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Critical Discourse Analysis of Ivanka Trump's Speech at the World Assembly for Women

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Abstract: As a type of discourse analytic tool, critical discourse analysis takes the research on the way that how social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted as the main object. It is a popular method to study political speech. Taking Fairclough's three-dimensional framework as analytical framework and employing systemic functional grammar, the study adopts the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to analyze meaning construction in Ivanka Trump's Speech to the World Assembly for Women. At the stage of description, transitivity, use of modal verbs and personal pronouns are examined. At the stage of interpretation, genre, framing and topicalization are analyzed. At explanation stage, the text and social environment is considered. Based on the analysis, the study found out that Ivanka expressed her concern about the status quo of women's lives, which resonated with feminists, and expressed the government's determination to make changes. The study unearthed power relations and ideologies concealed in the speech, which means that she intends to strengthen the audience's understanding of their political ideas and consolidate their political position through this speech. Meanwhile, the analysis of political speech by means of critical discourse analysis is helpful to improve readers' critical thinking ability of discourse.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis; Ivanka Trump's Speech; Economic empowerment

1. Introduction

1.1. Brief introduction of Ivanka Trump and WAW

Ivanka Trump is advisor to the President of Trump. In her role, she focuses on the education and economic empowerment of women and their families. Prior to this, she oversaw development and acquisitions at the Trump Organization. Together with her brothers, Ivanka founded Trump Hotels and Scion. Additionally, an entrepreneur, Ivanka founded eponymous lifestyle brand. arrives in Japan on November 2, 2017 to open the way for President Donald Trump to visit Japan from November 5 to 7. Ivanka delivered a speech at the World Assembly for Women (WAW) hosted by the Japanese government in Tokyo on Thursday.

WAW is shortened for World Assembly for Women. This conference is one of the efforts to achieve 'A Society where Women Shine', continue to be one of the priority issues of Abe Administration. Having many leading figures from all over the world in the conference, it is expecting to have lively discussions on various women's issues including women's empowerment. WAW is scheduled to be held as a platform of discussion about women-related issues.

Since Trump announced his candidacy, the good image of his eldest daughter Ivanka has played a positive auxiliary role in his political path. In contrast to her father's "exaggerated" and "outrageous" style of speaking, Ivanka is better at using a steady, calm tone and using her status as a professional woman to

elicit support and understanding from more women. Ivanka's speeches are better at subtly influencing the thinking of her audience, inciting empathy among women and compassion among men. This speech not only has the political speech characteristic, more has the strong feminist color.

1.2. Brief introduction of CDA

According to Van Dijk, CDA "is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context." From Van Dijk's definition, it is found that the primary purpose of CDA is to unravel the relationship between language, power and ideology. The initiators of CDA are Fowler and his colleagues of the East Anglia University. In their landmark work Language and Control, Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew, introduced a new discipline: Critical Linguistics (hereafter: CL). CL proposers advocated unearthing ideologies in texts linguistically and they examined ideologies concealed in news reports using SFG as analytical tool. Although CL offers considerable insights into the relationship between language and social setting, it is critiqued for over-considering discourse as product that aims at producing or reproducing social relations and social structure, whereas ignoring the process of discourse production and interpretation. In the light of these limitations, Fairclough developed CL into a new approach to language analysis termed CDA, which is elaborated in his Language and Power.

After the proposal of CDA, many researchers joined the field and endeavored to propose suitable analytical approaches to CDA. Among them, western scholars Norm Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Theo Van Dijk are most recognized.

