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Editorial Welcome

On behalf of the Annual Review of Education, Communication and Language Sciences team, we would like to welcome you to volume 18. We were very fortunate to receive three papers for this volume, and present them to you as follows:

Julia Jaworska graduated from Newcastle University with a master's degree in Cross-Cultural Communication and International Relations. Her interests focus on intercultural contexts in higher education with an emphasis on student exchange experiences and the development of transnational identities. She is currently a Study Abroad and Exchanges Coordinator at the University of Glasgow where she facilitates students' intercultural experiences. Her paper is entitled 'Bringing Europe to students: Sociolinguistic factors influencing the development of European identity in Erasmus students.' It considers the nature of European identity construction among an internationally diverse sample of seven students regarding their overseas sojourn, with special reference to the role of multilingualism. It starts from the idea that more contact among Europeans of different backgrounds increases a sense of European identity, a purpose for which Erasmus was intended, given the overall success of European integration. Semi-structured interviews were used, results from which suggest Erasmus students tend to perform a sense of Europeanness in parallel with their national identities, rather than as an alternative. Also stressed was the significance of forming international friendships that help uphold a sense of European identity, multilingualism being seen as central, and a means for navigating the challenges of living abroad.

Thomas Lonsdale completed both his undergraduate and postgraduate degree at Newcastle University, and carried many of the interests over from his studies of politics and history into the field of cross-cultural communication. In particular, this involved taking a discourse historical approach to understand contemporary issues in the field, especially regarding political communication, populism and social movements. His article, 'To what extent has President Trump used George Floyd as a campaigning tool: a critical discourse analysis of Trump's Twitter in its political context', reflects on George Floyd's death, and protest reactions towards this, as an indication of the degree of police violence and normalised racism in the USA. The growing effects of Twitter on political discourse are revealed as a stage on which Trump, and similar political populists, can connect with followers and foment their anxieties. President Trump appears to have capitalised on George Floyd's as a way to energise voters. Findings indicate the kinds of arguments to be adopted for the 2020 election, to try and ensure re-election.

Katarína Gocoliaková is an Account Executive for a PR company in London. As a result of studying and living in European cities such as Prague, Limerick and Brussels, she's always been interested in languages and their nuances. Katarína finished her Master's degree in Cross-Cultural Communication and International Management last year, most of her work focusing on the use of language within

advertisement and the cosmetic industry. Her article ‘Commodification of Slovak national identity in advertisement’ examines an example of media advertising which, it is argued, provides some of the most noticeable fora for reconstructing national identity, especially among newly independent nations. Under communist rule, ‘national identity’ was a taboo topic. Taking Slovakia as an example, the article uses multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA), to examine imagery and language in a supermarket chain’s advertisement, to reveal new forms of official national self-representation, based on pride in the idea of material consumption as being of national benefit.

Thank you to the editorial team and to the contributing authors of this volume. We hope that you enjoy this volume, and please let us know if you have any feedback for the journal. Our call for the next volume will be July 2021 and we encourage staff and students to submit if their areas of interest include Education, Communication or Language Sciences.

Josie Tulip (Senior Student Editor) and Peter Sercombe (Editor in Chief)

Bringing Europe to Students: sociolinguistic factors influencing the development of European identity in Erasmus students

Julia Aniela Jaworska

ABSTRACT: The EU has been a largely successful political integration project, but it has been faced with the challenge of creating a European *demos* to legitimise it. There is a strong theoretically derived assumption that increased international contact enhances the European identity and Erasmus programme was designed with this goal in mind. However, the nature of this transnational identity and its sources are only beginning to be researched. This qualitative study investigates how a group of seven Erasmus students construct their European identity in relation to their experience of life abroad with particular attention on the role of multilingualism in the process. Data was drawn from semi-structured interviews with a nationally diverse group of participants. Findings from thematic content analysis of the transcripts revealed that Erasmus students 'do' European identity alongside their national identities rather than in opposition to them and develop towards a global and inclusive understanding of their identities. They also emphasised the importance of building transnational friendship networks that supports the cognitive and affective aspect of that identity and of multilingualism, a vital element of this process. Erasmus students see multilingualism as an element of European identity and use it skilfully in coping with the complex challenges of studying and living abroad**.**

Contact: julka.jaworska5@gmail.com

Introduction

From 2014 to 2020 over four million students completed a mobility abroad with the aid of the Erasmus+ grant (European Commission, 2020a). The European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students[1] (ERASMUS), launched in 1987, allows students and staff to complete a sojourn abroad and has been said to be creating a new generation of Europeans (Ambrosi, 2013). While European identity was seen by the architects of the European integration as a means to legitimise the EU as a supranational polity, the exact nature of it is hard to define. The Erasmus programme aims to “raise participants' awareness and understanding of other cultures and countries, offering them the opportunity to build networks of international contacts, to actively participate in society and develop a

[1]The Erasmus scheme took place between 1987 and 2014, with the Erasmus+ scheme subsequently replacing it. As the two schemes are based on the same premise and the differentiation does not bear any effect on this research project, for the purposes of this work I will refer to it as the Erasmus programme understood as both the Erasmus and the Erasmus+ schemes.

sense of European citizenship and identity" (European Commission, 2020b, p. 31). Whether and how these desired outcomes are produced and how this is perceived by the students themselves, is still only beginning to be researched.

This paper aims to fill the gap in the research into the nature of European identity as perceived by Erasmus students. It also explores the students' perceptions of how their experience of mobility influences that identification and the role of multilingualism in the process. The research is focused on the views of students who have completed one or more Erasmus exchanges, which means they spent from four to ten months in a different country and were supported by the Erasmus grant issued by the European Commission. It is worth mentioning that some countries which are not members of the EU can also participate in the Erasmus programme (e.g. UK and Turkey) which is part of consistent efforts to widen participation in it[2]. Firstly, this paper will offer a review of theoretical background and existing research on the topic, followed by an explanation of the conceptual framework and methodology used. I will then present and discuss the results of the thematic content analysis of data obtained through semi-structured interviews with seven students who went on Erasmus, before closing with a conclusion and some directions for further research.

Theoretical background

The assumed causal link between student mobility and enhancement of transnational identity is drawn from multiple interdisciplinary theories. They are grounded in social constructivist paradigm in which identities are envisioned as fluid, contextual and constructed in interaction (Hall, 1996), something that people 'do' rather than what they 'have' (Jamieson, 2001, p.1). Additionally, collective identities are multidimensional, consisting of the cognitive and affective aspect (Tajfel, 1981, cited by Kuhn, 2012). For European identity, this translates to identifying as European, the cognitive aspect of knowing what bonds one to the community and identifying with Europe, the affective aspect of positive feelings towards the community (Mitchell, 2015).

According to Tajfel's social identity theory (1969, cited by Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000, p. 35) "when people[...] are categorised into groups, actual differences between the members of the same category tend to be perceptually minimised", a process deemed the 'pro-ingroup bias' (ibid.). Social identity, thus, comes from a process of categorisation, identifying oneself with one group (in-group), both cognitively and affectively, and outside of other groups (out-groups). Stemming from this, the Common Identity Ingroup Model (Gaertner and

[2] Another example of this is the campaign *Erasmus500* led by the European University Foundation, the European Students' Union and the Erasmus Student Network which aims to raise the grant to 500 euros a month from 2021 onwards, combat structural exclusion and make the programme more inclusive.

Dovidio, 2000) assumes that when an 'in-group' and 'out -group' come into meaningful contact, members change their perception about the group boundaries. A recategorisation takes place, in which the pro-ingroup bias causes members of both groups to see themselves as one superordinate group. The conditions of meaningful contact supporting recategorisation stem from the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954). Allport proposes that meaningful contacts meet the prerequisites of equal group status, cooperative interaction, opportunities for self-revealing personal acquaintance and supportive norms from authorities (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000). Furthermore, Pettigrew (1998) added 'meaningful friendship' as a pivotal factor in a successful intergroup contact engendering recategorisation.

Deutsch et al.'s (1968) transactionalist theory assumes that sustained social, political and economic 'transactions' among the citizens, i.e. intergroup contact, would enhance the collective 'we-feeling' (Deutsch et al.,1968, p. 36) leading to a legitimisation of a supranational polity, such as the EU. Erasmus mobility theoretically allows for all the conditions outlined by Allport (1954) and Pettigrew (1998) to be met, fostering especially the social transactions as envisioned by Deutsch et al. (1968). The students meet on equal grounds, studying or working together, which creates an atmosphere of cooperation and an opportunity for 'self -revealing' (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000, p. 42), meaningful friendships to form, and it is supported financially and organisationally by an outside authority, the European Commission. There is, therefore, a theoretically derived assumption that not only student mobility would “strengthen the interaction between citizens in different Member States [...] consolidating the concept of a People's Europe” (Council of Ministers, 1987) but also that Erasmus students are the “ideal group with which to study European identity formation through the lens of interaction between individuals of different origins” (Van Mol, 2013b, p. 211).

The EU, nevertheless, is an extremely diverse community and polity. The meaningful contact on Erasmus often requires the ability to speak a foreign language, i.e. multilingualism. The European authorities foster plurilingualism as a European value, which is seen as possessing a heterogenous language repertoire of which one freely takes advantage as the communicative need arises (Council of Europe, 2007; Cenoz, 2013). In this work, I do not differentiate between the two terms. In the context of student mobility, multilingualism is hypothesised to be a facilitator of meaningful contact (Mitchell, 2015) with limited studies tying it to the formation of European identity (Llurda et al., 2016).

Previous research

The causal relationship between Erasmus experience and the enhancement of European identity has been investigated largely quantitatively. These studies often do not unpack the concept and use the so-called 'Moreno question' (European Union, 2018), which largely conceptually equates European

identity with national identity and only allows for measuring the cognitive aspect of identification (Mitchell, 2015). Most studies comparing mobile and non-mobile student groups show a positive Europeanising effect of the Erasmus sojourn (De Federico de la Rua, 2002; King & Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Mitchell, 2012, 2015; Oborune, 2013; Jacobone & Moro, 2015; Fernandez Rovira, 2019). De Federico de la Rua (2002) further concluded that transnational friendships cause a redrawing of perceived boundaries between people, supporting the Common lngroup Identity Model assumptions. Two studies by Mitchell (2012, 2015) surveyed large and diverse groups of students showing an overwhelmingly positive effect of Erasmus on both cognitive and affective aspect of European identity (Mitchell, 2015). Furthermore, the 2012 study demonstrated that large majority of students socialised in international and multilingual groups leading to a hypothesis that multilingualism is a facilitator of meaningful contact (2012). Mitchell's study showed that socialisation with other internationals may be constitutive of changes in both cognitive and affective components of European identity, while socialisation with co-nationals may not lead to the same changes (2015). However, only 'oblique insight' (Mitchell, 2012, p. 503) as to the connections between plurilingualism, socialisation patterns and identity can be drawn from these studies.

