

The Representation of African Americans in Donald Trump's Presidential Messages on Juneteenth: A CDA Study

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Juneteenth is a national holiday, called Freedom Day, Jubilee Day, Liberation Day, Emancipation Day, and Independence Day, where Americans commemorate the end of slavery in the United States. In 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation which declared more than three million enslaved people living in the Confederate states to be free. On 19th June 1865, African Americans living in Texas finally learned that slavery had been abolished. The celebrations often include religious prayers, services, speeches, dances, and food. The presidential messages on Juneteenth are part of the president's routine activities where he addresses the American citizens when celebrating the federal order to free slaves. Four messages have been selected, each followed by the date of issue:

- Presidential Message on Juneteenth Issued on June 19, 2017 (Message 2017)
 - Presidential Message on Juneteenth Issued on June 19, 2018 (Message 2018)
 - Presidential Message on Juneteenth Issued on June 19, 2019 (Message 2019)
 - Presidential Message on Juneteenth Issued on June 19, 2020 (Message 2020)
- (<https://www.whitehouse.gov>)

1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is described as interdisciplinary, as it integrates various tools and methods that can bring about concrete results, revealing agendas of hidden manipulation and abuse of power. CDA perceives language use as a social practice. It aims to raise awareness of the hegemonic practices of discourse and create resistant and sensitive readers who are conscious of their culture and identity. Due to this social commitment, CDA seeks to show how manipulation is exercised through discourse and how it can be resisted. Therefore, issues of power and ideology in language, such as racial discrimination enacted in discourse, have gained priority in current CDA studies. Hence, the absence of a critical stance may lead to a state of complacency in the face of the ideas presented.

Fairclough (1989), van Dijk (1993), Wodak (1989) advocate that language is not neutral: it is constructed in a way that transmits a given message. Discourse (spoken

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or written) presents particular views of identities, values, relations, and other aspects of human life. This is what Fairclough and Wodak (1997) described as the *working assumption* which denotes that any part of a text, spoken or written, is simultaneously constituting representations, relations, and identities (275). Therefore, the researcher views analytical tools such as Halliday's (2014) transitivity, van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actor Network (SAN) and van Dijk's (2006) strategy of ingroup vs. outgroup representation as relevant to the present study in revealing values and attitudes behind the texts under study.

CDA takes a particular interest in the concept and role of ideology and its relation to language. It is concerned with the hidden means in which language is involved in social relations of power, domination, and ideological conflicts. Therefore, CDA attempts not only to describe and explain such issues but to create awareness among agents of their needs and interests by revealing the hidden agendas embedded in discourse. An ideology is perceived as a set of social values that are viewed in terms of *Us vs. Them* or the *ingroup vs. the outgroup*. This polarized perspective may tend to emphasize the positive self-presentation of an ingroup and the negative other-presentation of an outgroup. Put differently, in racist white discourse, self-serving information is highlighted, favorable properties are focused upon, and access to social resources (such as education, welfare, and prosperity) is claimed. In this way, ideology allows legitimate dominance and justifies abuse actions (van Dijk 1995).

The concept of race is often explained in terms of skin color. However, the whites are idealized not because of their skin color, but because of their power and economic advancement. Hence, the race is not a biological concept but a social construct. For reasons of decorum and propriety, explicit expressions of racism are not acceptable in today's democratic, politically correct societies (Kubota & Lin, 2006). According to van Dijk (2006) racism, the root of racial discrimination, is a social system where a powerful group dominates or exercises power over other groups. The type of racism the study is concerned with is white racism which is based on constructed differences of ethnicity and origin. It is a form of white group dominance that produces inequality by which minorities are victimized. This type of racism is not always spelled out, but it is recognized in the polarized tendency of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

The present study attempts to describe and discuss how social actors (American politicians and African Americans) who worked to abolish slavery were represented in Trump's presidential messages. The main aim is to check if racial discrimination was enacted and reproduced in the contents of these formal and institutional messages despite the reiterated recommitment to social justice, diversity, and inclusion of the *outgroups* by the American Administration. Although norms of equality and ethnic tolerance are learned, they are partly accepted by the dominant white group (van Dijk 1994, 26). The United States, for example, is a multi-ethnic society, which is mainly made up of Caucasians, American Indians, Afro-Asians, and Afro-Americans. All these elements are expected to be fairly represented in any political discourse that depicts this society. Preferring a group over other groups may

cause detrimental effects on citizens since it reinforces discrimination and perpetuates stereotypes.