Fairclough's line of CDA, also called the social-cultural change approach, is especially concerned with mutual influence between discourse and social structure. It is represented by his three-dimensional conception of discourse illustrated in **Figure 1**:
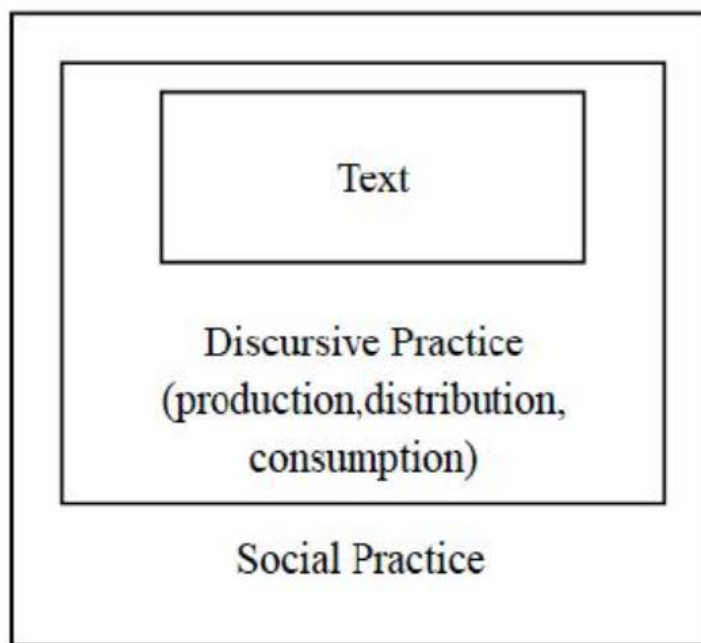

Figure 1. Three-dimensional conception of discourse

For Fairclough, discourse is a unity of three imbricated dimensions including text, discursive practice, and social practice. Consistent with the three dimensions, he proposed three stages of analysis: (a) description (the linguistic analysis of the properties of the text), (b) interpretation (interpretation of text

production, distribution and consumption), (c) explanation (explanation to social-cultural factors that affect discourse production and to the social-cultural effects of discourse). This chapter firstly introduces Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse and its tailored research stages for present study.

2. Materials and methods

2.1. Research materials

This study downloaded the Ivanka Trump's Speech to the World Assembly for Women from the website https://wenku.baidu.com/ as a text corpus. The total material is 2490 words, consisting of 113 sentences.

2.2. Research method

The study adopts the combination of quantitative and qualitative research method. The approach to CDA chosen for this study is the Three-Dimensional Framework of Norman Fairclough. This study aims at analyzing the speech from three dimension: description, interpretation and explanation.

As for the stage of description, Halliday's systemic function grammar is used, specifically, transitivity, use of modal verbs and personal pronouns. The author of the study will do the transitivity, that is, mark the different processes manually first, and then, Microsoft word was used to count the frequency of different processes. Ant Conc 3.5.8 was used to count the total times of modal verbs and personal pronouns.

For the stage of interpretation, genre, framing and topicalization will be analyzed. For the aspect of explanation stage, the text and social environment is considered.

3. Result and discussion

3.1. Description stage: Text level analyses

Description as the first stage of discourse analysis is of key importance for the further exploration of other information. For written text and spoken text, the descriptive analysis often deals with its linguistic feature which is processed by Halliday's SFG. This study is carried out from the following three aspects: transitivity, use of modal verbs and personal pronouns. The study found out that Ivanka make more use of material processes and relational processes to express the current situation of American women and their attitude and determination to do things for the people. The frequency of modal verbs of the three values is basically the same. Ivanka use a lot of first person to show she care about the issue. The combination of We and MUST is meant to highlight Ivanka's determination to change the status quo.

3.1.1. Transitivity

Halliday claims that "transitivity is the set of options whereby the speaker encodes his experience and transitivity is really the cornerstone of the semantic organization of experience". According to Halliday, transitivity specified six types of processes in language and the structures by which they are expressed. Halliday proposed six types of process: they are material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential processes. Besides process, transitivity covers two other elements: they are participant, and circumstance. Simply, Gerot and Wignel defined each of process as follow: material process is process of material doing, mental process is process involving feeling, thinking, perceiving and having emotional reaction to things, relational process involves states of being and having), behavioral process is process of physiological and psychological behavior, verbal process is process of saying, or more accurately, of symbolically signaling, and existential process is process of existence.

Transitivity analysis is to discover the relation between meanings and wordings that accounts for the organization of linguistic features in a text. After careful examining of Ivanka Trump speech, it is found that she used material processes most frequently in her speech in Japan.