Similarly, Jacobone and Moro's (2015) research showed that improving language skills, 'the European experience' and making new friends abroad (p. 317) were the most appreciated aspects of exchange, but the study design did now allow for drawing a direct causal relationship between socialisation and the change in identification patterns. Longitudinal studies (Sigalas, 2010; Wilson, 2011; Jacobone and Moro, 2015; Llurda et al., 2016) yielded conflicting results. Sigalas (2010) attempted to also track students' socialisation patterns, showing that Erasmus leads to increased interaction with other Europeans. That intergroup contact with other Europeans, however, had a very modest effect on European identity in that study.

Qualitative studies allow for a deeper understanding of European identity and whether the theoretical assumptions are reflected in students' perceptions of the experience. In interview and focus-group based research, students point to international friendships, cross-cultural contact and learning about other cultures through intergroup contact as adding to 'feeling European' (Ambrosi, 2013; Van Mol 2013a, 2013b; Żyłkiewicz-Płońska, 2014). Studies comparing mobile and non-mobile students (Van Mal 2013a; 2013b) show not only that in the mobile group a positive attitude towards European identity is more prevalent, but also that the majority of mobile respondents tie it to political unity, freedom of travel and common European values. Żyłkiewicz-Płońska's (2014) study showed students largely tie their European identity to geographical factors of being born on the continent or currently living in a European country but also, to a lesser extent, to the political unity of EU, opportunities

of freedom of travel, common values and culture and a 'familiarity feeling' (p. 83), feeling at home in other European countries. This is also consistent with the findings of Ambrosi's (2013) study, in which meanings ascribed to the European identity largely revolved around the “feeling like they belonged” in their destination country (p. 152), absence of boundaries, free movement and easy access to other cultures. Interviewees in Ambrosi's study put down their enhanced European identity to “meaningful relationships with people and places” (2013, p. 153), which supports the theories of social communication detailed above.

Llurda et al.'s study (2016) allows for insight into students' perceptions of the role of languages and multilingualism in Europe, which “emerges as a linguistically and culturally diverse space” (p. 330). English is identified as a useful lingua franca, which can act as a facilitator of meaningful contact (Mitchell, 2012) to a limited extent. Students highly value learning the local language and demonstrate that the linguistic repertoire did influence their socialisation patterns and remaining or venturing out of their “linguistic and cultural comfort zone” (Llurda et al., 2016, p. 337) was a factor in their mobility decisions.

Generally, qualitative studies provide empirical support for the Contact Hypothesis and Common Identity lngroup Model, with patterns of national differences (Ambrosi, 2013; Van Mol, 2013a, 2013b; Żyłkiewicz-Płońska, 2014; Fernandez Rovira, 2019). This study aims to fill the gap that has been identified in qualitative research (Mitchell, 2012; Jacobone and Moro, 2015) into the nature of the European 'we-feeling' (Deutsch et al., 1968, p. 36) by exploring the social situations that engender it and the role of multilingualism in this process. The study was guided by these research questions:

1. How do Erasmus students understand their European identity?

2. What elements of the Erasmus experience engender that feeling according to Erasmus students?

3. What is the perceived role of multilingual skills in facilitating these processes?

Methodology

This study was guided by open, inductive research questions for which a qualitative methodological approach was most suitable. It was conducted using semi-structured interviews to generate data and inductive thematic content analysis (TCA) as the overarching methodological approach.

I conducted interviews with seven participants who completed an Erasmus exchange in the last four years. The sample was convenience based. Table 1 outlines participant details.

Table 1. Details of participants

Participant	Age	Gender	Nationality	First language(s)	Foreign language skills	Host country	Length of stay (months)
Cat	24	Female	Irish	English	Spanish	Spain	10
Jamie	-	Male	British	English	Spanish French	Spain	10
Hannah	24	Female	German	German	English French Spanish Italian Japanese	UK	5
Jana	24	Female	Czech	Czech Slovak	English	Ireland	-
George	23	Male	British	English	French Turkish	Turkey	10
Roma	26	Female	Polish	Polish	English Spanish Portuguese	Spain	5+10
Fiona	24	Female	British	English	-	Netherlands	4

Data Collection

The corpus of data was generated by conducting semi-structured interviews, a well-suited data collection method for this exploratory, data-driven study (Gibson & Hua, 2016). Semi-structured interviews “can provide insight into people's experiences, beliefs, perceptions and motivations” (Richards, 2009, p. 187) which was the goal of this study. The interviews lasted between 20 and 27 minutes and were conducted via video-conferencing software as in person interviews were not possible due to travel constraints. I used an interview guide (Appendix 1) to steer the interview in the direction necessary for eliciting information relevant to the research questions, but giving the interviewees the freedom to lead so as to make it a “conversation with a purpose” (Richards, 2009, p. 186). Six interviews were conducted in English, the researcher's second language, and the remaining one (Roma) was conducted in Polish, the native language of the participant and the researcher. The recordings were subsequently transcribed verbatim in the original language using orthographic transcription which provides all the verbal utterances and sufficient level of detail to conduct a successful TCA (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The primary data corpus was, therefore, formed by the transcripts of the interviews and supplemented by my field-notes made during the interviews (Gibson & Hua, 2016).

Data Analysis

The data was coded manually following Braun and Clarke's (2006) model for TCA. Latent themes relating to the meanings ascribed to European identity, its relation to the students' patterns of socialisation and the importance of multilingual skills were identified producing a thematic map presented in figure 1.

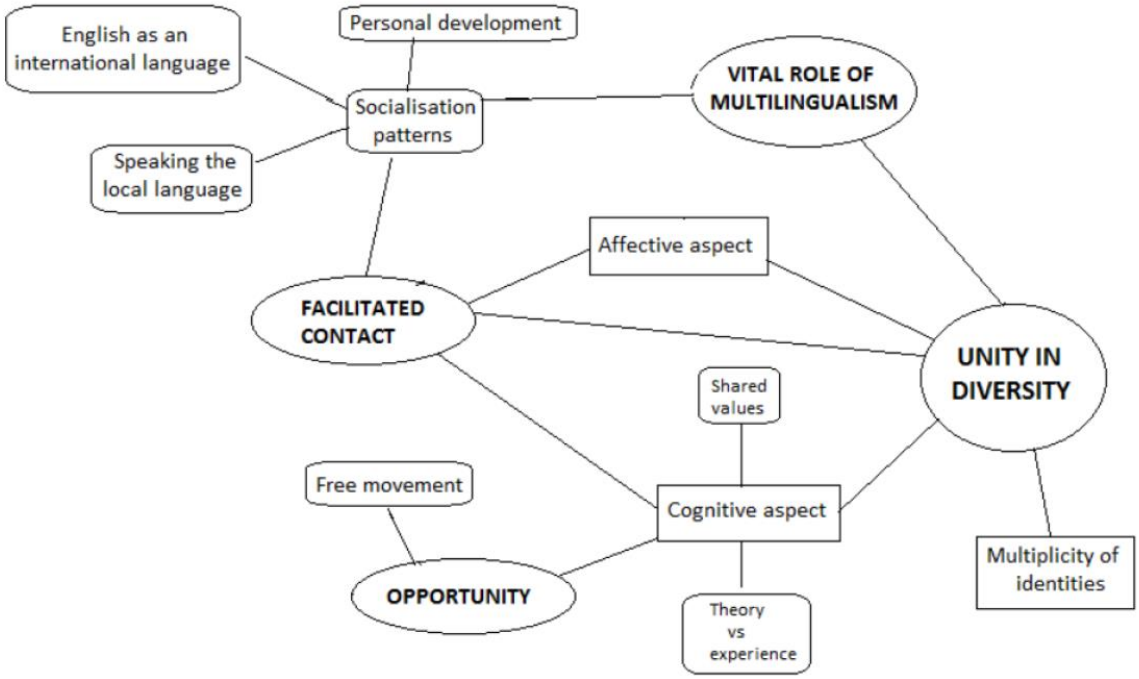

Figure 1. Thematic map

Criteria for judging this study

The qualitative nature of this research necessarily implies small sample size and limited generalisability (Holliday, 2013) but its strength lies in the deep exploration of meaning and complexity of socialisation patterns and collective identity. I aimed to enhance the validity and credibility of this study by recruiting a diverse set of participants in terms of gender, nationality, Erasmus host country and multilingual skills. Following Dervin's (2006) call on intercultural researchers to employ more reflexivity in their research, it needs to be acknowledged that my bias as a researcher constitutes a limitation to the credibility of this qualitative study in that my national identity and the language choice impacted the relationships with participants. Nevertheless, the language choice was dictated by the effort to limit miscommunication and with participant comfort in mind (Holmes et al., 2006). Furthermore, being recorded may have influenced the participants' responses (Gibson and Hua, 2016). However, the Erasmus experience is shared between the researcher and the researched making it easier to discuss topics related to the experience, but contributing to a bias in conducting the interviews and the data analysis. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006) point out that in TCA themes do not 'emerge' but are actively searched for by the researcher, adding to the possible limitation of researcher's bias. I aimed to counteract that by drawing precise and direct connections between data items (quotes) and themes in the discussion of data.

Ethical considerations

All participants took part voluntarily and signed a consent form. The nature of this research did not require the discussion of sensitive topics. Nevertheless, the participants were informed that they could refuse to answer questions and withdraw at any point. The nature of the interview prevents the primary data from being anonymised, but once transcribed, the names of the participants were changed. All data is kept adhering to the EU and UK GDPR.

Analysis and discussion

The participants present a largely positive attitude to being Eu r opean. I identified four main interconnected themes, painting a picture of the students' understanding of European identity and the social and linguistic aspects of it. Those are: unity in diversity; facilitated contact; opportunity; vital role of multilingualism . The thematic map is presented in figure 1.

