

The relevance of public speech in the presidency of Donald Trump – the US elections in analysis

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Abstract

The importance of the US presidential elections results from the analysis of several factors, both at the systemic level and their impact on the international political order. In the middle term of the Donald Trump's presidency, it is important to analyze the discourse model used and its impact on election results. In fact, many studies have focused on the characteristics of the voters that led to Trump's victory, leading a short discussion about the importance and the role of public speech in the electoral battle of 2016. The campaign discourse and the way Donald Trump keep the communication strategy during the mandate is a key element to understand the US political system and could represent a new model to analyze the different concepts of leadership at a global

level. A close insight into it can illustrate many facets and facts about discourse as an instrument in electoral campaign and how it is perceived by voters. The study investigates D. Trump's speeches during the 2016 presidential elections in order to identify his sentiments, discourse themes and strategies. We used the technique of content analysis and event-analysis, along with the descriptive approach, with the aim of outlining the impact of Donald Trump's public speeches during this period. The study revealed that Trump's speeches were topic oriented. The study allowed us to deepen the knowledge about the role of political public speeches and the new strategy adopted by Donald Trump to keep a significant average of supporters.

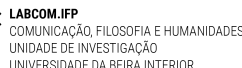
Keywords: political communication; american presidential elections; public speeches; campaign themes; D. Trump; electoral system.

Introduction

THE importance of oratory and rhetoric accompanies the evolution of humanity and of all political decision-making processes. Political power is structured in the capacity to convey political messages and proposals. The analysis of the US presidential election results implies a number of central factors, such as the consolidation of democracy in the United States since the

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eighteenth century, the specificity of its political and electoral system, and the position of the country in the global context.

The US elections have an impact on a global scale, both in the policies adopted and in the relationship between the different states. Military power and US diplomatic capability are central to this perspective, as well as economic provisions in an increasingly globalized and borderless society.

The issue accompanying this research focuses on the public discourse adopted by Donald Trump during the election campaign in 2016, as well as the initial period of his term. Likewise, we reserve space for the analysis of the use of social networks as privileged platforms for contact with civil society.

Public discourse in the USA embraces a wide range of issues, but in this article we focus on those particular national and international issues directly related to the electoral campaign of D. Trump. Analysis of topics discussed during the period from 2014 till 2016 reflects worries of American people about the situation within and beyond the border of the country. American's concerns about important national and international issues have changed dramatically over that period. The percentage of Americans who worry "a great deal" about the possibility of a terrorist attack (51%) climbed 12 percentage points from 2014 to 2015, while concerns about race relations (28%) surged 11 points. Americans' worries about illegal immigration also climbed over that period, increasing six points to 39% (McCarthy, March 17, 2015).

According to the Gallup Polls, changes in American's levels of concern during 2014 and 2015 indicate that events in the past, such as the terrorist attack on a French newspaper's office, activity of ISIS have played role in increasing Americans' worries about possible terrorist attacks. On the other hand, despite the fact that Americans' concerns about unemployment have fallen substantially over 2015, the level of concern about the issue is rather high – it is 37%. So, the top priority issues are ranked the following way – the availability of healthcare (54%), the economy (53%), the possibility of future terrorist attacks in the USA (51%), the social security issue (46%), the wealth income and wealth are distributed in the US (46%), hunger and homelessness (43%), crime and violence (43%), illegal immigration (39%), drug use (38%), unemployment (37%), race relations (28%)(ibid). Similar topics were identified according to the polls conducted by the latest NBC News/WSJ poll. 40 per cent of respondents say terrorism is most important- more than any other issue - compared to 21 per cent who said so in April (Caldwell Leign Ann, Dec. 31, 2015). Along with terrorism, respondents mentioned the economy and jobs, healthcare, immigration, environment and global warming. Polls data pushes to the conclusion that D. Trump in his public discourse was inclined to focus on the above mentioned topics in order to succeed in his electoral campaign.

It will be the simplification of discourse the way to the success of political communication, avoiding the complexity of political discourses and concepts. Or are we watching a radical change in the way leaders assume their positions?

In this context, it is important to analyze the different communication codes that are usually associated to political campaigns, mainly in a bipartisan system like the United States. Attention is also paid to political speeches and the campaign themes discussed in the speeches by one of the major participants of the 2016 political campaign. This perspective assumes an examination

of key topics. At the same time, it is important to have in mind the characteristics of the political system, mainly the primary elections and the duration of the campaign.

This research paper is an exploratory approach to the presidential term of Donald Trump, mainly due to the number of cases and speeches available for analysis and considering that we are in the middle of his mandate.

As an expected result and having in mind that politics and media are common parts of this analysis, it is possible to identify new models and ways of political communication in Donald Trump speeches, mainly because is a national identity speech in opposition to a global speech.

Considering the various criticisms of the president-elect's speech, as well as the positioning of various social media vis-à-vis Donald Trump, it is important to understand the various dimensions present in the discursive analysis and its possible impact on the policy line adopted.

The theoretical framework has been designed considering the theoretical implications derived from late 20th and early 21st century research concerning public discourse.

Theoretical framework

Public discourse of American presidents is a multifaceted phenomenon, so scholars focused on its different aspects. In recent years a lot of academic works have been devoted to public discourse as an integral part of electoral campaign.

Particularly covered are talking about race (Affirmative Action and the Culture of Intolerance), contemporary leadership, and reconciliation: truth, apology and forgiveness – notably in the work of Judith Rodin and Stephen P. Steinberg – as well as the principles of public discourse and creating community through public discourse (Judith Rodin and Stephen P. Steinberg).

Public discourse in the United States is represented by a wide range of works. Scholars devote their studies to spinning or distortion of facts (Richard Moon, 24.11.2016) during elections; ideals, values and hot topics used by D. Trump in his political speeches (Stuckey, Mary, 2017); critical discourse analysis in D. Trump presidential campaign (Rahman, 2017); persuasive strategies in American presidential speeches (Ghasani, 2016); US foreign policy and national identity (Christie, Kenneth, 2008); women's political discourse (Mayhead, 2005) etc.