2. Review of Literature

Previous studies on political discourse attempted to uncover the socio-political agenda that determines the ideological perspective of the American Administration vis-à-vis various issues such as national identity, immigrants, the colored, world trade, etc. Adjei, Ewusi-Mensah, and Okoh (2015) identified the major process types of transitivity used in President John Evans Atta Mills' first State-of-the-Nation address in an attempt to examine the communicative implications of the process types. The study discovered that among the major process types, material processes dominated the speech, whereas the mental process types were minimally used. The excessive use of the material processes implied that Mills and his government were the main actors working on several concrete projects to create a sense of developmental progression and continuity. It also showed how the President manipulated his language to express his political message to his people. Robert McClay (2017) examined the strategic patterns of ingroup vs. outgroup polarization analysis in three of Trump's political speeches that revealed his ideology of racism. The study adopted Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and van Leeuwen's (2008) social network of actors to examine the references made about the foreigners, Trump, and *the Establishment* (Institutional powers of society). The foreigners were distanced by being suppressed or excluded, whereas Trump and the Establishment were positively portrayed as activated, nominated, functionalized, and appraised.

Analyzing the transitivity processes as well as the inventory of social actors revealed that Trump criticized the Establishment for weakening America and supporting the foreigners and stated that America, with Trump, would be strong. He presented America as strong, proud, and competitive. Zhang (2017) conducted a quantitative analysis of the first television debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump by using the Transitivity Theory. The study revealed how the speakers manipulated their audience and expressed their attitudes and judgments. The material and mental processes were predominant in their respective speeches, followed by the verbal and existential processes.

From a CDA perspective, García (2018) analyzed Donald Trump's Inaugural Speech at the Republican Convention and an interview on the program ABC News "*World News Tonight*" to show how the immigrants, as well as politicians like Hillary Clinton, Washington bureaucrats, and the media were represented. Van Dijk's (2000) positive self-presentation vs. negative other-presentation strategy revealed that Trump gave detailed information about the positive aspects of the dominant group members and the negative sides of the outgroup members who included the immigrants as well as his political foes. The study reached the conclusion that Trump's discourse styles were loaded with a negative and biased attitude toward the immigrants and the establishment who were described as primitive and repelling respectively. Quinonez (2018), for example, analyzed 100 speeches, addresses, and remarks by Ronald Trump before and after the 2016 U.S.

presidential elections regarding immigrants. The researcher used CDA and Corpus Linguistics to investigate the frequency of positive vs. negative representation of the ingroups and outgroups. The findings revealed that Trump used dehumanizing language when referring to immigrants, particularly those of color. Similarly, Siti Nur Rohmah (2018) adopted van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Theory to examine Trump's speeches. The analysis of the linguistic features in 64 expressions collected from three chosen speeches revealed that the negative representation of the minority group and the positive representation of the dominant group were highlighted. Sri Wahyuningsih (2018) also investigated the use of personal pronouns used by Donald Trump in his inauguration speech from a CDA point of view. The results showed that Donald Trump was trying to maintain a good relationship with the audience through his speech, using personal pronouns such as 'we' and its variants 'our', and 'us' to refer to himself, the audience, and citizens of the United States. At the same time, he used the personal pronoun 'they' and 'them' when addressing politicians and citizens of the United States to win their favor and build a dynamic interaction with them.

