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THE ROLE OF RHETORIC AND FRAMING IN THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION:
THE LANGUAGE OF VOTING RIGHTS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

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ABSTRACT

Communication is an essential part of a healthy democracy. But communication and the usage of language is not without the potential for manipulation, both intentional and accidental. The field of cognitive linguistics studies the impact of language on the mind by considering semantic configurations and categorizations that occur in one's mind as a result of mental linguistic structures, attempting to understand the connection between language and an individual's conscious and unconscious perception of the world. George Lakoff, a pioneer in the field of cognitive linguistics, considers the role of metaphors in the formation of political preferences. Metaphors are a linguistic device that builds the understanding of one thing or idea by borrowing meaning and applying it to a less understood thing or idea. Lakoff's theories assert that political division can be explained by the differences in the way conservatives and liberals conceptualize the family, views that are expressed through a patchwork of metaphors. This conceptualization of the family extends into the way Americans believe political choices should be made and what values their political decisions should promote.

Lakoff's approach to politics is unique because he attempts to explain political division from the perspective of the human mind and human experience. Instead of using social phenomena to explain political difference, he instead considers mental models that structure reality. My research seeks to identify the usage of Lakoff's metaphors about Moral Strength, Morality as Nurture, the environment, and voting rights in campaign speeches from President Donald J. Trump and Secretary Hillary R. Clinton in the 2016 presidential campaign. By using rhetorical analysis software and conducting a qualitative analysis of the metaphors, my research seeks to invite the reader into a discussion of the instances of metaphors and their implications for presidential campaign discourse and more broadly the role political discourse in the

functioning of our democracy. By applying Lakoff's theories and models to the speeches, major trends surrounding usage of metaphorical language can be identified and the language choices by the candidates can be interpreted.

I identified that both candidates frequently utilize metaphors to promote a positive-future outlook, although Secretary Clinton's language suggests that hers is constructed of an inclusive future, whereas President Trump sees potential for a positive future if voters rally behind him and his values and disregard views that contrast with his. President Trump's use of metaphors is more visceral, emotional, and specific, at times specifically naming Secretary Clinton or other targets of a negative metaphor by name. Secretary Clinton's metaphors relied much more heavily upon nurturance and attempted to span difference, with more frequent usage of factual, empirical information. Both candidates often used metaphors associated with strength, although Secretary Clinton's was grounded in the strength to overcome difference and President Trump's in the strength to defeat or protect against an entity considered "other."

The implications of these divergent views demonstrate a clear difference in the use of language and the values the candidates are projecting via their campaign speeches. These findings provide useful insights into patterns associated with use of metaphors by presidential candidates, a finding that can help make greater sense of the power of presidential candidate rhetoric and its role in shaping voter choices and policymaking in a democracy.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Language is at the heart of the human experience. Communicating with, through, and about each other and our experiences via written and spoken word is central to interacting with other individuals and the world. Such interactions are connected to human beings' inherent social tendencies and desire to relate to one another and the world. Language is a bridge to constructing a shared reality.

Because of the centrality of language, the way we conceptualize experiences and phenomena is affected by language. The meanings and implications associated with language and semantics change as they pass through the human mind because of individuals past experiences, biases, and emotions. The relatively new field of cognitive linguistics seeks to understand the meaning associated with language and its formation, in the context of human cognition. Cognitive linguistics considers the relationship between language form and meaning, investigating the semantic structures and their categorization and functional usage ("About Cognitive Linguistics"). As experiences, expressed via words and language, pass through the sieve of our minds, new meanings are added, removed, and changed. Cognitive linguistics seeks to understand this process and its implications. A good starting point for investigating the implications of cognitive linguistics in broader society, specifically in a democratic society, is the consideration of a common linguistic device in the context of a highly recorded, high-profile set of speeches.

The campaign speeches from the 2016 presidential election provide a fruitful opportunity for consideration of cognitive linguistics and policy implications. Both Secretary Clinton and President Trump spoke with regularity, intention, and intensity about campaign issues and values they sought to promote. Words spoken by prominent political candidates are very powerful and globally projected. Because of intensity with which they are repeated, repackaged, and consumed in the current media ecosystem, specific words and phrases are all the more powerful. Candidates not only affect the specific content and conceptualization of prominent political issues but also the tone of the discourse.

The accessible linguistic device I am considering in the context of the campaign speeches is the metaphor. Metaphors are a linguistic device that builds meaning from the understanding of another thing or idea by borrowing or comparing. The power of metaphors is predicated on a shared reality and the ability to build knowledge about a lesser-known thing or idea on the basis of knowledge about a more well-known thing or idea (Corbett and Eberly, 2000).

The intellectual framework for considering the usage of language and metaphors in political discourse is provided by the work of George Lakoff. Lakoff is an American cognitive linguist and professor of linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. Lakoff asserts that humans construct meaning and understand complex ideas by using systems of interconnected metaphors. He has identified and written extensively on two models, the Strict Father Model and the Nurturant Parent Model, as systems of metaphors to explain why conservatives and liberals are attracted to and subscribe to complex and differing values and policies (Lakoff, 2002). These self-contained systems of metaphors can be used to explain divergent political rhetoric and values. Lakoff's theories provide a clear opportunity to apply and evaluate campaign rhetoric to investigate and identify trends, areas of difference, and candidate tendencies.

My research seeks to better understand how rhetoric and framing shape the candidates' messaging and projection of important issues such as voting rights and the environment in 2016 presidential election campaign speeches. It also seeks to identify metaphors utilized in the campaign speeches during the 2016 presidential election, how the two major party candidates differed in metaphor usage, and any overarching trends.

To answer these questions, key Lakoff metaphors were identified and the two issue areas were identified. This narrowing process was a necessary because Lakoff's metaphorical models are quite extensive. The two issue areas in which metaphors were explored, the environment and voting rights, were highly contested issues in the election. From the two Lakoff metaphors and two issue areas, dictionaries were constructed to be input into a string-matching language analysis software called Ubiq.Ity. The analysis software guided the areas in which the qualitative analysis and metaphor identification process occurred.

Research Purpose

The purpose of my research is to actualize theories about the use and influence of metaphors and frames in political rhetoric through the application of theories to 2016 presidential campaign speeches. Specifically, I will be using George Lakoff's family-based conceptual metaphor model and frames that were conceptualized by Lewicki, Gray, and Elliot with the goal of elucidating the role of intentional language in campaign speech rhetoric in the 2016 presidential election. By selecting specific metaphorical and framing domains and comparing across the candidates in the selected domains it demonstrates and examines, not exhaustively but in a specific manner, how language was and is used to change the collective perception of issues

in the context of campaign speeches. The comparative analysis across metaphors and frames will demonstrate what patterns of language each candidate subscribed to and how those differing perspectives shape the discourse and dialogue around the certain issue. The application of the selected metaphors and frames seeks to understand the points of divergent discourse and identify the usage of metaphors by candidates. This identification can better inform the ways in which issues are discussed in a democracy and how the specific use of language can shape and influence individual and collective perception. As the researcher and through my qualitative analysis, I am not attempting to apply universal meaning to the implications and meaning behind the metaphors. Rather, I seek to invite the reader into the discussion and identify the major trends of rhetoric in the campaign speeches. The analysis will also allow for an understanding of how, in specific terms and words, the two candidates varied in usage of metaphors to frame and describe issues.

I seek to validate my hypotheses as well as examine how the assertions Lakoff makes about how the conservative versus progressive conceptualizations of the family unit translate into rhetoric and language used by President Trump and Secretary Clinton. My intention is not to determine whether the rhetoric, frames, and metaphors used by the two presidential candidates contributed to the election outcome or evaluate the validity of Lakoff's models; rather my intent is to examine whether there are noticeable differences between the two candidates and to consider what the consequences of the differences from an ethical and policy perspective.

My research also seeks to understand the narratives each candidate created and projected about their candidacy and the "futures" that would be associated with them. Campaign speeches are an interesting medium that allows a politician to articulate in a large public way his or her values and construct their realities around issues.

Justification for Research

In his 1946 book, *Politics and the English Language*, George Orwell wrote, “Political language – and with variations this is true of all political parties, from Conservatives to Anarchists – is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind” (139). As Orwell, an American author and thinker, points out political language can be both indeterminate and influential, wrought with falsified intentions and shrouded meanings. I seek to untangle this web of meaning and influence by considering the role of metaphor, a prominent figure of speech.

This research and these questions are important to me as a scholar and as a citizen. Without a robust understanding of the power of the words, a listener is subject to cognitive influence he or she may not be fully aware of. The 2016 election occurred at a very formative time in my academic career and the power of the language used by candidates and resulting political division struck a chord with me.

The following section, Chapter 2, is a literature review that seeks to explicate the theories and concepts that are foundational to this research. Topics covered include the foundations of cognitive linguistics, the role of metaphor, and an explanation of Lakoff’s models. Chapter 3 is an illustration of the methods used to conduct the analysis. The methodology, tools, and sources are detailed. Next is a description of the quantitative and qualitative findings in Chapter 4, followed by an Analysis and Discussion in Chapter 5. This qualitative analysis, a form of narrative inquiry, seeks to start a dialogue with the reader about the instances of the metaphors and provides an opportunity for consideration of the meaning. Chapter 6 concludes the research by providing an overview and suggesting directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Political Discourse, Rhetoric, and Politics in US Presidential Elections

The 2016 presidential campaign was unprecedented in many regards. The two nominees from the main political parties, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (D) and businessman and real estate mogul Donald Trump (R) struggled with low voter approval ratings (Savoy, 2016).

Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was the first female nominee from a major political party and struggled with being perceived as part of the political establishment. Secretary Clinton was also thought of by many as cold, and was plagued with allegations of dishonesty and being too embedded within the existing political infrastructure (Savoy, 2016). Secretary Clinton had graduated Yale University Law School, served as First Lady of the United States, served as a US Senator from New York, and run for president in 2008, but ultimately conceded to Barack Obama (“Hillary Clinton”). Secretary Clinton launched her campaign on April 14, 2015, won the nomination on July 28, 2016, and conceded the election on November 9, 2016 (Savoy, 2016).

Donald Trump frequently talked about how he was running to represent the “silent majority,” although mainstream Republicans and the media did not take him very seriously at the announcement of his campaign. Trump’s political brand is constructed around repetition of messages, regardless of factual basis: “verbosity, egocentricity, and pomposity” (Savoy, 2016). Trump is the fourth child of New York real estate giant Fred Trump, attended Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, managed his family’s residential housing, and took control of his

family's company in 1971. Over time Trump expanded his brand's reach to include beauty pageants, casinos, hotels, and higher-end housing ("Donald Trump's life story"). Trump announced his run for president on June 16, 2015, secured the Republican nomination on July 21, 2016, and won the general election November 8, 2016 (Savoy, 2016).

From the 16 GOP candidates vying for the nomination, to the 24 million Americans who tuned into watch the Fox News debate, to the outcry about secure email servers and potential of southern border walls, to the unprecedented usage of social media tools by candidates, the run-up to the 2016 presidential election was fraught with controversy (Kurtzleben, 2016). The means of candidate-voter communication have radically changed since the era of fireside chats, and tools like Twitter allow candidates to communicate in real time to massive groups of individuals. Social media tools allow candidates to share messages, gauge voter response and opinion, and quantitatively track the views and values of voters (Kapko, 2016). But these new tools come with limitations; they encourage brevity, can be constructed off the cuff and without thoughtful consideration, and are constrained to strict character limits. Campaign speeches, on the other hand are a centuries-old mechanism for campaign communication. Candidates use campaign speeches to motivate and persuade voters to support them and participate in the election process. The locations, motivations, and audience sizes across campaign speeches varies. From the time of the convention to November 9, Secretary Clinton delivered 39 speeches and President Trump delivered 67 speeches.

Starting in the 1980s, presidential rhetoric was considered a separate component and area of study in the larger context of rhetorical studies. Consideration of presidential rhetoric expanded the rhetorical understanding of the public address, pairing this understanding with a scholarly inquiry into public affairs and public culture. Presidential rhetoric demonstrated that

rhetoric “which had always been the object of public address studies, could also function as a mode of inquiry—a way of knowing, understanding, and interpreting” (Medhurst, 2008, pg. 4). In the last two decades, there has been a large expansion of the communication-oriented perspective on the study of presidential rhetoric (Medhurst, 2008). Presidential rhetoric is understood, from the perspective of the field of rhetorical studies, to be constructed of a rhetor (speaker or writer) who makes choices and communicates while considering the audience and the most effective way to communicate, persuade, and achieve his or her desired objectives in the context of the rhetoric (Zarefsky, 2004). Zarefsky identifies the choices made by the rhetor in the context of presidential speeches as things such as “argument selection, framing, phrasing, evidence, organization, style...staging, and choreography” (Zarefsky, 2004, pg. 609). Presidential rhetoric is messy. There is some question regarding the related impacts of presidential rhetoric and clearly these impacts are not the only factor can cause a change in voter’s opinions and views. Presidential rhetoric, described as “practical art, often richly layered and multivocal” reflects the rhetor’s values and perspective as well as his or her public stance on issues (Zarefsky, 2004, pg. 609).

Aristotle understood rhetoric to be understanding the means of persuasion “in the given case.” This demonstrates that a consideration of rhetoric is highly situational and grounded in the specific circumstances and moment of rhetoric. Extending this, the conclusions gleaned from a consideration of rhetoric are not entirely generalizable; they are granular and highly specific but correlate to larger systems of values and meaning. Zarefsky recommends addressing this challenge in the same way literature is studied, considering the perspectives in the specific case while connecting it to broader, more general principles (Zarefsky, 2004, pg. 611). Another important consideration in any discussion of presidential rhetoric is who is the audience that the

candidate is attempting to engage with (Zarefsky, 2004). Other important considerations are the identity of the audience and the distortionary role of the media.

Introduction to Metaphors

Metaphors are a type of conjecture, an “inference that is made from incomplete information” (Corbett and Eberly, 2000, pg. 49); other parts of speech included in the conjecture family are analogies and similes. As Corbett and Eberly write, the role of metaphors and similes raise “profound questions about the nature of naming and definition in general” (Corbett and Eberly, 2000, pg. 78). Metaphors, according to Corbett and Eberly, “claim one thing or idea is identical to another thing or idea” (78). The power of metaphors is predicated on a shared reality and the ability to build knowledge about a lesser-known thing or idea on the basis of knowledge about a more well-known thing or idea. Corbett and Eberly make an important distinction between similes and metaphors. Metaphors suggest “identity” between the two things or ideas being compared, whereas similes suggest only “likeness” or similarity (Corbett and Eberly, 2000). Metaphors are constructed of two parts, the component that is borrowing from existing knowledge and the other that is providing the existing knowledge. The tenor is the part of the metaphor that is borrowing the knowledge and to which the meaning is applied. The vehicle of the metaphor is the component from which the ideas or meanings are borrowed (Richards and Constable, 2001).

One of the most-often cited metaphors in modern English language is from William Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*:

“All the world’s a stage

And all the men and women merely players;

They have their exits and entrances....” (“As You Like It”).

In this metaphor, the world is conceptualized as a stage, which is associated with expectations of how the men and women who on the stage should and will behave. Shakespeare is not asserting that the world is actually a stage; he is rather borrowing the meaning and applying it.

George Lakoff, a cognitive linguist from University of California Berkeley, is a prominent scholar in the study of applying cognitive frames to understand political discourse. He is well known within academia and in popular culture for his unique political and cognitive theories.

The field of cognitive linguistics emerged in the 1970s as an interdisciplinary collaboration between the fields of psychology, linguistics, and rhetoric. The field emerged out of a scholarly desire to consider the implications of the structure of language, outside of language. This includes consideration of “cognitive principles and mechanisms not specific to language” including the meanings associated with categorization, interactional principles and functional principles (“About Cognitive Linguistics”). Other than George Lakoff, other important cognitive linguist include Ronald Langacker and Leonard Talmy. Because cognitive linguistics is continuing to evolve as a field, there are many theories but a few key commonalities. First, meaning is central to language. If this holds, then the structures that linguistically communicate the meaning are connected to meaning and form. The linguistic forms “are closely linked to the semantic structures they are designed to express” in the view of cognitive linguistics (“About Cognitive Linguistics”).

George Lakoff’s work asserts that the power and influence of metaphors, while grounded in language and linguistics extends far beyond that. The commonality of the usage of metaphors

in language, according to Lakoff also extends into “thought and action” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pg. 3). Lakoff highlights the integral nature of metaphors in our conceptual system:

The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pg. 3).

Lakoff uses the example of the metaphor “argument is war” to more fully illustrate this point. He points out the usage of phrases such as “your claims are *indefensible*,” “he *attacked* every weak point in my argument,” or, “she *shot down* all of my arguments,” all of which are phrases that rely upon the characteristics of war to illustrate the nature of the subject’s actions. But the implications of using of the idea of war is not just limited to words. Lakoff says it extends to actions; we conceptualize arguments as things that can be won or lost, clashes of minds that necessitate strategy, and utilize attacks and counterattacks (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pg. 4). Lakoff also states the cultural relativity associated with these metaphors; one culture or language may use discourse around arguments associated with war, while another may use discourse associated with dance, bringing with it another group of associated concepts (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Metaphors associated with dance could include “she *danced* around the idea,” “he responded with *grace*,” or “they *tiptoed* around the point.”

While metaphors use the power of words to structure concepts about a thing or idea around another thing or idea (Lakoff calls this “highlighting”), the structure can also be used to obscure concepts or components of a thing or idea (“hiding”). Since the usage of metaphors relies upon words and the context in which those words exist, there are limitations to the specific

and accuracy within metaphors can capture concepts. More explicitly, using a metaphor can obscure meaning and change context, as well as build it. An example that captures these limitations is the “time is money” metaphor. While time does have value and actions do have opportunity costs, there is no such thing as a “time bank” or way to generate more time (Lakoff Johnson, 1980, pg. 13).

The Role of Metaphors in Reasoning

The power of metaphors to shape perceptions and concepts of the world lies in the physical circuitry of the human brain. The metaphor is a valuable point of study because “it is a natural mode of thought...which arises spontaneously and shapes how we think, reason, and understand the world” (“The Brain’s Politics”). Because it is a more freely occurring, organic part of speech and the human vernacular, it is particularly effective to understand the complexities of cognitive linguistics. Metaphors are constructed via shared meaning and by sifting through the metaphors, connections of meaning that are cognitively significant can become more clear.

Lakoff’s theories rely upon an understanding of human thought and feeling that is grounded in physical experiences. He cites an example of an infant that is held by its parents and experiences feeling loved and being warmed by their bodies. This experience activates feelings of warmth and affection, creating a powerful association in the child’s neural circuitry. “Neurons that fire together, wire together,” says Lakoff, and this association between these two sensations is formative for the child’s brain (“The Brain’s Politics”).

Much of Lakoff's work does not align with the theories of rationality and thought that are associated with the European Enlightenment of the mid-1600-1700s. Lakoff's theories especially conflict with Rene Descartes, a prominent Enlightenment philosopher, who asserted that emotion and reason were contradictory and that human thought was inherently "abstract, not physical" ("The Brain's Politics"). Much of Lakoff's work approaches problems from a unique perspective, conceptualizing politics and human thought about the world with an emphasis on the physical world and literal reinforcement via metaphors and repetition. Another unique component of Lakoff's work is that he seeks to understand politics, and more largely collective decision making, from the perspective and tendencies of the human brain, rather than from studying the structures and systems exterior to the physical and social human experience. These tendencies of the human brain and cognitive structures are influenced by experiences and language. Metaphors and their influence are particularly interesting and deeply relevant to this work.

The influence of metaphors on our reasoning apparatus is "covert," with an influential but often-underestimated power over how we structure information and an ability to change the ways in which we seek out new information about a topic, according to Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011). Their influential experiment sought to measure the influences of metaphor in the way issues are conceptualized and discussed. Their findings challenge the idea that the influence of metaphor in policy is not quantifiable and does not have an effect in solving real problems (Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011, pg. 1).

Thibodeau and Boroditsky conducted an experiment centered on the role of the metaphor in discussion and perception of social policy about crime and its implications for decision making within the criminal justice system. The research sought to understand when a metaphor

is used to describe crime or another social issue, whether or not the subtle elements and associations of the metaphor encouraged the individual to reason “in a way that is consistent with the entailments of the metaphor” (Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011, pg. 1). That is, more plainly, does the metaphor used to describe the social policy issue intrinsically change the way it is thought about, what solutions are proposed, and with impacts into the choice of real, lived policy implications? Their research sought to understand the extent to which the use of metaphors influenced an individual’s understanding of a social issue. Not only does this paper establish a direct connection between the use of metaphors and the selection of different policy preferences, it examines some of the specific mechanisms that could explain this difference.

The two crime metaphors used in the experiment are describing “crime as a virus” and “crime as a wild beast.” The study found that individuals who were given information that described the crime as a virus as “infecting the city” with basic crime statistics, suggested locating the root causes of the crime and instituting practices to limit the further spread of crime, with a specific emphasis on poverty reeducation and improvement of the education system. Those individuals who received information describing the crime as a “wild beast” with the same basic crime statistics, suggested reforms to address the problem that were about containment and harsher penalties for misbehavior, such as locking up those individuals who were perpetuating the crime. These suggestions aligned with the connotations of the metaphors and the treatments suggested by the control group. In the second iteration of the experiment the only difference between the two descriptions of crime was “crime is a virus/beast ravaging the city of Addison,” isolating the metaphorical change to one word. This simple, single word difference still yielded differing policy response choices by participants, highlighting that the influence of metaphors and their “relational elements” does not need to be specified explicitly—a single word is enough

to influence understanding (Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011, pg. 2). This suggests that the metaphor used describe a social issue can have a powerful impact on the proposed solutions and understanding of the problem.