There are excellent works of researches such as Marta Degani, Paolo Frassi and Maria Ivana Lorenzetti, whose writings on analysis of Obama's election campaign (Degani, 2015) as well as analysis of political discourse and genres (Degani, Frassi, Lorenzetti, 2016) remain unsurpassed. Of course more defined topics have also been the focus of excellent articles and full length books. Among the best, we would name Robert Cockcroft and Susan Cockcroft on models of argument (2014); Federica Ferrari and B. O'Loughlin on B. Obama metaphorical narrative on Syria (2018); Paul Chilton on political discourse in context of domestic and global arenas (2004); Peter Bull on the analysis of political communication, especially political speeches and televised political interviews (2003); Aditi Bhatia on discourse of terrorism, voices in new media, and voices in climate change (2015); Lee Banville on politics, news media titans, trends, and controversies (2017).

Presidential election discourse attracted attention of numerous researches. David Zarevsky focused on historical and contemporary studies of political argumentation in the United States

(Zarevsky, 2014); Ussama Yaqub, Soon Ae Chun, and Vijayalakshmi Atluri on political discourse on Twitter in the context of the 2016 US presidential elections (2017); Kathleen E. Kendall on presidential campaign discourse (1995); William L. Benoit on presidential campaign discourse and election outcome (2003); B. Heiskanen and A.M. Butters on electoral politics during the 2016 US Presidential election. Benita Heiskanen considers the ways in which Internet memes acted as an intersection of electoral activism and politico-cultural discourses over the course of the 2016 race, providing content for the mobilization of new voters and alternative representations in social media (2017); Edward Schiappa on the discourse factors typical for modern presidential candidates (2016); Heather Hendershot on peculiarities of political rhetoric and the candidates (2016); Mohammad Mohammadi on the critical discourse analysis of D. Trump's language use in the campaign of 2016 (2017); J. Charteris-Black on the analysis of political speeches, rhetoric and metaphors (2013).

Research Question and Hypothesis

Considering the specificity of the US political and electoral system, as well as the characteristics of the 2016 election campaign, this analysis aims to decode the speeches of President Donald Trump, laying the foundations for future comparative studies related to the relationship between capacity discourse and the oratorical the electoral results. The main research problem it addresses is how public speeches delivered by 2016 presidential candidate D. Trump affected audience, what characteristics of his speeches were efficient. Our hypothesis is that D. Trump effectively used certain campaign themes that coincide with expectations of American people in 2016.

The twenty-first century plunges completely into the dependence and importance of the media, so any analysis implies the need to look at the impact of the action of political leaders on the media. In this way, we've analyzed the messages placed in the social network Facebook during the Republican Convention (July 2016) that consecrated Donald Trump as the official candidate of the party to the presidential elections of the same year.

In general terms, we come up with three central questions to understand Donald Trump's discursive dimension and how he used some social networks to convey his message: what communication strategy did Donald Trump adopt throughout his official speeches? What is the communication model (semiotic analysis) of Donald Trump's campaign used on the social network Facebook? What key campaign themes were used by D. Trump to persuade voters to support his position?

Research Methodology

a) Data

Public discourse of D. Trump as a presidential candidate enabled him to expose and discuss his stances on policy issues contrasting them with other candidates' stances. In every his speech Mr. Trump unveiled his discourse style as well as the premises supporting his claims. For our research,

we collected the transcripts of public speeches of the Republican Party presidential candidate D. Trump.

This article addresses the period of the electoral campaign, from the time of the republican convention to June 2018. In order to ensure a coherent structure based on scientific and methodological principles, we approach only the official discourses, avoiding the discourses given in an informal context. With this methodological option we guarantee a comparative approach between the speeches before and after the election, in order to identify similarities and differences in Donald Trump's attitude and options.

The methodology of this study follows the principles of qualitative research, and was based on a discourse analysis of authentic source materials of twelve speeches delivered in the 2016 American presidential election by the Republican candidate – Donald Trump, respectively. The qualitative approach investigates not only what, where and when, but also why and how the problem appeared. The source of the data is D. Trump campaign speeches from August till October of 2016. In June of 2016 D. Trump announced his candidacy for President of the United States. On July 19, Trump was officially nominated by the Republican Party at the Republican National Convention. On November 8, 2016, Trump won the victory. He received 306 pledged electoral votes versus 232 for Clinton.

There are few reasons for selection of public speeches delivered by D. Trump. First of all, he was the nominee of the Republican Party for the position of the US President in the electoral campaign of 2016. Second, the candidate competed with H. Clinton as a representative of the Democratic Party. Third, the intense competition lasted till November of 2016. So, all the reasons mentioned above prove the necessity to analyze D. Trump speeches delivered during three months: August, September and October. All together we have analyzed 12 speeches – four speeches in August (August 8, August 15, August 19 and August 31), four – in September (September 9, September 15, September 16, September 30) and, four – in October (October 3, October 13, October 19, October 22). This corpus comprises 117 pages of D. Trump delivered speech transcripts.

b) Methods

Considering the process and methodological options, the main option focuses on the use of content analysis, with a focus on the qualitative approach. In fact, for the speech analysis the content analysis is one of the most adequate methodological approaches. We have undertaken a content analysis examining public speeches delivered by D. Trump in order to capture the general impact of and the effect on the audience. Literally, it involved counting the frequency of the key notions mentioned in the speeches. Second, according to our findings and in combination with key events we can deeper understand the reasons for focusing on the topics vital for American people. The content analysis approach is based on the rationale that speeches of the presidential candidate of 2016 reflect the most up-to-date events, topical subjects and his major political views. We assume that public speeches of the Republican Party candidate constitute important topics on political agenda. We also assume that when a politician ignores vital political issues in his public discourse, political interest of the voters is also low and his chances to be elected are minimal. Content analysis is used in combination with event analysis that makes the research more valid.

In a sequential level we've used the descriptive analysis. The use of these techniques is in line with the goals and the specificity of the theme and allows us to adopt a theoretical and empirical approach. The use of these three techniques will also create the methodological scenario that will keep the present research for comparative purposes in the future.