Adopting CDA as a methodology for analyzing text, Kim (2015) analyzed the educational documents in South Korea by investigating four strategies of acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. The group polarization perspective was used to refer to the Korean citizens as the ingroups, and the international marriage family children and foreign workers' children as the outgroups. The findings of the study did not reveal any sign of segregation or marginalization of any group, which indicated that assimilation and integration of all factions of the society were implemented. Chen (2018) used Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar for the analysis of the same speech to show how power, superiority, inequality, and prejudice were reflected in Trump's discourse by means of applying linguistic devices such as transitivity, modality, personal pronoun, and coherence. The findings revealed that these tools were invested in a way that aimed at persuading the audience and influencing their ideological stands. His presidential messages did not have the aggressive attitude he adopted in addressing minorities in other speeches. In a nutshell, these studies reached the conclusion that racial discrimination is still enacted and reproduced by the American administration despite claims that social justice prevails.

Unlike the previous studies that tackled Trump's racist discourse and focused on his direct and aggressive way of addressing minorities, the present study attempts to reveal Trump's ideological attitudes that were implicitly expressed toward African Americans. The previous studies did not systematically investigate the representation of social actors by employing a socio-semantic inventory such as van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for examining inclusion and exclusion strategies in discourse. However, they provided a significant contribution to the present paper in terms of identifying racial prejudice exercised against minorities, particularly African Americans.

3. Data and Methodology

The present study assumes that Trump's presidential messages selected for study contain cultural representations that have socio-political implications. To test this, the study adopts Fairclough's (1989) and van Dijk's (1995; 2000) perspectives of Critical Discourse Analysis. In addition, van Leeuwen's (2008) model of social representation in discourse is utilized as it helps in focusing on the types of representation of the social actors in the presidential messages under study. Scholars such as van Dijk (2001) and Robyn Henderson (2005) who stress the interdisciplinary nature of CDA also advocate a diversity of tools and methods of research to reach reliable results about any given object of inquiry. They warn against adopting one single method of research to address a specific question, which may produce a distorted picture of the subject investigated. Hence, drawing on a variety of research tools enhances the understanding of a given discourse and integrates analysis at the micro level of social action with analysis of the macro level of social structure. In addition, analytical approaches can complement each other and help in thoroughly probing the prescribed texts.

To wrap up, writers maintain different options to emphasize the positive aspects or the negative aspects of a certain group. As van Dijk (2003) remarks, these options appear in structuring the discourse to serve specific purposes. Therefore, the perception of We vs. Others in the four presidential messages was examined in the form of categories representing the research tools selected for the study. The statements in the four presidential messages were examined closely to monitor the representation of the social actors under study. The data collected were tallied respectively in appendices representing these categories to demonstrate the distribution of power at the level of discourse. They were transformed into tables with percentages and then supported with relevant examples from the messages.

4. Tools of Analysis

4.1. Halliday's Transitivity Analysis

According to Halliday (2014), a transactive process has a transaction between a participant: the *actor* who is held responsible for an action, and a *goal* which is targeted or affected by this action. A nontransactive process has only one participant where the object or patient is missing. The difference between the two types is not only grammatical, as van Leeuwen (2008) remarked, but in the actions that affect others. Therefore, exploring transitivity processes can show the representation of power since we can identify who can control or affect others. Putting it clearly, Leeuwen (2008) noted that the ability to transact requires a certain power, and the greater that power is, the greater the range of goals that may be affected by an actor's actions (p. 60).

- **Material processes**, as Halliday (2014) noted, are the processes that embody an action verb of doing or happening. It construes action, activities, and events and consists of two participants: Actor and Goal. The former is the logical actor or the one that does the action, whereas the latter is the one who receives the action and is treated as the beneficiary or to whom the action is directed.

- **A verbal process** is a process of saying. It contains three participants: Sayer, Receiver, and Verbiage. The sayer is the participant responsible for the verbal process. The receiver is the one to whom the verbal process is directed or to whom the verbalization is addressed. The verbiage is the nominalized statement of the verbal process.