Unity in diversity

The theme of unity in diversity as the cornerstone of European identity runs through the majority of part icipant s' responses . I identified three ways in which this is manifested: the cognitive aspect of identity, (Mitchell, 2015); the affective aspect (ibid.); and the positive attitude towards multiplicity of identities.

a) Cognitive aspect

Almost all students mentioned the learning process in which theoretical "book-based, paper" (Roma) knowledge is enhanced by personal experience in which they "learn ed a lot more" (Jana) about other cultures. As Hannah, who travelled from Germany to the UK, pointed out: "theoretically I knew a bit but going there definitely opened my eyes". The differences observed first-hand are seen as 'enriching' and 'mind-opening' (Roma) because they are restricted to the trivial, everyday practices such as: having a siesta (Cat, Jamie), beer drinking (Jana, Hannah), queuing (Hannah). The participants do not perceive the differences as divisive, but constructive. Roma, for example, notes:

Oni się inaczej zachowują, ale jesteśmy w stanie się porozumieć, jesteśmy w stanie się dogadać [...] zderzymy te dwa spojrzenia i wyjdzie zupełnie nowa jakość, więc tak, tworzenie nowych jakości, nowych wartości.
[They act differently but we are able to communicate, we are able to get along [...] when we combine the two perspectives, we get a new quality, it's like creating new qualities, new values.]

According to the Common Ingroup Identity Model, “the context of cooperative interdependence” (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000, p. 40) is likely to engender positive feelings towards each other in members of outgroups as they are likely to recognise and appreciate the distinctiveness of the groups as a value. Erasmus exchange is framed as cooperation and interdependence by the European Commission, the higher education institutions which host the exchange and the students themselves whose main goal is to experience other cultures (Van Mol, 2013a; Żyłkiewicz-Płońska, 2019). The boundaries between national groups are, therefore, not erased (Fligstein, 2008), but they come be appreciated as a valuable source of learning and personal development, as suggested by Fiona, a student from Scotland:

> European I think there is just different countries and kind of how you can learn so much from the way other countries do things and like, yeah, they’re just kind of different attitudes and everything

There is “something that bonds” (Jana) them with other Europeans and they often refer to “common values” (Hannah) and cultural similarities. Hannah explains that:

> Being able to travel and spend time abroad with no visas or anything necessary and also you can see that cultures and values are sort of different but also similar in a sense in the European Union

While some quantitative studies (Mitchell, 2015) showed that enhanced knowledge of other European cultures and the EU does not seem to enhance the European identity, this study shows that the knowledge can be an important element of identification as European. Participant s' understanding of the common values include “tolerance” (Roma) and “having respect for different cultures” (Fiona), which resonates with the theme of unity in diversity. Openness to Europe' s diversity is something that students see as a value in itself and an element of “being European”. (Roma), who has been on Erasmus in Spain twice, links it to the positive attitude towards European diversity:

Tak, czuję się Europejką, zdecydowanie [...] na pewno obywatel Europy. Nie mam problemu z podróżowaniem, z przekraczaniem takich granic kulturowych, z innymi narodowościami.
[Yes, I feel European, definitely [...] for sure a European citizen. I don't have a problem travelling, crossing cultural borders, other nationalities.]

In addition, these values are seen as a strength in the context of a political alliance. Fiona, who expressed their sadness about the UK's decision to leave the EU, stated that being European meant "wanting to have that connection with other countries" which in turn means they are "stronger together".

b) Cognitive aspect

The majority of participants relate the cognitive aspect of identity to the affective aspect. Cat, Roma, Jana and Jamie all express emotional "sense of belonging" (Jamie) to the host country and Europe which stems directly from the personal experience and enhanced knowledge. Cat said she "understands a European country a bit more" and feels she "had closer ties to the country" and an "emotional tie" as a result of Erasmus.

George, who went to Turkey, is the only participant who does not "feel that European", saying that as a British person he sees the EU only as "a political body that we were associated with but not something we were". He also concretely refers to this as a lack of an emotional bond:

It's that kind of passion, a bond with something when you can sort of really relate to it and there's meaning imbued with it so I don't think there's any meaning when someone says European Union or Europe to me

A large proportion of participants described their emotional attachment as "feeling like home" (Roma) in other European countries. Roma repeatedly referred to a feeling of "homeliness", "comfort" and "knowing Europe like the back of her hand" and a similar sentiment ran through Cat's and Jana's interviews. Jana, the Czech student, said:

It's just different when you go to visit that country and then you tell someone about it than when you live there and that you talk about it and you actually love the country like you're from there

This echoes the findings of Ambrosi's (2013) study in which students also concluded that they felt like they belonged to their host country after Erasmus and responses in Żyłkiewicz-Płońska's (2019) study where the participants quoted feeling at home in other European countries ad one of the key aspects of "feeling European". This theme suggests that the perception of this supranational identity is based on different factors than national identity, which tends to stem from a perception of shared characteristics and similarity within the 'imagined community ' of a nation (Anderson, 1991). According to Weiler (1999), supranational identity can "appeal to different aspects of the human psyche" (cited by Llurda et al., 2016, p. 325) than national identity and is based on a rational rather than irrational sense of belonging. Both cognitive and affective aspects of identification with Europe play into that identification pattern. The learning and knowledge of differences and similarities gained through personal experience are key to the development of conscious awareness of cultural entity such as Europe, but the emotional ties to the place, the people, the language and the culture play an equally important part.

c) Multiplicity of identities

All participants are comfortable with the idea of multiple layers of identity and they point to varied sources of those identifications. Many of the participants instantly draw comparisons with their national identity when asked about European identity, but do not put those in opposition. Jamie, Fiona, Hannah and Jana put their regional identity first, albeit 'regional' here is defined in various ways. Jamie admits he would say he is from "Newcastle or the northeast, Northumberland" first and foremost, while Fiona primarily identifies as Scottish. Both of them are reluctant to identify as British and tie it to feelings of disillusionment with the country, especially in the light of Brexit. Jana identifies as 'northern' within her Slovak national identity, although she holds a Czech passport, and Hannah says:

I wouldn't say my German identity is that strong, I'd say my Bavarian identity is stronger, like regional identity is stronger than my German but I would say I'm Bavarian and then sort of European and German on the same level.

This is consistent with the research by Jacobone and Moro, which "confirms the possibility that national and European identity can coexist, and that European identity is not a threat to the national identity" (2015, p. 323). Similarly, in Ambrosi's (2013) research, the majority of participants were comfortable with the idea of multiple identities. Papatsiba (2006) also observed that Erasmus students, independently of their socialisation patterns, developed an increased perception of variability and complexity. This suggests that students with the experience of European mobility develop towards a more global (Ambrosi, 2013), complex and inclusive understanding of identity.

Facilitated contact

Erasmus exchange emerges as a special environment for making international friends as "when it comes to Erasmus everybody was sort of open outgoing always up to do things" (Hannah), there is "openness on both sides", (Roma) making it "quite different to when you meet people outside of Erasmus" (Jana). This partially echoes findings by Papatsiba where students "reported having remained within the network of Erasmus students where there were possibilities of encounters, acquaintances and friendship" (2006, p. 121). The emotional tie to the host country and largely to Euro pe as a whole is clearly connected to personal relationships that students developed thanks to the Erasmus experience facilitating contact with people from other nationalities. All participants made friends and stay in touch with them, often visiting each other and staying in touch online. Roma, who has many friends who studied abroad, extends the European identity to the fact that she knows people who live in other places and that makes her comfortable with crossing borders:

Wiem, że tam są moi ludzie i że oni się tam dobrze czują, że czują się jak w domu, to znaczy, że to jest też takie moje miejsce, że mogłoby być moim miejscem.

[I know that there are my people there [in other countries] and that they feel comfortable there, that they feel at home, that means it can also be my place, that it could also be my place.]

This is echoed by Jana, who says that "when you talk to European people especially on Erasmus or people that travel and they all like Europe, it makes you like it more". The assumption that the Erasmus exchange environment meets Allport's (1954) criteria for meaningful contact is useful in interpreting those remarks. The students share a temporary status of being "an Erasmus" (Papatsiba, 2006) which puts them at an equal footing and the atmosphere of the exchange settings is very much that of cooperation (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000). Furthermore, the criterion of "supportive norms from authorities" (ibid.) is created firstly through the grant from the European Commission and secondly by a network of support at the host institution or city which is largely focused on fostering socialisation through "Erasmus events" (Jana). This is explicitly mentioned by five participants as an initiative that facilitated making meaningful friendships. Both Hannah and Cat observe that those "international Erasmus meetings" (Hannah) shaped their groups of friends for the time they spent in the host city. This theme is interrelated with the subtheme of affective aspect of identity. Jamie, who went to Spain and worked as an English teaching assistant, tied these relationship s to European identity:

It's very easy [making friends] [...] and I think it did really open my eyes up to citizenship in the sense of European citizenship [...] getting close to people who are European also influenced how European I feel.

Similar themes were observed by Papatsiba (2006). For her participants, Erasmus experience provided "opportunities to capture European

diversity through acquaintance, relationships and affinities" (p.121). Three participants in my study mentioned making conscious efforts to make friends and the personal development that stemmed from this. Fiona became "independent and confident and just a bit more outgoing", Jamie and Jana mentioned becoming less introverted. Papatsiba (2006) also observed that students, deprived of their familiar support networks, became more open and eager to create acquaintances.

Opportunity

Another salient theme regarding European identity were the opportunities that come with EU citizenship, especially free movement. Five of the participants mention no border checks and easy travel "without trying to get visa or have the whole bureaucratic process" (Jana) as one of the most appreciated aspects of holding a European passport and a "liberty" (Hannah) that is highly valued.

Free movement featured heavily in students' responses in previous qualitative studies (Ambrosi, 2013; Van Mol, 2013a; Żyłkiewicz-Płońska; 2019) as creating a feeling of freedom and "being wanted" abroad (Żyłkiewicz-Płońska, 2019, p.81 [my translation]). The Erasmus programme is appreciated as "a huge opportunity" (Jana) that embodies that freedom of movement and "facilitates" (Roma) transnational contact, which is consistent with previous studies (Ambrosi, 2013). Students know that the support they receive is a feature of the political unity of the continent and that supports t heir positive feelings about being a European citizen. The financial and organisational support is appreciated as Jamie points out that "it's a European programme and it gives you funding" and Hannah appreciates that "they basically guide you through every step, all the paperwork". The country's belonging to the EU and European citizenship emerges as a significantly more important aspect of European identity than the geographical location of the country (Roma) or even cultural proximity. Cat, from Northern Ireland, comments:

I do think an important aspect of having an Irish passport is that I consider myself Irish you know like it gives me like a European identity gives me the freedom of travel as well

Numerous participants mention that Brexit led them to reflect more on their European identity and all of them have negative feelings about it taking away the opportunities and threatening the idea of unity in diversity. For example, Fiona, a supporter of Scottish independence

and the UK remaining in the EU, notes:

> I think like that kind of thing of being European is about wanting to have that connection with other countries and kind of understanding it like you're stronger together

Cat tied her vote in the Brexit referendum to her personal experiences of the opportunity the EU provides, saying that she "felt really strongly that it wasn't fair to take that away from potentially other people in the future" referring to the opportunity to study or work abroad.