Findings and Discussion

Findings

1. The US political and electoral system: challenges for a general approach

The discursive aspect and the importance of oratory and rhetoric constitute the central axis of the present analysis, in a course that mixes political science and political communication. However, to verify and guarantee the necessary theoretical approach under this investigation, it is important to proceed with a brief characterization of the US political and electoral system, since there is an adequacy of the discursive aspect in view of the specific nature of the political system in question. We'll not proceed with an exhaustive review of the literature on the dimensions of the political and electoral system, but rather a process of systematizing its dimensions and the characteristics that directly interfere with our object of study. Drawing on the classic contribution of David Easton (1965), it is clear that the analysis of the political system should be limited to two main vectors: the limits and processes of communication between citizens' doubts / questions, the responses of the responsible authorities / entities and the citizens' assessment of those responses and their consequences. Based on this principle we verify a direct relationship between the functioning of the system and the citizens' perception of it. In other words, the political system is not isolated in the face of citizen participation and involvement.

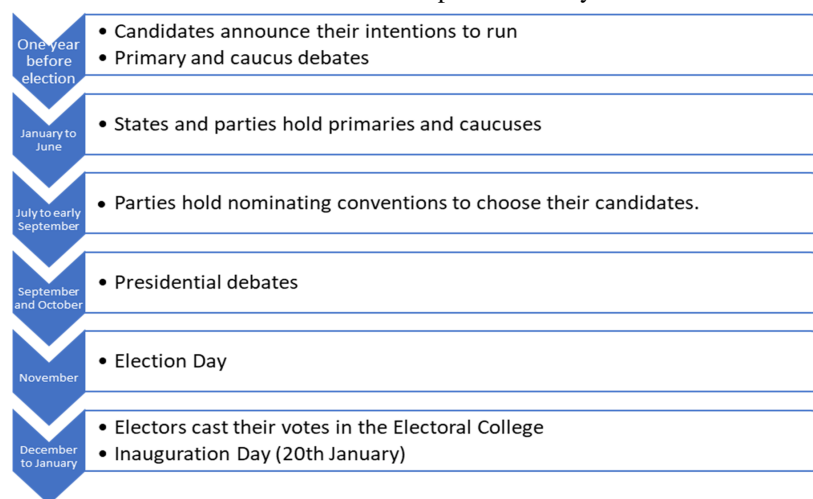
The United States of America has one of the most consolidated democracies in the world (founded in 1776), and the stability of the system is one of the assets to affirm the power of the President of the United States.

The political system is presidential, based on a model that guarantees the indirect election of the president through the vote of the Electoral College. In spite of this characteristic, the Electoral College has never subverted the popular vote, reason why it is defended that the system has guaranteed a direct election of the maximum representative of the State (Pasquino, 2005). The choice of the presidential model considers the federal character of the country, as well as the need to accommodate the question of the representativeness of the various States in the choice of the Head of State.

The election for president of the United States occurs every four years (held in the first Tuesday, after the first Monday in November). The system is highly competitive, (bipartisan) with the holding of primary elections in the two main parties to choose the final candidate to the election (at the nominating convention).

In a very simple and schematic way, we can identify the cycle of presidential elections as follows (Presidential Election Process, 2018):

Chart 1. US electoral presidential cycle



This sequence shows the long duration of an election campaign, as well as the need to ensure effective forms of communication in order to keep candidates to remain on the media agenda for so long. Thus, the discursive capacity and mobilization capacity of the electorate around core (simple but objective) issues are key features of political and electoral competition.

The model of governance in the United States is based on the figure and presidential powers. But the dynamism created by a bipartisan system based on two chambers limits and conditions presidential power. This perspective reflects the model of governance adopted in the United States, based on the sharing and division of powers and the holding of midterm elections for the Senate and the House of Representatives midway through the presidential term. This factor is decisive for the emergence of a balance of powers between the legislative area and the executive field (check and balances theory).

The specificity of the American electoral system allows the winning candidate not to be the one who obtained the majority of the votes. This situation occurred in the elections of 2016, but also in the 2000, 1888, 1876 and 1824 elections. The system and its effects could lead to an effective questioning of electoral rules and the democratic principle. However, the American political and electoral system is based on proportional representation (through the chamber of representatives) and on the equal representation between the different states that make up the federation (through the Senate).

If, in fact, we have verified that there is no ideal or theoretically superior electoral system (Nohlen, 2007), it is from the test of historical-empirical evidence that the consolidation and functioning of American democracy is confirmed. Even if during the campaign Donald Trump adopted a populist and anti-globalization discourse, complemented by the defense of protectionist policies (Roubini, 2017) and it was observed an impartial discourse of the media towards his candidacy (Costa, 2017), the functioning of the democracy is not shaken.

The historical approach of the US democracy is not under pressure, regardless of the President-in-office. Recapturing a perspective that is already assumed after the end of the bipolar world, it is clear that the “conception of the democracy claims that a democracy society is one in which people have the means to participate meaningfully in the conduct of their own affairs and in which the media, the media, are open and free” (Chomsky, 1991: 9).

The objectivity of the definition and its adequacy to the new world order leads to the need to broaden the perspective of the use of the media in the analysis of electoral results and political action. In this context, social networks, the concept of fake news and the perspective of external influence on national elections are highlighted. Are we moving towards a mediocracy instead of democracy? Or, on the other hand, do we see a multiplication of international decision-making centres (Moreira, 2008) and an increase in interdependence leading to a new closed concept of democracy?

2. Communication and politics – the use of Facebook during the Republican Convention (2016)

The 2008 US elections represented a fundamental paradigm shift in how politicians use social media and the global media to influence voter choices. The victory of Barack Obama in 2008 was precisely based on a mediation and a significant presence of the candidate in social networks, revealing new forms of communication with the electorate. This trend has been deepened with the evolution of the media and new technologies, as well as the increase in the rate of use of social networks by citizens.

It is not our goal to quantify this evolution, but rather to emphasize the strong relationship between two fundamental concepts: communication and politics. In the current model of Western democracy, the interdependence of the two concepts and the impossibility of analyzing political phenomena without considering communication as one of the defining variables of its occurrence is unquestionable.