- **Mental processes** are clauses of sensing. They represent our experience of our consciousness. The Senser, the one that senses, is always a human and is endowed with consciousness. The phenomenon is the person or thing that is felt, thought, wanted, or perceived. Mental clauses have four types of sensing: perception (seeing, hearing, etc.), affection (liking, hating, etc.), cognition (thinking, understanding, etc.), and volition or desideration (want, wish, etc.) (Halliday 2014, 171).

- **A behavioral process** is a process of physiological and psychological behavior. It stands between material and mental processes. It relates behaviors such as breathing, dreaming, smiling, snoring, and coughing to a participant who is typically a conscious being and is called the *behave*r. However, the presidential messages under study do not include behavioral processes as they are meant to be political rather than narrative speech.

- **A relational process** is concerned with being, becoming, and possessing. It serves to identify or characterize. It does not show agency as it does not refer to an action. It is identified by the use of the verb *Be* or any other Copula verb of the same class such as *become*, *seem*, *appear*, *look* or sometimes by verbs expressing possession such as *have*, *own*, or *possess*. The subject in a relational process can be a carrier, a token, or a possessor. According to Halliday (2004), relational processes do not show agency since actions are downgraded into nominalizations: they express possession, equivalence, attributes, among others.

4.2. Van Dijk's Group Polarization

The social actors examined in Trump's four presidential messages include American statesmen and African Americans who are referred to as ingroups and outgroups, respectively. These group-based attitudes and ideologies are pragmatically expressed through the following abstract evaluative square:

- 1) Emphasize our good properties/actions
- 2) Emphasize their bad properties/actions
- 3) Mitigate our bad properties/actions
- 4) Mitigate their good properties/actions (van Dijk 1998, 33).

These polarized tendencies can be detected in the preferences of certain linguistic structures that serve the ideological agenda of political discourse. Among these linguistic structures the current study investigates are Halliday's transitivity processes and van Leeuwen's Social Actor Framework.

Fairclough (1992), in line with Halliday's (2014) Systemic Functional Grammar, focuses on transitivity as one of the dimensions of the grammar of the clause. His objective is to see what particular process types and participants are favored in the text, what choices are made in voice (active or passive), and how significant the

nominalization of the process is. Transitivity, in this way, is a crucial tool for explaining agency since the purpose of the study is to investigate the representation of social action and actors. In a nutshell, agency clarity is significant when analyzing sentence structure because the doer of the action (the agent) can be explicitly or implicitly mentioned, which is an ideologically motivated choice.

4.3. Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network

Van Leeuwen (2008) used the term *social actors* rather than *participants* and proposed a socio-semantic taxonomy to analyze the linguistic resources that construct representations of the roles and identities of social actors in discourse. This taxonomy includes several lexico-grammatical and linguistic systems that are used for realizing representations. It includes transitivity, reference to the nominal groups. The function of this taxonomy is to reinforce the analysis of identity (individual and collective) in discourse and indicates the model of self and other (we/they); it helps to see how power relationships are mediated through texts, and it also shows how the methods through which social actors are identified affect constructing reader's views and ideologies. The role of context is crucial due to the fact that social actors shape and are shaped by social practices and formations. van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network includes inclusion/exclusion categories to investigate how social actors are represented in discourse. Put differently, social actors are included or excluded in texts to serve the interests and purposes of the author(s) who tend to impose a hidden ideology on the readers who may not be aware of this. However, some exclusions of social actors occur innocently as they may presumably be known by the reader.

According to van Leeuwen (2008), the type(s) of activities made by social actors are investigated through two categories: inclusion and exclusion. Inclusion can be realized through activation, passivation, functionalization, specification, and nomination, whereas exclusion can be achieved through suppression, backgrounding or nominalization. The present study utilizes these categories that serve the purpose of the study by investigating the roles played by the social actors in the data under study.

5. Findings and Discussion

Using the four presidential messages under study revealed that the material processes were more frequently used than other types of processes. This is clear in Table 1 which demonstrates the numerical distribution of the transitivity processes in the four presidential messages under study.