The experiment by Thibodeau and Boroditsky also highlighted that the power of metaphors is covert. The individuals who were asked in the first two experiments to identify the reasoning for the selection behind their social reform method of choice, both cited the crime statistics listed below. This is unfounded because both groups were given the same statistics. The study demonstrates that “unbeknownst to us” metaphors used in information and background shape our reasoning and thought processes behind social policy questions (Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011, pg. 2). The Thibodeau and Boroditsky paper cements the real-life consequences of divergent metaphorical language in political rhetoric. If the ways in which candidates and individuals describe issues, and there is an empirically proven difference in policy suggestions which results from differing metaphors, there is incredible value and insight to be found in understanding the different metaphors used in dominant political rhetoric.

Framing: Lewicki & Others

George Lakoff identified four key principles that are central to understanding framing and its role in politics. Lakoff defines frames as a “conceptual knowledge structure used in thinking” They are as follows:

1. “Every word evokes a frame
2. Words defined within a frame evoke the frame
3. Negating a frame evokes the frame

4. Evoking a frame reinforces that frame. (Lakoff, 2006, pg. 1).

Lakoff asserts that conservatives, over the last four decades, have via their network of think tanks and other intellectual institutions created a cohesive conservative world view with powerful language that lends itself to reframing from the conservative perspective (Lakoff, 2006, pg. 2). Not only is it important that a single frame is coherent and effectively captures the issue, but it also must fit into the larger system of metaphors and concepts created by the desired political worldview. Frames that are positive and project one worldview are much more effective; negative frames that restate the opposing worldview also reinforce it, making its message stronger and more engrained (Lakoff, 2006, pg. 3).

Lewicki, Grey, and Elliot define framing as “the process of constructing and representing our interpretations of the world around us” (12). Frames are constructed via a process of “sorting and categorizing” experiences and new information against known information and experiences. When an individual frames a situation, he or she is applying assumptions about motivations, meaning, and possible outcomes of the situation (Lewicki, Grey, and Elliot, 2003). Frames are also an opportunity for an individual to situate him or herself in the context of the event or idea being framed. Framing forces individuals to take a stance and allows for an understanding of the individual’s perspective on the event or idea being framed. Frames are an important concept because they help define issues, influence action, form an individual’s perspective, and can be used to rationalize and motivate behavior (Lewicki, 2003).

Metaphors and frames are similar because they both pull from existing knowledge and insights to create new meaning. Metaphors are a type of frame and can reinforce or rationalize a frame. Frames help individuals categorize and make sense of data and translate it into applicable and usable information (Lewicki, Grey, and Elliot, 2003). Frames are used to help interpret new

knowledge experiences using an already understood perspective. Similarly, metaphors augment meaning from other objects or ideas to a secondary object or idea. Both frames and metaphors are a process of borrowed meaning, although metaphors are more specific to linguistics and two objects or ideas. Another perspective is that frames are social constructions that rely upon shared knowledge and conceptual agreements. Metaphors similarly rely upon shared knowledge, as the meaning that is attempted to be borrowed must be clearly understood between the rhetor and the audience. In that way, frames are “road maps that help us to organize our knowledge and to sort and predict the meaning of new information, events, and experiences” (Lewicki, 2003, pg. 13). Metaphors are a similar road map, a tool to build a patchwork of meaning by borrowing meaning from something that is currently understood.

Frames can also be understood as perspectives applied by individuals that carry their values and elements of their perspectives. One’s life experiences and background would change the frame they would feel inclined to apply to a given idea or thing. The frame an individual applies changes their interpretation of events and meaning.

The individualistic nature of frames and their meaning, as a result, is highly subjective. Meaning associated with metaphors is also highly subjective. The way an individual understands the knowledge that is attempted to be borrowed from a metaphor entirely shapes the thing or idea it is applied to. Frames and metaphors are both highly subjective, fundamental to organizing an individual’s understanding, and are predicated on existing knowledge and perspectives.

Lewicki, Grey, and Elliot identify a few key frames in their book *Making Sense of Intractable Environment Conflicts: Concepts and Cases*. These key frames include identity frames, characterization frames, conflict management frames, whole story frames, social control frames, power frames, risk frames, and gain versus loss. Identity frames center on how

individuals view themselves and the social categories with which they identify. Characterization frames are similar to identity frames but center on how others behavior and the social categories are correlated. Conflict management frames are associated with steps and ways in which conflict should be handled. Whole story frames are summaries of complex events encapsulated into brief summaries. Social control frames capture views about how decisions should be made, concerning the interdependence and ownership of decisions. Power frames have to do with how power is understood and discussed. Risk frames are how individuals conceptualize risk, both the type and the level. Gain versus loss frames frame actions in the context of what they provide for in terms of creating benefits or losses (Lewicki, 2003).

The words we use indicate how we construct the world on a subconscious level and our perceptions of the structures of existing relationships between things, places, and people. Models and worldview are connected to and expressed via topic and word choice. Framing is the process that allows for “constructing and representing our interpretations of the world around us” (Lewicki, 2003, pg. 12). Frames are constructed by organizing experiences and comparing new experiences with previous ones (Lewicki, 2003, pg. 12). Basing frame on one’s individual experiences, issues, and events allows a relationship to form with respect to that.

Critics and Parallels of Lakoff

Frank Luntz is a conservative thinker with ideas somewhat similar to Lakoff’s. Luntz, a prominent conservative intellectual, was the creator of Newt Gingrich’s 1994 Contract With America and has strict ideas about the language that should be used to describe and within politics. Luntz and Lakoff agree that the language is often more connected to the deep-seated

meanings that already exist in individuals' minds. Luntz, though, uses his phrases and ideas to promote Republican values. He has developed a list of "The 14 Words Never to Use" with advice urging individuals to avoid "drilling for oil" and instead of say "exploring for energy" (Bai, 2005). Luntz conflicts with Lakoff in the values their cognitive linguistic work is promoting, not the fundamental theories that underlie it.

A major criticism of Lakoff's work is the overarching generalization, which he applies to the family life and values of both liberals and conservatives. Lakoff refutes the criticism of overgeneralization by asserting that his cognitive models rely upon the "central prototypes" of the models and citizenry behavior. While this response does not negate or disregard the presence of these overgeneralizations, he instead tries to contextualize them and stresses their importance for making conclusions about the collective understanding of American politics. His models and their expansion to analysis of a wider political discourse must be tailored by the idea that they are characterized by "coherent politics" as Lakoff terms it, meaning those with a rigid and strict political affiliation (Lakoff, 2004, pg. 176).

His models are asserting that many things can be explained in the context of the family, a challenging and lofty intellectual challenge. Many scholars cite the lack of references and holes in Lakoff's methodology. Similarly, Steven Pinker in a somewhat scathing review of *Whose Freedom?* asserts that Lakoff fails to address centuries of prior thinking on the connection between psychology and cognitive meaning. Steven Pinker is a Canadian cognitive linguist, author, and professor of psychology at Harvard University. This neglect of previous thinking and research is a common criticism of Lakoff's work by Pinker (Pinker, 2006).

Pinker asserts that "thinking cannot trade in metaphors directly," and rather must rely on more basic currency and connections that the metaphor is built on. He cites Lakoff's love-as-a-

journey metaphor and points out how one would not consider packing for such a journey (Pinker, 2006). Pinker also points out that much of the meaning behind metaphors is lost after repetition and memorization. He says the original speakers may have intended the shared meaning but rote memorization and familiarity undermine the shared concepts behind most metaphors. He cites the example of the metaphor “coming to a head” and how most individuals likely do not know that it is related to a pimple (Pinker, 2006).

Lakoff’s family-based models attempt to broadly explain why conservatives are attracted to a bundle of ideas and why liberals are attracted to others. Pinker questions the broad strokes painted by the cognitive models and assumptions associated with parenting styles and family formation. Pinker also questions Lakoff’s assertion that frames are fixed in the brain and states that frames are actually changed and adapted frequently (Pinker, 2006). Pinker characterizes Lakoff’s suggestions for Democrats as an “abandon [of] traditional reason and logic” in exchange for his proposed “higher rationality,” a concept Pinker sees as entirely unfounded (Pinker, 2006).

Metaphors and Cognitive Modeling

George Lakoff argues in many of his books, specifically *Moral Politics* that “political perspectives are derived from systems of moral concepts” (41). Lakoff work centers on understanding conceptual metaphors and their underlying strategies. He says that “most of our thought is unconscious—not unconscious on the Freudian sense of being repressed, but unconscious simply in that we are not aware of it. We think and talk at too fast a rate and too deep a level to have conscious awareness of everything we think and say” (Lakoff, 2002). This

disconnection between our ability to physically perceive the sheer number of our thoughts means that much of our thought occurs and may be influenced without our conscious control.

Lakoff asserts that this system of moral concepts is “imaginative and that it depends fundamentally on metaphorical understanding” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 41). Lakoff relies heavily on metaphors to explain why language used by conservatives and liberals result in such different understandings and conceptualizations of issues in his own work. Metaphors usually are grounded in concepts and questions of morality and allow us to “interpret, understand, and explore the consequences” moral issues and questions (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 44). Metaphors are also concepts that allow one to connect ideas that exist in an imaginative or figurative sense to experiences and ideas that can be lived—making it more accessible, understandable, and able to be contextualized.

Lakoff identifies two parts of conceptual systems 1) conceptual metaphors, which he defines as “conventional way of conceptualizing on domain in experience of another, often unconsciously” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 4) and 2) categories, delineating between radical categories and prototypes. Radical categories are the central examples and variations that are normal and central to the functioning of the human mind—these are key because they allow us to identify both the central tenets of models as well as where important variation occurs (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 8). Prototypes are “elements of a category (either a subcategory or an individual member) that is used to represent the category as a whole in some sort of reasoning” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 9). Lakoff stresses that prototypes regardless of type are not objective—rather cognitive constructions that are intentionally fashioned and perform a certain and specific type of reasoning.

Metaphors, in Lakoff's work, usually center on the concept of wellbeing which Lakoff defines as "promoting the experiential wellbeing of others and the avoidance and prevention of experiential harm to others or the disruption of the wellbeing of others" (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 41). *Wellbeing*, is not an overly specific term, rather it refers to the positives of an experience outweighing the bad. Protecting and promoting one's wellbeing is paramount to living a successful and enjoyable life. Lakoff further describes wellbeing as:

"you are better off if you are healthy rather than sick, rich rather than poor, strong rather than weak, free rather than imprisoned, cared for rather than uncared for, happy rather than sad, whole rather than lacking, clean rather than filthy, beautiful rather than ugly, if you are functioning in the light rather than the dark, if you stand upright so you don't fall down, and if you live in a community with close social ties, rather than in hostile or isolated ones...young children are better off if they are obedient to rather than disobedient to their parents who have their best interests at heart" (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 42).

Lakoff stresses the importance of wellbeing because it is connected to the fundamental human desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain (Schmid, 2004). Promoting one's wellbeing and happiness is a central tenet of Lakoff's theories, suggesting that he sees it as fundamental to the human experience and living a fulfilling life. The comparisons and relationships that make up the concept of wellbeing in the context of Lakoff's work also demonstrate the perceptions of goodness and evil in the world that his work is predicated upon. These comparisons also help illustrate the complex system of values that underpin the moral systems and worldviews he believes shape the conservative and liberal ideologies.

In Lakoff's opinion, one of the most important metaphors utilized in either moral system is the "moral accounting metaphor" which connects back to the promotion and measurement of one's wellbeing. Lakoff states that wellbeing is understood as wealth and that a benefit or increase in wellbeing can be understood as a "gain" and that a decrease is a "cost." Language

that is explicitly used and that connects to this idea of wellbeing like money, costs, or a budget are phrases like something being “worth one’s time,” “profiting from something,” or the “cost of a negative experience” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 44). Contextualizing and framing experiences or objects as decreasing or increasing one’s metaphorical balance sheet helps make a more amorphous concept accessible and connected to the lived experience of balancing the books.

Another key example Lakoff cites and explores is the nation as a person metaphor (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 67). Interactions with other countries are understood as interactions with others; interactions with allies or similarly aligned nation states can be understood as interactions with friends or family. Industrialization is understood as the process of maturing and the entity enforcing the disobedience or immature behavior is the International Money Fund, in Lakoff’s example (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 70). While this metaphor conceptually makes sense, it raises questions about who is to decide what behaviors are and are not appropriate and the implications for disobedience in an interconnected, high-stakes global system. From these individual metaphors, Lakoff builds complex models of interconnected metaphorical meaning.

Lakoff’s two conceptual models are the Strict Father Model and the Nurturant Parent Model. Both models approach similar value-based questions and concerns but with divergent values and understandings of the world. These models are not intended to be a catch-all mechanism that fully explains the diverse and divergent worldviews—rather they are a springboard into the conceptual understandings that form the basis for the consequential divide between the political parties in the United States. Each model has significant nuance and complication associated with it but each is strongly grounded in lived, primarily familial, experiences.

The models Lakoff presents and studies are highly important because the structure of the model dictates one's perception of the world and is formative to the structure of their morality. As Lakoff states, "there is a group of metaphors for morality that fit naturally with that model and are given priority by it" (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 99). Each of these individuals supplement and structure the model which then extends beyond to create a moral system.

The following is a more in-depth exploration of the two key Lakoff conceptual models. Lakoff asserts that these models are the structure for understanding differences between American progressives and conservatives and contain the key metaphors that will be used for analysis.

The Strict Father Model

The Strict Father Model conceptual system assumes that life is difficult and that world is inherently dangerous—both circumstances with others and oneself; it conceptualizes "survival is a major concern and [that] there are dangers and evils lurking everywhere, especially in the human soul" (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 65). Any of the metaphors and assumptions of the model are constructed from what be a considered a highly traditional American family consisting of two heterosexual parents that exist in a patriarchal family structure. The most important component of the Strict Father Model is the "particular concept of family life" it is situated around and the ways in which it is structured and situated in the system that create its metaphorical, logical, and emotional impact (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 102).

The Strict Father Model rests on "folk behaviorism," a form of folk theory that states that people seek to satisfy their desires but are able to "make themselves do things they don't want to

do in order to get rewards...and they will refrain from doing things they want to do in order to avoid punishment” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 67). This theory of folk behavior creates the context in which Lakoff conceptualizes his model.

Here is a key excerpt of Lakoff’s description of the Strict Father Model:

“A traditional nuclear family, with the father having primary responsibility for supporting and protecting the family as well as the authority to set overall family policy. He teaches the children right from wrong by setting strict rules for their behavior and enforcing them through punishment...It is commonly corporal punishment. He also gains their cooperation by showing love and appreciation when they follow rules. But children must never be coddled, lest they become spoiled; a spoiled child will be dependent for life and not learn proper morals...The mother has the day-to-day responsibility for the care of the house, raising the children, and upholding the father’s authority...Self-discipline, self-reliance, and respect for legitimate authority are the crucial things a child must learn. A mature adult becomes self-reliant later through applying self-discipline in pursuing his self-interest. Only if a child learns self-discipline can he come self-reliant later in life. Survival is a matter of competition, and only through self-discipline can a child learn to compete successfully” (66).

With survival as the ultimate end goal, discipline in the Strict Father Model serves the purpose of instilling values, discipline, and obedience into children to ensure their survival. This is tied to the idea that survival is a constant struggle that yields rewards and punishments and stresses the importance of competition. Competition is the process that demonstrates the level of one’s self-discipline in respect to others and yields rewards to those who are worthy and hard-working; proponents and subscribers of the Strict Father Model are protectors and promoters of competition for it is a crucial ingredient in a “moral” world. A world that is a “meritocracy” results from this and those who have a hierarchical advantage, and the associated authority, responsibility, and control that comes with such an advantage, are not only legitimate but moral right (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 69). Central to the Strict Father model is that exercising authority is the

moral and right thing to do; encouraging and promoting behaviors that are good and punishing those that are bad is inherently a moral and necessary act.

Because the Strict Father gives power and authority to certain members of the family and thus society, Lakoff highlights that those in power have responsibilities and obligations. Those in positions of authority are expected to maintain order and the system of authority in which their power exists. Individuals in authority are expected to work for the “protection” and “benefit” of those under one’s authority, with an emphasis on the importance of discipline. Lastly, exercising authority is moral and right because such acts help those beneath those in positions of authority become more disciplined and have better self-control (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 70).

There are ten key metaphors that make up the Strict Father Model that Lakoff identifies and discusses in his book *Moral Politics* (2002). The key metaphors and brief descriptions for each are outlined below in Table 1.

Table 1: Metaphors of the Strict Father Model

Metaphors of Strict Father Model	Description
Moral Strength	Self-discipline and control are essential for the preservation of good in the face of evil, both external and internal (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 75). See Moral Strength section for greater detail.
Moral Authority	Moral authority rests on the hierarchy of power, knowledge, and care inherent in a relationship between a parent and a child. It posits that children must obey and respect

	<p>their parents in the same way an authority should be respect; in the face of disobedience, punishment is expected and moral (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 77).</p>
Moral Order	<p>Moral order posits that the natural order that exists in nature and the world allows for power over and responsibility for those beneath you. An example of Moral Order is the power and responsibility humans have over the stewardship over nature. This metaphor has significant consequences for questions of race and class (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 82).</p>
Moral Boundaries	<p>Connected to the idea of action as a form of physical motion, morality forms a bounded area of appropriate and not appropriate behaviors (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 85).</p>
Moral Essence	<p>Moral Essence is associated with the idea of “character” which is the components of oneself that is created in childhood and maintained for life. The metaphor is based on the idea that the substance of the person, as in</p>

	<p>his/her collection of experiences and traits, determines who the person is. An understanding of one's components can inform a judgement about the person as a whole. Past behavior and childhood experiences can also inform the Moral Essence metaphor (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 89).</p>
Moral Wholeness	<p>Moral Wholeness connects to the idea that a thing can only be whole and natural if it is consistent and the same throughout; "homogeneity" is key. Immorality and any part of it in a formerly moral situation, such as a "tearing" of our moral fabric" are examples of Moral Wholeness (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 91).</p>
Moral Purity	<p>Moral Purity is similar to Moral Wholeness but with a greater emphasis on the idea of purity. Moral goodness is conceptualized as purity and manifests in describing something immoral as dirty, gross, or unclean (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 92).</p>
Moral Health	<p>Moral Health is the idea that morality is a form of health and that immorality is a form</p>

	<p>of disease. A key component of this metaphor is the idea that diseases spread via contact so it's important to contain and separate the immoral/diseased components or individuals from the moral/healthy ones. Guilt by association is also part of this metaphor (Lakoff, 2002, pg.93).</p>
<p>Moral Self-Interest</p>	<p>Moral Self-Interest connects to Adam Smith's idea of the Invisible Hand and how collective good is maximized by maximizing individual good and wealth. This especially important in discussions of free market economics (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 95).</p>
<p>Morality as Nurturance</p>	<p>Authority takes preference over nurturance in this model and parental authority is maintained through punishment. Acceptance of consequences and punishments is highly important because it is necessary and proper in the metaphor (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 97).</p>

Lakoff creates a hierarchy of metaphors in the Strict Father Model; the creation and projection of strength is paramount. Most important is the Strength Group, which is composed of Moral Strength, Moral Authority, Moral Order, Moral Boundaries, Moral Essence, Moral

Wholeness, Moral Purity, and Moral Health (Lakoff, 2002). The metaphors Moral Self-Interest and Moral Nurturance are much less important.

A key component of the Strict Father Morality is the clear binaries that exist between good and evil. Lakoff further extends this idea and posits that the strict dichotomy between right and wrong acts a complete defense of the conceptual model. If the model is inherently good, those who are opposed to or attack the model and its concepts are bad; attempts to “overthrow the moral system” would be considered “an immoral act” making them not only enemies of the model but enemies of “good” and just society (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 98).

Lakoff’s exploration and identification of metaphors is extensive. To bound the scope and nature of the rhetorical analysis using Lakoff’s metaphors, one of the metaphors Lakoff designates as the highest priority will be applied to the campaign speeches of President Trump and Secretary Clinton. The metaphor that will be used for analysis is Moral Strength.

Moral Strength

In the Strict Father Model, the Moral Strength metaphor is the highest priority. This metaphor forms the backbone for much of the behavior of the strict father himself as he seeks to “support, protect, and guide his family” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 74). Moral strength is the idea that being strong, resilient, and exhibiting self-control constantly, and especially in the face of evil is the right and moral thing to do. The following implications and assumptions help make up the context in which the Moral Strength metaphor exists:

- “The world is divided into good and evil.

- To remain good in the face of evil (to ‘stand up to’ evil), one must be morally strong.
- One becomes morally strong through self-discipline and self-denial.
- Someone who is morally weak cannot stand up to evil and so will eventually commit evil.
- Therefore, moral weakness is a form of immorality.
- Self-indulgence (the refusal to engage in self-denial) and lack of self-control (the lack of self-discipline) are therefore forms of immorality.” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 73).

The Moral Strength metaphor is considered one of the more complex metaphors of the conceptual models Lakoff has created. Phrases that correspond with this metaphor are “fall from grace,” “upstanding citizen,” and “stand up to” a negative force (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 73). The key ideas and physical/metaphorical correspondences that contribute to the Moral Strength metaphor are as follows: “Being Good Is Being Upright, Being Bad Is Being Low, Doing Evil Is Falling, Evil Is a Force (either internal or external), Morality is Strength” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 72). The evil mentioned in the metaphor and conceptualized as a threat to the Strict Father and his family takes on two different forms, both internal and external. External evils are innate in a dangerous and uncertain world; internal evils are more nefarious and can be thwarted only through self-control. Desire and temptations, or the failure to control one’s self and desires, are threats to self-control and must be faced with strength to maintain the upstanding morality necessary for the Strict Father Model (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 73). Because of the harsh and dichotomous nature of evil in the Moral Strength metaphor, little respect, empathy, or understanding can be given to those characterized as evil or things that promote such evil behaviors; “evil” and those who exhibit evil behaviors must be ruthlessly attacked and prevented (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 74).