Vital role of multilingualism

Regarding language skills, it becomes apparent that the multilingual repertoire influenced the shape of the participants' socialisation patterns, which echoes the findings by Mitchell (2012). Firstly, English emerges as a tool of transnational communication being used "just for ease" (George), a necessary skill, and a factor in the choice of destination for those who lack skills in other foreign languages. Fiona, who went from Scotland to the Netherlands, explains:

> My boyfriend also studied in the Netherlands [...] as a native English speaker who doesn't speak any other languages the fact that the vast majority of people speak very good English was a big factor because he'd known he'd be able to get by quite easily

Depending on students' motivations, knowing the host country language was not always important, but knowing English is seen as "essential" (Jana). Jana, who went to Ireland, pointed out that English was used as an international language within her group of friends, rather than the host country language. This is confirmed in George's, Fiona's and Hannah's talk, too. Jana says that "[not knowing English] prevents you from meeting new people, getting to know them". Multilingualism, thus, emerges as a means to an important goal of Erasmus, which is socialising, and English fulfils this role most readily. This is also consistent with the observations by Liurda et al. (2016) in which students expressed a sense of security attached to knowing English in a country where they do not speak the

local language. As a native English speaker Fiona acknowledged a certain privilege in that “you do definitely get a bit lazy when it's your native language cause, you know, you can pretty much get by anywhere just speaking English”.

Simultaneously, for those who speak the host country language (Jana, Roma, Cat, Jamie, Hannah), it is both important as a skill they want to develop through interacting with native speakers and as a tool allowing for more meaningful communication. These factors shape their choices when it comes to socialisation. Jamie, having gone on exchange to improve his Spanish, said that “it was more about making friends with people who were willing to speak Spanish rather than Spanish native speakers”. Roma also observes that her multilingual skills were a major factor behind her choice of friends and that knowing Spanish allowed her to expand beyond the strict Erasmus circle and into the local community, where she made the majority of her long-lasting friendships:

Bez hiszpańskiego uważam, że no jakby nie byłoby 98 procent znajomości które zawarłam.

[Without Spanish I think that 98 per cent of my friendships would not have happened.]

The linguistic repertoire, therefore, is a key factor in the decisions that students make about going on exchange and their socialisation patterns. This is also in response to the local society's linguistic abilities, so students adapt and show resilience in how they choose to communicate. Jamie reflects on his host community, the city of Huelva, saying that not speaking Spanish would have “massively” limited his social circle “because of where we were and the lack of English skills”. Additionally, multilingualism emerges as an element of European identity is some of the students' talk. Roma explicitly mentions that when talking about what European identity means to her:

Znajomość języków obcych [...] brak problemu takiej komunikacji bo znając angielski nawet pi razy oko można się dogadać praktycznie w każdym kraju Europy.

[Knowing foreign languages [...] no problem communicating because knowing English you can get by practically in any European country.]

This is consistent with the findings by Llurda et al. (2016). An awareness of linguistic diversity in Europe and a respect for preserving that also featured in their study. Local languages were perceived as indicators of identity and a value that should be respected by a student who is a guest in the country. Similarly, Hannah said that English is the most useful tool of communication, but “you should be able to sort of like understand a little bit of the [local] language and communicate”.

Summary

In general, students reflect on their mobility experience as having “definitely strengthened” (Roma) and “expanded” (Cat) their identification with Europe, having been a “springboard” (Jamie) to feeling more like a part of that community. Only George, a British student who so journed in Turkey, said he did not feel “imbued” with European identity at all, neither prior nor after the exchange. The themes analysed above show that Erasmus students understand their European identity as a feeling of belonging based largely on a positive emotional bond . An important element of this identification is the awareness of European diversity, which is seen as a value and as an exciting learning opportunity, rather than a hurdle on the path to supranational identity. The data suggests that the European identity does not make people 'see each other less as Italians and French, and thus foreign' (Fligstein, 2008, p. 139), but that it adds another, but separate, layer of identity for Erasmus students, which exists alongside their national identity. As direct beneficiaries of the freedom of movement and financial support for study abroad, Erasmus students exercise that freedom of movement and take advantage of the opportunities, which is seen as 'doing' European identity, using the resources available (Jamieson, 2002). EU citizenship is, thus, an important element of European identity for the participants.

Multilingual skills do facilitate contact with others on Erasmus and students are highly adaptable to the linguistic environment. They make decisions based on their language skills and goals, so that their socialisation patterns reflect the compatibility of their abilities with the linguistic repertoire of the host society. While speaking English is seen as an essential skill to get by on Erasmus independently of the host country, if the local language is not English, speaking it to some extent is perceived as allowing for a deeper interaction with the host society. Importantly, all participants agree that had they not spoken English, they would have not made the decision to go abroad, making multilingualism essential to non-English speakers, but not necessarily for native English speakers.

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the nature of European identity in Erasmus students, its sources related to the experience of exchange and the role of multilingualism in these processes. With regards to the first research question, the theme of unity in diversity

reveals that mobile students perceive European identity as largely based within the cultural, political and linguistic diversity of Europe. They confirm the constructivist assumptions by having a multi-layered view of identity both in self-reflection and when talking about others. This suggests that there is a move towards multi-layered and inclusive view of regional, national, transnational identities which welcomes a complex and interconnected view of oneself. In connection to the second research question, the students identify the sources of their European identity in creating connect ions with other people and gaining awareness of other European cultures. Additionally, they appreciate the opportunities for personal and social growth which come with the political unity of the continent and value the facilitated transnational contact that these opportunities create. With regards to final research question, multilingualism played a vital role in these processes of transnational contact and identity formation. Students' multilingual repertoire shapes their socialisation patterns and is used as a resource in strategically navigating the transnational experience, with students showing resilience and adaptability in multilingual environments. English is revealed as a necessary skill when crossing borders in Europe, but multilingualism is perceived as an element of European identity within the unity in diversity theme.

The Erasmus experience appears to create good conditions for meaningful transnational contact to be achieved with all students making lasting friendships. Transactionalist theory (Deutsch et al., 1957) helps in interpreting these findings in that the mobility does enhance the likelihood of social transactions and, in turn, students who have participated in it attribute their European identity largely to those transactions in form of international friendships. Every research design includes 'trade-offs' (Mitchell, 2012, p. 506) and this qualitative research has its methodological limitations. While previous quantitative studies showed national differences and provided substantial statistical significance, this study does not allow for drawing conclusions on differences across nationality or gender. Following Mitchell's (2012) suggestion, a mixed-methods approach of a survey with follow-up questions could provide more statistically significant data on the perception of European identity and the sociolinguistic factors in its formation.

Furthermore, more in-depth qualitative studies could be conducted that focus on the role of multilingualism in socialisation on Erasmus. However, this study provides a deep understanding, showing how Erasmus students develop a non-essentialist, complex, multi-layered view of their identities, seeing their regional, national and transnational identities alongside each other without difficulty. It suggests that students value the transnational connections they build and see those as a vital part of the mobility experience and themselves as individuals. Finally, it shows that mobility is an important aspect of students' experience of being European, pointing to the importance

of fostering such schemes and widening participation in them.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

1. Introductory questions
    - What is your native language and what foreign languages do you speak and how well?
    - Where did you go on Erasmus and for how long?
    - Was it for study or traineeship?
    - Why did you choose this place?
2. Erasmus experience
    - Had you ever been to [the host country] before?
    - Did you suffer culture shock on your Erasmus?
    - Tell me about the differences and similarities between your culture and the host country culture that you noticed/ learned about?
    - What would your typical week look like?
    - How did you make friends? Where were they from?
    - Did you make any close friendships, do you still stay in touch?
    - Did these friendships make you feel closer to people from other countries?
    - Did the experience make you feel more or less likely to live abroad in the future?
3. Language use
    - What languages did you use on your Erasmus?
    - What languages did you use to communicate with your friends and why?
    - If your language skills were different, do you think it would have influenced how you made friends and with whom?
4. European identity
    - Do you feel European and why/ why not?
    - Has Erasmus made you feel any differently about your European identity?
    - Can you tell me what aspects of the Erasmus experience made you feel that way?
    - Do you think there is a common European culture?
    - How important is the political belonging to the European Union important for your identification as European?

To what extent had Trump used George Floyd as a campaigning tool? A critical discourse analysis of Trump's twitter in its political context

Thomas Lonsdale

ABSTRACT: The Death George Floyd represents among the latest example of the sheer scale of police brutality and systematic racism in the United States. The protests that followed represent one of the most large-scale backlashes against these atrocities in recent years. Despite the scale of the problem, using the Discourse-Historical approach to perform a Critical Discourse Analysis on President Trump's response to the tragedy suggest that he has merely used the racial tensions as a way to gain votes in the upcoming election and spread his populist rhetoric to further the divisions that have become ever more entrenched during his presidency. To gain an understanding of this fact, a corpus of Trump's tweets and retweets will be analysed. Twitter has fundamentally changed the way that political discourse works and has created a platform on which Trump and other populist leaders can communicate directly with their people to stir up anxieties about the loss of identity at the hand of a globalised elite. Analysis of Trump's discourse on twitter allows for an understanding of how he has effectively mobilised this platform and provides insight into the main themes that will be used in the 2020 election, in which he will seek to remobilise the portion of the electorate who voted for him in 2016. The discourse that he uses to mobilise his voters could well decide the upcoming election, and so its analysis is hugely timely and important. ***Editors note: This analysis was completed before the election.***

Contact: T.Lonsdale@newcastle.ac.uk

Introduction

The election of Donald Trump to the US presidency in 2016 was the result of a number of long-term trends in American, and indeed global politics, one of the most striking of which being the ever-increasing ideological polarisation of the American electorate (Campbell, 2018; Pew Research Center, June 2020; Pew Research Center, July 2020). One of the most fertile sources of conflict along these partisan lines are in terms of race (Olson, 2008), a fact made abundantly clear by discourse surrounding recent George Floyd riots (Financial Times Editorial, 2020), a response to the latest in a long line of racially motivated murders at the hands of police (Edwards, Lee & Esposito, 2019). These polarised perspectives largely fall along party political lines; 89% of white Democrats believe that the criminal justice system does not treat minorities fairly compared to 36% of white Republicans (Guskin, Clement & Balz, 2020). Lack of consensus in

this area has manifested in a divide between supporters of Black Lives Matter and those of the 'Blue (police) Lives Matter' movement which exists in opposition to what BLM represents (Cooper, 2020; Solomon & Martin, 2019).