Transitivity Processes	Frequency	Percentage
Material Processes	44	59 %
Verbal Processes	12	16 %
Relational Processes	10	13 %
Mental Processes	9	12 %
Total	75	100 %

Table 1. The Numerical Distribution of the Four Transitivity Processes in Trump's Presidential Messages.

5.1. The Material Processes

Investigating material processes can help to identify which participants are favored, what choices are made in voice (active or passive), and how strategies of inclusion and exclusion are ideologically motivated choices. In a nutshell, *agency clarity* is important when analyzing sentence structure because the doer of the action (the agent) can be explicitly or implicitly mentioned, which is an ideologically motivated choice. Haig (2012) noted that there is a participant power hierarchy where participants exercise the most power when they act as agents in clauses. This is due to the amount of power exercised on the affected participant who can be a *goal* or *beneficiary* in material processes. (Be consistent in using lower/upper case.) These participants who are acted upon appear as less powerful or powerless. The analysis of the material processes under study demonstrated the *actors* and the *affected* participants in the following examples:

- (1) Melania and I send our warmest greetings to all those celebrating Juneteenth. (Message 2017)
- (2) Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 was brought to Texas, unshackling thousands of slaves. (Message 2019)

In Example (1), *Melania* and *I* are the actors and *all those celebrating Juneteenth* are the affected participants. People celebrate Juneteenth, including all Americans; therefore, both white Americans and African Americans function as goals in this process. The *thousands of slaves* in Example (2) are the beneficiaries of the Emancipation Proclamation. Representing the ingroups as active participants signifies that these social actors hold the reins in the government and exercise sovereign power. On the other hand, when the outgroups were portrayed as actors, their actions were confined only to celebrating the occasion or their attempts to win their freedom.

Table 2 displays the discrepancy between the number of actors and goals belonging to the ingroups and outgroups respectively in the material processes. This reveals that the ingroup members appear as more dominant and active than their counterparts.

Participant	Frequency of Occurrence of the Ingroups	%	Frequency of Occurrence of the Outgroups	%	Total
Actors	22	67	11	33	33
Goals	4	33	8	67	12

Table 2. The Numerical Distribution of the Material Process in Trump's Presidential Messages.

The analysis of the material processes in the presidential messages revealed that the ingroups were portrayed to be in a more powerful position as they were represented as actors more than goals or beneficiaries. The low frequency of the outgroups as actors revealed the limited number of active roles they possessed and the little access to power they had. They were always targeted as goals or beneficiaries whose exercise of power could not transcend to **or** influence others. This entails the supremacy of the ingroups who controlled and influenced those who appeared in a subordinate and subservient position.

The results of investigating the material processes were reinforced by the examination of inclusion and exclusion patterns in the presidential messages. 61% of the ingroups were activated, opposed to 39% of the outgroups who were passivized. This denotes that white Americans were represented as active forces and had a full grip over all aspects of life. In this way, African Americans, who were disproportionately defunctionalized and had no fundamental role in society, were not highly acknowledged, and were fully dependent on others. Besides, the strategy of assimilating the outgroups made them appear as homogenized and neglected, suffering from the loss of their distinctive identity and cultural features. Portraying the powerful as an individualized group was meant to be a social norm.

5.2. Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network

In biased discourse, writers or speakers tend to hedge or be vague when referring to the outgroups by leaving a lot of information unspecified. On the other hand, precise and explicit information is presented when referring to what is favorable for ingroups and unfavorable for outgroups. Therefore, the present study investigated the representation of social actors in Trump's presidential messages to see how the members of the ingroups and outgroups were represented respectively through van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actor Network that shows how social actors are represented and realized linguistically. This is based on the crucial importance of agency which is linguistically realized in various categories that express inclusion or exclusion. Inclusion can be realized through activation, passivation, functionalization, specification, and nomination, whereas exclusion can be achieved through suppression, backgrounding or nominalization.