This trend leads to the need to look at the above concept of mediocracy and the possibility to redefine democracy according to the role of media in the definition of the public policies. In this field, communication, rather than corrupting democracy, acts as one of the central elements for its implementation (Wolton, 1995).

To study the use of social networks during the electoral campaign, as well as to measure their impact, we turned to the social network Facebook and the official page of Donald Trump during the Republican Convention of 2016 (18th to 21st July). We are dealing with the establishment of a cause and effect relationship between the use of the social network and the greater or lesser adherence of users in each publication. It is possible, in this field to co-opt the traditional model of the elements of political communication. According to McNair (1999) we are dealing with a conceptual tripartite vision of political communication, encompassing the media, political organizations and citizens. This vision emphasizes the ability of the media to serve as an interlocutor, but also as an influencer in the public decision-making process. However, the role and greater autonomy of the individual in the use of social networks, make a huge difference between the present reality in opposition to the passive role of citizens as receivers of the information of the traditional media.

In this context, we began the analysis of the use of social network Facebook by Donald Trump during the republican convention of 2016. If such use and management is based on political objectives, it is apparent that the politicization of the message is present and there is no attempt to create an impartial position. That is, the objective is to attract more electoral support and to spread the message.

The easy access and use of social networks as well as the direct contact established between candidate (or his party machine) and the electorate is a key aspect of measuring the impact of the messages transmitted. In fact, the emergence of postmodern campaigns, after the 1990s, allowed the candidate's role to be deepened (personalization of politics), as well as the emergence of campaigns focused on the role and scope of social media (Figueiras, 2006). However, the spread of the Internet promoted a greater autonomy of the public in relation to the social media, and its role of intermediary between citizens and political power was broken.

This perspective shows that the traditional vision of political communication is outdated. In fact, using the contribution of Blumler and Gurevitch (1995), political communication focuses on four fundamental aspects: political institutions in their communication aspects; media institutions in their political aspects; audience orientations to political communication and communication-relevant aspects of political culture. This vision based on mutual power relationships was overcome by the greater role of the individual in the process of selection and creation of information.

The multiple opportunities for participation through social networks are shaping the political phenomenon, as well as redefining the individual's involvement in political issues. The way is therefore analyzed by the impact of Facebook and the type of communication established.

Methodology and elements of analysis

We could start with a descriptive and historical analysis of the use of social networks for political purposes, but having to restrict our scope of analysis, we chose to focus on the use of Facebook by Donald Trump in the period of 18 to 21 July 2016, precisely the period that marks the republican convention. The convention marks the appointment of the nominee for the presidency of the United States of America. The methodological and object delimitation of the study is central to the process of construction of scientific knowledge.

As we mentioned, the general problem of the present work focuses on the typology of speech used by the US president during the campaign and how he used facebook to convey his message to the electorate. Could Facebook, the social networks and the controversy around the fake news play a determining role in the choice of the North American president in 2016?

It is true that we find in the literature several studies that attest the influence of the mass media on electoral results (Graber, 2004; Serrano 2006; Mundim, 2010; Costa, 2017), however the impact of social media and the rethoric speech implies a more detailed and appropriate study of the object of study in question.

In the present research study, we will focus and use the content analysis technique applied to the publications of Donald Trump in the social network Facebook (18th to 21st July 2016), as well as to his official speeches during the oficial campaign and the first part of his mandate. In this context we turn to the analytical tradition that goes back to the contributions of Berelson (1952)

on the importance and applicability of content analysis on political phenomena to mark the scope of the present investigation.

At the same time and in a complementary way to the use of content analysis, we use the descriptive approach of the contents expressed in the social network and official discourses, both with a qualitative and quantitative perspective. According to this option and having in mind the selection of the study object, we will organize the data based on a categorical framework, to test the five categories chosen: functional theory of political discourse (Benoit, 2007); the Aristotelian model of argumentative rhetoric; the request for action; the political issues and the structure of Facebook content (video, image, text or hyperlink).

The content analysis and the descriptive approach allow us to systematize the information collected, according to the adoption of coding, categorization and inference processes (Espírito Santo, 2010), being this premise dependent on the objectives of each investigation. Being an imminently exploratory study, due to the number of cases analyzed, as well as the exercise of the current presidential term, we try to observe the trends of communication in the social network Facebook and the receptivity of users to each type of publication. The categorization process becomes vital for the scientific validation of the present research, namely by the need to create homogeneous contents (the publications in the Facebook social network) and the appropriateness of the content analysis to the research objectives (Bardin, 1977).

As we mentioned the period of analysis focuses on the entire Republican Convention of 2016 that consecrated Donald Trump as the Party candidate in the November presidential election. According to this period it is possible to observe the existence of 39 publications carried out in the official page of the candidate (Trump, 2016).

According to the objectives of this research, we will use the following model of analysis:

Chart 2. Model of Analysis

Categories	Variables
Functional Theory of Benoit	Acclamation
	Attack
	Defense
Aristotelian rhetoric	Logic
	Traditions
	Emotion
Action Request	Donation
	Vote
	Support/Involvement
Political Issues	External Policy
	Terrorism
	Security
	Economy
	Immigration
Publication Structure	Health
	Video
	Image
	Text
	Hyperlink

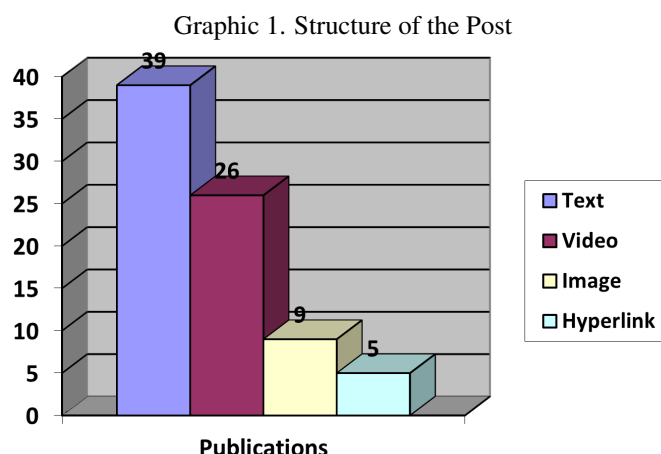
The option for this categorization provides an overview of the content and formats of the messages analyzed, as well as outlining future comparative research in this area.