Table 1. The Calculation of Types of processes

	Material process	Relational process	Mental process	Behavioral process	Verbal process	Existential process
Number	73	26	9	1	3	1
Percentage	64.6%	23%	7.96%	0.88%	2.65%	0.88%

As shown in **Table 1**, material process was used the most frequently, taking up 64.6%. Following this, relational process ranks the second-high type of process in this speech, taking 23%. While behavioral process and existential process are seldom used by Ivanka, taking 0.88% respectively.

Material in the process of the speech is mainly to assume the role of two aspects: on the one hand, it is used to enumerate that the Trump team will not only work for the United States women's human rights but also try to achieve the goal of making the women share equality with men, which shows the commitment she represented by the President of the United States behind Trump's to the audience, thus make the audience believe that Trump is such a president that will seek benefits for women. On the other hand, it tries to tell the audience what's really going on in the United States and convince them that the Trump government will make an effort. It also shows the outstanding contribution of the United States in the maintenance of women's rights, aiming at exerting the great power effect of the United States and trying to play a leading role in the maintenance of women's rights.

Example 1: We must ensure that federal policy support working mothers and enable them to reach their full potential.

"Support" and "enable" are action verbs that clearly indicate a typical material process. It conveys the information that the Trump government will fight for the rights of American women citizens. Behind the language of this material process lies Ms. Trump's promise to her audience that she will empower American women. Ivanka has used her femininity to make her father's promise to us women citizens and her status as a "first daughter" to drum up recognition for her family in other countries.

Relational process involves states of being (including having), which appears 26 times in the speech. They are used to refer the current situation of American women.

Example 2: Today, 66 percent of working-age women are in the workforce.

Example 3: At the very heart of this vision is womenomics.

These two sentences tell the current situation of American situation, and bring about the key conception in the speech, womenomics.

3.1.2. Use of modal verbs
Modal verbs refer to the speaker's attitude to the topic. Therefore, the author studies modal auxiliary verbs to analyze the emotional tendency in speech.

The following **Table 2** is about the frequency of modal verbs in Ivanka's speech carried out by Ant Conc 3.5.8:

Table 2. Use of modal verbs

Modal verbs	must	need	will	can	Could	might
number	13	1	14	10	2	1
percentage	34.1%		34.1%		31.8%	
Value	High		Medium		Low	

In most cases, high-modal verbs convey to the audience a mandatory and imperative tone, which often brings the audience a feeling of despotism and repression. In this speech, the modal verb "must" appear 13 times, and the subject of 10 sentences is "we," Ivanka wants to covey the determination that Trump government tried to change the current situation of women.

Example 4: First, as leaders in both business and government, we must pave the way in modernizing the workplace.

Example 5: Third, in this age of rapid technology, we must also confront the challenges of workforce development.

The modal verb "will" appears 14times in this speech. It is used with "we" 5 times out of 14 times.

Example 6: This is how we will create an environment where closely bonded families can flourish and our economy can grow at unprecedented levels.

In this sentence, through the use of modal verb "will," the speech gave the audience a picture of what might happen in the future and painted Trump as a leader who means what he says and does what he says, worthy of being followed and embraced.

Example: Otherwise, not only will we fail in closing the persistent gender wage gap, we will risk reversing the hard-fought progress we have made in this fight.

"Will" here expressed the difficulties that the policy might encounter after its implementation. Ivanka took the opportunity to speak publicly that despite the road is hard, the American government is committed to upholding women's rights with all its might.

The modal verb "can" is used 10 times. It means that on implementing the policy, Ivanka believe the public has the ability to do things well, thus drawing closeness with the audience.
Example 7: This is how we will create an environment where closely bonded families can flourish and our economy can grow at unprecedented levels.

"Can" is different from "must" and "will" in that it is used with the third person singular or population, economy and other nouns. The idea is to express what people can do when the policy is implemented. It is used to strengthen the contrast before and after the Trump governments' efforts.