5.2.1. Inclusion categories. Activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active and dynamic forces of the activity. The active role was given to President Lincoln, Major general Gordon Granger, and the Union Army that initiated the action as in the following:

- (3) President Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation... (Message 2017).
- (4) Major General Gordon Granger of the Union Army arrived in Galveston, Texas, to declare the end of the Civil War and issue a long-awaited order freeing the remaining slaves in Texas. (Message 2018)
- (5) Major General Gordon Granger of the United States Army marched into Galveston, Texas, and issued General Order Number 3.... (Message 2019)
- (6) ... the Union Army would enforce and defend their freedom.... (Message 2020)

Social actors can also be passivized when they are represented as recipients (treated as objects or patients) or beneficiaries (positively or negatively, benefitting from the action). This is realized by transitivity structures in which participants are coded as *actors* in material processes, *sensors* in mental processes, *sayers* in verbal processes, or *assigners* in relational processes (Halliday 2014). Thousands of slaves in Example 7 were made beneficiaries who benefited from the emancipation:

(7) ... unshackling thousands of slaves. (Message 2019)

Table 3 demonstrates the wide gap between ingroups and the outgroups in terms of agency where the outgroups are treated as beneficiaries who are mere objects or patients and have no significant foot.

Categories	Ingroups	%	Outgroups	%	Total
<i>Activation</i>	38	68	18	32	56
<i>Passivation</i>	5	33	10	67	15

Table 3. Categories of Activation and Passivation in Trump's Presidential Messages.

Functionalization is an inclusion strategy where social actors are referred to in terms of the activities they do or their occupational roles (van Leeuwen, 2008). President Abraham Lincoln and Gordon Granger were mentioned regarding their official or military careers in (8) and (9):

(8) President Abraham Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation more than two years earlier.... (Message 2018)

(9) Major General Gordon Granger of the United States Army marched into Galveston, Texas. (Message 2019).

Specification is one of the strategies of inclusion in political discourse. Social actors can be specified when referred to in terms of individualization (by singularity) or assimilation (by plurality). They are individualized when represented as specific, identifiable individuals not as homogenous groups. This type of categorization has considerable implications in CDA where social actors can be represented as a ruling class or ordinary people. In racist discourse, powerful social actors tend to be individualized whereas dominated groups tend to be assimilated (van Leeuwen, 2008). In the four presidential messages, the official leaders are referred to in terms of their unique and powerful status.

(10) Major General Gordon Granger of the Union Army arrived in Galveston, ... President Abraham Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation. (Message 2017)

(11) ... boldly declared by our Founding Fathers.... (Message 2018)

On the other hand, social actors can be intended to appear as assimilated by being referred to in terms of statistical figures or as distant groups to be generically portrayed as in:

(12) ... the nearly 200,000 former enslaved and free African Americans who fought for liberty.... (Message 2018)

(13) ... freedmen and freedwomen left Texas. (Messages 2017)

In addition to specification, nomination is another inclusion pattern. It is typically realized by proper nouns, which can be formalized (surname only, with or without honorifics), semi-formalized (given name and surname), or informalized (given name only). It can either be titulated or detitulated. In the case of titulation, the social actor is referred to through honorification (standard titles or ranks, etc., as with Dr. Mr. Miss, etc.,) or affiliation (an institution or a place) (van Leeuwen 2008). Lincoln in Example 14 is represented in terms of his unique identity by being nominated in his surname and standard rank. Gordon Granger is mentioned in affiliation with the United States Army in Example 15:

(14) President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. (Message 2017)

(15) Major General Gordon Granger of the United States Army marched into Galveston. (Message 2019)

On the contrary, when social actors are detitulated, they are mentioned without these honorific or affiliated references: they appear with no reference to their functional roles or identities. Besides, social actors' names can be withheld and replaced with numbers or letters, which is a case of name obscuration. They are treated as groups as if there were no prominent figures to mention among them (van Leeuwen, 2008). This happened In Trump's presidential messages when referring to African Americans without using honorific or affiliated references such as 'citizens' or 'fellow countrymen':

(16) ... we pay tribute to the indomitable spirit of African Americans. (Message 2019)

Only one African American's name was nominated in Trump's four presidential messages, namely Martin Luther King:

(17) Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., called the "promissory note...." (Message 2020).