1. Message and Content Analysis

It is important to mention that according to the purposes of the research, we will analyze all the messages published during this period, being the model chosen above based on the theoretical matrix of political communication and considering the central topics of the North American electoral campaign.

Also, important to note the number of followers of the official page of Donald Trump. During this convention the number was above 14.5 million, however the present number (September 2018) is above 23.4 million of followers.

Considering the formal structure of each post, all the messages during this convention were composed by text and 66% of the publications were complemented by video. In this analysis only 23% of the posts included images and 12% included any kind of hyperlink. These numbers are only possible because some posts were made of text, videos and hyperlinks at the same time.



As we can observe by the global numbers, the importance video is clear in the process to convey the message. The dynamics of this movement induce in a clear option for this kind of message: small references, complemented by the explanatory videos.

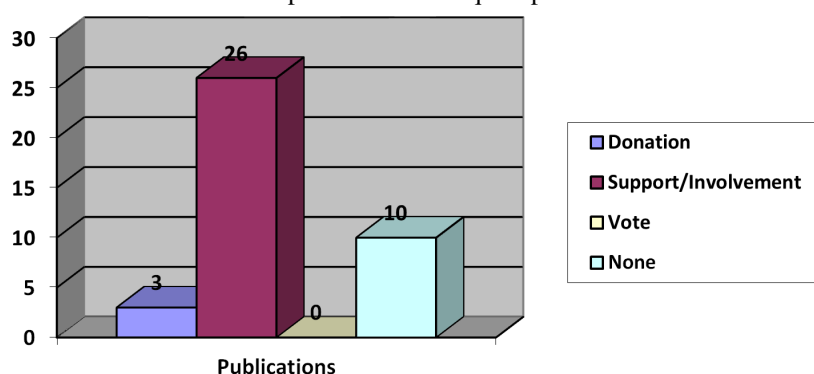
In a second level, related to the political themes addressed by the candidate its possible to verified that the slogan and main message of Donald Trump was presented in 17 of the 39 publications. The slogan was “Make America Safe and Great Again” and in several posts this was the way to finish the message. This was an attempt to create a movement around a simple and accessible speech.

Other two issues that were adopted in the political communication of Donald Trump was the “fight against terrorism” and Hillary Clinton’s polemic over the e-mails (Trump, 2016, July 20). The security issues and the attacks over the Democratic Party were part of the republican strategy, mainly due to the bipartisan system and the high levels of rejection of both candidates. However,

this was more a Donald Trump strategy than a party strategy, due to the lack of support that he faced during the presidential campaign with several ancient leaders refusing to declare their support to the republican nominee.

Considering the action request, one of the main characteristics is the absence of the vote appeal. In fact, 74% of the posts include some kind of action request, with the majority with simple appeals to participate and get involved in the campaign (26 posts) and only 3 publications with suggestions of money donations to the campaign (this was a evident argument of Donald Trump – the lack of dependence from the financial groups and economic interests).

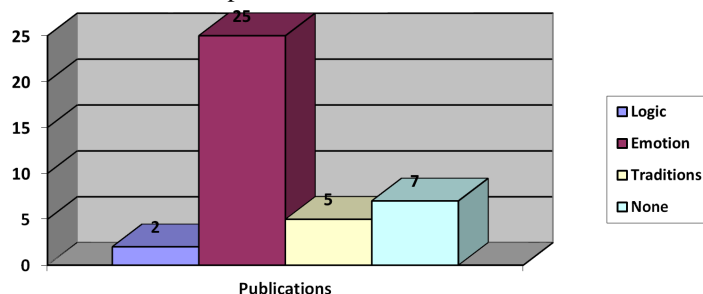
Graphic 2. Action request posts



It is clear that the role model was based on the goal to motivate the participation of citizens in the campaign, even if the participation was simple as a “share” action of the original post of Donald Trump. The campaign with low levels of support in the mainstream media (Costa, 2017) focused on the potential of the Internet and social networks for the propagation of his message.

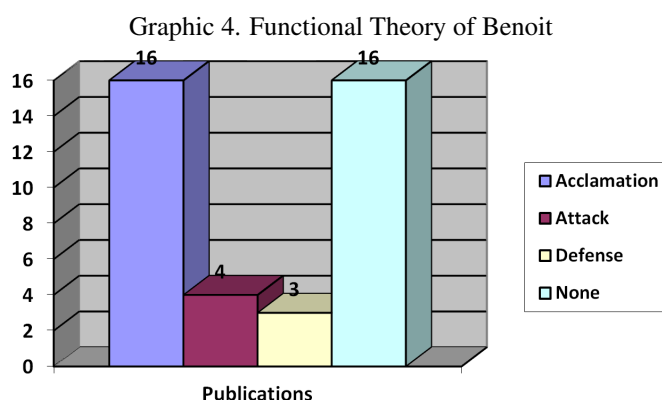
The contribute of the Aristotle vision of society and power is fundamental to analyze the narrative and the discourse of Donald Trump. According to the Priberam Dictionary “rhetoric” is the “art of good speech” or the “set of rules relating to eloquence” (Dictionary Priberam da Língua Portuguesa, 2008-2013) and in the scale adopted in this research we try to find aspects of the following variables in each post of Donald Trump: logic, traditions and emotion.