To understand this central societal conflict, it is worthwhile to attempt to break down and understand some of this discourse surrounding the riots. Especially fruitful would be an attempt to analyse President Trump's response to the killing and subsequent riots to understand one of the key representative voices in this debate, particularly in light of controversy surrounding a tweet made by the President that was hidden from view by Twitter for 'violating their policy on glorifying violence' (Trump, 29th May; BBC News, 2020). For many, this tweet characterised this return within American society of outright racial hatred (Abramowitz & McCoy 2018), promoted by an increasingly vocal far right (Jones, 2018), a group that Trump has previously been said to appease (Butt & Khalid, 2018) (notably in his response to the killing of a counter-protestor at a march for white nationalists, in which he said that there were 'fine people on both sides' (Kessler, 2020)).

Counter to what many commenters suggest, it might appear that many politicians are reluctant to engage with these racist and xenophobic elements of society directly (Bennett & Walker, 2018; Sugino, 2020). Indeed, to an observer unaware of any of the context of US race relations and the Trump presidency, it might appear that Trump's response to the killing of Floyd and the subsequent riots were marked by their apparent sensitivity to the problems of Black Americans. One example of this is the fact that some of Trump's tweets in response to the riots appeared concerned with the legacy of George Floyd (Trump, 29th May), the memory of whom the 'violent' and 'thuggish' protesters were said to be violating (The White House, May 30th; Trump, 29th May). This speaks to the fact that racial politics in the public domain has had to adapt to be more linguistically subtle; even Trump appears to recognise that outright racism would be electorally catastrophic, so tweets instead using more of a 'dog-whistle' approach (Drakulich, 2020). Just as a dog whistle is inaudible to humans, users of this dog-whistle politics target their message at a specific section of the electorate, hiding messages and references that only this audience will understand within otherwise apparently innocuous discourse (Albertson, 2015; Haney-López, 2014).

This technique makes it electorally viable to appeal to racist and xenophobic sentiments in society, as it can often escape the most direct criticism and frees those who respond to it from the burden from feeling as though they themselves are racist (Drakulich, 2020). To decode this hidden intent behind these messages, Critical Discourse Analysis is uniquely capable tool (Schoor, n.d.). It allows us to consider discourse in the context of the social themes that inform it (Dijk, 2009), allowing for a deconstruction of a text with a full understanding of its background and intended purpose (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2013). Twitter represents a particularly

rich source of these messages, especially for President Trump who has used the platform as a line to the electorate (Clarke & Grieve, 2019). As such, attempting to decode Trumps tweets offer a valuable opportunity to consider the current political climate. This is particularly timely as the US enters an election cycle, and it is vital to consider how Trump might attempt to capitalise on racial disharmony to generate votes and be re-elected to the presidency in 2020. This will ultimately be achieved through a critical discourse analysis of Tweets referring to Floyd, but the explicit element of criticality in CDA means that an in depth understanding of the context and surrounding literature is essential. The most important elements of context here are the nature of political discourse on Twitter, the specificities of Trump's use of Twitter, the broader political context in which Trump tweets, and the style of discourse used. Only on the basis of an understanding of this context will it be possible to understand the extent to which the death of Floyd has been used as a campaign tool.

Twitter and its impact on contemporary political discourse

Before it possible to attempt to understand the discourse surrounding the riots and what insight they offer into the state of contemporary US politics, it is important to consider one of the key factors that has led to this political situation; the medium on which that discourse takes place. It is almost impossible to overstate the importance that the rise of social media, in particular Twitter has had on the nature of politics globally (Davis & Taras, 2020; Galdieri, Lucas & Sisco, 2018). In particular, the election of Trump is often said to be a direct result of his ability to capitalise on the specific strengths of Twitter (Ott, 2016). The impact of Twitter on political discourse can largely, for the purpose of this essay, be broken down into two core areas. Firstly, it privileges the 'simple, impulsive and uncivil' (Ott, 2016, 59) discourse that characterises Trump's tweets (Ouyang & Waterman, 2020). This uncivil discourse itself tends towards increasing polarisation, especially in conjunction with the second core impact of Twitter on political discourse; the fundamentally altered relationship between the electorate and those in power. People interact directly with politicians (Tromble, 2016) and news sources (Bruns & Burgess, 2012) through social media, leading to an ever more personalised news input that reinforces the ideological position of the news consumer (Guo, Rohde & Wu, 2018), and has led to news sources themselves becoming ever more polarised and ideological (Brookey & Ott, 2019) It is these two trends that Trump best mobilises through his Twitter presence and inform the nature of his success on the platform.

There is considerable research which demonstrates the power of simple ideological and emotive discourse on Twitter, and much in the context of the 2016 US election in particular. Perhaps most notable among these is Galdieri, Lucas & Sisco's (2018) The Role of Twitter in the 2016 US Election, especially Marietta et. al.'s chapter Less Is More Ideological:

Conservative and Liberal Communication on Twitter in the 2016 Race. The main thrust of this chapter is that the 'simplest and most inciting aspects' (pp. 7) of any given political ideology are those which gain the most traction on social media, a fact that has clearly played into the hands of Trump, whose 2016 campaign could be summarised in short, easy to digest slogans. 'Build the wall'. 'Drain the swamp'. 'Make America Great Again'. These messages themselves can be easily shared on Twitter (Eddington, 2018) and printed on caps and t-shirts, but also refer to broad ideological themes that Trump has effectively mobilised and appeal to his voter base (Flisfeder, 2018); Immigrants taking jobs and changing society (Martinez-Brawley & Zorita, 2018), the corruption of an established elite who care more for money than the lives of ordinary Americans (Gold, 2017; Vogel & Lipton, 2020) the decline of American Industry specifically, and American society more generally (Campbell, 2018). All simple, clear messages that resonate with voters and encourage them to go out to the polls (Wang & Liu, 2017).

The other aforementioned strength of Twitter from the perspective of Trump is its ability to bypass the media and other established elites to reach the people directly (Jacobs & Spierings, 2019; Kalsnes, Larsson & Enli, 2017). This lack of a filter between those in power and their audience represents a fundamental shift in the way that politics works (Brookey & Ott, 2019), and in combination with the power of simple ideological messages (Ott, 2016), has led to a huge upsurge in power for Trump (Kellner, 2016), who has used many of the discursive technique of the globally successful populist movement (Lacatus, 2019). For the purpose of this section it suffices to understand populists as those who thrive on the apparent conflict between an inherently virtuous 'people' against a detached, sinister 'elite' who seeks to control them (Mudde, 2013 & 2017). Twitter allows for communication directly with this 'people', and thus is uniquely capable of generating populist sentiment.

Trump and the specific US political context

Alongside this broad understanding of the specific character of political discourse on Twitter and the social context that it helped to create, it is important to understand the body of literature which has already attempted to understand Trump through his tweets (Clarke & Grieve, 2019; Enli, 2017; Francia, 2018; Galdieri, Lucas & Sisco, 2018). This essay is essentially concerned with the way that Trump generates political support and mobilises his voter base, so understanding how he has achieved this using social media in the past is invaluable. Where Trump is most successful generally, but especially on Twitter, is in his ability to speak directly to the concerns of the white working class (Thompson, 2019; Walley, 2017) and offer apparently simple solutions to their complex problems (Lamont, Park & Ayala-Hurtado, 2017), all while fostering a sense of identity (Coe & Griffin, 2020) within this broad group united by their feeling 'left behind' (Wuthnow, 2019). Trump achieved this most successfully in the 2016 election

due to his position as an outsider, somebody willing to use social media to speak the truth directly to the people (Enli, 2017). The consistent promotion of this messages, and the different stylistic approaches needed to spread it to different groups (Clarke & Grieve, 2019) Show that that there is a conscious strategy behind Trump's Twitter presence; a strategy that eschews professionalisation (Wells et. al., 2016), but a strategy nonetheless. This fact that there is a clear attempt at strategy makes this study even more important; it is essential to dissect the root message of Trump's discourse.

In our efforts to understand Twitter as a campaigning tool, it is also worthwhile to briefly consider the broader US political system, and the specific election campaign for the presidency in 2020. For the purpose of this study, perhaps the most important factor to note is how few voters actually change their minds between presidential elections in the US. As has been acknowledged, the country seems increasingly divided among party lines. These bipartisan divisions are so entrenched that in 2016, only 5.5% of the electorate were persuaded to change which party they voted for. Only 3.6% of the electorate who voted for Obama in 2012 voted for Trump in 2016, and 1.9% of the electorate who voted for Romney voted for Clinton (Drutman, 2017). The way that elections are decided in the US is more related to voter mobilisation than the persuasion of undecided voters. Obama was electorally successful at least in part due largely to his ability to mobilise ethnic minority voters (Brownstien, 2012), and Trump successful due to his ability to mobilise the white working class (Pew Research Center, 2018). This presents the core dilemma at the core of Trump's communication strategy, and what is likely to decide the outcome of the 2020 presidential election. Trump needs to mobilise his voter base, most likely through the appeal to populist sentiments, without causing so much outrage among potential Democrat voters to cause them to go out and vote for Biden. As racial politics represents one of the most significant partisan divides in the US (Guskin, Clement & Balz, 2020), understanding his discursive approach to the current racial tensions is vital in understanding how the election will unfold.

Trump in the context of the globalist political movement: Twitter and communication with 'The people'

Much has been made in the literature, and indeed so far in this study, about Trump's place in the global populist movement and his employment of populist discursive techniques (Goodheart, 2018, Norris & Inglehart, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018). There is no common consensus as to the definition of populism, however. There is the aforementioned ideological understanding of populism, where the virtuous people are in constant and inherent opposition to corrupt 'elites' (Mudde, 2017), but this is not universally accepted (Fuentes, 2020). Also prevalent in the literature is the idea that populism represents a communicative (Bucy et. at., 2020) and leadership style (McDonnell, 2017); one which Trump is often said to exemplify (Oliver & Rahn, 2016). It is useful to understand both

definitions, as Trump's discourse characterises many of the features of both (Lacatus, 2019).