3.1.3. Use of personal pronouns

The use of personal pronouns in a speech can, to some extent, reflect the views and attitudes of the speaker. The use of personal pronouns can also reflect the degree of closeness, social status and power relationship between the two sides of communication. The speaker can establish a close relationship with the listener through the use of the pronoun. Personal pronouns also have the function of realizing the interpersonal meaning of discourse. There are three kinds of person pronouns in English, each person has its corresponding singular and plural, and the use of each person can achieve a certain interpersonal function. The following **Table 3** is about the frequency of modal verbs in Ivanka's speech carried out by Ant Conc 3.5.8:

Table 3. Use of Pronouns

	First pronoun				**Second pronoun**		**Third pronoun**	
Pronoun	I	We	Our	Us	You	Your	They	Their
Number	23	39	35	2	7	3	9	23
Totality	99				10		32	
Percentage	70.2%				7.1%		22.7%	

In this speech, first pronoun "we" ranked the top list of personal pronouns, taking up 70.2% of the

whole personal pronouns. It generally has two usages: excluding and including. Usage of "excluding" refers to the government class represented by Ivanka, which does not include the majority of citizens. Usage of "including" refers to the inclusion of governments and citizens.

Example 8: Second, in addition to changing the corporate culture, we must advance public policies that speech the composition of our modern workforce.

In this speech, the usage of excluding "we" is to express two deep meanings: first, as Trump daughter, Ivanka can better elaborates her father Trump's political intentions and determination to seek benefits for more women; Second, as a top political leader, Ivanka can play a huge role in the establishment of women's social status. Therefore, "we" is used together with "must" to emphasize its determination to change the status quo.

Example 9: We are redefining success. We're discarding the old formula of the ideal woman—the ideal worker –the ideal mother. We are helping to shape a more realistic and complete picture of what it is to be a woman who thrives – and who helps her business, community and family do the same.

The usage of including "we" is to express Ivanka also as a woman, she may encounter many similar situations with all other women

At the same time, from the perspective of personal pronouns, the first-person pronouns will enable the audience to have a stronger sense of substitution, which means that the development of the United States and the peace of the world need the support and support of women, and it is no longer the male monopoly.

Example 10: I joined the government informed by my experiences in the private sector...

As a professional with three young children, despite the help I am able to have at home, I too experience the struggles of balancing the competing demands of work and family.

Ivanka has always played a special role in The Trump team. She is very good at using her identity as a working woman and a mother to strike a chord, and her speeches have been more popular with female citizens than with President Trump. Ivanka is adept at expressing the outstanding contributions that her top political ranks can make to American women citizens to gain more support.

3.2. Interpretation stage: Discursive practices analysis

When the differences on the text level is analyzed, the further research on the connection between text and discursive process is ushered in. The procession of analysis concludes text production, text distribution and text consumption. In line with the theory of Fairclough, we can conduct analysis on discourses from the genre, framing and topicalization.

3.2.1. Genre

Genre manifests a characteristic set of formal features serving a characteristic purpose. A political speech is a speech in which people state their positions and views and publicize their propositions on domestic affairs and foreign relations. Campaign speeches, inaugural speeches, policy speeches, rally speeches, etc., are characterized by distinct views, rigorous logic, and strong motivation. The speaker, usually on behalf of a certain class or party, the state or government, makes a speech to an audience on some important domestic and/or foreign matters and relationships. Different from other literary types, political speech has distinct features. First, it presents sound political opinions. Second, it attracts the audience and sets them thinking. Third, political speech aims to persuade the audience to accept the speaker's viewpoints as well as to encourage the audience to do what the speaker wants them to do. No matter how overwhelming, charming or eloquent the speaker is, he always endeavors to "export" his opinion to the audience from the very beginning. And by linguistic means, he evokes the emotion of the audience and thus makes them accept his opinion.

In the world of globalization, the political speech has the profound influence. It makes countries to be

understandable with regards of the information behind the political speech, and in other words, it is a good way to let people know other countries and even the culture values. In political discourse, speakers skillfully use a variety of language skills and strategies to promote political views and achieve the purpose of influencing and controlling the audience's ideology.

Ivanka's speech at the World Assembly for Women belongs to the categorization of political speech, for she is on behalf of the Trump government and the main policy she wants to advocate is the economic empowerment of women. In order to make her idea clear and make the policy understandable and acceptable, parallelism, as a very persuasive technique, is used very frequently in Ivanka's speech.