Graphic 3. Aristotelian Rhetoric



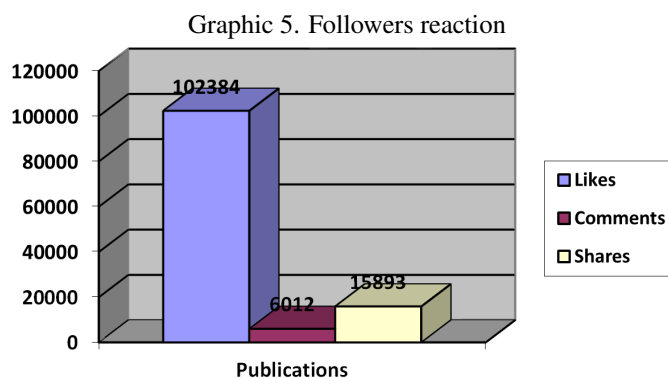
The main results identify a systematic use of emotions in the discourse of Donald Trump, with several references to the family (It was very common to find references to the speeches and the public positions of Donald Trump's sons. For example: "GREAT JOB TIFFANY! So proud of you-love you!" or "Thank you Ivanka. Could not have done it without family!"). This was also an attempt to present a conservative perspective of the candidate.

Considering the traditional classification of William Benoit its possible to identify 3 main functions of the discourse: acclamation; attack and defense.



In the present analysis the majority of the publications reflect a acclamation approach, focusing on the profile of Donald Trump and his capacity to mobilize crowds. This capacity is still of the main images of Trump's mandate.

According to the analysis of his personal page, each publication of Donald Trump provoked a number of remarkable reactions.



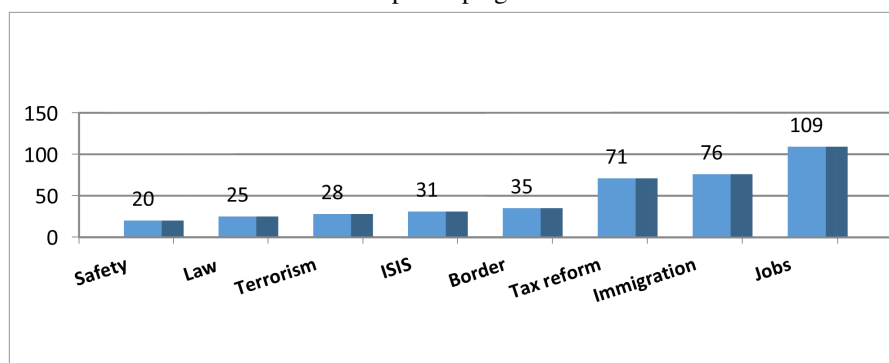
Based on the analysis of graph 5, we can see the high number of likes (average) in each publication, as well as the creation of a system of effective sharing of the message of the candidate. The "snowball" effect, in elections pointed by the importance of social networks.

2. Theme-oriented politics – the key themes in D. Trump speeches (2016)

The finding is based on the Donald Trump utterances that illustrate key topics in public speeches of the American leader. Thematic topics were identified in his public speeches in order to find out the ideology that is underlying behind the texts. With regards to procedure of analysis, in the first step, the data were processed and analyzed from thematic point of view.

This research collected a total of 360 thematic units from 12 online sources during a 90-day period from August 8 to October 22, 2016. The analysis of the 360 items selected resulted in identifying basic electoral campaign themes while 97 items were identified as related to key concepts of D. Trump campaign rhetoric. All units were coded according to the following major frames: thematic and conceptual. 2016 campaign themes reflect the important issues hotly discussed by American people. According to the frequency indicator use they are as follows: jobs, immigration, tax reform, ISIS, terrorism, law and safety. The frequency of thematic issues is demonstrated below.

Table 1. D. Trump Campaign Themes in 2016



According to the analysis D. Trump predominantly focused on the topic of safety (20 units), law (25 units), terrorism (28 units), ISIS (31 units), border (35 units), tax reform (71 units), immigration (76 units), and jobs (109 units).

The finding is based on the Donald Trump's utterances that illustrated political discourse which is based on four indicators: 1) becoming public interest; 2) illustrating key issues of the candidate speeches; 3) persuading the audiences about political views. The utterances found in Trump's speeches based on indicator are as follows:

Becoming public interest

D. Trump campaign themes were selected according to the criterion of public interest. Following are some topics identified in the speeches concerning public interest during 2016 presidential campaign:

Safety

“We have decent American citizens who want to uphold our tolerant values and keep our country safe. We want to keep our country safe. People who support the police, who want crime reduced and ended, and who are not prejudiced. They’re concerned and loving citizens whose hearts break every time an innocent child is killed, violently, on the streets, which is happening all over our country” [September 16, 2016].

Law and order

“We will pursue strong enforcement of federal laws. The gangs and cartels. And criminal syndicates terrorizing our people will be stripped apart one by one and they will be sent out of our country quickly. Their day is over. And it’s going to end very, very fast” [August 19, 2016].

“Beyond violating our laws, visa overstays, pose – and they really are a big problem, pose a substantial threat to national security. The 9/11 Commission said that this tracking system would be a high priority and would have assisted law enforcement and intelligence officials in August and September in 2001 in conducting a search for two of the 9/11 hijackers that were in the United States expired visas” [August 31, 2016].

Terrorism

“We will use military, cyber, and financial warfare and work with any partner in the world and the Middle East that shares our goal in defeating terrorism. I have a message for the terrorists trying to kill our citizens. We will find you, we will destroy you and we will absolutely win and we will win soon” [August 19, 2016].

“Iran, the world’s largest state sponsor of terrorism, is now flush with \$150 billion in cash released by the United States – plus another \$400 million in ransom. Worst of all, the Nuclear deal puts Iran, the number one state sponsor of Radical Islamic Terrorism, on a path to nuclear weapons” [August 15, 2016].

ISIS

“Overseas, ISIS has carried out one unthinkable atrocity after another. Children slaughtered, girls sold into slavery, men and women burned alive. Crucifixions, beheadings and drownings. Ethnic minorities targeted for mass execution. Holy sites desecrated. Christians driven from their homes and hunted for extermination. ISIS rounding-up what it calls the “nation of the cross” in a campaign of genocide. We cannot let this evil continue” [August 15, 2016].

Border

“Another major issue in this campaign has been the border. Our open border has allowed drugs and crime and gangs to pour into our communities. So much needless suffering, so much preventable death. I’ve spent time with the families of wonderful Americans whose loved ones

were killed by the open borders and Sanctuary Cities that Hillary Clinton supports” [August 19, 2016].