The Moral Strength metaphor presents the idea that anything that “promotes moral weakness is immoral” because of the lack of self-control it allows. A prime example of this is

“hand-outs” or welfare because, according to the Strict Father Model, they disincentivize hard work and the self-control that is necessary to support one’s family. One consequence of holding Moral Strength as the highest priority that Lakoff highlights is that the metaphor “rules out any explanation in terms of social forces or class. If moral people always have the discipline to just say no to drugs or sex and support themselves in this land of opportunity, then failure to do is moral weakness, and hence immorality” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 75). This priority structure makes social causes and influences irrelevant, placing all responsibility on one’s life outcomes on oneself and one’s behaviors. The Moral Strength metaphor also frames discipline and punishment as a good thing at times, because it encourages the building of moral strength; “a morally weak person is likely to fall, to give in to evil, to perform immoral acts, and thus to become part of the forces of evil...moral weakness is thus nascent immorality, immorality waiting to happen” (Lakoff, 2002, pg.72). This metaphor places great responsibility on an individual, and depending upon the individuals’ age, his or her parents, to ensure they behave and adhere to the strict moral expectations that are associated with the metaphor and model.

Lastly, the metaphor assumes that moral strength is something that must be built and because of that an individual does not start with or is born with strength (Lakoff, 2002). Moral strength and morality, in accordance with the Moral Strength metaphor, can only be constructed by intentionally practicing self-denial and self-discipline. If humans are born as blank canvases with the tendency to be immoral, only certain behaviors, such as self-denial, can stimulate the construction of morality, it is the responsibility of one’s parents to “intervene” via discipline to assist in the process of creating morality (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 76). Lakoff connects this relationship to the doctrine of original sin (Lakoff, 2002).

Nurturant Parent Model

The second model that Lakoff has developed is called the Nurturant Parent Model. This model is more generally associated with a leftist, more progressive world view; Lakoff states that this worldview started primarily as a female, or perceived as a female worldview, or is perceived as a female's worldview (Lakoff, 2002). The goal of the model differs a bit from Strict Father Model; it is intended to create via a process of support and nurturance children who are "basically happy, empathetic, and able to take care of themselves, responsible, creative, communicative, and fair" (Lakoff, 2002, pg.111). The idea of social responsibility is a central to the Nurturant Parent Model. The assumptions that are inherent in the model about the conditions of human nature and best ways for individuals to learn posit that if these are values one holds, one is obligated to ensure the environment contributes to the continuation of this system. Social responsibilities, a main component in Nurturant Parent Model thinking, are a result of the culture and ways in which a child is raised and the punishment they do or do not receive. Competition, for example is seen as "bringing out aggressive behaviors" whereas "cooperation develops an appreciation for interdependence" (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 113).

Another core idea to Nurturant Parent Model is the concept of hierarchies. Lakoff states that the Nurturant Parent Model holds that "to maximize the benefits of interdependence and cooperation, hierarchical relationships should be minimized" and that authority a result of effective nurturance through "wisdom, judgment, and empathy" (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 113).

The most poignant and significant similarity between the Strict Father Model and the Nurturant Parent Model—because it much easier to see and acknowledge the stark differences—is how the process of childbearing, including the system and experiences in which the child is brought up, will "be reproduced" into the child, through their behaviors and preferences (Lakoff,

2002, pg. 110). For the Strict Father Model demonstrating and instilling discipline into children is essentially important, whereas for the Nurturant Parent Model instilling behaviors of nurturance are most important (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 110). The models also differ in the ways in which these behaviors are established in the children. Attachments to parents, which should be “secure and loving” are how children learn to replicate their parents behaviors as well as work to meet or exceed their parents expectations. The process of expectation-setting at an “appropriate level” and the nurturance associated with the process of learning and development is intended to help children achieve “mastery” because children crave their parents’ respect and acceptance of their behaviors (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 111).

Lakoff summarizes some of the key components of the Nurturant Parent Model as such:

A family of preferably two parents, but perhaps only one. If two, the parents share household responsibilities. The primal experience behind his model is one of being cared for and cared about, having one’s desires for loving interactions met, living as happily as possible, and deriving meaning from mutual interaction and care. Children develop best through their positive relationships to other, through their contribution to the community, and through the ways in which they realize their potential and find joy in life. Children become responsible, self-disciplined, and self-reliant through being cared for and respected and through caring for others...Open, two-way, mutually respectful communication is crucial. If parents’ authority is to be legitimate, they must tell children why their decisions serve the cause of protection and nurturance...Protection is a form of caring, and protection from external dangers takes up a significant part of the nurturant parent’s attention...The principal goal of nurturance is for children to be fulfilled and happy in their lives and to become nurturant themselves (Lakoff, 2002, pg.109).

To become self-sufficient and able to navigate the world with an attitude of self-awareness, questioning, nurturance, and responsibility, children must develop the ability to be social- and self-conscious (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 111). Development of essential characteristics such

as empathy, social ties, and commitment to fair behavior follow the development of these consciences (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 112).

As with Strict Father Model, Nurturant Parent Model supplies a set of expectations as to how the world should be and how an individual who subscribes to that worldview can be as effective as possible. The world that is most habitable to an individual who subscribes to the Nurturant Parent Model “encourages people to develop their potential and provides help when necessary...and it must be a place where those who are helped feel a responsibility to help others and carry out that responsibility...and it must be a world in which the nurturance provided to us by the natural environment is recognized, appreciated, and returned” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 112).

There are ten key metaphors that make up the Nurturant Parent Model that Lakoff identifies and discusses in his book *Moral Politics*. The key metaphors and brief descriptions for each are outlined below in Table 2.

Table 2: Metaphors of the Nurtant Parent Model

Metaphors of the Nurturant Parent Model	Description
Morality as Empathy	Morality as Empathy connects to the idea that because empathy allows us to project and understand others’ feelings, we would want them to experience a sense of wellbeing as well. Lakoff coins the term a “stronger Golden Rule” meaning “do unto others as they would have you do unto them.” Strong, weak, and affordable empathy are all

	components of the metaphor (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 115).
Morality as Nurturance	Morality as Nurturance is based upon the idea that empathy and sacrifices are sometimes necessary to care for children or others who are dependent upon you. One's community is also conceptualized as one's family (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 118).
Moral Self-Nurturance	Self-Nurturance is a necessary component of moral function and relies upon some of the negative parts of selflessness, such as the debt that it can generate for those being taken care of. Lakoff states that "self-nurturance is a moral necessity" (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 120).
Morality as Social Nurturance	Morality as Social Nurturance connects to the idea that maintaining social ties and relations is a moral act and sacrifices are necessary and right (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 120).
Morality is Happiness	The creation and cultivation of one's own happiness is central to the idea of Morality is Happiness because an individual is more giving, empathic, and helpful when he or she

	is happy. This directly opposes some of the ideas of the Strict Father Model and its notion of self-denial (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 122).
Morality as Self-Development	Self-development of one's self and by extension, one's children is moral because it can lead to great empathy, social ties, and happiness, both individually and collectively in one's community (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 123).
Morality as Fair Distribution	Morality as Fair Distribution is predicated upon the models of fair distribution Lakoff creates and is situation-dependent.
Moral Growth	Moral Growth is connected to the idea of children's growth and that morality is the natural, vertical growth one should experience. Physicality of height and growing as are interspersed in this metaphor (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 125).
Moral Strength to Nurture	Moral Strength to Nurture is the idea that a parent and an individual must have the strength to nurture children to morality and maturity, an act that, according to the model, when done with empathy can be more

	challenging than punishment. Evils are different from those in the Moral Strength Model because they affect one's ability to be nurturing and empathetic and can be caused by things like narrow-mindedness, selfishness, and dishonesty (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 127).
Moral Self-Interest	Moral Self-Interest connects to the nature of why someone does something and their motives, less on the outcomes; there is a great focus on interdependence (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 130).
Moral Boundaries	Moral Boundaries is very similar the Moral Strength metaphor, but the bounded behaviors are those that result in anti-nurturant consequences (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 133).

Certain metaphors carry more significance in the context of the model. Hierarchy of the metaphors is an important component to understanding the applications of the Nurturant Parent Model. The Nurturance Group—which is composed of the following metaphors: Moral Nurturance, Moral Empathy, the Nurturance of Social Ties, Moral Self-Development, Moral Happiness, and Morality as Fair Distribution—is the primary priority of the model. Moral Self-Interest and the Strength Group respectively follow in their to the model (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 138).

Lakoff provides an extensive structure of metaphors, the entirety of which is beyond the scope of this research. Similar to the handling of the complexity of the Strict Father Model, one of the most significant metaphors—the Morality as Nurturance metaphor— will be further explored below and applied as an analytical lens to the presidential campaign speeches of President Donald Trump and Secretary Hillary Clinton. This metaphor is the morality as nurturance metaphor.

Morality as Nurturance

The Morality as Nurturance metaphor relies heavily on one's of the concept of empathy. Caring for something, especially a child, to remain aligned with the metaphor, must include caring about the child, constantly and selflessly, although not at the cost of one's own health or of the ability to nurture (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 116).

Empathy, as Lakoff explains can come in many different formulations. Empathy can be absolute, egocentric, and affordable—or a mixture of all three kinds. Absolute empathy is “feeling as someone else feels, with no strings attached,” although this type of empathy is hard to identify in a true form because there is almost always strings attached (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 115). Egocentric empathy is empathy in which an individual can feel for someone, but remains tied to his or her values and projects them onto the individual one cares for. This results in what Lakoff terms the Brass Rule: “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you—but only if they share your values.” But for empathy to be expressed in egocentric empathy the individual, institution or entity experiencing empathy must have the same values as the empathizer, creating a strict barrier for empathy and inclusion (Lakoff, 2002). Lastly, affordable empathy is the

“ability of people who are relatively well-off to empathize with people who are less fortunate than they” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 116). This type of empathy centers on what is of greatest ease and convenience to those doing the empathizing—it is predicated upon the empathizer’s ability to “afford” and not incur the expense of the empathy (Lakoff, 2002). The aforementioned complexities demonstrated in the different formulations of empathy manifest in complex forms of nurturance.

The key conceptualizations of the Morality as Nurturance metaphor include that the “community is a family, moral agents are nurturing parents, people needing help are children needing nurturance, and moral action is nurturance” (Lakoff, 2002, pg. 117).

Lakoff’s models and metaphors provide an intellectual framework in which the rhetoric of the 2016 presidential campaign speeches can be better understood and major trends identified. His two major models, the Strict Father Model and the Nurturant Parent Model both provide a cognitive framework for understanding why party delineation occurs in the way it does, using values surrounding the family as an explanation. Furthermore, considering frames, especially Lewicki, Gray, and Elliott’s thinking on the subject, contributes to a qualitative understanding of the complexities of presidential campaign messaging. The core research questions, which concern the messaging and projection of key voting issues and usage of metaphors, can be answered using Lakoff’s work as an analysis lens. Chapter 3 will further discuss the usage of Lakoff’s work, further elucidate the research questions, and discuss my research’s methodology.

Chapter 3 Research Questions and Methods

The analysis I am conducting will consider the entirety of speeches from the day of each candidate's respective party conventions to November 9, 2016, the day after Election Day. The analysis intends to identify metaphors and key phrases associated with discussion of the issue area domains being considered—voting rights and the environment—and usage of two metaphors identified by George Lakoff associated with each of his main conceptual models.

The overarching purpose of my thesis is to explore the nexus between the deliberate use of language and rhetoric and the shaping of discussion surrounding key politic issues and with specific metaphors identified by Lakoff. Language, and the ways in which we communicate with each other, are a critical part of the functioning of our democracy.

The institutional design of modern democracies is made up of three parts: the private autonomy of citizens, democratic citizenship that consists of the “inclusion of free and equal citizens in the political community,” and a public sphere that acts as an arena between the state and society (Habermas, 2006). The institutional design is intended to provide equal protection and liberties, ensure the active political participation by as many citizens as are interested in doing so, and “an appropriate contribution of a political public sphere to the formation of considered public opinions...and regulation of the power structure of the public sphere securing the diversity of independent mass media, and a general access of inclusive mass audiences to the public sphere” (Habermas, 2006). In accordance with this institutional design of all liberal democracies, communication is essential in the realm of participation, formation of public opinion, and in the context of mass media. Any time ideas or policies are communicated via

words in a democracy, especially across time and large audience, there is a potential for the meaning to change or be misinterpreted.

The ways ideas are communicated, what ideas are communicated, and the way ideas are modified and manipulated as they are communicated, impact individuals' participation in democracy and dialogue about and surrounding issues. Analysis of language used by President Donald Trump and Secretary Hillary Clinton will allow for a more robust conceptualization of the two candidates' ways of presenting the issues, events, and institutions in our society.

The importance of this analysis is grounded in the idea that it is not just the words that individuals speak that matter, but also the words that are unconsciously or consciously associated with these spoken words that contribute to listeners' understanding. The qualitative analysis of the metaphors is the entryway into better understanding this but it is nevertheless subject to influences associated with the researcher conducting the analysis.

Qualitative analysis seeks to understand and explore the “dynamics and texture” that quantitative research overlooks at times. The intention of qualitative research is to understand the qualities and richness of the world and social interaction as a prerequisite to explaining or predicting it (Holstein & Gubrium, 2002). While the specific methods associated with qualitative research are varying and diverse, there are a few commonalities running through all methods. These include investigating the process of social life and interaction via process, which means understanding the constantly evolving and unfolding nature of the world. It also includes an “appreciation for subjectivity” and an attempt to understand and honor the perspectives promoted by individuals even if they are conflicting or contradictory (Holstein & Gubrium, 2002). A qualitative analysis of the metaphors and language will identify trends and allow for a consideration of the values and messaging the usage of the language promotes.

The methods I used are grounded in Lakoff's theory and rhetorical analysis methods. It is important to note though that I am advocating for my approach and methodology to be considered along with other qualitative and quantitative analysis methods. Multiple and diverse analysis methods are necessary to consider the full picture of complicated rhetoric. By no means are the methods and associated findings of this analysis intended to be exhaustive or ultimate, rather they are intended to identify trends and begin a discussion surrounding the meanings associated with the use of the metaphors

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The objectives of this research study are to understand:

- In the 2016 presidential election campaign, how did rhetoric and framing shape the candidates' messaging and projection of important issues such as voting rights and the environment?
- How were metaphors utilized in the campaign speeches during the 2016 presidential election by President Donald Trump and Secretary Hillary Clinton?
What are the patterns and overarching trends of the metaphors often utilized?
How did the usage of metaphors differ between the two candidates?

The specific hypotheses of the research are as follows:

1. The null hypothesis is that there is not a clear and consistent pattern of rhetoric and framing use difference between President Trump and Secretary Clinton.

2. President Trump's metaphor usage and rhetoric with respect to the two issue areas (the environment and voting rights) as compared to Secretary Clinton's rhetoric is more xenophobic, hyperbolic, and threat-based while Secretary Clinton's as compared to President Trump's is a rhetoric of evidence-based, statistical information, nurturance, and a positive-future outlook.
 - a. Secretary Clinton's rhetoric will be based upon technical rationality, technical expertise, and factual analysis whereas President Trump's will rely heavily upon cultural rationality, emotion, cultural divides, and materialistic and monetary-based expertise.
 - b. President Trump's rhetoric will be one of despair while Secretary Clinton will utilize a more optimistic, hope-oriented rhetoric.
 - c. President Trump's rhetoric will be one that highlights political divisiveness and "other"-ness, while Secretary Clinton will employ language that highlights similarities, inclusiveness, and shared values.
 - d. Secretary Clinton will utilize the Morality as Nurturance metaphor more often, while President Trump will utilize the Moral Strength with greater frequency and intensity.

Through quantitative and qualitative analysis of the speeches and associated metaphors, I seek to provide answers to the research questions and test the hypotheses. The following section details the components of the analysis methods used to conduct this study, ranging from the word-selection methodology to background on the word-analysis tools used. A detailed list of the words and phrases for analysis is provided in the Appendix but the logic behind their selection is in this selection. Then follows a summary of the findings and their implications.

Analysis Methodology & Tools

The specific methodology behind my analysis of the campaign speeches involved creating dictionaries, using analysis software, and conducting a qualitative analysis. Four collections of words (from now on called dictionaries, analysis dictionaries, or my dictionaries) were built from three well-known dictionaries to establish words that would likely be related to discussion about the two issue area domains and the two Lakoff metaphors in the collection of campaign speeches. The dictionaries associated with the metaphors and issue areas were built using entries and synonyms from the Historical Thesaurus of English, The Oxford English Dictionary Historical Thesaurus, and the Merriam-Webster Thesaurus. Using these four established dictionaries and a rhetorical analysis tool called Ubiqui.Ity 1.2, the 39 speeches from Secretary Clinton and 67 Speeches from President Trump were analyzed. Ubiquity highlighted any usage of these words and provided statistics about the number of occurrences and other valuable data points. From these highlighted areas, a qualitative analysis was conducted, key examples were flagged, and comparisons were made between candidates in a gestalt, as well as in each specific frame, metaphor, or issue area.

The dictionaries associated with each metaphor and issue area are made up of words that are conceptually related to the metaphor and issue area topics. For example, the words “air”, “biosphere”, and “climate change” were among those included in the Environment dictionary. A full listing of the selected words can be found in Appendix A. Using the Oxford English Dictionary Historical Thesaurus, The Historical Thesaurus of English, and the Merriam-Webster Thesaurus, terms correlated to the selected metaphors for analysis were harvested based on related etymologies and meaning. To identify the words that make up my dictionaries I considered the specific words used in the title of the metaphor and key definitions as constructed

by Lakoff. Using that language, I selected specific dictionary and thesaurus entries in the four established dictionaries associated with each metaphor and frame and included each of the associated words in my dictionary for analysis. In terms of finding words and phrases associated with the issue areas, I used words included in The Merriam Webster Thesaurus when applicable, and read news articles surrounding these issues and selected oft-used and key phrases. Other words were selected at the discretion of the researcher because of their applicability to the issue areas as discussed on the campaign. This process created an extensive listing of related words to the concepts I was attempting analyze. I took the liberty of breaking up multi-word phrases into smaller text strings to ensure that the ideas communicated were completely captured by the limitation of the text analysis software. As the researcher, I selected the words that were most relevant to the ideas associated with the metaphor from the larger list created by shifting through the dictionary entries. A secondary researcher then confirmed these entries to ensure their validity. Tagging these words helps narrow where these metaphors and issue areas are discussed or used and allows for a more focused analysis.

Self-described as the “accepted authority on the English language”, the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) has a collection of over 600,000 words and their meanings, history, and pronunciation. The OED provides not only the modern definition and meanings of words but also the history of individual words and phrases (“About the Oxford English Dictionary”). The Historical Thesaurus of English (HTE) is a resource maintained and developed by the University of Glasgow which claims to have “almost every recorded word in English from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day, all arranged into detailed hierarchies of meaning”, allowing for users to find the synonyms of words through time and different linguistic eras and contexts. The HTE builds off of the Oxford English Dictionary (“University of Glasgow”). The Merriam-Webster

Thesaurus (MWT) is the modern authority on definitions and language, with over 40 million visitors to their websites each month and over 150 years in print. Their thesaurus includes more than 275,000 synonyms, antonyms, and related words (Merriam Webster, 2018).

The speech transcripts were gathered from the American Presidency Project based at the University of California, Santa Barbara. The American Presidency Project is a joint endeavor managed from the University of California, Santa Barbara by John T. Woolley (UCSB) and Gerhard Peters (Citrus College). Started in 1999, the record contains 128,915 documents and is constantly growing. The organization is non-partisan and non-profit, collecting everything from Fireside chats, White House media pool reports, National Party Platforms, and documents related to elections (“Welcome to the...”).

The Ubiq.Ity component of the analysis involved tagging specific words in the speeches that were included in the dictionaries I constructed and then correlating them to their related issue area and metaphor, which was determined by the analysis dictionary they were included in. Ubiq.Ity 1.2, is a qualitative text analysis software maintained by the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Ubiq.Ity “generates statistics and web-based tagged text views” using the “DocuScope dictionary or [a researcher’s] own rules” (“Ubiq Ity 1.2 changelog”). Ubiq.Ity 1.2 is an online version of the DocuScope dictionary model that allows for the visualization and analysis of written texts using specified rules and patterns (“DocuScope”). It allows a user to input rules, which consist of strings (specific words) associated with a user specified pattern or grouping. In the context of my project the rules were the two issue areas and two metaphor groups, and the strings they were judged against were the words included the four analysis dictionaries.

Ubiqui.Ity 1.2 relies upon DocuScope which is a “text analysis environment with a suite of interactive visualization tools for corpus-based rhetorical analysis” (“DocuScope”). Designed in 1998 at Carnegie Mellon University, it consists of a generic dictionary with over 40 million unique linguistic patterns that are organized into 100 categories of rhetoric groupings and genres. When applied this DocuScope dictionary creates results a visually driven rhetorical analysis, highlighting and color coding words and rules. If a user of Ubiqui.Ity were not to specify his or her own rules, the DocuScope dictionary would be applied to their text and generate an overview of 100 categories of rhetoric groupings and genres.

An overview of the process for designing the generic dictionary which at the heart of the DocuScope dictionary is detailed in the *Power of Words: Unveiling the Speaker and Writer's Hidden Craft* (Kaufer, Ishizaki, Butler and Collins 2004) which was written by a few of the software’s founders. The authors of the book, David Kaufer in particular, are considered innovators in the field of computer-aided rhetorical analysis and set the stage for much of the present research and discussion surrounding the topic.

Ubiqui.Ity 1.2 also provides statistics about word usage and this data was analyzed first and used to guide the qualitative analysis. The main statistic the software provides is relative word frequency. Relative word frequency is a percentage measure of how many times a word was used relative to all words in the candidate’s respective body of speeches.

Relative word frequency of words tagged in the dictionaries was helpful because it provided an initial glimpse into the discourse similarities and differences. The initial quantitative analysis demonstrated that there is a difference in the words that the candidates are using to discuss the issue areas and selected metaphors. If the language they are using is different, this suggests that they could have different conceptualizations. Relative frequency alone does not tell

us how their rhetoric and communication is different so further analysis using qualitative methods was necessary. These quantitative findings warranted further inquiry and were an attempt to provide initial insights, not evidence.