Example11: Policies that enable women to pursue their careers and care for their that fuel entrepreneurship so that Americans can turn their aspirations into their incredible legacy.

Here, Ivanka used three attributive clauses to illustrate the policies the Trump government is dedicated to. Parallelism used here will make the audience get know what kind of policies are and through the powerful language, they can feel the determination of Trump government want to empower women to fully participate in economy.

Example12: I saw a chance to fuel the number of women owned businesses and grow our economy.
I saw a chance to work on behalf of girls in rural communities and inner cities who by learning to code or studying robotics could secure good-paying jobs in our modern economy.

I saw a chance to go to bat for the women who face the choice of staying home with a sick child or reporting to work at a job that might otherwise fire her.

Here, a parallel sentence pattern is used to reinforce Ivanka's emotional expression. Express the feasibility and necessity of something by "the opportunity I see." The main key point Ivanka wants to express is that she is really cared about the dilemma many women met, that is, how to balance their work and family. Therefore, it is time for our societies to find new and innovative ways to make it easier for women to experience the joy of motherhood, without facing career setbacks. The audience can feel the sincerity, consideration and determination from Ivanka and the Trump government she represents. Consequently, they are tend to accept and support the policy.

3.2.2. Framing

Framing is a major part of text production and text interpretation. It refers to how the content of a text is presented, what sort of perspective the writer/ speaker is taking. In political speeches, the main communicative purpose of leaders is to convey information and exert influence, that is, to exert influence on the behavior of the audience. Such influence can be said to be a kind of "persuasion," that is, to persuade the public to accept their opinions and propositions through verbal expression. Ivanka's speech is well-prepared and full of logic. The art of logical discussion is the core of rhetorical use, logical organization of the use of an argument is developed gradually with reasoning to support each main point ideas.

The whole speech is under the big framework of four fundamental changes to empower women to reach full economic potential. At the very beginning of her speech, Ivanka explained the significance of economic empowerment of women. However, in order to reach women's full economic potential, there is a lot the government should do. She then elaborates four innovations they will take.

While elaborating, on the one hand, she uses a series of data to make her speech more scientific and reasonable.

Example13: Today, in the United States, women now comprise 47 percent of the workforce.

Example14: In the vast majority of American homes with children, all parents work and in 40 percent of households, women are the primary breadwinners.

From the above statistics, we can see women take a large proportion in workplace and what they earn help support the whole family, so it's necessary to pave the way in modernizing the workplace.

Example15: In the United States, while single women without children make 95 cents for each dollar earned by a man, married mothers earn only 81 cents.

From this data, the audience will that there still exists unfair treatment just because women get married or not, thus, stir their recognition that both corporate culture and public policies must be introduce.

Example16: Women today represent only 13 percent of engineers and 24 percent of Computer Science professionals, down from 35 percent in 1990.

This data shows clearly the imbalance distribution in female participation in workplace. Creating equal participation in these traditionally male-dominated sectors of our economy is an important but challenging job.

On the other hand, in order to make her speech not boring, but more attractive and convincing, Ivanka masters at using storytelling in her speech. She mentioned her own story three times. The first time she took herself as an example of why she cared about women's rights. Even though she was already a successful entrepreneur, she went to work in the US government after the election because she is concerned about the economic empowerment of women. Then, she took herself as an example to convince people that she really knew how hard to struggle balance work and family. Even though she was a successful businesswoman with her own brand and real estate and the ability to hire someone to take care of her three children, she still feels tired at how to balance work and family, not mention common people who do all this by themselves. And at the third time, she spoke out her expectation as an ordinary mother, she hopes that her daughters to grow up to be able to compete on a level playing field, have the same opportunities and have the same support as their male peers.

As Ivanka delivered her speech in Japan, she also adopted Japanese businesswoman Yoshiko Shinohara's story to evoke the Japanese audience's resonance. Yoshiko Shinohara is a self-made billion woman who funds education. She is really a role model for most of the audience.

3.2.3. Topicalization

Topicalization is a form of sentence-level foregrounding, that is, what to put in the topic position, writers or speakers create a perspective that influences the reader or audience's perception. The focus of this talk is women and work.