Illegal immigration

“Now, another issue I want to address today is immigration. As I mentioned, Pueblo is filled with wonderful hardworking immigrants. It is these hardworking immigrants who stand to lose the most from our open borders immigration policy. Illegal immigration, and broken visa programs, take jobs directly from Hispanic workers living here lawfully today. Illegal immigration also brings with it massive crime, and massive drugs – including a terrible heroin problem right here in Colorado. We are going to build a border wall, and we are going to stop the drugs, gangs and the violence from pouring into Colorado” [October 3, 2016].

Tax reform

“Taxes are one of the biggest differences in this race. I am proposing an across-the-board income tax reduction, especially for middle-income Americans. This will lead to millions of new good-paying jobs. The rich will pay their fair share, but no one will pay so much that it destroys jobs, or undermines our ability to compete. Tax simplification will be a major feature of the plan” [August 8, 2016].

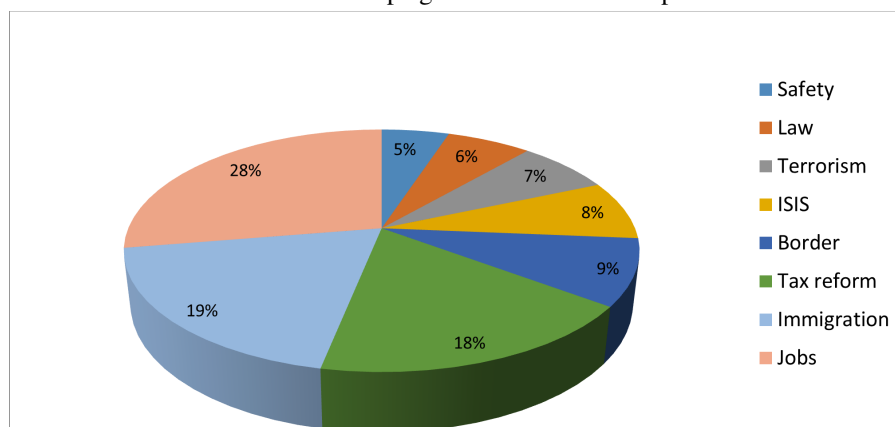
“In addition, because we have strongly capped deductions for the wealthy and closed special interest loopholes, the tax relief will be concentrated on the working and middle class taxpayer. They will receive the biggest benefit – it won’t even be close. This is a working and middle class tax relief proposal. The tax relief for these workers will be expanded by my childcare proposals that I have worked on with my daughter, Ivanka. These proposals are a central element of our comprehensive tax reform and economic growth plan” [September 15, 2016].

Jobs

“As with taxes, I will have one overriding goal when it comes to regulation: I want to keep jobs and wealth in America” [August 19, 2016]. “I’m running to reverse these failures. And they are incredible failures. And create a new American future. And that future begins with prosperity at home. My economic agenda can be summed up in three words. And you’re going to like these three words. Jobs, jobs, jobs. One of my highest priorities is to bring jobs into our inner cities” [September 16, 2016].

The campaign theme representation and percentage is demonstrated in chart 1.

Chart 1. 2016 Presidential Campaign Themes in D. Trump Public Discourse



There were significant differences in frequencies on the campaign themes due, probably, to their importance for American society. D. Trump felt very well the mood and expectations of people, so he tried to deal with the issues accordingly. The thematic frame focused in eight major issues: jobs (28 percent), illegal immigration (19 percent), tax reform (18 percent), border (9 percent), ISIS (8 percent), terrorism (7 percent), law (6 percent), and safety (5 percent). Other issues such as violence and chaos, Trump administration appeared at a very low percentage so they were dropped from the final calculations.

Safety has become a vital issue for Americans taking into consideration availability of drugs on the streets and high crime rate.

Statistics, represented by FBI, support the idea of violence increase. There were an estimated 17,250 murders in the U.S. in 2016, an 8.6 percent increase from 2015. Overall violent crime rose 4.1 percent in 2016, while property crime fell 1.3 percent compared to 2015 figures. The report showed there were an estimated 1.2 million violent crimes in the US in 2016. Though the violent crime numbers rose from 2015 to 2016, the five-year and 10-year trends show an increase from 2012 (up 2.6 percent) and a decrease from 2007 (down 12.3 percent) [FBI News 2017, Sept 25]. Worries of American people are not groundless. Gun control issue is directly connected with crime increase and the criminal situation in the country. And this situation has a tendency to worsening (in comparison with 2015). The gun control ranked fourth according to recent Gallup polling in 2016.

D. Trump also shifted his attention to law and order issue due to numerous violations of American laws. In below given citation D. Trump tries to explain the situation in terms of polar notions.

The candidate praised police officers and promised to stop violence in the streets. His statement sounds rather optimistic, but, at the same time it is not so easy to make it real. Violence and increase of criminal activity is not a single problem. It is a multifaceted issue related to unemployment, educational level, poverty, low standards of life, drug addiction etc.

Security is interconnected with terrorism which attracted attention of D. Trump due to a number of cases. The starting point was the terrorist attack in New York in 2001. Over the last 3 years

a few terrorist attacks were carried out around the world: in 2014 terrorist attacks were made in Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan, Syria, Austria, Nigeria, Pakistan and Lebanon; in 2015 it was Nigeria, Yemen, Kenya, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Paris; in 2016 there numerous blasts in Iraq and Syria. The war with terrorism declared by G. Bush was supported by B. Obama. So, keeping political tradition alive, D. Trump continues anti terrorist rhetoric of his predecessors.

The issue of security and safety of people is inseparable from national security of the country which is a part of the US foreign policy. By words of D. Trump safety should not be separated from the issue of visa violation, terrorism and immigration.

Despite extravagancy of the candidate himself Mr. Trump is quite sensitive to the topic of terrorism. It is a serious problem which poses a threat for many countries including the United States. Islamic terrorism as one of the key issues in his political campaign meets the expectations of his voters and reinforces his attempts to control the Muslim community in the USA. The Republican Party candidate is frank enough to impose guilt for terrorism on Iran. In his speech on August 15, 2016 he directly calls Iran the largest sponsor of terrorism. But terrorism is not a single problem. The situation worsens because Tehran is paving way to obtaining nuclear weapons by all means which really dangerous and unpredictable especially in the region of the Middle East.