Ubiq.Ity also helped isolate the areas of discussion around the issue areas by identifying words possibly associated with the metaphors being considered for analysis using a string matching process. String matching processes are a key concept in the fields of text processing and computer or software based linguistic analysis. String matching is a component of language analysis software which can be used to process literature, written characters, or any other sort of data that is stored in a linear file form (Lecroq & Charras, 1997). A string is a finite sequence of characters (“String definition”). String matching is a process that “consists in finding one, or more generally, all the occurrences of a string in a text” (Lecroq & Charras, 1997). Most string matching processes operate through what is called a sliding window mechanism; this means that an algorithm scans the text in a given window or certain amount of text. The window aligns with the left end of the text and compares the text against the assigned phrase or phrases. If an exact match with the designated string is found, it is noted. If an exact match with the designated string is not found, the algorithm moves onto the next cluster of characters to compare to its given string (Lecroq & Charras, 1997). For example, if the string “the” was to be evaluated in the following popular Martin Luther King, Jr. quote, the areas selected by the analysis tools would be the bolded characters in the following quotation: “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where **they** will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by **the** content of **their** character.”

A clear limitation of this process is the analysis is limited to the designated string selected by the researcher. “The” is included in the words “they” and “their” too, which demonstrates

some the limitation associated with specificity and similarly spelled words. Additionally, words are much greater than the sum of their parts (letters and characters) and this sorting method relies solely on letters and characters. Meaning and complexity is lost in the string matching process. Words with multiple meaning or context based meanings also will be inappropriately captured or fail to be captured in some instances with this methodology.

A strength of this overall analysis process is that it allows for a large body of speeches to be narrowed to the key areas in which the specific words were mentioned. This points to the areas in which the specific words input into the analysis tool are used, allowing a researcher to do their qualitative analysis with a higher degree of specificity and in a faster manner. A weakness, though is the words that are intended to capture the frames, metaphors, and issue areas are not exhaustive and selected at the researcher's discretion. Discussions about Moral Strength or Morality of Nurturance likely occurred outside of words in the dictionary and any discussion without entries was missed in this specific analysis. Metaphors at times can be incredibly subtle and may not be discussed using words in the dictionary; this means that it is quite possible that instances of frames and metaphors could have been missed by Ubiq.ity and thus were not included in the qualitative analysis.

The tagging process provided by Ubiq.Ity is also very helpful because it provided a preliminary understanding of the divergent ways in which President Trump and Secretary Clinton used language to discuss Moral Strength, Morality as Nurturance, the environment, and voting rights. While the relative frequency data is not associated with metaphor use, it is still suggestive of discourse differences between the candidates.

From the tagged words identified by Ubiq.Ity I read through and decided whether or not there was a metaphor being utilized by Secretary Clinton or President Trump. An overview of this component of my methodology can be found below in Figure 1.

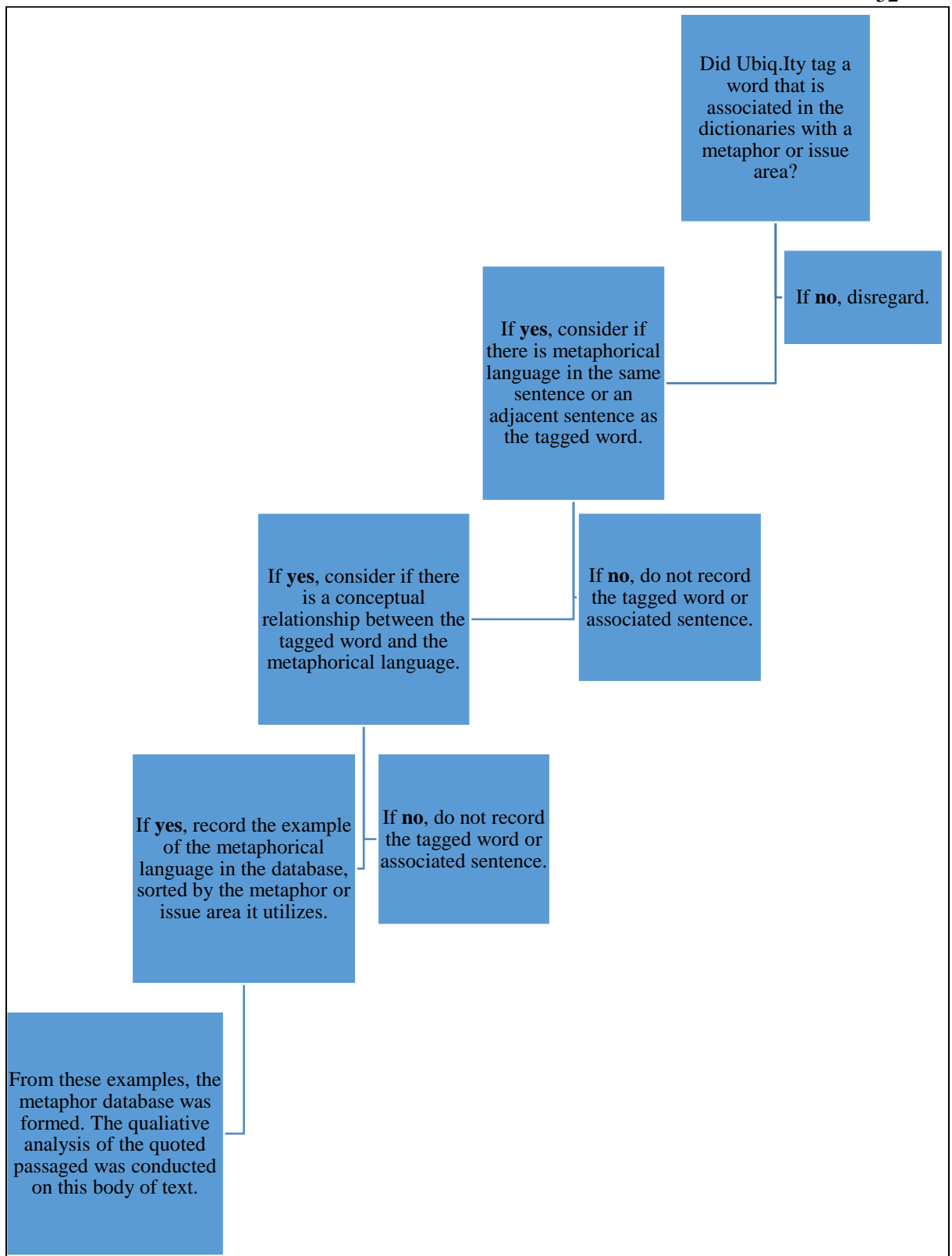


Figure 1: Analysis process overview

I started by considering only phrases that included tagged words from one of the analysis dictionaries I constructed. This allowed my analysis to be significantly narrowed and center only on the topics I wanted to consider.

To determine if there is metaphorical language in the same sentence or an adjacent sentence as the tagged word, I evaluated the sentence or adjacent sentence's content. Metaphorical language was identified using my discretion. Any sort of metaphorical language, that is language that borrows meaning by association, was noted and progressed to the next question in the analysis process. I established these instances of metaphorical language by reading through the entirety of the campaign speeches. If there was metaphorical language present in the sentence with the tagged word or an adjacent sentence, I then considered if the metaphorical language was or was not associated with the tagged word.

By considering if the metaphorical language was or was not associated with the tagged word, I was evaluating if a conceptual relationship existed between the tagged word and the metaphorical language in the sentence or adjacent sentence. I defined conceptual relationship as an association behind the usage of the metaphor and the tagged word. Specifically I considered if the tagged word is added to by the metaphor, borrowed from for the metaphor, or somehow otherwise related to the metaphorical language through meaning. This process ensured that the metaphors being considered were related to discussion of the tagged words and were not just coincidentally considered relevant.

An example of a tagged word and metaphor that are not conceptually related occurred in Secretary Clinton's third speech after the convention in which she said, "Just a few days ago he said that if another country's troops taunted ours—not fired at them, but taunted them, just

taunt—he'd respond by blowing them out of the water." This sentence is tagged for the environment issue area through the word "water". The sentence also has metaphorical language with the usage of the phrase "blowing them out of the water" but it is not a metaphor to describe the environment. While it utilizes a tagged word and metaphorical language, it is not using metaphorical language to discuss the tagged word and its topic, in this case the environment. This instance of a tagged word would be discarded and not considered in the qualitative analysis.

Another example of a conceptually unrelated tagged word and metaphorical language would be in President Trump's 36th speech after the convention in which he said "Crime is through the roof, public education is a disaster, there are no jobs, it's dangerous to walk down the street with your child." The tagged word is "education" due to its inclusion in the Morality as Nurturance dictionary. There is metaphorical language through the phrase "crime is through the roof". However, this metaphor would be considered conceptually unassociated because the metaphor does not related to the tagged Morality as Nurturance word.

An example of a metaphorical language and a tagged word that would be considered conceptually associated came from President Trump's speech at the Republican National Convention, "I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people that cannot defend themselves." This phrase contains the tagged word "powerful" which is associated with discussion of Moral Strength. The metaphor Trump is creating depicts politics as an arena used for some sort of fighting. He is also using the metaphor to promote the idea that he is protecting the individuals that are unable to defend themselves. I considered the tagged word and metaphorical language to be associated and denoted it in the metaphor database to be included in the qualitative analysis.

This methodology doesn't capture all the metaphors in the speeches and is instead intended to specifically consider the metaphors related to voting rights, the environment, Moral Strength, and Morality as Nurturance. It is also open to my discretion about what is and what is not considered metaphorical language, a notable subjective constraint.

After all of the metaphors associated with words in the four dictionaries had been captured and evaluated using the aforementioned methods, a qualitative analysis was conducted. This qualitative analysis consisted of applying Lewicki frame theory and Lakoff's Strict Father Model and Nurturant Parent Model theories to the catalog of metaphors to better understand the values and messages communicated through their usage. The comparative and qualitative analysis also sought to identify where the two candidates differ between the specific issue area domains and across the identified metaphors.

Limitations of the methodology

Due to the nature of the project, parameters were applied to make the analysis manageable. The two main parameters were the dates of the speeches analyzed and the Lakoff metaphors considered. Speeches were only considered from Secretary Clinton from July 25th, 2016, the day of the Democratic National Convention, to November 9th, 2016. Speeches were only considered from President Trump from July 21st, 2016, the day of the Republican National Convention, to November 9th, 2016. Secondly, the only metaphors considered from Lakoff were the Moral Strength and Morality as Nurturance metaphors. While considering more metaphors would make a more robust analysis, the scope was constrained by the practicality of the time it

would take to conduct a more sophisticated Lakoff-metaphor based analysis. Such an analysis, with more or all of Lakoff's proposed metaphors associated with the Strict Father Model and Nurturant Parent Model, is a promising opportunity for future research. There are also some inherent limitations that should be addressed in the context of the methodology.

The string matching process has limitations that remove the nature of meaning and instead judge the relatedness of words and ideas based solely on the characters included in the words. Because the usage of this matching software, the analysis was able to be more focused and narrow, but also stripped away some of nuance and humanness of the usage of language. As a researcher I attempted to address this by simultaneously conducting a qualitative analysis and engaging with the content and meaning behind the specific usages of the words.

The dictionaries were constructed using synonyms and my judgment as the researcher, which constrained words from being included that would capture ideas associated with the issue areas or metaphors. This is a limitation because words that could be correlated with metaphors or issue areas could not be captured by the constructed dictionaries; thus there is an opportunity for metaphors and phrases that could be discussing the environment or nurturance or another area to be uncaptured by the Ubiquity process and thus be missed in the qualitative analysis. There are countless ideas that could be associated with any of the four areas and thus the dictionaries can be inconclusive so there's an opportunity for missed metaphors.

The next section is a summary of the findings my analysis of the campaign speeches from Secretary Clinton and President Trump using words from the two issue areas, the environment and voting rights, and the two metaphors, Moral Strength and Morality as Nurturance.

Chapter 4

Findings

After conducting an analysis of the 106 speeches given by the two candidates, over 300 instances of unique metaphors associated with the words in the dictionaries were identified. Specifically, the 39 speeches delivered by Secretary Clinton contained 152 metaphors associated with the words in the dictionaries used for coding. The 67 speeches delivered by President Trump contained 157 metaphors associated with the words in the dictionaries used for coding.

Using Ubiq.Uty analysis software, a preliminary quantitative analysis was conducted. The results from this are explicated in the Quantitative Findings section. Next are the findings from the qualitative analysis, the Metaphorical Findings and then the Issue Area Findings, respectively.

Quantitative Findings

The following section outlines the results of the quantitative analysis. The data in this section shows the relative frequency of words used by Secretary Clinton or President Trump in one of the metaphor or issue area dictionaries. It is important to note that these data points do not demonstrate usage of a metaphor but rather show the distribution of how the candidates were using the words associated with each metaphor and issue area via the relative word frequency. Relative word frequency is a percentage measure of how many times a word was used relative to all words in the candidate's respective body of speeches. Considering the relative word frequency is important because it provides an initial glimpse in to discourse similarities and

differences; these differences were suggestive and signaled a need for greater analysis, which occurred via the qualitative consideration of the metaphors. These quantitative findings operated as a sampling device of sorts and were an early stage analysis tool.

Two charts detailing the top ten words used by Secretary Clinton and President associated with the Moral Strength metaphor category can be found below. These findings do not denote usage of a metaphor but rather the distribution of the language used by candidates that was associated with strength associated word entries in the dictionary.

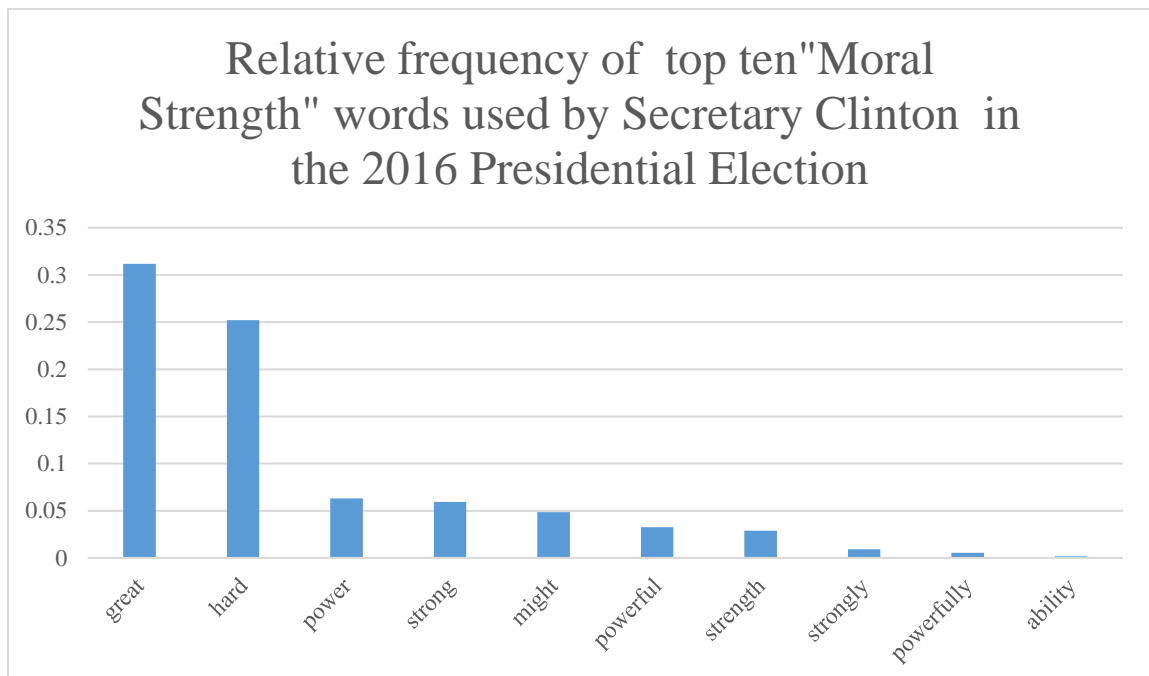


Figure 2: Relative frequency of top ten "Moral Strength" words used by Secretary Clinton in the 2016 Presidential Election

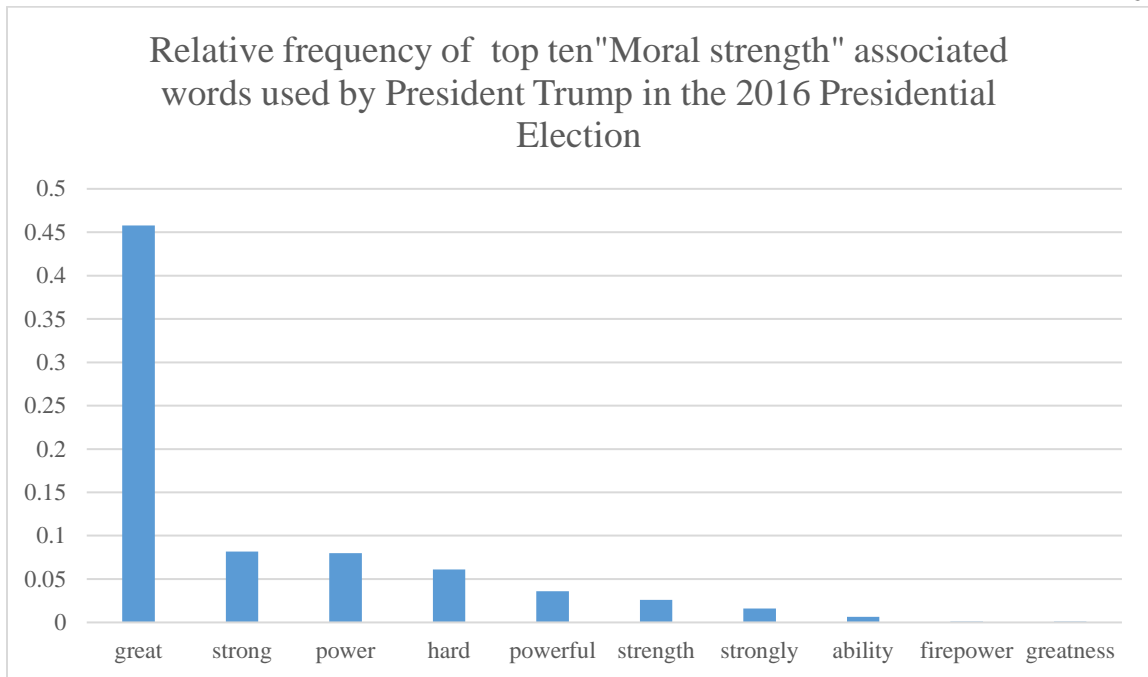


Figure 3: Relative frequency of top ten "Moral Strength" words used by President Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election

Two charts detailing the top ten words used by Secretary Clinton and President associated with the Morality as Nurturance metaphor category can be found below. These findings do not denote usage of a metaphor but highlight the differences in the distribution of the language used by candidates that was associated with discussion of nurturance associated word entries in the dictionary.

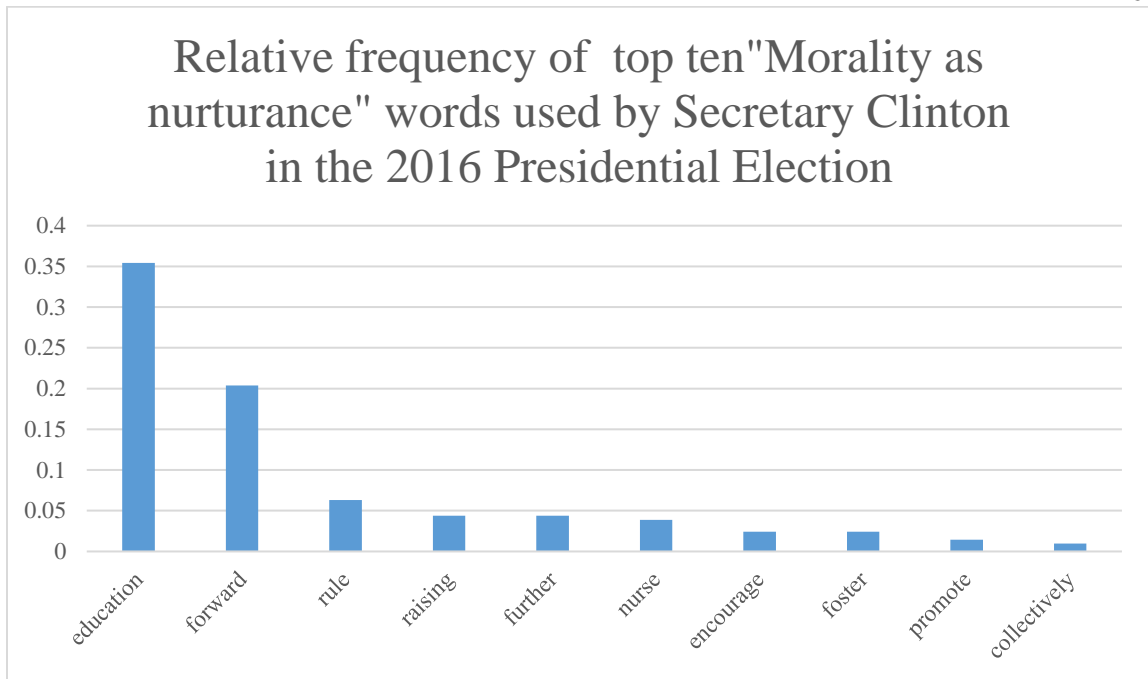


Figure 4: Relative frequency of top ten "Morality as Nurturance" words used by Secretary Clinton in the 2016 Presidential Election

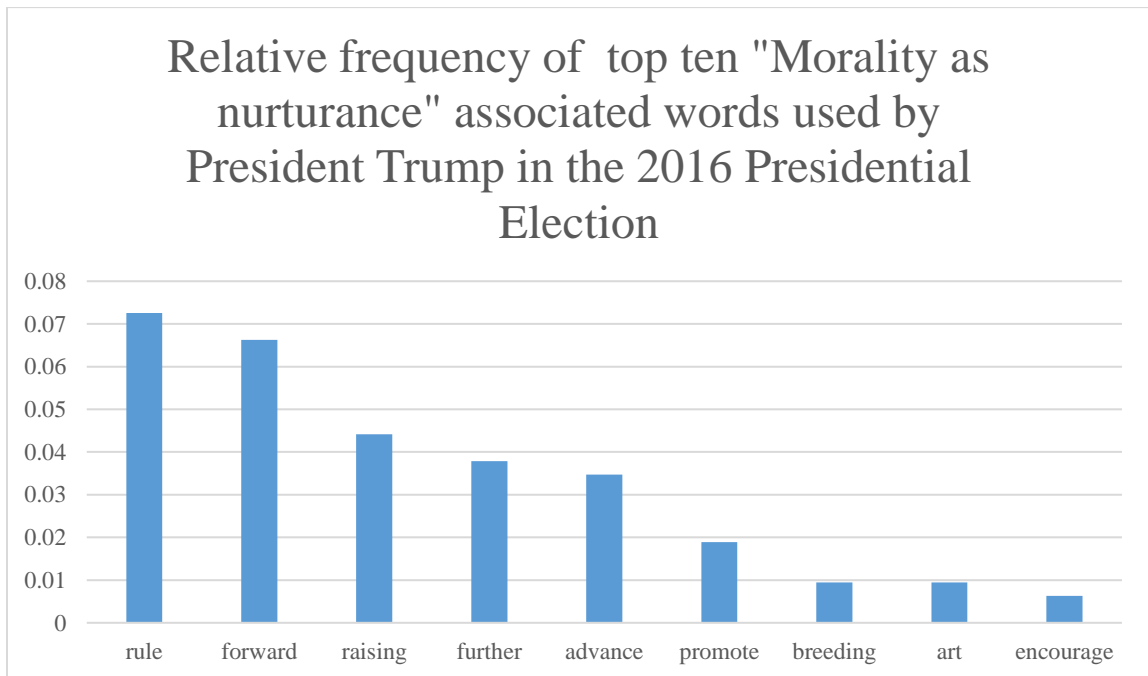


Figure 5: Relative frequency of top ten "Morality as Nurturance" words used by President Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election

Two charts displaying the top ten words used by Secretary Clinton and President associated with discussions of the Environment as issue area can be found below. These findings do not denote usage of a metaphor, and instead demonstrate the distribution and difference in the language used by the candidates to discuss the environment and related issues.