Table 4 demonstrates the frequency of the ingroups and outgroups in terms of functionalization, individualization, collectivization, and nomination. The roles or occupations of the ingroups represented 92%, of the two groups, which means that they were assigned more jobs and responsibilities that could fulfill the needs of the

community. On the other hand, the missing features of functionalization in the outgroups represented only 8%, which indicates that few career opportunities were available for them.

Categories	Ingroups	%	Outgroups	%	Total
<i>Functionalization</i>	11	92	1	8	12
<i>Individualization</i>	12	92	1	8	13
<i>Collectivization</i>	6	33	12	67	18
<i>Nomination</i>	16	94	1	6	17

Table 4. Categories of Functionalization, Individualization, Collectivization and Nomination in Trump's Presidential Messages.

The results of investigating specification, namely functionalization, individualization, and collectivization, and nomination reinforce each other. Table 4 indicates that 92% of the ingroups were individualized, and 33% of them were drawn as homogenized. On the other hand, 8% of the outgroup members were individualized, whereas 67% were assimilated and represented as aggregated or collectivized groups. Also, 94% of the ingroups were nominated as they were referred to in their proper names with honorification and affiliation. Martin Luther King was the only one of the African Americans individualized and nominated in Trump's presidential messages. In a nutshell, there was a big discrepancy between American leaders and African Americans in the way they were being addressed in this political discourse.

5.2.2 Exclusion Categories. The exclusion or denial of African Americans was implicitly expressed in Trump's presidential messages. This was linguistically achieved through suppression or backgrounding where social actors responsible for action could not be traced in the text but could be retrieved from the context. Forms of exclusion included agent deletion, beneficiary deletion, or nominalization. For example, the agents who were thrilled by the emancipation in Example 18 were deleted, but they were recognized through context.

(18) Juneteenth reminds us of ... the incomparable joy that must have attended emancipation. (Message 2020)

An example of beneficiary deletion can be seen in Example 19 where the people benefited by General Granger's words on the occasion of emancipation were excluded:

(19) For millions of African Americans, Juneteenth has served as an opportunity to celebrate the fundamental truth.... (Message 2019).

Nominalization occurs when nouns are created from adjectives or verbs to stand for action, and the social actor is omitted. This linguistic device has functions other than being used as a form of obscuration (van Leeuwen, 2008). It is abundantly used

in racist discourse since it hides the negative roles of powerful social actors, which may have negative consequences on the minds of the recipients who are misguided about reality. It is viewed as socially inappropriate and misleading since it violates the citizens’ rights who need to be informed about the truth of such powerful actors (van Dijk, 2008). In Trump’s presidential messages, the social actors responsible for the terrorizing injustice connected with slavery were overshadowed. The focus was shifted to the action, but who made African Americans suffer, who committed the evils of slavery, or who fought hard for liberty were all kept from the reader or listener. A detailed description was denied, and the issues were treated with vagueness. The excluded social actors could have been added through agentive phrases with *by*, *of*, *from*, etc. Negative actions and properties of the social actors responsible for them were subject to elision. This is clear in the following examples:

- (20) As a Nation, we vow to never forget the millions of African Americans who suffered the evils of slavery. (Message 2018)
- (21) Juneteenth has served as an opportunity to celebrate the fundamental truth.... (Message 2019)
- (22) Juneteenth reminds us of both the unimaginable injustice of slavery and the incomparable joy that must have attended emancipation. (Message 2020)
- (23) The celebration of Juneteenth marks an important milestone in the hard-fought journey. (Message 2020)

According to van Leeuwen (2008), social actors are included or excluded by the speaker or the writer to suit their interests and purposes. Some details which the reader is assumed to know are sometimes innocently excluded and are viewed as irrelevant. However, focusing on the action rather than the doer of the action, the public would receive vague information about the activities being implemented under the impression that withheld details may be irrelevant. In this way, blocking access to knowledge about the outgroups was a planned strategy that aimed to marginalize or exclude African Americans. Investigating the exclusion patterns throughout the statements of the four presidential messages revealed the following results in Table 5.