Gallup polls from 2016 included ISIS as a threat in the list of problems identified by American people. So, it is quite logical for D. Trump to focus on ISIS which is explicitly and implicitly related to terrorism. Tackling the issue D. Trump sends voters a message that he is eager to deal with domestic and foreign policy issues. In the campaign speeches he does not separate the threat of ISIS from terrorism indicating that they are facets of the same origin.

Border problem is a part of a security issue for Americans. And the politician gives numerous examples how border crossing negatively affects peaceful style of life of American people. This idea is in line with the issue of illegal immigration. Criticizing it, Trump sends a message that he is eager to tackle and resolve it. A part of his strategy to persuade voters is his attempts to blame officials of the previous administration, especially his opponent H. Clinton. His attempts were successful, because apart from pure criticizing he also offered ways out. One of them was a doubtful project of the wall between the USA and Mexico.

D. Trump is rather sensitive to the issues that worry American people. Discussing the problem if illegal immigration he highlights negative sides of the issue, such as drug addicting, crime committing, stealing jobs etc. Trump supporters view illegal immigration as a serious problem and they strongly support his idea about building a wall along the border with Mexico. At the same time they are divided on the issues whether to deport some or all of the nation's estimated 11.1 million unauthorized immigrants. About eight-in-ten Trump supporters who cast ballots or were planning to in the days leading up to the election (79%) said illegal immigration was a "very big" problem in the US, according to a Pew Research Center pre-election survey. Even more (86%) said the immigration situation in the US has "gotten worse" since 2008 [Gramlich John, Pew Research]. Public discourse of D. Trump, especially economic block included the issue of tax reform.

The idea of the tax relief is not new in American policy. It is hotly discussed and speculated upon by almost every candidate to the post of American president. So, in this case Trump is not original. But what is interesting is his approach to the problem in complex. First, he raises the

problem. Second, he offers the solution to the problem. Third, he stresses that he is a businessman who creates jobs. This way he appeals to the minds and emotions of people. And the strategy works. He manages to persuade and attract people to his side. While explaining his approach to the solution of the problem he indicates that he has an economy plan which will considerably change economic development of the country and relive life style of people, both – the working and the middle class. The rich will pay their fair share. Tax simplification, by his words, will become a major feature of the plan” [August 8, 2016].

Along with many other issues he addressed was the issue of creating jobs in the USA. Analysts stressed that economic issues would dominate in 2016 presidential elections. It turned out to be true. Both candidates H. Clinton and D. Trump addressed economic problems and failures left unresolved previously. In his speech on September 15, 2016, the Republican presidential nominee, called for 4 percent growth as he laid out his economic policy in a speech to the Economic Club of New York. D. Trump unveiled a pledge to create 25 million jobs over the next decade, but he offered few details on how he would achieve that ambitious goal as president [Burns, Appelbaum, Irwin]. According to the employment-population ratio from the Bureau of Labor Statistics from 01.08.2016 the share of the population over the age of 16 with a job is 59.8% [US Department of Labor]. 40% of the 16-and-over population not having a job is nothing new in America. Trump’s campaign slogan, Make America Great Again, presumably refers to his hope of returning America to its post-war glory, when the US economy accounted for a much larger share of global GDP than it does today. But that was a time when a lower percentage of Americans of working age had a job. Scholars suppose that the employment-population ratio has much more to do with social factors than the strength of the economy. As it became socially acceptable for women to enter the workforce in large numbers, the ratio rose. As the country aged and a greater share of workers entered retirement years, the ratio fell [Matthews, Chris. August 8, 2016]. Job issue as a campaign theme corresponds with the issue debated in American society over a long period of time. No doubt, D. Trump is sensitive to such topics, but his sensitivity is dictated by his intention to be elected. Pragmatic approach is translated into words and speeches with one and the only purpose – persuade voters to come down to his side of the fence, and in this case, the Republican fence.

Conclusion

This article provides a timely exploration of D. Trump discourse as an emerging impact on political marketing of presidential campaigns and the interactions that undergird the relationship between the candidate and voters. D. Trump used social network and public speeches to demonstrate group identity and solidarity with the audience and to catch the largest possible electoral support.

Our exploratory study approaches the relationship between political communication, oratory techniques and rhetoric, and the increasing use of social networks as a privileged tool for political actors. The use of the social network Facebook allowed an affirmation of the candidate ideas and help to spread his message. This trend may lead to a break in traditional patterns of political behavior and an increasingly virtual participation of citizens. In fact, the number of virtual reactions, mainly “shares” allows to spread the political message to a high number of citizens and create

create a sense of true civic / political participation. This research demonstrates the path of exaltation of simple and easily perceived phrases / slogans during the republican convention and the electoral campaign of 2016. It was also perceived that the use of videos and images gain a relevant place in D. Trump's strategy as well the posts with clear references to his family. Social network Facebook and public speeches positively enhanced his political image as a politician of new kind and reduced the importance of traditional media as channels to obtain political information.

Rhetoric is an important tool in presidential campaign, especially when it is well thought and well prepared. One of the strategies used by the Republican Party nominee is the campaign theme approach. And it makes sense, because through the speeches, he is evaluated by both the Americans and the international community for the demonstration of his competence in the issues vital for the domestic and foreign policy. From the perspective of American people, campaign theme competence is critically important since most people are interested in solving problems accumulated over the last decades. Economy and healthcare themes were linked to Clinton while those about immigration were linked to Trump (Oates S., 2016). Campaign themes, resonating with expectations of people, were well presented in speeches and social media (Williams Christine, 2017). The study results demonstrate that selection of the campaign topics is well suited for measuring audience response to D. Trump messages and thus the effectiveness of his discourse.

We hope that the investigation of communication in the social network Facebook as well as campaign themes can provide a tool to support descriptive analysis of data for understanding American political discourse.

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