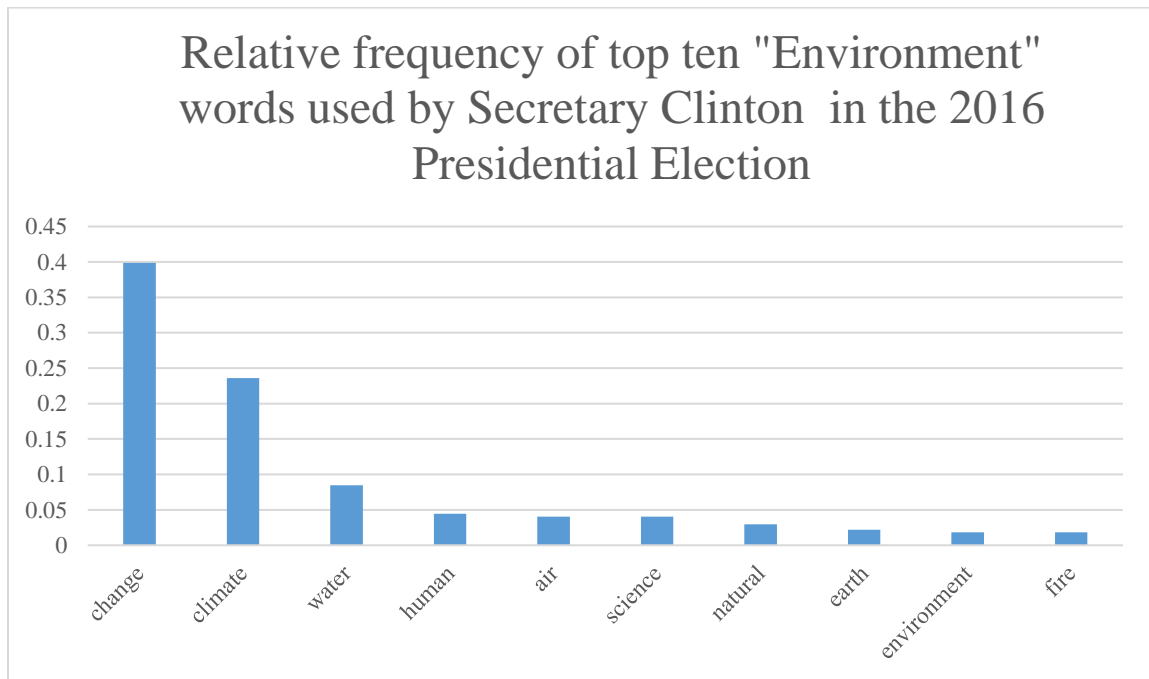


Figure 6: Relative frequency of top ten "Environment" words used by Secretary Clinton in the 2016 Presidential Election

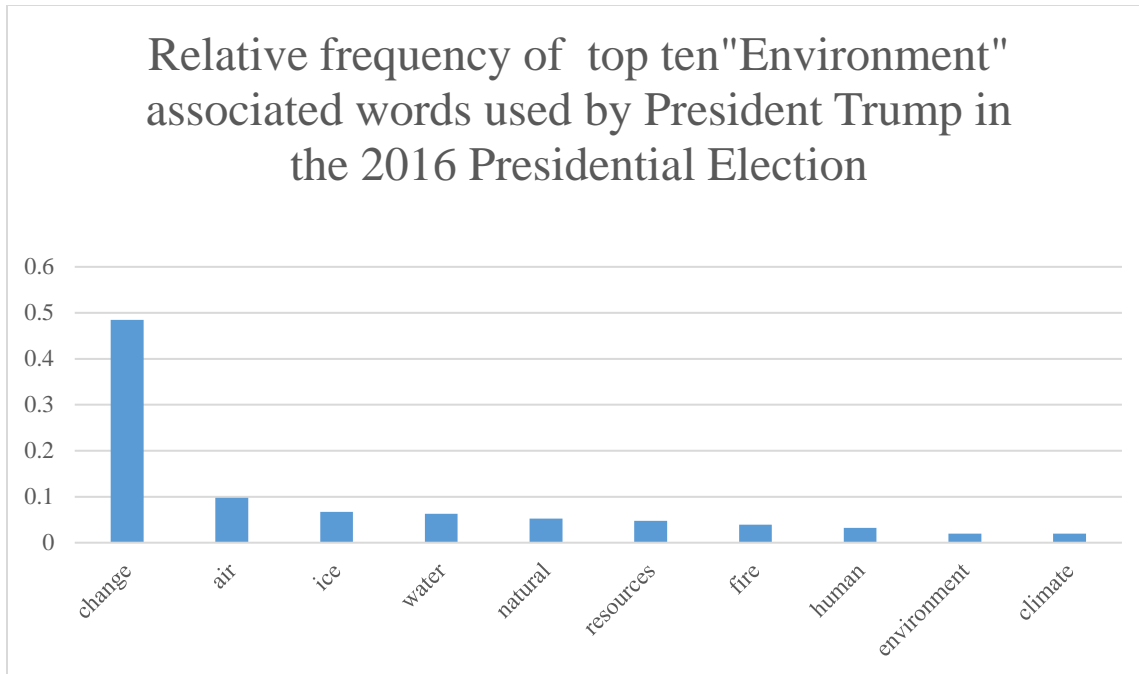


Figure 7: Relative frequency of top ten "Environment" words used by President Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election

Two charts displaying the top words used by Secretary Clinton and President Trump associated with discussions of the Voting Rights as issue area can be found below. The graph for President Trump includes only 9 words because the other words associated with voting rights in the dictionary were not utilized by President Trump in any of his campaign speeches. These findings do not denote usage of a metaphor, and instead demonstrate the distribution and difference in the language used by the candidates to discuss Voting Rights and related issues.

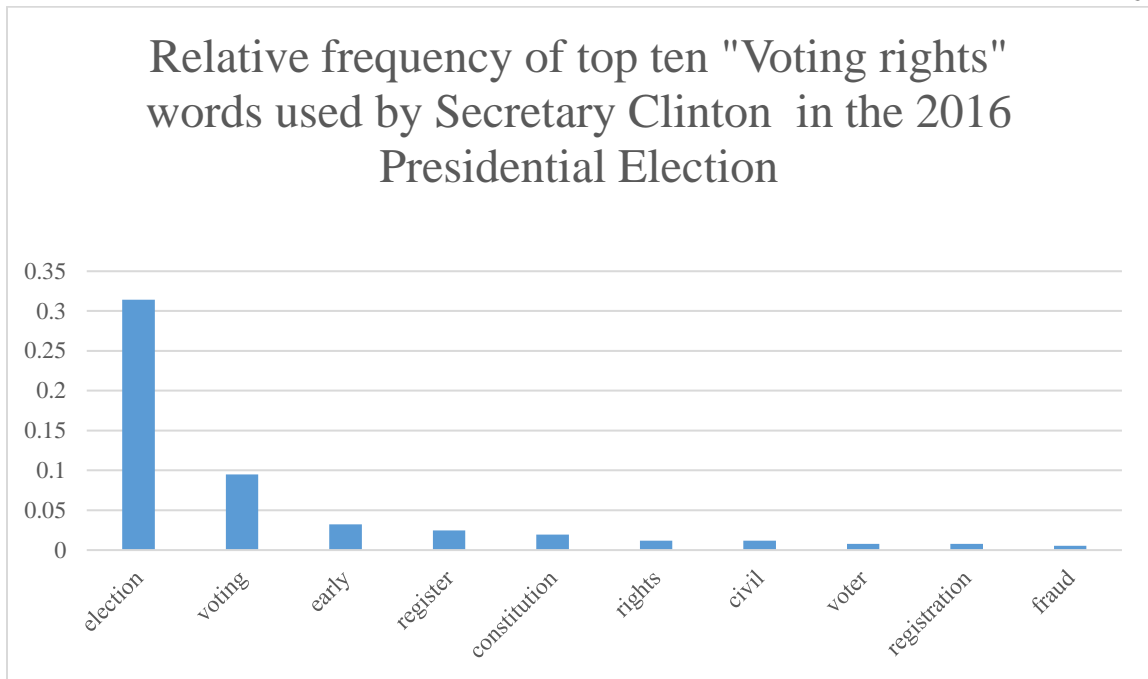


Figure 8: Relative frequency of top ten "Voting Rights" words used by Secretary Clinton in the 2016 Presidential Election

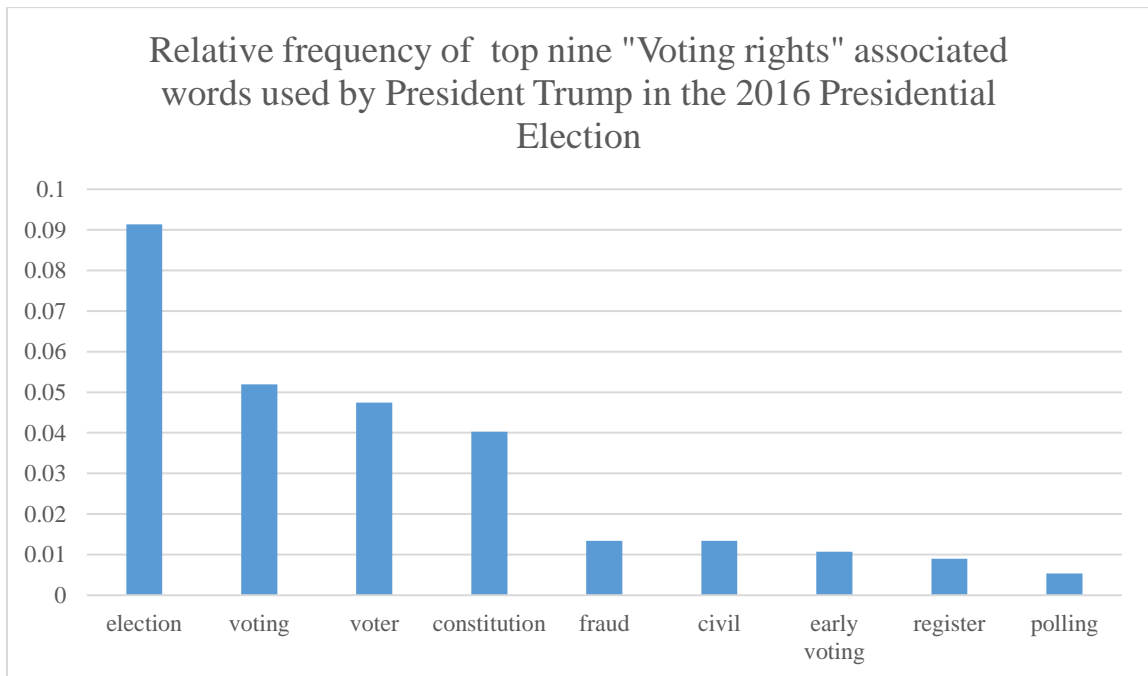


Figure 9: Relative frequency of top nine "Voting rights" associated words used by President Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election

Metaphorical Findings: Moral Strength and Morality as Nurturance

The following section details the findings of the qualitative analysis of the body of metaphors associated with Moral Strength and Morality as Nurturance identified in the 2016 Presidential Campaign speeches.

Moral Strength Findings

In Secretary Clinton's speeches, there were 58 metaphors that were directly related to Moral Strength. The major trends within the metaphors associated with Moral Strength utilized by Secretary Clinton have to do with hard work and resiliency, inclusivity and divide spanning, and standing up to oppression and bullying.

Secretary Clinton utilizes metaphors communicating strength related to hard work and resiliency. In her third speech after the convention¹, she said, "I am running for everyone working hard to support their families, everyone who's been knocked down but gets back up." This metaphor conceptualizes strength as resiliency and a willingness to work hard for one's family in the face of adversity and challenge.

Utilizing Moral Strength metaphors in the context of inclusivity and divide spanning was a common theme throughout Secretary Clinton's usage of metaphors. For example in her eighth speech after the convention, she said, "We're going to keep America safe, provide strong, steady leadership, and we are going to bring our country together across the divides that have pitted

¹ To save space, speeches will be denoted by ordinal number after the candidates' respective conventions. A detailed list of the speeches, their titles, dates, and locations can be found in Appendix B.

Americans against each other.” By using this metaphor, Secretary Clinton seems to attempt to communicate she has the strength and ability to span divides and difference.

Secretary Clinton utilized a metaphor to capture an idea related to standing up to oppression and bullying in her second speech after the convention. Secretary Clinton said, “That’s what we have to do in this election and that’s what so many of you are doing already: standing up to the bullying and bigotry wherever it comes from.”

In President Trump’s speeches, there were 93 metaphors that were directly related to Moral Strength. There were four major trends in these metaphors. The major trends include winning and losing, physical strength, protecting the powerless, and defamation of power structures and opponents.

Much of President Trump’s usage of metaphors related to Moral Strength are related to winning and losing. For example in his eighth speech after the convention, he said, “To defeat crime and radical Islamic terrorism in our country, to win trade in our country, you need tremendous physical and mental strength and stamina. Hillary Clinton doesn’t have strength and stamina. She cannot win for you.” This usage of a metaphor about defeating Islamic terrorism as well as strength and stamina exemplifies the winning and losing as well as the physical strength metaphors often used by President Trump. This metaphor points out President Trump’s unique strength and ability to address Islamic terrorism and Secretary Clinton’s inability to do it, stemming some from a physical disadvantage.

Another example of a Moral Strength metaphor often used by President Trump has to do with his representation of groups that he considers to be overlooked and disregarded at the time of the election. For example in the 24th speech after the convention, he said, “I am running so that the powerful can no longer beat up on the powerless. I’m running to take on the special

interests, the big donors, and the corrupt political insiders”. President Trump is pointing out in this metaphor his usage of his strength and political capabilities to protect the powerless against harmful actions by powerful figures in the government. This also connects to the winning and losing trend seen throughout his Moral Strength associated metaphors.

The last overarching trend with Moral Strength associated metaphors is the defamation of power structures and opponents. An example of this metaphorical trend was in President Trump’s 47th speech after the convention, in which President Trump said, “The most powerful weapon deployed by the Clintons is the corporate media”. The vehicle in this metaphor, a weapon, creates connotations of violence and wrongdoing against the American people.

Further explication of the patterns and meaning of these findings can be found in the Discussion section.

Morality as Nurturance Findings

In Secretary Clinton’s speeches, there were 33 metaphors that were directly related to Morality as Nurturance. There were three major trends in these metaphors. The major trends include discourse about inclusive economic growth, metaphors about nurturance that discuss education, and metaphors that express a generalized concern about the future in the case of a win by President Trump.

Inclusive economic growth was a pillar in Secretary Clinton’s use of Morality as Nurturance metaphors and associated key words. For example, in her 15th speech after the convention, she said, “This country of ours, this system of ours, the rule of law, the opportunity to get an education and go as far as your hard work and ambition will take you. And we created

the biggest engine of economic growth in the world, the American middle class.” In this specific quote, Secretary Clinton is stressing the co-created nature of the economic engine and how the system belongs to and is responsible for the success of everyone.

Another often-utilized type of metaphor involved discussion of education. In her sixth speech after the convention Clinton stated, “Getting an education should give you a boost, not hold you back.” This communicates that education is a propulsive force, allowing an individual to go to a place or achieve something that they previously were unable to. This phrase is included in the Morality of Nurturance category because of the word education and its entry in the dictionary entry for this metaphor; education is a nurturing process.

The last common theme throughout Secretary Clinton’s Morality as Nurturance-associated metaphors is using metaphors to discuss generalized concerns about the future and the negative legacy that would be associated with a win by then-candidate Trump. In her 19th speech after the convention Secretary Clinton said, “But there’s nothing funny about the stakes in this election. In the end if what makes this dinner important are not the jokes we tell but the legacy we carry forward. It is often easy to forget how far this country has come.” This metaphor is included in the Morality as Nurturance category because of the use of the word *forward*; Secretary Clinton is asserting here that electing then-candidate Trump would be a regression of how far we have come and a blight on the legacy we carry forward.

In President Trump’s speeches, there were 26 metaphors that were directly related to Morality as Nurturance. The major trends in this metaphor group were nurturance through winning or providing and nurturance in order to provide or promote success.

Discussion about winning and losing appears throughout all of President Trump’s speeches so it is understandable that this would translate to his usage of words associated with

the Morality as Nurturance metaphors. In his sixth speech after the convention, he said, “We’re going to win with education. We’re going to win for our Second Amendment. We’re going to win on all of the things we discussed. We’re going to win again and you’re going to be proud of your country again.” In this metaphor, President Trump is conceptualizing his goals as opportunities to win and lose, and if education is nurturance, only through winning can education and thus nurturance be provided.

The next common theme in metaphors used by President Trump associated with words in the Morality as Nurturance dictionary is using nurturance as a tool to provide success. In his 33rd speech after the convention, President Trump said, “Safety is the foundation of the ladder to American success: a great education, and a good paying job”. Another example of a metaphor that follows this theme was in his 42nd speech after the convention, he said, “I want to put every American child on the ladder of success; a great education, and a high-paying job.” In both of these examples, President Trump is portraying nurturance as a tool, specifically a ladder, and is communicating that he will either provide the tool or understands the importance of it.

Further explication of the patterns and meaning of these findings can be found in the Discussion section.

Issue Area Findings: The Environment and Voting Rights

The following section is a consideration of the findings of the qualitative analysis of the body of metaphors associated discussion of the environment or voting rights identified in the 2016 Presidential Campaign speeches. Metaphors included in this section discussing the environment or voting using a word in the environment or voting rights dictionary. This

meanings that the metaphors associated with these phrases can be from Morality as Nurturance, Moral Strength, or unassociated with either Lakoff metaphor.

Environment Findings

In Secretary Clinton's speeches, there were 31 metaphors that corresponded to discourse about the environment. Of these 30 metaphors, five were associated with Morality as Nurturance, 15 were associated with Moral Strength, two were associated with both, and nine were unassociated with either metaphor grouping. The major metaphorical trends in this issue area include discourse about defeating or overcoming climate change and stressing the importance of green energy and jobs.

Metaphors that discuss the environment, specifically climate change as a force that needs to be defeated, generally fall into the Moral Strength metaphor category. In her 22nd speech after the convention, she said, "We are going to fight climate change with clean, renewable energy jobs." A similar example was in her 27th speech after the convention, in which she said, "Fighting climate change is at stake."

Discourse about the importance of green energy and jobs falls into the environment category because it generally involves a discussion of conserving the environment, promoting more sustainable development, or limiting the spread of climate change. An example of this was in her speech at the convention, in which she said, "I believe climate change is real and that we can save our planet while creating millions of good-paying, clean-energy jobs." In this metaphor, jobs are the remedy or part of the remedy to stopping climate change and preventing the impacts of climate change. Another example of this metaphorical trend is when Secretary Clinton said in

her 22nd speech after the convention, “Our roads, our bridges, our tunnels, our ports, our water systems all need help, and those are a lot of good jobs waiting to be done, jobs that can’t be exported out of Pennsylvania.” Secretary Clinton’s discourse that is coded for by words in the environment dictionary repeatedly connects jobs and green economic growth to the environment.

In President Trump’s speeches, there were 18 metaphors that corresponded to discourse about the environment. Of these 18 metaphors, one was associated with Morality as Nurturance, 12 were associated with Moral Strength, and five were unassociated with either metaphor grouping. The major trends in the discourse utilized by President Trump that was associated with words in the environment dictionary include the politicization of environmental regulation, discussing the environment in the context of economic development, and environmental regulation as an impediment to progress.