It is important to understand populists concern with the idea of 'the people' and the suggestion that they are under attack and forgotten by elites (Cover, 2020) as this so characterises much of the discourse surrounding the black lives matter movement. Within this populist ideological framework, the black lives matter protests represent just another of these attacks on the mythologised idea of the American people that Trump presents (Drakulich et. al., 2020) and are therefore as 'un-American' in the ideological sense as the globalised liberal elite and foreign powers, working to destroy all that America represents. Indeed, this very American ideal is defined in opposition to these threats against it; populists are most successful when they can focus on a group of outsiders to define the people against (Mudde, Rovira Kaltwasser, 2013). Here the protesters represent the antithesis to all that is good about America; a threat to the police force and individual officers that embody the American ideals that Trump values (Drakulich et. al., 2020; Solomon, Kaplan & Hancock, 2019).

Only with the understanding of this interpretation of populism and its relevancy to the US context can we approach the second definition; the understanding of populism as a leadership style. It is this definition which is most often used in relation to Trump, who has been described as the "the populist par excellence" (Oliver and Rahn 2016). This leadership style is inseparable from the ideological understanding of populism and refers to leaders who cultivate the image of defenders of the people; an outsider willing to speak up to the 'elites' on behalf of those who they have forgotten (McDonnell, 2017). Clearly, this description is an apt summary of Trump's leadership style. His entire image as a candidate in 2016 related to this position as an outsider from the 'Washington elite' (Gallagher, 2019), and still, as it will become clear in this critical discourse analysis, it is a message that still defines his politics. Again, Twitter is a hugely important method of spreading this idea and that Trump was able to communicate directly with the electorate has played a key factor in his initial popularity and establishing himself as a candidate willing to work outside of traditional channels (Gallagher, 2019). Again, the importance of understanding the true ideology and intent behind Trump's discourse on Twitter is clearly vital as a means of ascertaining how he might replicate this success in the upcoming election.

Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis

Throughout the background sections to this study, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been referred to as the most appropriate tool to decode the hidden context and intent behind Trump's tweets. This is the case; although it is vital to recognise that CDA cannot be understood as a simple, unified methodological approach (Wokak 2013). Instead, it ought to be understood as a general philosophy, within which there are a number of different schools and

approaches (Weiss & Wokak, 2002). What these are unified by are the recognition of the inherently societal nature of discourse and an understanding of how context informs linguistic choices (Dijk, 2009). Another unifying feature of CDA approaches is their explicit element of criticality. They are concerned with uncovering injustices and hidden power structures (Leeuwen, 2018). As a result of this, one criticism levelled at the approach is that the necessarily central role of the researcher in CDA studies leads to predisposition and potential for misjudgements on the basis of the 'radical social agenda' of the researcher (Jones, 2007, 366). Of all CDA approaches, the Discourse-Historical Approach is perhaps the one most concerned with negating this claim, and aims to consider the full historical context behind any piece of communication; explicitly approaching discourse from the 'perspective of those who suffer' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, pp. 258; Forchtner, 2011) Also explicit in the DHA (Discourse-Historical Approach) is its concern with uncovering contradictions (Forchtner, 2011; Wodak, 2001). This makes it useful for decoding and identifying dog-whistle messages, texts which by their very nature use contradiction to obscure their hidden ideological intent. Another strength of the Discourse-Historical Approach is its offer of a comprehensive structure through which a corpus of text can be analysed, providing opportunities for examination at a textual and intertextual level before consideration of the broader social context (Wodak, 2001). This is advantageous compared to other CDA techniques as it allows for structural consideration of the text in relative isolation, upon which cultural insights can be added.

Data selection and research procedure

For the tool to function effectively, it is vital to base the analysis on a well-considered corpus of text. For the purpose of this study, the Trump Twitter Archive (http://www.trumptwitterarchive.com/archive), a constantly updated online resource which stores and organises all of Trump's tweets and retweets will be used to find references to 'George Floyd'. This will produce a relatively narrowly focused corpus that only includes relevant and timely tweets and retweets, making it more useful than considering all references to 'Black Lives Matter', for example. This provides the opportunity to gain an in depth textual, intertextual and socio-cultural understanding in a way that would not have been possible if using more source material. It is also important to note that all of the tweets and retweets were from between the 27th of May and the 27th of June 2020, very much a time frame within which the upcoming election will have been a significant consideration (Friedman, 2016), so we can understand that every tweet or retweet will have been done with this in mind. Retweets were also included to give a sense of the broader discourse that Trump seeks to present. While not written by the president, that he spreads the messages is enough of a seal of approval of the tweets message to make them useful for understanding more of the ideas and themes that Trump himself sanctions.

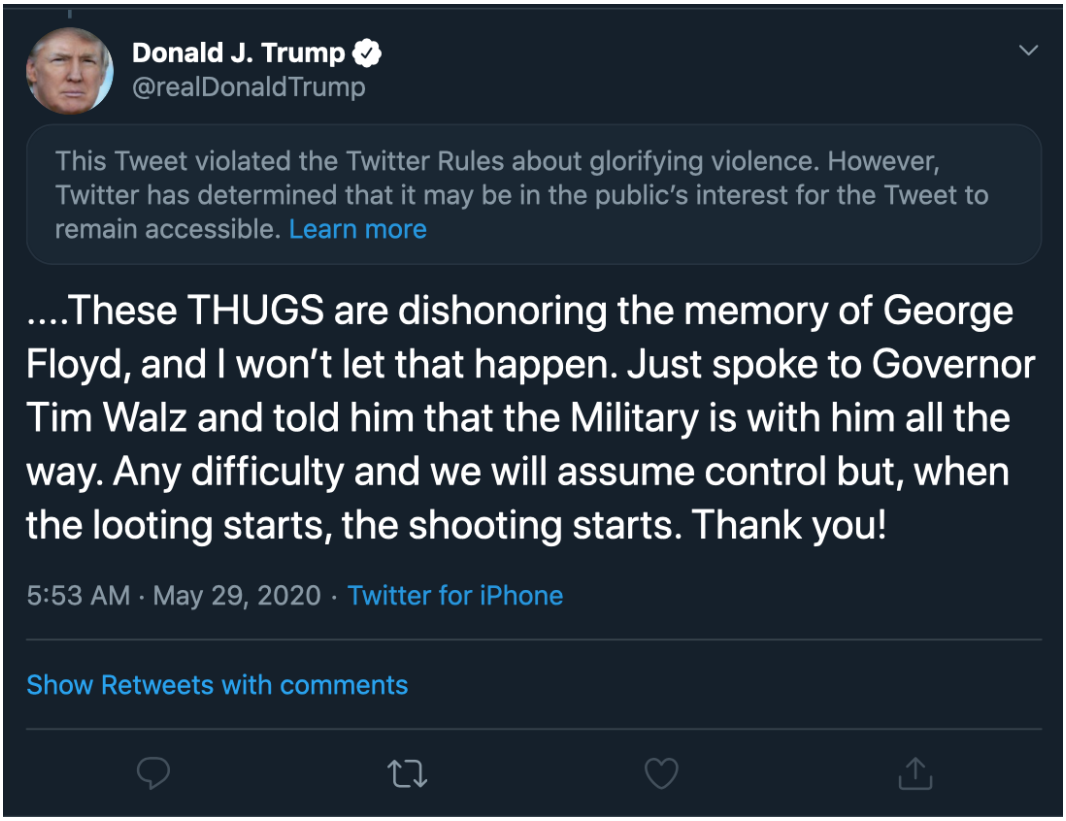
To analyse this corpus of text, the structure recommended by Wodak (2001) will be broadly replicated to allow for consideration of the socio-cultural context on the basis of thorough textual and intertextual analysis. As such, the research procedure will follow two broad phases. The first phase uses the text or discourse immanent technique which will uncover the main intertextual and intertextual inconsistencies, examining both the immediate language and then the intertextual relationships between texts within the corpus (Wodak, 2001). The second phase will use the findings of the first, providing socio-diagnostic critique to the inconsistencies and contradictions in the text (Wodak, 2001). It is here that extralinguistic and broader socio-political and historical factors will be introduced and considered, which will draw upon external knowledge of US racial history and the wider socio-political climate that serves as the context for the tweets themselves. The third stage of the discourse historical approach as proposed by Wodak (2001) is to offer a prognosis critique and recommendations of how to make the language more inclusive. Considering the targeted nature of Trump's communications to appeal to populist elements of society (Kellner, 2016), through a medium which specifically privileges simple and uncivil content (Ott, 2016), it seems that to offer a prognosis critique here would be to miss the point of Trump's communication strategy.

Analysis

Discourse immanent technique – textual and intertextual analysis

Before considering the corpus in context, it is important to look in more depth at some of the specific linguistic choices within some representative tweets. These were chosen on the basis of representing some of the key themes, and all have a number of telling linguistic features that characterise the key campaigning intent of the communication. While this section is designed to concentrate on specific linguistic choices, there is some historical and political context that is too important to brush past, and while it will receive more attention later, the choice of some direct quotes and core themes represent specific linguistic decisions, and as such are inseparable from the context of their inclusion. The tweets are organised chronologically to give a sense of the evolving nature of the debate around Floyd in the public domain and the progressing nature of the protests at the time.

Of the entire corpus of tweets made by Trump in response to the killing of George Floyd, it is the 'when the looting starts, the shooting starts' (Trump, 5:59AM, 29th May) tweet that gained the most attention and analysis in the media (Nelson, 2020; Sprunt, 2020; Zoellner, 2020). The preceding tweet however, while less shocking in its word choices, is very telling about the main themes of the communications in relation to Floyd and the Riots and also covers many of the areas that characterise Trump's campaigning message. In the very first sentence, he presents himself as the defender of American greatness, in contrast to the weakness of the established political elites, a clear populist message (Mudde, 2017). This is even more striking alongside the second sentence, which further strikes home the apparent weakness of the 'radical left mayor', a call to arms for those already incensed about the failures of the established leadership. Suggesting that Frey 'gets his act together' is a clear invocation of not only weakness, but also inaction. This, in the context of the tweet as a whole suggests that the mayor, and by extension the 'radical left' (undoubtably a proxy for Democrats more generally) has little interest in protecting a 'great American city'. Again, Trump presents himself in opposition to this apparent weakness and apathy, and therefore as the protector of this great American city and American values more generally. The implication of 'Make America Great Again' was always that Trump was the only one who could do this, and this tweet is a clear continuation of this campaign message.