Example 17: Women who are empowered to work, to thrive, and to lead bring immense creativity, fresh perspective, and success to our economy and to the world.

Example 18: If women close the gap with men in all aspects of work and society, it could add trillions of dollars to our annual global GDP over the next decade.

As we examine more closely at these sentences, we can see a pattern of sentence topic that supports women and economic empowerment. In Ivanka's opinion, women are more focused on family and social relationships than men. When women get more and better jobs, the world's economy will make bigger breakthroughs. Ivanka repeatedly used the words "women" and "work," pointing out that the most pressing issue regarding women in our society today is the issue of work.

Due to her special status as a "first daughter," Ivanka is more realistic when she takes the stage to talk about women's issues. Ivanka's speech at the World Assembly for Women in Japan drew more support than her father or any other male leader in the world. In contrast to many political speeches, this time Ivanka used her female identity to generate more support from feminists, achieving a better emotional effect in the speech. Ivanka has also focused on the economic and rights issues women face in society. Ivanka's speech showed her support for women, who she believes should have a voice and equal rights to work as men. Thus, stir up the emotions of female audiences, thus gaining more female public support and recognition.

3.3. Explanation stage: Social Practice Analysis

It is widely acknowledged that all the source texts are created in a certain social and cultural environment with specific world values, social principles, attitudes and tendencies. Therefore, at explanation stage, power relations and ideologies will be identified with reference of the integral meaning. And they will be discussed under the broader historical and social contexts.

Ivanka is dedicated to promoting sexual equality, integrating women into national economic and cultural programs, and recognizing the increasing contribution of women to world peace. For, despite decades of progress in eliminating discrimination against women, in no country have they attained full equality.

The whole American society and the employment status of Women in the United States has been improved to some extent since the Second World War, but there are still many problems in real life, which prevent women from becoming truly equal and competing with men in social survival. From the four innovative changes Ivanka proposed in this speech, we can find at least problems in women's employment in the United States.

Firstly, there is still a gap in income between men and women. American women generally earn less than men.

Secondly, implicit employment discrimination still exists. There are still some men in American society who see women in a discriminatory way. Employment opportunities and positions for women are far less than for men, occupational segregation is severe and most women are still concentrated in low-paying occupations such as office support work, sales and general technical staff.

Thirdly, the proportion of people working in the top leadership or responsibility level of government agencies or enterprises is very low.

Fourthly, American women still do most of the housework. Under this double burden of family and society, women's competitiveness is bound to be less than men.

The social security system of the United States has a low level of compensation for women's reproduction, so American women are under greater physical and psychological pressure than men.

Therefore, although American women were striding out of their families and striving for equal employment opportunities for men, their low subordinate social status did not change due to various constraints. Although the social system and experience of different social backgrounds, but "roles" prejudice still exists in our country, the history of gender segregation phenomenon in the job market, the present situation of the female college students' employment is also common, how to improve their own quality at the same time, effectively reduce the bias and realize the empowerment of women, the enormity of the task before Trump's government.

4. Conclusion

The study highlights only a few aspects of three dimensions text, discursive practice, and social practice. For example, in the text level, only transitivity, modal verbs and personal pronouns are examined, other aspects of SFG can be further extended; in the discursive practice level, this study only takes genre, framing and topicalization into consideration, other aspects such as foregrounding, omission and presupposition can be further explored. As for the analysis of transitivity, it is only marked by the author of the paper because of limited time, so maybe there exists some deviation and subjectivity. However, it can still give some significance to the analysis of political speech, especially from the critical discourse analysis perspective.

The keynote of Ivanka trump's speech is to improve women's working conditions, strengthen women's rights and realize the economic empowerment. In her speech, Ivanka expressed her concern about the status quo of women's lives, which resonated with feminists, and expressed the government's determination to make changes. What she wants to achieve is that the speech can strengthen the audience's understanding

of their political ideas and consolidate their political position through speeches. Through the analysis of Ivanka's speech style, this paper realizes the language characteristics and thinking mode of Ivanka's speech, and grasps the relationship between language, thinking and social identity.

Disclosure statement

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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