Politicization of environmental regulation is an oft-mentioned theme in President Trump’s discourse about the environment. For example in his 27th speech after the convention, he said, “We will rebuild our water infrastructure, and our EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) will abandon political agendas and focus on its core mission: clear air and safe water.” A similar example was in his 33rd speech after the convention President Trump said, “I believe firmly in conserving our wonderful natural resources and beautiful natural habitats. My environmental agenda will be guided by true specialists in conversation, not those with radical political agendas.” Both of these are examples of how Trump uses metaphors to paint the current status of environmental conservation and regulation as marred by political agendas and exterior motives.

President Trump also often discusses the environment in the context of economic development. An example of this was in his fourth speech after the convention, he said,

“American cars will travel the roads. American planes will connect our cities, and American ships will patrol the seas. American steel will send new skyscrapers soaring. We will put new American steel into the spine of this nation.” This metaphor was included because the use of the word ‘sea’ and captures how Trump discusses the environment as a by-product or stage upon which economic development occurs.

The last common metaphor theme is regulation as an impediment to growth or progress. Most of these metaphors are used in a context in which President Trump promises to dismantle these regulations, fostering more growth. An example of this was in his fifth speech after the convention, in which he said, “We want safety regulations, we want environmental regulations. We’re not, you know, people that don’t want these things. We have to have that. We want clear air, we want clean water. We want clear water. To do that—and there are certain things that you want to do, but to do, you don’t have to destroy our country and destroy our businesses.” In this metaphor, regulation is framed as destructive force that is currently ruining the country and business prospects.

Voting Rights Findings

In Secretary Clinton’s speeches, there were 25 metaphors that corresponded to discourse about voting rights. Of these 25 metaphors, eight were associated with Morality as Nurture, six were associated with Moral Strength, two were associated with both, and eight were unassociated with either metaphor grouping. The major themes in discourse by Secretary Clinton that involved words from the voting rights dictionary were metaphors stressing the severity and

consequence of the election and communicating that voting rights was something Secretary Clinton thought should be expanded.

Secretary Clinton uses language associated with voting rights to stress the severity and consequence associated with this election. For example, in her 26th speech after the convention she said, “But indeed, dignity and respect for women and girls is also on the ballot in this election.” Another example of this was in the 20th speech after the convention, in which she said, “I really believe our country is at a turning point, that this is a crossroads election.” Both of these examples demonstrate how metaphors about voting and voting rights were associated with stressing the importance of voting and consequences of the outcome.

The second trend in the discourse associated with words coded for by the voting rights category was metaphors associated with the expansion of voting rights. In her speech at the Democratic National Convention Secretary Clinton said, “That’s why we are need to appoint Supreme Court justices who will get the money out of politics and expand voting rights, not restrict them.” This is an expected trend because voting rights are something Democrats typically seek to expand.

In President Trump’s speeches, there were 18 metaphors that corresponded to discourse about voting rights. Of these 18 metaphors, two were associated with Morality as Nurturance, 11 were associated with Moral Strength, one was associated with both, and four were unassociated with either metaphor grouping. The major trends in this issue area were metaphors that communicate that the election is possibly rigged, stress the importance and consequence of the outcome of the election, and include promises about things that will happen if Trump is elected.

Metaphors that include language about the rigged nature of the election are common in discourse by Trump related to words in the voting rights category. For example, in his 50th

speech after the convention, he said “Remember we are competing in a rigged election—the media is trying to rig the election by giving credence to false stories that have no validity and making it front page news, only to poison the minds of the American voters.” This metaphor not only creates a sense that the electorate system is rigged but that the media is also rigged.

Another idea communicated frequently in the metaphors utilized by President Trump associated with words in the voting rights dictionary is stressing the consequence of the election. In his 46th speech after the President Trump said, “The election of Hillary Clinton would lead, in my opinion, to the almost total destruction of our country as we know it.” Framing the outcome in such a consequential way communicates how participating and supporting President Trump is essential to protecting the country as he currently sees it.

Promises associated with voting rights are best exemplified by Trump’s discussion about his “contract with the American voter.” This is a concept he repeatedly discusses, but for example in his 56th speech after the convention he said, “Our failed establishment will be replaced with a new government guided by the principles I outlined in my contract with the American voter.” Utilizing the metaphor of a contract is likely particularly resonate because of President Trump’s background as a businessman.

These findings are suggestive of interesting trends across the metaphors, issue areas, and between the candidates and warrant further investigation and consideration. The following section, Discussion will apply my perspective and consider the larger trends and meaning behind the candidates’ use of the metaphors.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The following section is an analysis and consideration of the major trends and patterns that arose in the metaphors in the campaign speeches. The meaning of the metaphors, what they imply about their speaker's values and messaging, and their relationship to Lakoff's models is considered. I conducted a qualitative analysis and coded across each of the metaphor groups and issue areas to identify the reoccurring, transcendent themes.

Because the qualitative nature of the analysis, the findings are qualified in my perspective and my interpretation. Qualitative analysis can never be a completely objective process as it is rooted in and influenced by the researcher's biases, opinions, background knowledge, and expertise, among other factors. I invite you, as the reader, into the discussion to make your own interpretations and further consider the manifestation of metaphors in election outcomes.

Throughout the Discussion section and while interpreting the results is it important to keep in mind the relationship between metaphors and frames. Metaphors, as a literary device, build meaning from shared knowledge, borrowing understanding from a better understood thing or idea and applying the knowledge associated with it to a lesser known thing or idea. Metaphors are additive and form a patchwork of understanding and meanings. Frames and framing are a similarly additive and subjective rhetorical and linguistic tool, that help individuals categorize and make sense of data and translate it into applicable and usable information (Lewicki, Grey, and Elliot, 2003). Frames help individuals interpret new information in the context of already understood things or ideas, acting as a sort of anchoring system for understanding and knowledge. Both frames and metaphors are a process of borrowed meaning and aid in the

creation and situation of new knowledge and information. Both are highly subjective and any discussion of them demands careful consideration of values and subjectivity, as I attempted to do throughout my discussions.

What follows is an identification of the major metaphorical patterns, discussion of the usage of metaphors in each metaphor group and issue area, and a consideration of their relationship to Lakoff's models. First is the Moral Strength analysis and discussion, followed by Morality as Nurture analysis and discussion. Next is the analysis and discussion of the environment, and finally, an analysis and discussion of the findings associated with the voting rights issue area.

Moral Strength Discussion

The following section will explore Secretary Clinton and President Trump's usage of the Moral Strength metaphor in their 2016 campaign speeches and the meaning of the usage of this metaphor. The main themes associated with language and phrases used by Secretary Clinton tagged by words in the Moral Strength dictionary were frequent discussions of hard work and resiliency, the importance of strength in divide spanning, and the responsibility to use one's strength to stand up to bullying. The main themes associated with language and phrases used by President Trump tagged by words in the Moral Strength dictionary were frequent discussion of winning and losing, stressing the importance of physical strength, and displaying strength through defaming or invalidating opponents or opposing institutions.

Secretary Clinton

The main themes that were found in Secretary Clinton's usage of words associated with words in the Moral Strength dictionary were their connection to hard work and resiliency, the role of strength in inclusivity and divide spanning, and strength's role in standing up to oppression and bullying. When using the term *divide spanning*, I am referring to working across perceived or real difference, whether it is political, religion, value-based, or geographical difference.

Throughout her speeches and her use of metaphors Secretary Clinton is advocating for the usage and continued creation of America power, through military strength and economic domination, although she does it in a subtle, nuanced way. The metaphors suggest that the strength Secretary Clinton is advocating for is one of control, empiricism, and thoughtfulness. This is captured in a metaphor used in her speech at the Democratic National Convention: "American's strength doesn't come from lashing out. It relies on smart judgment, cool resolve, and the precise and strategic application of power." Secretary Clinton, through this more sophisticated and multi-faceted description of the United States' power and specifically its relationships to other nations, suggests she is attempting to capture the complexity associated with these issues and thus prove her unique ability to navigate it. Secretary Clinton's attempts to highlight the complexity and demonstrates how she understands the complexity of the policy decisions and show how she embraces complexity instead simplifying of these decisions, is a possibly self-defeating characteristic of an effective campaign speech. Simplification may make speeches more convincing and powerful. Pointing out the complexity and her understanding of it is an application of a Power-Expertise frame. Through highlighting complexity she is positioning herself as a well-informed individual, uniquely poised to handle the challenges that may arise.

Central to the Strict Father Model is the idea of survival. When Secretary Clinton evokes Moral Strength metaphors, seldom are they in the context of promoting one's survival. Rather, when these metaphors are used, they attempt to promote the idea that we are stronger as a cohesive, collaborating nation and that strength is a necessary attribute to govern and span a division in society. For example in her sixth speech after the convention, she said, "We need strong, principled leaders who can win votes, write laws, allocate resources, and do the slow, hard business of governing." Another example is in her eighth speech after the convention in which she said, "We're going to keep America safe, provide strong, leadership, and we are going to bring our country together across the divides that have pitted Americans against each other." In both of these examples, strength is understood as a trait in a leader who brings people together and is able to thoughtfully execute on monotonous, complicated work. The strength that is also portrayed here is not self-serving, rather it is other-centric, and promoting the idea of uniting the country across divides. A similar example of a Moral Strength metaphor that evokes the other-centric ideology occurred in Clinton's 11th speech after the convention in which she said, "And why are we already great? Well, it is not just because of the size of our economy or the size of our military. It is because of our generosity; it is because of our ingenuity; it is because the diversity of our country. I think our diversity is one of our best assets." These ideas that Secretary Clinton continues to promote through her use of Moral Strength metaphors create a sense that she is a leader who is very focused on what American values and betterment mean for every American, and that any improvement through strength is only worthy if it improves conditions for all Americans. Condensing the source of America's greatness is also an application of a Whole Story Frame. Explaining with such brevity the current state of the country overlooks much of the details and tensions associated with the question, likely an attempt by

Secretary Clinton to inform the complete situation from her perspective, instead of allowing her opponent to shape the narrative.

Secretary Clinton does attempt to evoke situations of questionable survival, which would align with the Strict Father Model and the Moral Strength metaphor when she discusses the existential threat to American democracy that then candidate Trump would pose as president. The survival in question she is alluding to in these discussion is the survival of the democracy that has been constructed since the founding of the United States. This is captured in a metaphor from her third speech after the convention in which she says, “Are we going to work with our allies to keep us safe, or are we going to put a loose cannon in charge who would risk everything generations of Americans have worked so hard to build?” In this example, she is attempting to create a survival-based situation although its impact on the voter is likely diminished because its not a direct threat to a voter’s life, rather the abstract survival of what generations of Americans have worked to build.

Secretary Clinton also seems to connect ideas of strength to their basis in institutions, primarily the family and the church. She frames these two institutions as sources for strength and resiliency in society, transitively because of her connection to them she is strong and resilient. For example, in her 20th speech after the convention she said, “I believe definitively that we must invest in working families in the middle class, in small businesses, that will power the economy.” In the same speech she also said, “...I feel such a sense of responsibility, not just because they’re my grandchildren, obviously, and I would do anything to help them, but because I want everybody’s children and grandchildren to have the same opportunities, to chart your own future, to believe in yourself, to contribute to this great American democracy of ours.” Another example of using institutions to create a sense of strength occurred in her 33rd speech after the convention,

in which she said, “He [Trump] has no idea, none about the strength of the black church, the vibrancy of black-owned businesses, the excellence of historically black colleges and universities, and the rise of a new generation of black activists for social justice and the success of black leaders in every field.” All of these examples highlight how Secretary Clinton notices and highlights the power that exists in these institutions. Repeatedly evoking the strength of institutions like the family and the church promotes the idea that Secretary Clinton recognizes the centrality of these institutions in American society and how she will work with and within these institutions to continue to improve life for all Americans. This is clear usage of an identity frame by Secretary Clinton. According to Lewicki, in addition to demographics, people may “form salient identities around their location, their role, the institutions with which they associate, or their interests (23).” Supplementing or contributing to her identity from an already existing institution helps solidify who she is and the values she hold.

At times, it appears Secretary Clinton uses metaphor to discuss fundamental American values and how she understands and is guided by those. For example, in her 30th speech after the convention she says, “It turns out, if you dig deep enough, through all the mud of politics, eventually you hit something hard and true. A foundation of fundamental values that unites us as Americans—basic beliefs about equality and opportunity and freedom and common decency.” This metaphor seeks to communicate that while sometimes the actions of politics may seem messy or harmful, they are actually guided by a desire to create a better world and better individuals’ lives.

Secretary Clinton rarely uses metaphor to evoke an understanding of the world as inherently dangerous or that competition is central to success. Rather Secretary Clinton’s use of Moral Strength metaphors promotes her understanding of complexity, grounding in values, and

division spanning. While these are projections of strength, they do not closely align with the Strict Father Model. This adds support the first part of hypothesis 2C as Secretary Clinton used Moral Strength metaphors but without great frequency or adherence to the Strict Father Model.

President Trump

The main themes that were found in President Trump's usage of words associated with entries in the Moral Strength dictionary were frequent usage of ideas associated with winning and losing, positing the importance of physical strength, protecting those that President Trump frames as voiceless or powerless, and defaming power structures and opponents as a sign of strength.

Central to the Strict Father Model is the idea of competition as the key leveler; through the process of winning and losing, power and influence are rightfully earned and allocated. In the metaphors associated with words in the Moral Strength dictionary used by President Trump, ideas of winning losing are frequently cited. More significantly, President Trump is almost always conceptualized as the winner or as able to create wins for others. For example, in his speech at the Republican National Convention he said, "My opponent, on the other hand, wants to put the great miners and steel workers of our country out of work and out of business—that will never happened with Donald Trump as president." Another example of this usage of metaphors to communicate winning and losing was in his eighth speech after the convention in which he said, "To defeat crime and radical Islamic terrorism in our country, to win trade in our country, you need tremendous physical and mental strength and stamina. Hilary Clinton doesn't have strength and stamina. She cannot win for you." All of these metaphors associated with

strength and winning and losing that are utilized by President Trump demonstrate how he sees issues and engagement with other actors and individuals as bouts or conflicts, which he should attempt to conquer. Winning, similar to the way Lakoff conceptualizes wellbeing, is a ubiquitously good thing. Promoting oneself as the candidate who will win, is a powerful way to create a sense of domination. Conceptualizing things from a winning and losing perspective is a narrow worldview, reducing the opportunities for pluralism; no one who would apply a win/loss frame would support a candidate who promises compromise with “opponents” instead of defeat.

Much of President Trump’s discussion of winning and losing appears to be a clear application of an Identity frame and a Gain versus Loss frame. It is clearly a Gain versus Loss frame because President Trump associates a lot of his worth as a leader and business in being able to defeat or win over his enemies. This connects to an Identity frame because it is directly related to the question of who President Trump is; through all of these metaphors it is clear that President Trump sees himself as a winner, no matter what the circumstance.

President Trump often uses metaphorical language associated with Moral Strength metaphors to vilify or defame his opponents, Secretary Clinton being his main target. In his third speech after the convention President Trump said, “In one way she is a monster okay? Look at what happened, look at her history. In another way, she is a weak person; she is actually not strong enough to be president. So she’s got both, but she is not strong enough to be president.” This connects to the theme of President Trump often defaming his opponents or opposing institutions. Additionally, this connects to the idea of good versus evil, which is a central tenant of the Moral Strength metaphor group. If moral strength is central to standing up to evil, naming ones opponent as evil or a monster or untrustworthy automatically infers that as their foil, you must be good in comparison to them. This is clear usage of a Characterization frame because it

attempts to communicate someone else's character and components of their identity.

Additionally, it appears to be an application of the Whole Story frame because President Trump is attempting to encapsulate Secretary Clinton's entire identity and story in these metaphors and his recounting of them.

Trump often evokes metaphors associated with words in the moral strength dictionary that are related to survival, which is a central pillar in the Strict Father Model. For example in his fifth speech after the convention he said, "So I just look at this, and I said that if she gets elected, she will cause the destruction of this country from within." This connects to another unique component of the metaphors used by President Trump in relation to Secretary Clinton. Another example is in his 23rd speech after the convention, in which he says, "For those who have been hit by hard times, they understand better than anyone that it's Hillary Clinton's Wall Street Agenda that has crushed the middle class of this country." The specificity of the Moral Strength metaphors used by President Trump is far greater, actually naming the Clintons or Hillary versus Clinton's metaphors, which are more ambiguous. President Trump names Secretary Clinton as the vehicle or object of his metaphors, while Secretary Clinton often just alludes to President Trump. This seems to strengthen the impact of Trump's metaphors and creates an increased sense of the evil and vitriol of which Secretary Clinton receives ostensibly.

Much of the language associated with Moral Strength in President Trump's speeches seems to portray him as the sole agent able to fix the issues he is highlighting. For example, in his 26th speech after the convention he said, "To those suffering and hurting I say: what do you have to lose—vote for Donald J. Trump. I will fix it. I will bring back millions of jobs, higher wages, and great schools." Similarly in his 45th speech after the convention, President Trump said "And just in closing, to be strong, our country has to be rich again. We're a debtor nation.

We're poor. I'm going to make America rich again." This connects to much of President Trump's rhetoric that seems to create the sense that he is uniquely positioned to address the challenges his metaphors highlight.

Often President Trump will use metaphorical language that seems to promote an idea of him protecting those who are voiceless or powerless in order to demonstrate his morality and selflessness. An example of his was in his 22nd speech after the convention in which he said, "When I talk about Making America Great Again, I'm talking about making it Great Again for Everyone—but especially for all of the Americans who have been left behind." A similar example was in eighth speech after the convention, in which he said, "This our chance to take back power from all the people who've taken it from you. The reason you see the establishment media lining up behind my opponent is because they are scared that you, with your vote, can take away their power and return it to your family and community." The usage of metaphors in his way seems to position President Trump as a leader who is in touch with the oppressed members of American society and will be able to promote the values of those who have been forgotten. It promotes the idea that he is other-centric and focused on solving others' problems. While it has specific elements, this rhetoric is highly inclusive, resonating with anyone who feels overlooked or taken advantage of by the government and current administration. It also demonstrates that President Trump thinks the current state of the government overlooks many, a seemingly counterintuitive notion because of the representative democracy nature of the American executive and legislative branches.

Lastly much of the language associated with Moral Strength in President Trump's speeches promises greatness and bounty in the future, an observation that is somewhat unsurprising considering his campaign slogan was "Make America Great Again." For example,

in his 55th speech after the convention President Trump said, “We now find ourselves at that very special fork in the road, do we repeat the mistakes of the past or do we choose to believe that a great future yet unwritten still lies ahead for us and our wonderful beloved country.” In his 21st speech after the convention, he said “Imagine what our country could accomplish if we started working together as one people under one God, saluting one flag. It’s time to stop quibbling over the smallest words and time to start dreaming about the great adventures that lie ahead for our country.” In his 27th speech after the convention he said, “American hands will rebuild this nation—and American energy, mined from American sources, will power this nation. American workers will be hired to do the job.” Each of these examples posits that the strength that President Trump has and will be able to inject into the United States will create better, albeit ambiguous futures for the country. While this a message of hope, it is not the dominant message from the rhetoric of President Trump’s speeches; rather most of these examples point out some previous failure of past leadership or the other campaign (an example being the phrase “repeat the mistakes of the past”) and President Trump’s unique ability to overcome these previous failures. This is a metaphorical strategy that builds an expectation of the positive outcomes and life improvements that would come as a result of then-candidate Trump winning the election. This is an application of a Gain versus Loss frame, as he is promising a gain will be created for voters if they support him.

Comparison of the candidates

In the language associated with is usage of words in the Moral Strength dictionary, President Trump evokes ideas of competition and vilification of opponents, more frequently than

Secretary Clinton. Secretary Clinton's language is that of coming together, and strength in the face of more vague, less specific threats. Secretary Clinton borrows metaphorical strength from institutions like the family and church whereas President Trump asserts that he and only he has it the ability to fix pressing issues and represent the voiceless. Both candidates in their Moral Strength metaphors evoke a rhetoric of hope, although President Trump builds hope by asserting that the present situation and status quo is dismal. Secretary Clinton often cites inclusivity and the importance of division spanning, whereas President Trump is more likely to blame, either other candidates, countries, or past leaders for the current status of the nation.

Morality as Nurturance Discussion

The following section will explore Secretary Clinton and President Trump's usage of the Morality as Nurturance metaphor in their 2016 campaign speeches and the meaning of the usage of this metaphor. The main themes associated with language and phrases used by Secretary Clinton tagged by words in the Morality as Nurturance dictionary were metaphors related to inclusive economic growth, discussing education, and to express grave concern about what would happen if Trump were to win the election. The main themes associated with language and phrases used by President Trump tagged by words in the Morality as Nurturance dictionary were nurturance through winning and the role of nurturance in making others successful.

Secretary Clinton

The main themes that were found in Secretary Clinton's usage of words associated with words in the Morality as Nurturance dictionary were their connection to inclusive economic

growth, discussion of education, and generalized concern about the quality of an inclusive future in the case of a win by then-candidate Trump.

Often the metaphors associated with nurturance that were evoked by Secretary Clinton seemed to conceptualize progress as moving forward, a propulsive metaphor. That being said, Secretary Clinton is often non-specific about the cause of propulsive force and the direction of the movement. For example, in her 24th speech she said, “That’s how we’re going to get this economy really moving forward, creating new jobs.” Similarly in her 16th speech after the convention she said, “And I am thrilled to have the chance to talk with all of you about what we can do together, because I truly believe we are stronger together. To move our country forward.” Another example of this was in her 32nd speech after the convention in which she said, “Every social movement, every economic advance has only come about because people were willing to work and sacrifice and keep pushing forward the face of adversity.” This demonstrates that Secretary Clinton is a candidate in favor of forward progressive movement, although the ultimate destination of this movement is not often explicitly communicated.