Agent deletion	Beneficiary deletion	Nominalization	Total
12	10	10	32
38%	31%	31%	100%

Table 5. Categories of Exclusion in Trump’s Presidential Messages

Based on van Dijk’s (2006) Critical Discourse Analysis polarization model, Trump was implementing ideological strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other- presentation in his political messages on Juneteenth. The linguistic patterns of inclusion and exclusion show the ingroup members as superior, and their counterparts as inferior. This is clear in highlighting the former's occupational roles and official duties, referring to their positive contributions, unique identities, and

affiliations. To wrap up, this study indicates that Trump's administration maintained a negative attitude toward minorities, particularly African Americans.

Politicians do not address their public as individuals because they speak for the political party or government administration they represent. Therefore, throughout his presidential messages on Juneteenth, Ronald Trump tried to emphasize or deemphasize effectively the preferred ideologies and values related to the political system, the political actors (the president and the citizens), and the political event. He stressed that people were equal before the law and that the government vowed to protect the freedom of the citizens. However, a deeper look at the linguistic level of these messages revealed that the practice of racial discrimination against African Americans was deeply rooted. According to Porreca (1984), the low visibility or the exclusion of an outgroup does not necessarily mean that it is deliberately done, but it is viewed as an affront to that group. At the same time, it is an echo of what is happening in social life.

It seems axiomatic that political discourse can never be considered neutral in terms of its ideological content. Language cannot be blamed when it is used as an instrument of power and deception, but the users of the language are to blame since they manipulate it to serve their agendas (Luong, 1991). It is worth mentioning that many people of African or Asian origins live in the USA, representing a remarkable portion of the population there, but they are hardly referred to, despite the fact that they have become part of the fabrics of the society and their significant contributions cannot be overlooked. The presidential messages issued by Trump reinforce the polarized tendency of positive self-presentation of the ingroups and negative other-presentation of the outgroups, where the latter are treated as invisible or at least marginalized. This form of white group dominance which is promoted in this political discourse produces inequality by which African Americans are victimized. In an answer to the research question: *How Trump's linguistic strategies of inclusion and exclusion in his presidential messages on Juneteenth revealed racial discrimination against African Americans*, the findings emphasized the power of the white Americans who were appeared as dominant and overrepresented, whereas African Americans were excluded and their importance as social actors was minimized. This was implicitly expressed in linguistic devices such as Halliday's (2014) transitivity model and van Leeuwen's (2008) framework of Social Actor Network.

6. Conclusion

It can be concluded that racial equality was not achieved in this political discourse: there was an illegitimate exercise of racial discrimination against African Americans despite Trump's reference to freedom and emancipation. Being unfairly treated reflects the conditions the African Americans undergo in society. This reveals the interrelationship between attitudes and ideologies. According to van Dijk (2001), ideologies are "forms of social representations" or "socially shared opinions" (16).

This study may contribute to a better understanding of the subtle ways utilized by politicians to express their ideological attitudes. Therefore, it is recommended for language students to see how investing CDA toolkits for deconstructing texts can uncover the underpinning ideologies and reveal how marginalization and exclusion are indirectly exercised in discourse. A linguistic analysis of transitivity and the implications of agency in the presidential messages revealed how Trump manipulated his language to persuade his audience to agree and consent to his point of view. Conducting an analysis of the inclusion and exclusion patterns in these presidential messages fostered a positive self-presentation of the ingroup and a negative other-presentation of the outgroup. Besides, this study could be helpful in translation classrooms to see how to maintain ideological positioning when translating from one language to another. Finally, investigating the frequent occurrence of rhetorical devices in these presidential messages, such as repetition, anaphora, metaphor, among others, is needed in further research to attain more insight into Trump's discourse. Limited space in the present study has confined the scope of the present research to four presidential speeches on a particular occasion. However, this could open areas for further research on Trump's speeches on different occasions to see how minorities, as well as issues of freedom and equality, were approached.

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