This tweet, hidden by Twitter for glorifying violence (BBC News, 2020) and then extensively covered by the media, is a clear attempt at a failed dog-whistle message. Firstly, the idea of thugs is one fraught with historical context, and even by itself represents a continuation of a long history of presenting civil rights protesters as violent, lawless hoodlums (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016). This historical context is made even more obvious by Trump's use of a direct quote from the 1967 Miami police chief Walter Headley (Rosenwald, 2020), most famous for his violent response to race riots and his 'get tough' campaign against the 'young hoodlums' that involved the use of shotguns and dogs in black neighbourhoods (Capo, 2020).

Not only does this tweet in the context of the corpus at large demonstrate Trump's willingness to use the full force available, including the National Guard and the Secret Service, against protestors, but also provides another opportunity for Trump to present himself to his supporters as the protector of American values against a lawless mob that established elites are unwilling to confront. While Trump claimed to be ignorant about the origin of the quote, intentional or not, it points to the Headley's 'we don't mind being accused of police brutality' legacy (Wilnes, 2020) and fans the flames of the Black Lives Matter versus Blue Lives Matter conflict (Drakulich et. al., 2020).

The concentration of the discourse historical approach on linguistic contradictions (Wodak, 2001) makes this tweet hugely valuable, as the contrast between the apparent concern with the legacy of Floyd, a victim of police brutality, with the act of sending in a 'fully prepared' National Guard to manage the protests responding to his death is readily apparent. Within this contradiction, the motivations behind the discourse surrounding the riots become clear; the intention of the dog-whistle clearly visible. As noted in the literature review, the core challenge for Trump in the upcoming election is his need to mobilise his own voter base, most likely through outrage and presenting himself as the solution to America's problems, while attempting to appear as harmless as possible to democrat voters to prevent a groundswell of votes against him. In this tweet, this contradiction is clear from the contrast between the continuation of the long standing Republican obsession with 'law and order'(Jacobs & Tope, 2008) - also clear in his position 'against violence, mayhem and disorder' (The White House, 30th May), with his apparent concern with the memory of Floyd and making sure that he did not die in vain. The protesters argue that Floyd will have died in vain if police brutality continues (McLaughlin, 2020), yet Trump positions himself implicitly in support of the police and suggests that in taking this position, he is respecting Floyd's memory. Further validity is given to this perspective with the suggestion that 'nobody should have any problem with this other than the haters, and those looking to cause trouble on social media' (Trump, 29th May), reassuring supporters of the police and, by extension, the Blue Lives Matter movement that they are in the right and any criticisms of the president can be ignored as 'hate'.

Socio-diagnostic critique – Extralinguistic, socio-political and historical analysis

From consideration of the specific detail of a number of Trump's tweets

alongside an overview of the corpus as a whole, a number of clear patterns and trends emerge. These patterns sit ill at ease alongside the troubling subject matter and reinforce the idea that the communications surrounding George Floyd and the Riots have served as a campaign exercise for the president. This idea was further reinforced at the Republican National Convention of 2020, where Trump outlined the key messages of his campaign for re-election (Charter, 2020). These key messages fit neatly into the major themes that emerge from consideration of our full corpus. These themes can be summarised as follows; the greatness of America, the idea that America is under attack from elites, and the suggestion that Trump is the only solution that can defend American values against these attacks. When at the RNC Trump is billed as the 'bodyguard of western civilisation' and Americans are called upon to resist a 'cultural revolution' from radical Democrats who seek to 'permanently transform what it means to be an American', (Charter, 2020) the electorate has been primed to believe this by the campaigning that Trump has already done on Twitter, at least in part through this response to the killing of George Floyd.

Greatness of America

Perhaps the key motif that Trump will be remembered by is his promise to 'Make America Great Again', and this idea of American greatness is a consistent thread throughout the corpus, linking the various texts together. From the very first tweet made in response to Floyd's killing, Trump praised the quick work of those investigating the 'sad and tragic death' (Trump, 27th May). In many of the following tweets, at least some reference is made to a 'great American city' (Trump, May 29th), or the great work of the National Guard or Secret Service, all the time reassuring his audience of the inherent greatness of America and the centrality of institutions like the police and military in that American greatness. This is in stark contrast to one of the other key themes of the corpus, the idea that this American greatness is under threat from his opponents, especially the organised and violent protesters and the weak, radical left (Trump, May 29th), detached from the lives of the real Americans that Trump claims to represent. Through this lens the protesters would be perceived as inherently anti-American, in opposition to the values that define the American people. This clearly fits into pattern of populist discourse that Trump has been shown to use to great advantage (Goodheart, 2018) and represents a continuation of this message going into the upcoming election.

Threat of elites

The notion that links all of these threats to American greatness is the idea of a corrupt elite who seek to attack Trump, and as their supposed representative, the American people, and systematically dismantle all that makes America Great. This elite takes shape in a number of forms, even in our small corpus references are made to the speaker of the house (@AnthemRespect, 26th June), a proxy for 'the Washington elite' more

generally, celebrities (@DavidJHarrisJr, 28th May), the 'mainstream media' (Vox News) (@TimMurtaugh, 2nd June), and the 'Radical Left', (Trump, 29th May) a label applicable to all Democrats. Understood within the broader context of Trump's politics, this points to a concerted effort to maintain the impression of an outsider populist leader, continuing the fight against the corrupt elites that are ruining America (Gallagher, 2019). Using the dog-whistle technique, he attempts to minimise criticism by addressing the killing of Floyd and expressing his sympathy and sadness, while simultaneously reinforcing the societal divisions that populism depends on. This is achieved by presenting Floyd's death and what followed the result not of systematic racism or failures of the police, but of these elites; celebrities, the 'fake news media', weak politicians and the organisers of violent protests.

Again, this is a clear continuation of Trump's use of populist discourse (Mudde, 2017), a fact that is even more apparent when one understands both the medium which provides a direct line of communication with voters (Jacobs & Spierings, 2019), and the tacit support of the Blue Lives Matter movement through constant messages of support for the police and critical stance towards protestors (Drakulich et. al., 2020). The corpus as a whole clearly paints the movement as a whole as consisting solely of troublemaking thugs wanting to cause trouble, a clear reference to the history of racial stereotypes (Smiley & Fakunle, 2016) and an attempt to further entrench societal polarisation through the tacit invalidation of the point of the protests themselves.

Trump as the solution

Contrary to what the preceding paragraphs might suggest, the tweets do not present an image of decline that might challenge the legitimacy of Trump's actions in office. Trump is presented instead as the saviour of America, the bulwark against the constant threats to US greatness. It is his actions or potential actions that are responsible for everything positive in his tweets; the investigation into Floyd's death (Trump, 27th May), the rescue of a great American city from a weak, 'radical left' mayor (Trump, 29th May), the intervention of the military to stop the spread of violence (Trump, 29th May). The only times that Trump did not present himself as the direct cause for actions were when he was attempting to distance himself from negative press; he 'didn't want' the shooting of 7 people in Louisville, the result of the violent protestors (Trump, 29th May). Trump is quick to present himself as the cause of all positive actions, and quick to distance himself from failures. This again speaks to the Populist leadership style that Trump embodies; the voice of and saviour of the 'forgotten people' of America (Rucker & Farenthold, 2016); the only person who can possibly stop the threats to the US and somebody whom it is essential to go out and vote for to prevent further attacks and maintain American greatness (Magcamit, 2017). Considered as a whole, the function of discourse here is clearly to campaign and mobilise voters in the upcoming election.

Conclusion

Clearly, attempts to understand and deconstruct the messages leaders put out is a worthwhile source of political insight, and the fact that the core themes of the discourse surrounding George Floyd align so closely with the themes central to Trumps re-election campaign as demonstrated at the RNC (Charter, 2020) show that it is possible to understand leaders through their communication on Twitter. It is clear to see that Trump is hugely capable at using Twitter to turn into any event into a populist campaign message (Galdieri, Lucas & Sisco, 2018). That the killing of George Floyd and the subsequent protests were co-opted by Trump as a populist campaign tool has also provided broader insight into the electoral themes that Trump will use in his 2020 presidential contest against Biden. As we have seen, the next president could be decided on Trump's ability to spread this polarising message to his electoral base, mobilising them to vote, while avoiding too much controversy elsewhere to minimise the risk of an upsurge in support for Biden.

To clarify, this message within the tweets is that American society is under permanent attack and Trump is the only one who can stop it, pinning the protests resulting from Floyd's murder as simply another battle in the broader conflict between the true American people and those who seek to destroy the values that these people hold dear. Trump, and indeed other populist leaders who rely on similar rhetoric, thrive on societal division and the resulting anxiety amongst the people that their identity is under attack (Goodheart, 2018; Holland & Fermor, 2020). To achieve the presidency Trump has also used the populist technique of systematically weaken traditional institutions through distrust and misinformation (Jungherr, Schroeder & Stier, 2019) to the point that any event can be twisted into a campaign tool to mobilise voters who are scared about this loss of identity and stability. Race is just one theme in a broader populist discourse, each element of which sends a clear and coherent message.