Inclusivity is also appears to be a tenet of Secretary Clinton’s language that was associated with words in the Morality as Nurturance dictionary. This is unsurprising because “Stronger Together” was Secretary Clinton’s campaign slogan. In her 35th speech after the convention, she said “If you give me the honor of being your president I’m gonna do everything I can to get this country and everybody in it back up on our feet moving forward together.” This metaphor posits that individuals are not already on their feet, negating the current situation and status quo, a challenging line for Secretary Clinton to walk because President Obama was also a Democrat and publicly supported Secretary Clinton’s bid for the presidency.

Often Secretary Clinton emphasizes her Morality as Nurturance credentials by establishing a relationship in comparison or in context to those she has nurtured or those in she as a stereotypically nurturing relationship with. For example, in her 24th speech after the convention she says, “I want to help everybody’s children and grandchildren, because the kind of country we will have as adults will be affected by the decisions we make now on education, on healthcare, on ending the epidemic of gun violence, on getting the cost of prescription drugs down, on preserving and protecting Social Security and Medicare, doing what we must to make sure we are passing on a country that provides the same level of opportunity to all who come after us.” The language and structure of this multi-faceted metaphor seems to imply a certain degree of grandmotherly care and thoughtfulness, which aligns with the characteristics of the Morality as Nurturance metaphor. Usage of this metaphor also likely connects to Secretary Clinton’s sex and her status as the first female candidate from one of the major American political parties; Morality as Nurturance which is part of the Nurturant Parent Model is an inherently feminine model, according to Lakoff’s formulation. This usage of metaphors was likely intended to build upon this strength and personal characteristics, supplementing voters’ already-held notions about her caring characteristics as a grandmotherly figure. This also points to the fact that Secretary Clinton’s may see the state as responsible for providing these services, an institution with multiple, diverse obligations to the people it serves.

This is also an example of Secretary Clinton applying a Power Coalitional/Relational frame because Secretary Clinton is bolstering her role as a leader via her role as a grandmother. According to Lewicki, the Coalitional/Relational frame’s potency comes via “affiliation with a particular group of people who support that individual’s perspective” (30). This is a powerful

frame because it borrows the understanding individuals already have of existing relationships or institutions, thus Secretary Clinton is building off individuals' pre-existing understandings.

Education is spoken about as a central tool to Secretary Clinton's political platform and the language she uses to discuss it often aligns with the Morality as Nurturance metaphor grouping. For example there are two metaphors in her 20th speech after the convention in which she discusses the essential role of education. In the first example she said, "We're going to strengthen education at every level starting with universal pre-kindergarten education." In the second example she said, "Education should lift you up, not hold you back." Both of these metaphors, and other similarly used metaphors demonstrate how education is a force that can change an individual's life but is something that must be strengthened and protected, in its current iteration it is flawed. Through these metaphors it appears that Clinton is conceptualizing education as a force, not a tool, and something that all individuals should experience. Secretary Clinton in these metaphors does suggest the cause of the flawed nature or necessarily how they will be strengthened. Through using these metaphors, Secretary Clinton highlights her understanding of the importance of education, communicating this to voters that she understands its importance and is able to fix it to improve their lives.

President Trump

The main themes that were found in President Trump's usage of words associated with entries in the Morality as Nurturance dictionary were frequent usage of metaphors to communicate the idea of nurturance through winning and defeating an opponent and nurturance provided as an ingredient to promote or provide success.

President Trump seems to communicate nurturance by understanding education and other forms of nurturance as valuable tools or inputs into being successful. For example in his 11th speech after the convention he says, “I want to ensure every African-American child in his country—and all children in this country—are put on the American ladder of success: a good education, and a good paying job.” This is a phrase repeated by Trump many times throughout his speeches. Juxtapose this idea of the government and education specifically acting as a tool for individuals to use to become educated and find a financial stable jobs with Secretary Clinton’s notion that education is an inclusive force. Notably she does not often connect employment outcomes to the pursuit of an education, while that is a much more common rhetorical choice by President Trump. This utilitarian view of nurturance, expressed by President Trump seems to avoid empathy but does encourage helping those less fortunate but only to the point in which they can then help themselves. This is also an application of a Power Resources Frame. Because Trump understands how important education is as a tool for student’s success, he has the power to allocate the resources and make the rules associated with it to help individuals succeed or not.

Trump seems to be missing a crucial component of the Morality as Nurturance metaphors in the entirety of his language associated with the metaphor; he seldom mentions empathy or speaks from an empathetic point of view. While he does mention thinking of others, it is usually to convert them to his worldview. For example, in his 11th speech after the convention he said, “It is time to emphasize what we all have in common as Americans. We will promote our common culture, values, and principles. We will be one nation. We will be one people. We will share together one great future.” While this does appear to have elements of nurturance, such as sharing a great future together and inclusive view of the nation as one unit, it is prefaced by promoting the culture, values, and principles President Trump deems “common.” These

metaphors possibly demonstrate a shallow understanding of empathy; it is to only be extended to those with similar worldviews and values or those who can be converted.

Another common theme throughout the language used by President Trump associated with the Morality as Nurturance dictionary entries is nurturance and protection from an outside, dangerous force. For example, in his 14th speech after the convention he said, “Immigration law doesn’t exist for the purpose of keeping criminals out. It exists to protect all aspects of American life. The work site, the welfare office, the education system, and everything else.” A similar example was in his 33rd speech after the convention in which he said, “Safety is the foundation of the ladder to American success: a great education and a good paying job.” Nurturance in both of these examples and other similarly conceptualized metaphors sees the moral action as protecting the American community from outside threat and outsider intrusion. This is a clear application of a Power Force/Threat frame. President Trump is powerful because he is able to protect individuals from an outside, dangerous threat.

Similarly he seems to see institutions, primarily law enforcement, as nurturing figures. In his 57th speech after the convention he said, “I will further empower cities and states to seek a federal disaster designation for blighted communities in order to initiate the rebuilding of vital infrastructure, the demolition of abandoned properties, and the increased presence of law enforcement.” Understanding law enforcement as a nurturing force and expressing nurturance through protection connects to many of the good versus evil elements that are components of the Moral Strength metaphor grouping.

Comparison of the candidates

When comparing the usage of Morality as Nurturance metaphors by the two candidates it quickly becomes clear that they offer very different notions about the state of the world we live in. For example, President Trump sees nurturance as protection from dangerous outside threats, an action that assumes the world is fraught with danger. In his view, education is a input to success (i.e. a good paying job) and that winning (or defeating your opponent) are the means to achieve it. Nurturance, from him and his administration, can help an individual toward that goal. Secretary Clinton on the other hand sees nurturance as being about inclusion, moving forward, and promoting nurturing relationships. Education is an essential force that everyone should be influenced by, not a tool to be used to be achieved a desired outcome. While Secretary Clinton does use language and metaphors that evoke empathy with greater frequency than President Trump, there is considerably less empathetic language throughout her usage of Morality as Nurturance metaphors as compared to the frequency of which strength is discussed in the context of Moral Strength metaphors.

The Nurturant Parent Model is also centrally about social responsibility and obligation; President Trump's less frequent usage of the Morality of Nurturance metaphor demonstrates that he likely does not see the state as obligated to serve, rather nurturance and attention and assistance from the government must be earned, a view that conflicts with Secretary Clinton's conceptualization. Morality as Nurturance metaphors are an interesting complement to Moral Strength because as a president, one likely wants to be understood as strong and unbreaking but also nurturant and in touch with constituents. With respect to hypothesis 2C, Secretary Clinton does employ language that often highlights similarities and inclusiveness. Similarly, through

language that creates a sense of threat, President Trump’s language highlights the dangerous role of the “other.”

Environment Discussion

The following section will explore Secretary Clinton and President Trump’s discussion surrounding the issue area of the environment in their 2016 campaign speeches and the meanings of metaphors associated with this topic. The main themes associated with language and phrases used by Secretary Clinton tagged by words in the Environment dictionary were using metaphors to describe winning against or defeating climate change and communicate the value associated with sustainable, green jobs. The main themes associated with language and phrases used by President Trump tagged by words in the Environment dictionary were using metaphors to demonstrate how regulation is negative for businesses growth, progress, and economic development.

Secretary Clinton

The major metaphorical trends for phrases associated with words in the environment dictionary in this issue area for Secretary Clinton include discourse about defeating or overcoming climate change and stressing the importance of green energy and jobs.

Often when Secretary Clinton discusses the environment, she does so in the context of defeating climate change. This seems to be a clear usage of a Moral Strength metaphor, with climate change being conceptualized as evil and moral action as being resilient and acting

against it. For example in her third speech after the convention she said, “It also means leading the fight against climate change so we can leave our kids a healthy planet.” In this specific metaphor, she is demonstrating both Morality as Nurturance (empathy, thoughtfulness about future generations) and Moral Strength (“leading the fight”). This an application of a Gain versus Loss frame because it is highlighting how much individuals face to lose in the event of climate change. This is also an application of a Risk Frame, in which Secretary Clinton attempts to highlight just how dangerous climate change will be.

Many of Secretary Clinton’s metaphors associated with the environment also attempt to stress the severity and urgency associated with the issue. For example, in her 17th speech after the convention she says, “And when it comes to climate change, we don’t have a minute to waste.” In the same speech she said, “And I am not exaggerating when I say it’s our last, best chance to solve the global, climate crisis.” This could be an attempt to align with the Strict Parent Model and evoke concerns about survival in the face of such a timely and urgent threat.

Through some of her usage of metaphors surrounding the environment, Secretary Clinton seems to frame the opportunities associated with solving climate change as a positive opportunity. For example, in her first speech she said, “I believe climate change is real and that we can save our planet while creating millions of good-paying, clean-energy jobs.” In her 35th speech she said, “And we are going to have clean, renewable energy jobs as a way to fight climate change.” Through these examples and other similar instances, Secretary Clinton is framing climate change as something that needs to be defeated and that its defeat can come through the creation of clean jobs. Calling them “clean jobs” makes this a usage of both Morality as Nurturance and Moral Strength metaphor elements. While it is likely an appeal to voters’

desire for consistent employment, it also attempts to demonstrate how issues are interconnected and can be solved simultaneously.

She also stresses through metaphors associated with the environment the importance of solving environmental conflicts in an inclusive way. For example, in her sixth speech after the convention she said, “We’ll remember the families neglected in Flint and take action so no child’s life is ever put at risk again when brushing their teeth or drinking a glass of water at dinner.” In her 17th speech, she said, “We can rally the world to cut carbon pollution.” This likely is an attempt by Secretary Clinton to embrace and acknowledge the complexities associated with solving widespread, multi-impact environmental issues. This sort of rhetoric also aligns with her campaign slogan “Stronger Together.” Secretary Clinton, through using rhetoric like this is likely communicating that such a massive widespread issue cannot be solved by us alone and because of that we must collaborate with other nations and trans-national organizations. She is sending a message that she understands the need for collaboration and has the capacity to facilitate it.

The last large implication I found was her possible attempt to portray climate-change deniers as evil and those who believe in climate change as good, a direct appeal to the Moral Strength metaphor. For example, in her ninth speech she said, “...It’s whether we continue to fight climate change or give into denial.” Another example is from her 17th speech in which she said, “Please, we cannot keep sending climate deniers and defeatist to Congress or to State houses—and certainly not to the White House.” This is appeal to Moral Strength but is predicated on a voter understanding that climate change is actually occurring; for example, this appeal would not resonate with someone who denies that climate change is occurring. This is in some ways a Conflict Management Fact-finding frame. Secretary Clinton is welcoming further

investigation and information findings associated with this issue, while stressing the importance of fact in the context of climate discussions.

It is clear through the high number of mentions about environmental issues in the campaign speeches delivered by Secretary Clinton that she considers this to be a highly important issue to discuss.

President Trump

The major trends in the discourse utilized by President Trump that was associated with words in the environment dictionary include the politicization of environmental regulation, discussing the environment in the context of economic development, and environmental regulation as an impediment to progress.

President Trump often seems to frame and use metaphors to communicate the evil nature of the existing environmental regulations. For example in his fifth speech President Trump said, “We want safety regulations, we want environmental regulations. We’re not, you know, people that don’t want these things. We have to have that. We want clear air, we want clean water. We want clear water. To do that—and there are certain things that you want to do, but to do that, you don’t have to destroy our country and destroy our businesses.” Through this metaphor, he is asserting the existing environmental regulations are destroying businesses and the country, a clear usage of Moral Strength metaphor because it paints the regulations as deeply evil.

A similar trend throughout his use of metaphors associated with the environment specifically involves defaming Secretary Clinton. For example, in his 33rd speech, he says “She has not only declared war on miners but on oil and natural gas production—which supports 10

million jobs in the United States.” A similar example was in his 39th speech in which he said, “Hillary Clinton wants to shut down the mines, and shut down shale, oil, and natural gas. We are going to end the war on American energy, and we are going to put the miners back to work.” This group of metaphors demonstrates how Trump is using the environment as a tool to discuss how Secretary Clinton will take actions against the wellbeing of certain members and industries within American society. This is an application of a Characterization frame as well as a Whole Story frame. President Trump is summarizing Secretary Clinton’s entire plan and elements of her character in an attempt to make voters understand what he sees as the entire story.

President Trump also seems to use metaphors associated with the environment to promote a sense of resiliency and highlight how the future will turn around if he is elected. For example, in his 28th speech after the convention, he said “We reject the pessimism that says our standard of living can no longer rise, and that all that’s left to do is to divide up and redistribute our shrinking resources.” A similar example occurred in his 34th speech in which he said, “It’s the same spirit of resilience I have seen visiting the flood-ravaged towns in Louisiana or meeting with incredible but hard-hit people in cities and towns like Flint, Michigan. It used to be cars were made in Flint, and you couldn’t drink the water in Mexico. Today, cars are made in Mexico and you can’t drink the water in Flint. We’ll turn it all around.” Both of these examples seem to demonstrate how President Trump is insinuating that a brighter future lies ahead in the context of the environment, and beyond if he were to be elected. This appears to be a message of hope but that one that builds off the failures of previous leaders and past actions.

Many of the metaphors used by President Trump seem to indicate that he sees the environment and environmental issues as something that can be fixed with proper engineering and decision-making. For example, in his 55th speech he said, “We are going to cancel billions in

payments to UN climate change programs and use the money to fix America's water and environmental infrastructure. We're paying billions and billions and billions of dollars. We're going to fix our own environment." Similarly in his 27th speech, he said "We will rebuild our water infrastructure, and our EPA will abandon political agendas and focus on its core mission: clear air and safe water." This demonstrates that he conceptualizes the environment as something that is entirely in the control of humans and that it can be fixed through changes in manmade infrastructure. Conceptualizing humans' relationship to the environment in this way creates a sense that he views humans as supremely powerful and influential, with a great ability to influence the natural environment. This implies a sense of control of the natural environment. This is a very commanding perspective to take on the environment and aligns with the Moral Strength metaphor components.

Candidate comparison

Both candidates use metaphors to create senses of good and evil about the environment. Secretary Clinton vilifies those who deny climate change and creates a sense that climate change itself is evil while President Trump vilifies environmental regulation and defames those who are taking action in terms of environmental regulation, specifically Secretary Clinton. Both candidate frequently engage with the Moral Strength metaphor in the context of the environment, and Secretary Clinton uses the Morality as Nurturance metaphor at times to communicate an inclusive approach to environmental action. Due to President Trump's lack of public concern for climate change and infrequent mention of it, it makes sense that Secretary Clinton spends more time during her campaign speeches addressing climate change. Much more of President Trump's

discussion about the environment is about regulation and its hindrance to progress and economic development. The divergent public opinion by the two candidates can also help explain their differing handling of metaphors surrounding discussion of the environment.

Voting Rights Discussion

The following section will explore Secretary Clinton and President Trump's discussion surrounding the issue area of voting rights in their 2016 campaign speeches and the meanings of metaphors associated with this topic. The main themes associated with language and phrases used by Secretary Clinton tagged by words in the Voting Rights dictionary are using language to communicate the importance of the 2016 election and to demonstrate that she thinking voting rights are something that needs to be expanded. The main themes associated with language and phrases used by President Trump tagged by words in the Voting Rights dictionary are using metaphors to communicate the possibility of a rigged election, to share promises of what will occur if he is elected, and to stress the importance of this election.

Secretary Clinton

The major themes in discourse by Secretary Clinton that involved words from the voting rights dictionary were metaphors stressing the severity and consequence of the election and communicating that voting rights was something Secretary Clinton thought should be expanded.

There are a few instances where Secretary Clinton uses metaphors associated with voting rights to express what seems like the message that standing up for voting rights is the same as standing up against bullying and bigotry. For example, in her second speech after the convention

she says, “That’s what we have to do in this election and that’s what so many of you are doing already: standing up to the bullying and bigotry wherever it comes from.” Similarly in her seventh speech after the convention she says, “This election is a chance for us to move still closer to that goal, to make sure everyone can contribute to a growing and prospering America, to say loudly and clearly in this country, no one’s worthless, no one’s less than.” Both of these examples connect to the idea that reducing voting rights and taking away their right to vote is an affront to their self-worth and to their value as individuals. This seems to demonstrate that Secretary Clinton sees voting as an quintessential American activity and that American has a right to participate. Taking away this right or attempting to reduce it is, in her metaphorical framing, an affront to core American values.

Connecting to core American values, Secretary Clinton seems to use metaphors to communicate the high level of importance she sees in the outcome of this election. For example, in her eighth speech after the convention she says, “You see, I really think the central question in this election is what kind of country we want to be and what kind of future we want to build for our children and grandchildren.” Through this metaphor and similar metaphors she is far extending the stakes of the election and making it not just a choice between herself and then-candidate Trump but rather about the type of future each of them could possibly provide and the implications of that. In her eighth speech after the convention she said, “Because we want to prove who we are as a Americans in this election. We’re not fearful. We don’t want to build walls. We want to build bridges.” Secretary Clinton, by using language like this makes appears to make the election outcome about far more than policy choices; rather she is making it about the core values of what it means to be American and how we conduct ourselves as a nation. In some ways, this is applying a broad Characterization frame to the election, using the outcome for

a proxy for individuals to express individual and collective identities. President Trump frames the election in a similar way but to use the election as a proxy to express their disapproval and discontent with the status quo.

Secretary Clinton also uses metaphor to inject excitement into the election process. For example in her 20th speech after the convention she says, “I’m excited because we are well on our way, there is an inspiring story being written right now by people across America, and many of you are getting involved in this election, some of you for the first time in your lives.” Similarly in her 12th speech she says, “And if you will help me win this election, and then help with work to make it come true, we will have a country that delivers on our dreams and a future we can all be proud of.” These metaphors attempt to capture excitement and hope and assert the dreams and futures that can be created by supporting Secretary Clinton for president. This aligns with the Morality as Nurturance metaphor as she seeks to create a future that everyone can be proud of.

President Trump

The major trends in this issue area were used by President Trump were metaphors that communicate that the election is possibly rigged, stress the importance and consequence of the outcome of the election, and have promises about things that will happen if Trump is elected.

A common theme that seems to appear throughout the metaphors used by President Trump associated with words in the voting rights dictionary is that the current system and those leading it are intent on disenfranchising the American voter. He also seems to be attempting to communicate that he is the antithesis to voter suppression and he represents the true will of the

American people. For example, in his 23rd speech after the convention he said, “Clinton makes her remarks at a high-dollar fundraiser on Wall Street. Her goal is simple: to bully the American voter out of voting for change.” In his 32nd speech after the convention he said, “The arrogance of Washington, D.C. will soon come face to face with the righteous verdict of the American voter.” The usage of these metaphors in this way is likely intended to send a message that President Trump will represent that those are disenfranchised and if elected, overturn what is an unfair system. It also leaves the door open for him to blame the unfair system for his lose if he were not to win the election. In other metaphors he directly cites a “rigged system” or a “failed establishment.”

President Trump also seems to use metaphors to communicate how he sees the election as an opportunity to right the wrongs that were committed against Americans in the currently flawed system. For example, in his 43rd speech he said, “This Election Day, you have one magnificent chance to deliver justice for every forgotten man, woman, and child in this country.” In his 47th speech he said, “This election is about the people being crushed by Obamacare, and it’s about defeating ISIS and appointing Supreme Court Justices who will defend our Constitution.” This metaphor is particularly vivid and could motivate a voter to take action to prevent his or her fellow Americans from getting crushed by an unfair policy. Another example of this occurred in his 62nd speech in which he said, “Vote with all of your heart and soul. Show the whole world how much you love Michigan and how much you love American, by voting to take back the jobs that have been stolen from you.” This demonstrates how Trump is portraying the election as an opportunity for voters to respond to perceived wrongs committed against them. Encouraging voters to vote with their hearts and souls is also an attempt at using a Morality as Nurturance concept. This connects to ideas of Moral Strength and the importance of competition.

If those who are wronged are able to respond via competition and reciprocity the playing field will be fair and level. This is an application of a Gain versus Loss frame as the election is an opportunity for individuals to regain things they have lost by expressing their disapproval of the current political regime and system.

Lastly, it seems Trump often relies upon metaphors to communicate the utmost importance and urgency associated with this election and its outcomes. For example, in his 45th speech Trump said, “The election of Hillary Clinton would lead, in my opinion, to the almost total destruction of our country as we know it.” This demonstrates a Strict Father model ideology and how the world is a dangerous place, filled with evil, then candidate-Trump is presenting himself as the protective father. This is an application of a Risk frame. As Trump uses framing to elevate the sense of risk associated with the election, Individuals would be much more likely to become engaged in the voting process and turn out to vote.

Candidate comparison

Both Secretary Clinton and President Trump seem to rely more upon Moral Strength and Strict Father ideas than Morality as Nurturance in the context of discussing voting rights. This may be because voting rights are endowed to all so empathy and allocation of right is out of the question. Both candidates use metaphor to try to motivate voters, via either excitement and promotion of core values in the case of Secretary Clinton or more fear-based, revenge-oriented rhetoric in the case of President Trump.

