No more. [This is a repeat of a promise made in West Bend, WI.] So, November 8, you have a big election. Now comes the second as he promises success on many of the issues that are of concern to large portion of his audience: I promise you this, if I win, we are going to start winning again. We are going to win on trade, we're going to win with our military, we're going to take out ISIS, we're going to win for our veterans who have been totally mistreated. Our veterans are great. We are going to win on trade deals. We are going to bring our jobs back. We are not going to make it easy for these companies to leave and fire everybody. We are going to have strong borders, and we are going to have the wall. Mexico is going to pay for the wall 100%. We're going to get rid of Obamacare. We're going to get rid of common core, we are going to bring our education -- local. We are going to appoint great Supreme Court justices. [Trump is restating points that he is made and what we call stump speeches across United States whether he won or lost the state these were the points he emphasized in] [West Bend, WI -- Palm Beach, FL -- Columbus, Cincinnati, OH -- Detroit, MI] | 1                      | Trump promises to meet the needs, in this case Maslow's entire pyramid of needs, for the American people. | Act/agent |
| 214 | 'And folks, we're going to start winning again. We're going to win at every level. We're going to win so much, you're going to get tired of winning, I'm telling you. You're going to be begging me, Mr. President -- you will send your great quarterback, right? He will come to the White House. Everybody respects him. He'll come to the White House, and he'll say, Mr. President, the people of Wisconsin, they can't stand winning so much. [applause] Could you tone it down just a little bit? I will say, I just can't do that. We are going to win more, and more and more, we're going to win at every level. But we are going to win. We are going to make America great again. We're going to make America safe again. Thank you very much, everybody. Thank you. Thank you.'   | Are going (10)               |                     | We (universal)exclusive                      | As much as this is Trumps ethos it is a repetition of what he has just said about winning. The future tense are going in the gerund winning , and infinitive to win,-- We are going to start winning again. We're going to win at every level. We're going to win so much, you are going to get tired of winning, I'm telling you. You're going to be begging me, Mr. Pres. -- you will send your great quarterback [Aaron Rogers] right? They can't stand winning so much. Could you tone it down just a little bit? I will say, I just can't do that. We're going to win more, and more and more, we're going to win at every level. We are going to make America great again. We are going to make America safe again. Thank you very much. [business rhetoric at its finest, no one goes into business to fall. Even though Trump didn't succeed in every business he undertook; he plans a business venture to succeed to win.]   | 3                      | The American dream -- winning.  | Act/agent |

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