The Strict Father Model is often utilized in discussions about survival and when both candidates stress the threat their opponent faces to the stability of American democracy.

President Trump's rhetoric in his section was more despair-oriented and fear-based while Secretary Clinton was at times negative but overall seemed to project excitement and positivity surrounding issues of voting and voting rights.

Concluding observations

To conclude the analysis and discussion section, I will respond directly to the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2: Research Questions and Methods. These hypotheses were created *ex ante* and detail some of the expected outcomes of the research. The null hypothesis of no clear and consistent pattern of rhetoric and framing use difference between President Trump and Secretary Clinton was disproven. Between the two candidates across all the metaphors and issues areas there was a pattern of clear difference.

The second main hypothesis was about the content and nature of the rhetoric and metaphors used by the candidates. The hypothesis that President Trump's metaphor usage and rhetoric as compared to Secretary Clinton's is more xenophobic, hyperbolic, and threat-based is supported in some regards. The rhetoric used by President Trump was unquestionably more hyperbolic and relied much more on externally based threats, which aligns with the good versus evil and competition based elements of the Strict Father model. The hypothesis that President Trump's rhetoric is more xenophobic is unsupported, as there were few metaphors that discussed topics of this nature, so the data would be considered inconclusive at the conclusion of this analysis. The hypothesis that Secretary Clinton's rhetoric is more evidence-based and relies upon more statistical information is supported by the qualitative analysis of the metaphors found. Throughout her speeches, she cites more unique examples with greater specificity and with more

empirically grounded information. While much of the statistical information used by Secretary Clinton was outside of her metaphor use, she spoke with great attention to detail about certain issues, especially in discussions about the environment. For example, in her 33rd speech, she said, “But that we also work to limit the damage by taking on the challenge of climate change and changing weather patterns.” This metaphor suggests how she is using the device to hint at her understanding of the complexity of issues, a common occurrence throughout her speeches.

I found that the hypothesis that stated that Secretary Clinton’s speeches would include more positive-future outlook is unsupported. Secretary Clinton does often speak very optimistically about the future, specifically the future she sees all Americans being about to create together. An example of this was in her 34th speech, in which she said, “We believe in an American that is already great but can be greater if we do our part. And we believe America is great because American is good. Never forget that. If we lift each other up and not tear each other down, we can go even further.” This suggests how Secretary Clinton hold optimistic beliefs about the state of America if citizens were to work together and “lift each other up” in pursuit of a greater future. But it is worth noting that President Trump used rhetoric and metaphors that suggest a positive-future outlook with a great frequency as well, though tone of his positive-future outlook is notably different. For example in his first speech he said, “We can accomplish these great things, and so much else—all we need to do is start believing in ourselves and our country again. Start believing. It is time to show the whole world that America is back—bigger, and better and stronger than before.” While this suggests President Trump is also using a metaphor demonstrate the positive future that would be associated with his victory, the future he is promising is one of a larger, stronger, dominant America. This closely aligns with the Moral Strength metaphor and starkly contrasts with the improvement through inclusivity Secretary

Clinton is promoting. This connects to the hypothesis that states President Trump's rhetoric will be more despairing while Secretary Clinton will utilize a more optimistic, hope-oriented rhetoric. This hypothesis is unsupported although the data suggests the types of optimism the candidates are promoting are entirely different.

The hypothesis that states that Secretary Clinton's rhetoric will rely more upon technical rationality and President Trump's with rely more upon cultural rationality, is partially supported by the fact that Secretary Clinton's rhetoric seems to rely more upon factual analysis, while President Trump seems to utilize more visceral emotional appeals. I think that the full hypothesis, regarding Secretary Clinton's usage of technical expertise and rationality and President Trump's materialistic and monetary-based expertise and exploitation of cultural divides is inconclusive given the current analysis. The data supports the hypothesis concerning Secretary Clinton's usage of rhetoric that highlights similarities and inclusivity in comparison to President Trump's usage of rhetoric that highlights divisiveness. Further research should be done outside of the metaphors on which this analysis was conducted to see if the pattern is maintained. Lastly, hypothesis 4D is supported by the data. This hypothesis states that Secretary Clinton's will likely use the Morality as Nurturance metaphor with greater frequency and that President Trump will use the Moral Strength metaphor with greater frequency. The qualitative analysis demonstrated that Secretary Clinton did utilize the Morality as Nurturance metaphor more often than President Trump. President Trump also utilized the Moral Strength metaphor with greater frequency and intensity. As the researcher, I expected there to be a great difference in the frequency of Moral Strength metaphor usages by Secretary Clinton and President Trump but Secretary Clinton utilized the Moral Strength metaphor with some frequency, albeit not as much as President Trump.

Through the qualitative analysis of the metaphors and rhetoric used by Secretary Clinton and President Trump clear trends arise, as well as important areas for further consideration and investigation.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

The purpose of this research was to better understand the role of metaphors in 2016 presidential campaign speeches by conducting a rhetorical analysis. Using cognitive linguist George Lakoff's theories about metaphors, a qualitative analysis was conducted. Lakoff asserts that how one conceptualizes their family extends to how they view politics. Lakoff uses his two main models Strict Father Model and Nurturant Parent Model to explain why conservatives and liberals hold the bundle of beliefs that they do. The point of the analysis was to identify and unpack the trends of the metaphor usage by Secretary Clinton and President Trump in their campaign speeches. The analysis focused on issues of voting rights and the environment, as well as metaphors about Moral Strength and Morality as Nurturance. Using Ubiq.Ity 1.2, Docuscope, and a qualitative analysis that included narrative inquiry, the metaphors used in the campaign speeches were identified and explored.

The intention of the qualitative analysis was to stay away from drawing normative conclusions and how they might link to outcomes. Rather, it was intended to consider the instances of metaphor usage and allow for individual inquiry into the meaning behind the metaphor usage. As the researcher, it is my intention to invite you to create your own interpretation of the meaning behind the metaphors. I invite you into the discussion to make your own interpretation and further consider the manifestation of metaphors in election outcomes with a continued evaluation of meaning.

Throughout all of the metaphors used by the candidates, there was much discussion about a positive-future outlook, differences in the content of the metaphors used by the candidates, and usage of metaphors by both candidates to discuss strength. Secretary Clinton and President Trump both discuss a positive-future outlook throughout both metaphor groups and issue areas. Notably, Secretary Clinton promotes a more positive future if Americans are able to come together and collaborate. President Trump's language suggests he believes in a positive future if Americans are able to rally behind him and his values, at times at the cost of conflicting and contrasting views. Throughout her usage of metaphors in her campaign speeches, Secretary Clinton promoted more factual, scientifically grounded metaphors while President Trump relied upon more visceral, at times violent emotional appeals and metaphors. Both candidates used Moral Strength metaphors with great frequency but the means for expressing that strength differed. Secretary Clinton promotes a view that inclusivity, diversity, and love are the best ways to promote strength. President Trump promotes a view of strength that relies more on the fear of the "other," domination, and winning and losing. The implications of these divergent views are open to reader interpretation but demonstrate a clear difference in the usage of language and projection of values.

This research is just the tip of the iceberg of applying principles and theories from cognitive linguistics to campaign rhetoric. There are many opportunities for more research using Lakoff's Strict Father and Nurturant Parent model. My analysis considered only one of his proposed metaphors from each model so a more expansive analysis using his metaphors would be fruitful. Such an analysis would not only allow for an interesting consideration of how else metaphors are being used but could help examine the validity of Lakoff's theories. There is also

an opportunity to apply alternative cognitive linguistic theories. While Lakoff is a pioneer and innovator in the field, his theories are contested and according to some scholars, such as Pinker, fraught with error. It is also important to note that cognitive linguistics is a relatively new and blossoming field so this creates many opportunities for new research.

The usage of the Ubiq.Ity software was very helpful in narrowing the areas in which the qualitative analysis should be conducted. Because the Ubiq.Ity software used dictionaries I constructed, another iteration of this research could use different dictionaries. An analysis of all the metaphors used by the candidates would be an interesting opportunity; this was not possible for this research project because of time constraints. Such a change would likely produce results and identify metaphors that my analysis may have missed. More research should also be conducted to further explore if language and campaign speeches in particular influence voter behavior and policy outcomes.

Future questions that align with this research concern the true influence that campaign speeches have. In the age of technology, Twitter, and radically evolving media communication do speeches still impact voters and their views? Furthermore, more research should be conducted about the connection between metaphor usage and changes in policy outcomes. If the influences of metaphors are as pervasive as Thibodeau and Boroditsky's experiment suggests, understanding the impact of language in policy discussions is a fundamental question of justice and fairness. If the language used to describe issues can fundamentally alter how the issues are thought about, it is essential that in a fully functioning and fair democracy that this is understood. Failure to understand the impacts of metaphors and languages creates an opportunity for manipulation.

Considering Lakoff's theories in the context of 2016 presidential campaign speeches, particularly surrounding discussion of voting rights and the environments is an important step in understanding the role of metaphors in presidential rhetoric. Metaphors are a powerful linguistic tool and there is great value in identifying instances of their usage. Such an investigation can provide insights about candidate's rhetorical tendencies and patterns and suggest how candidate's values and messaging interact. Future research can further elucidate the rhetorical and metaphorical patterns of campaign speeches and their potential policy implications.

Appendix A

Analysis terms and phrases

Table 3: Phrases used in string matching process for metaphors

Metaphor	Words used for string matching
Moral strength (SFM metaphor)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A powerful force • A strong force • Ability • Abundance • Abundance of strength • Equally powerful • Excessive • Exercise of power • Far-reaching power • Firepower • Foison • Force • Force • Force • God's power • Great • Great power • Greatness • Hard • Horsepower • Might • Might • Mightily • Muscle • Muscularity • Not bending easily • Not to give way • Overpowering • Overpowering might

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potency • Potential • Potentiality • Power • Power • Power • Powerful • Powerfully • Puissance • Sinew • Strength • Strength • Strong • Strong • Strongly • To be strong • To become powerful • To become strong • To gain power • To have power • To make powerful • To prevail • To remain unbroken • Very great • Very powerful • Very strong • Vigor • Wise power • With power
<p>Morality as nurturance (NPM metaphor)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advance • Art • Breeding • Collectively • Educate • Education • Encourage • Forward • Foster • Further • Nurse • Nursery

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nurture • Nurturing • Promote • Raising • Rule
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Table 4: Phrases used in string matching process for issue areas

Metaphor	Words used for string matching
Voting rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Air • Biosphere • Change • Climate • Climate change • Conservation • Drought • Earth • Ecology • Ecosystem • Environment • Fire • Forest glaciers • Global warming • Human • Ice caps • Natural • Natural disaster • Natural resources • Nature pollution resource • Resources • River • Science • Space • Stratosphere • Stream • Trees • Warming

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water • Weather
The environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black voters • Civil rights • Discrimination • Early voting • Election • Election integrity • Felony convictions • Fraud • Fraudulent • Government issued photo ID • Gerrymander • Gerrymandering • National Voter Registration Act • Polling • Polling places • Polling station • Register • Registrant • Social security number • Voter • Voter discrimination • Voter identification • Voter registration • Voter suppression • Voting • Voting machines • Voting Rights Act • Voting rolls

Appendix B

List of campaign speeches used in rhetorical analysis

Listing of campaign speeches given by Secretary Hillary Clinton

1. Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania-July 28, 2016
2. Remarks to the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute in Washington, D.C.-September 15, 2016
3. Remarks at the University of North Carolina in Greensboro-September 15, 2016
4. Remarks to the Black Women's Agenda Symposium in Washington, D.C.-September 16, 2016
5. Remarks to the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington, D.C.-September 18, 2016
6. Remarks at Temple University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania-September 19, 2016
7. Remarks at the Frontline Outreach Center in Orlando, Florida-September 21, 2016
8. Remarks at Wake Technical Community College in Raleigh, North Carolina-September 27, 2016
9. Remarks at the University of New Hampshire in Durham-September 28, 2016
10. Remarks at Cowles Common in Des Moines, Iowa- September 29, 2016
11. Remarks at Coral Springs Gymnasium in Coral Springs, Florida- September 30, 2016
12. Remarks at Sunrise Theatre in Fort Pierce, Florida- September 30, 2016
13. Remarks at Little Rock AME Zion Church in Charlotte, North Carolina-October 2, 2016
14. Remarks at Goodyear Hall and Theatre in Akron, Ohio- October 3, 2016
15. Remarks at Martin Luther King, Jr. Plaza in Toledo, Ohio- October 3, 2016

16. Remarks at Ohio State University in Columbus- October 10, 2016
17. Remarks at the Kendall Campus of Miami Dade College in Miami, Florida-
October 11, 2016
18. Remarks at the Palace of Agriculture at the Colorado State Fairgrounds in Pueblo-
October 12, 2016
19. Remarks at the 71st Annual Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner at the
Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City- October 20, 2016
20. Remarks at Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland, Ohio- October 21, 2016
21. Remarks to the Press Aboard the Campaign Plane in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania-
October 22, 2016
22. Remarks at Taylor Allderdice High School in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania- October
22, 2016
23. Remarks at Saint Anselm College in Manchester, New Hampshire- October 24,
2016
24. Remarks at Broward College's North Campus in Coconut Creek, Florida- October
25, 2016
25. Remarks at Curtix Hixon Waterfront Park in Tampa, Florida- October 26, 2016
26. Remarks at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina- October
27, 2016
27. Remarks at the Dickerson Community Center in Daytona Beach, Florida-October
29, 2016
28. Remarks at the Manor Complex in Wilton Manors, Florida-October 30, 2016
29. Remarks at Smale Riverfront Park in Cincinnati, Ohio-October 31, 2016

30. Remarks at the Kent State Student Recreation Center in Kent, Ohio-October 31, 2016
31. Remarks at Pasco-Hernando State College East Campus in Dade City, Florida- November 3, 2016
32. Remarks at Coastal Credit Union Music Park in Raleigh, North Carolina- November 3, 2016
33. Remarks at Pitt Community College in Winterville, North Carolina- November 3, 2016
34. Remarks at Eastern Market in Detroit, Michigan- November 4, 2016
35. Remarks at Grand Valley State University in Grand Rapids, Michigan-November 7, 2016
36. Remarks at the University of Pittsburgh--November 7, 2016
37. Remarks in New York City Conceding the 2016 Presidential Election-November 9, 2016

Listing of campaign speeches given by President Donald

1. Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio-July 21, 2016
2. News Conference in Doral, Florida-July 27, 2016
3. Remarks at the KI Convention Center in Green Bay, Wisconsin-August 5, 2016
4. Remarks to the Detroit Economic Club-August 8, 2016
5. Remarks at a Rally at the University of North Carolina in Wilmington-August 9, 2016
6. Remarks at Erie Insurance Arena in Erie, Pennsylvania-August 12, 2016
7. Remarks at Youngstown State University in Youngstown, Ohio-August 15, 2016
8. Remarks at the Washington County Fair Park in West Bend, Wisconsin-August 16, 2016
9. Remarks at the Charlotte Convention Center in Charlotte, North Carolina-August 18, 2016
10. Remarks at the Summit Sports and Ice Complex in Dimondale, Michigan-August 19, 2016
11. Remarks at Luedecke Arena in Austin, Texas-August 23, 2016
12. Remarks at the Mississippi Coliseum in Jackson, Mississippi-August 24, 2016
13. Remarks at the XFinity Arena in Everett, Washington-August 30, 2016
14. Remarks on Immigration at the Phoenix Convention Center in Phoenix, Arizona-August 31, 2016
15. Remarks to the American Legion in Cincinnati, Ohio-September 1, 2016

16. Remarks at the Roberts Centre in Wilmington, Ohio-September 1, 2016
17. Remarks at Great Faith International Ministries in Detroit, Michigan-September 3, 2016
18. Remarks at a Rally at the Greenville Convention Center in Greenville, North Carolina-September 6, 2016
19. Remarks at the Union League of Philadelphia in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania-September 7, 2016
20. Remarks at the Cleveland Arts and Social Sciences Academy in Cleveland, Ohio-September 8, 2016
21. Remarks the 11th Annual Values Voters Summit in Washington, D.C. Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.-September 9, 2016
22. Remarks at a Rally at the Pensacola Bay Center in Pensacola, Florida-September 9, 2016
23. Remarks at the US Cellular Center in Asheville, North Carolina-September 12, 2016
24. Address to the National Guard Association of the United States 138th General Conference & Exhibition at the Baltimore Convention Center in Baltimore, Maryland-September 12, 2016
25. Remarks at Aston Community Center, in Aston, Pennsylvania-September 13, 2016
26. Remarks at Seven Flags Event Center in Des Moines, Iowa-September 13, 2016
27. Remarks at Rally at Canton Memorial Civic Center in Canton, Ohio-September 14, 2016

28. Remarks to the Economic Club of New York at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City-September 15, 2016
29. Remarks at a Rally at the James L. Knight Center in Miami, Florida-September 16, 2016
30. Remarks at Remembrance Project Luncheon at the Omni Houston Hotel at Westside in Houston, Texas-September 17, 2016
31. Remarks at High Point University in High Point, North Carolina-September 20, 2016
32. Remarks at Rally at Sun Center Studios in Chester Township, Pennsylvania-September 22, 2016
33. Remarks at the Shale Insight TM Conference at the David L. Lawrence Conventer in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania-September 22, 2016
34. Remarks at a Rally at Berglund Center in Roanoke, Virginia-September 24, 2016
35. Remarks at a Rally at the Mid-America Center in Council Bluffs, Iowa-September 28, 2016
36. Remarks at a Rally at Waukesha County Expo Center in Waukesha, Wisconsin-September 28, 2016
37. Remarks at a Rally at the New Hampshire Sportsplex in Bedford, New Hampshire-September 29, 2016
38. Remarks at the Suburban Collection Showplace in Novi, Michigan-September 30, 2016
39. Remarks at the Pueblo Convention Center in Pueblo, Colorado-October 3, 2016
40. Remarks at the Budweiser Events Center in Loveland, Colorado-October 3, 2016

41. Remarks at Prescott Valley Event Center in Prescott Valley, Arizona-October 4, 2016
42. Remarks at Henderson Pavilion in Henderson, Nevada-October 5, 2016
43. Remarks at the Reno-Sparks Convention Center in Reno, Nevada-October 5, 2016
44. Excerpts of Remarks at Aaron Bessant Park in Panama City, Florida-October 11, 2016
45. Remarks at the Southeastern Livestock Pavilion in Ocala, Florida--October 12, 2016
46. Remarks at the Renaissance Hotel in Columbus, Ohio-October 13, 2016
47. Remarks at the South Florida Fair Expo Center in West Palm Beach, Florida-October 13, 2016
48. Remarks at the Cross Insurance Center in Bangor, Maine-October 15, 2016
49. Remarks at Toyota of Portsmouth in Portsmouth, New Hampshire-October 15, 2016
50. Remarks at the KI Convention Center in Green Bay, Wisconsin-October 17, 2016
51. Remarks at the Norris-Penrose Event Center in Colorado Springs, Colorado-October 18, 2016
52. Remarks at the Delaware County Fairgrounds in Delaware, Ohio-October 20, 2016
53. Remarks at the WNC Agricultural Center's Davis Event Center in Fletcher, North Carolina-October 21, 2016
54. Remarks at the Newtown Athletic Club Sports Training Center in Newtown, Pennsylvania-October 21, 2016

55. Remarks on Proposals for the First 100 Days in Office at the Eisenhower Complex in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania-October 22, 2016
56. Remarks at the Collier County Fairgrounds in Naples, Florida-October 23, 2016
57. Remarks at the McGlohon Theatre at Spirit Square in Charlotte, North Carolina-October 26, 2016
58. Remarks at the Champions Center Expo in Springfield, Ohio-October 27, 2016
59. Remarks at Radisson Armory in Manchester, New Hampshire-October 28, 2016
60. Remarks at the Jeffco Fairgrounds Event Center in Golden, Colorado-October 29, 2016
61. Remarks at the Phoenix Convention Center in Phoenix, Arizona-October 29, 2016
62. Remarks at Macomb Community College South Campus in Warren, Michigan-October 31, 2016
63. Remarks on Obamacare in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania-November 1, 2016
64. Remarks at the Central Florida Fairgrounds in Orlando, Florida-November 2, 2016
65. Remarks at the Bayfront Park Amphitheater in Miami, Florida-November 2, 2016
66. Remarks at J.S. Dorton Arena in Raleigh, North Carolina-November 7, 2016
67. Remarks in New York City Accepting Election as the 45th President of the United States-November 9, 2016

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ACADEMIC VITA

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Education:

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Relevant Domestic Experience:

Urban and Regional Policy Intern

The German Marshall Fund, Washington, D.C.

May 2017-August 2017

- Wrote and collaborated with research fellows and policymakers to generate a Literature Review for a forthcoming report on the Vibrant Neighborhoods Forum and crafted issue briefs for the Urban Policy Director
- Utilized planning and networking skills to identify venues, participants, and thought leaders for upcoming GMF events

Research Associate

The Center for Economic and Community Development, University Park, PA

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- Collaborated closely with Dr. Theodore Alter, in the Department of Agricultural, Environmental, and Regional Economics on projects ranging from Pennsylvania economic development analysis to the creation of new community development research initiative
- Contributed to memos and reports on a variety of subjects including rural economic development, democracy, populism, and higher education
- Utilized ArcGIS skills to generate reports about economic development and agricultural in and assisted in the crafting of office materials, data reports, and papers
- Served as a teaching assistant for Community, Environment, and Development 375H: Community, Local Knowledge, and Democracy, a senior honors seminar that focuses on issues of civic engagement, social change, and higher education

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- Participated in a weekly class with the Dean of Honors College and President Eric Barron to develop leadership and a repertoire of business oriented skills
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- Participated in a weekly long Freedom Tour in the Spring of 2016 learning about the Civil Rights Movement and race relations in the United States

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