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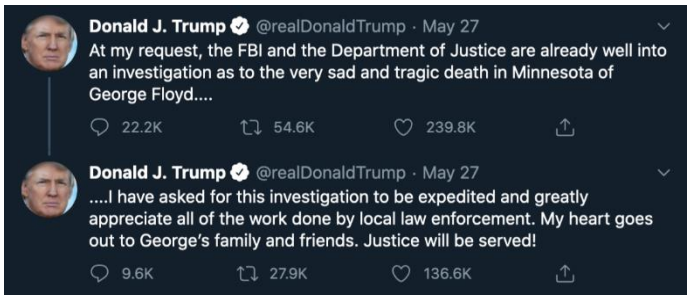
Corpus


Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump · May 27
At my request, the FBI and the Department of Justice are already well into an investigation as to the very sad and tragic death in Minnesota of George Floyd....
22.2K 54.6K 239.8K
Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump · May 27
....I have asked for this investigation to be expedited and greatly appreciate all of the work done by local law enforcement. My heart goes out to George's family and friends. Justice will be served!
9.6K 27.9K 136.6K


Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump · May 29
I can't stand back & watch this happen to a great American City, Minneapolis. A total lack of leadership. Either the very weak Radical Left Mayor, Jacob Frey, get his act together and bring the City under control, or I will send in the National Guard & get the job done right.....
86.1K 92.2K 301.4K
Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump · May 29
This Tweet violated the Twitter Rules about glorifying violence. However, Twitter has determined that it may be in the public's interest for the Tweet to remain accessible. Learn more
View
173.4K


Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump
This Tweet violated the Twitter Rules about glorifying violence. However, Twitter has determined that it may be in the public's interest for the Tweet to remain accessible. Learn more
....These THUGS are dishonoring the memory of George Floyd, and I won't let that happen. Just spoke to Governor Tim Walz and told him that the Military is with him all the way. Any difficulty and we will assume control but, when the looting starts, the shooting starts. Thank you!
5:53 AM · May 29, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone
Show Retweets with comments


Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump
The National Guard has arrived on the scene. They are in Minneapolis and fully prepared. George Floyd will not have died in vain. Respect his memory!!!
3:46 PM · May 29, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone
73.2K Retweets and comments 317.3K Likes


Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump · May 29
Looting leads to shooting, and that's why a man was shot and killed in Minneapolis on Wednesday night - or look at what just happened in Louisville with 7 people shot. I don't want this to happen, and that's what the expression put out last night means....
61.5K 65.6K 243.7K
Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump
....It was spoken as a fact, not as a statement. It's very simple, nobody should have any problem with this other than the haters, and those looking to cause trouble on social media. Honor the memory of George Floyd!
7:20 PM · May 29, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone
35K Retweets and comments 158K Likes
Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump
The professionally managed so-called "protesters" at the White House had little to do with the memory of George Floyd. They were just there to cause trouble. The @SecretService handled them easily. Tonight, I understand, is MAGA NIGHT AT THE WHITE HOUSE???
2:34 PM · May 30, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone
48.6K Retweets and comments 156.3K Likes


Donald J. Trump Retweeted
The White House @WhiteHouse
US government account
RT @WhiteHouse: "I want to express our Nation's deepest condolences and most heartfelt sympathies to the family of George Floyd." https://t...
OPENING UP AMERICA AGAIN
OPENING UP AMERICA AGAIN
2:41 3.4M views
"I want to express our Nation's deepest condolences."
10:15 PM · May 29, 2020 · Twitter Media Studio
19.8K Retweets and comments 74.6K Likes
Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump
These are "Organized Groups" that have nothing to do with George Floyd. Sad!
3:00 PM · May 30, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone
73.2K Retweets and comments 303.7K Likes

Donald J. Trump Retweeted

The White House ✓
@WhiteHouse
US government account

RT @WhiteHouse: "My Administration will always stand against violence, mayhem, and disorder.

We will stand with the family of George Floyd...

10:56 PM · May 30, 2020 · TheWhiteHouse

15.4K Retweets and comments **54.7K** Likes

Donald J. Trump Retweeted

The White House ✓
@WhiteHouse
US government account

RT @WhiteHouse: "The death of George Floyd on the streets of Minneapolis was a grave tragedy. It should never have happened. It has filled...

10:37 PM · May 30, 2020 · TheWhiteHouse

17.3K Retweets and comments **63K** Likes

Donald J. Trump Retweeted

Tim Murtaugh - Download the Trump 2020 app today! ✓
@TimMurtaugh

RT @TimMurtaugh: This is a flat out lie.

The President spoke at length about George Floyd, the protests, and the rioting in nationally tel...

> **Vox** ✓ @voxdotcom · Jun 2
> Trump gave his first televised statement on the George Floyd protests today.
>
> Before he spoke, federal police violently broke up a peaceful protest near the White House, tear-gassing a group of ~1,000 demonstrators and then firing rubber bullets at them.
> bit.ly/3gDFNwB

12:41 AM · Jun 2, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone

7.2K Retweets and comments **22K** Likes

David J Harris Jr @DavidJHarrisJr · May 28
To all the celebrities posting memes connecting the cop that killed George Floyd to President @realDonaldTrump...

Stop posting Fake News!
#georgefloyd

Donald J. Trump Retweeted

AnthemRespect 🇺🇸
@AnthemRespect

RT @AnthemRespect: The Speaker of the pandering House just referred to George Floyd as George Kirby.

She wants to name the bill after Geor...

From **RNC Research** ✓

7:40 PM · Jun 26, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone

16K Retweets and comments **32.2K** Likes

Donald J. Trump Retweeted

Glenn Beck ✓
@glennbeck

RT @glennbeck: I don't care WHAT George Floyd did. The officer should have never treated him like that and killed him! But we still must as...

2:56 AM · Jun 4, 2020 · Twitter Media Studio

8.8K Retweets and comments **23.5K** Likes

Commodification of Slovak National Identity in Advertisement

Katarína Gocoliaková

ABSTRACT: Media and advertising are some of the most prominent channels used for reconstructing national identity, particularly if the country is just starting out on its own or leaving a regime. Slovakia, among other nationalizing states that were no longer under communist rule, found that since the subject of national identity was considered taboo in Soviet satellite countries, a rebranding was difficult for the country. Enter, commercialization of one's national identity. This research looks at how Slovak national identity is commodified in the domestic market advertising using a single advertisement from a Slovak supermarket chain. This was done through multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA), further dissected into two; image and linguistic analysis. This specific advertisement used tradition as the main means of commodification of Slovak identity. Behind the need to reconstruct a national identity and rebranding is economic prosperity as pride in one's country leads to consumers purchasing goods branded as a national good.

Contact: katherine.goco@gmail.com

Introduction

National identity is presumed to be one of the most important identifications in one's life. Like most identities, the national one is usually shaped since early childhood (Klimstra et al., 2010). Michael Billig believes that national identity is constructed and consists of beliefs, presumptions and ideologies. People are exposed to these daily, in a very subtle, subconscious way through media (Billig, 2012). Combined with the idea that people are susceptible to mass-media (Gunther and Storey, 2003), this creates fertile land for cultivating and commodifying national identity through advertising.

There has been little research conducted in the area of Slovak identity and its presentation in advertisement as Slovakia presents rather a small market within a relatively new country. It used to be the Czechoslovak Republic until 1993 and one of the former Soviet Union satellite countries until 1989 (Teich et al., 2011). Communism in Eastern Europe was signified by the idea that national identity is an ideological construct of bourgeoisie and was not in the best interest of the working class. However, the end of communism in Eastern European countries meant that these new countries needed to rebuild their identity, which can be classified as an ongoing process (Dunajeva, 2018). As media plays an important role in identity creation and formation, this paper seeks to contribute to the research on Slovak national identity in advertising, answering the question "How is Slovak identity commodified in domestic market advertising?"

Furthermore, as construction of the national identity can result in strong nationalism ideology, it is important for

the consumer to recognize its common signs because they are usually presented in a banal, mundane way (Billing, 2012). This research is going to analyse visual and textual semiotic resources used in an advertisement by COOP Jednota to depict the easily overlooked portrayals of Slovak identity to Slovak consumers.

Identity, national identity, consumption and commodification

"An identity is a set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society…"

(Burke and Stets, 2009:1)

As identity is a functional factor of an individual or a group participating in a social world, it works on the premise of an 'other'. People define themselves as unique opposite to other social group or individuals. In fact, social identity theory is grounded in the theory of identity being constructed through a process of differentiation. It offers the idea of an 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). This can be applied to the concept of nationalism as it is based on inclusion and exclusion. For example, having a Slovak national identity makes us a part of the Slovak inner circle.

When analysing national identity, it is important to ask what is normally considered to be a nation. Joseph (2004) suggests that it could arguably be people linked by nativity or birth, such as the Hebrew nation. More usually though, this term would be linked to a territory, its inhabitants and a central power (government) ruling over them. A significant number of researchers argue that identity is fluid (see Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Joseph, 2004) however, national identity is one of the most important identities in an individual's life.

Villanova et al. (2009) researched the construction of Slovak identity and positioned it on the basis of social identity theory. Slovak identity was often defined in opposition to "outgroups" as Slovaks were continuously threatened by other dominant groups. For example, the Hungarians tried to impose their culture and language on Slovaks in the past, erasing their national identity that way. Despite this, the culture survived thanks to elements such as traditions (Teich et al., 2011), which remain to be carriers of Slovak collective identity.

Václavík (2019) explores this idea further and identifies three concepts of Slovak identity and Slovak nation based on common narratives. The first one correlates with Villanova's et al. (2009) point of 'us' – the Slovaks - versus 'them' – other dominant groups. These are trying invade, harm or eliminate Slovak identity. The second concept indicates that there is a 'low vs high' narrative in which "the others usually represent the more powerful part of the society. They [the others] are linked with cities, nobility, economic elites and so-called high-culture" (Ibid.:39). Therefore, Slovaks as "us" are connected to the nature and countryside, which is pure and authentic. The third concept originates from the second one. Countryside is

seen as a place that safeguards the true Slovak identity, which consists of things such as tradition and religion (Ibid.).

However, while most of the research done on nationality focuses on its extreme forms, there are other more subtle forms. Billig (2004) calls this 'banal nationalism'. These are patriotic sentiments found in language and media that are often used to stimulate this identification. An ordinary person is exposed to this subtle kind of nationalism every day whether it is in the form of advertisements or other kinds of media. An individual will most often absorb these symbols subconsciously. The nation state provides people with numerous incentives to build and reinforce their national identity. Symbols on money, the use of national anthem at sporting events (Ibid.) or national heroic fables are just some of many examples (Barczewski, 2000). Looking at the banal symbols, Tížik (2019) argues that they were used to establish a strong identity for the newly separated Slovak Republic in 1993. His work indicates that modern Slovak identity is built on constructed signs and symbols. This includes using elements such as language, historical and/or political discourse, which are important factors for people's grasp and realization of national identity.

Moving further, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) argue that identity is tightly connected to consumerism because a consumer seeks to buy into different identities. There are two theoretical positions on identity creation and consumption market forces. A consumer plays a different role in both of these views. Firstly, Frankfurt School of thought developed critical theory, which based its epistemology on the Marxist critique of capitalist society (Earley, 2015). This is theory positions individuals as ignorant puppets in the consumer market, following the cues dictated by marketing forces. It suggests that people are unaware of their participation in the consumer process and identity creation. The theory goes even further to imply that consumers are manipulated by advertisers and producers. This then creates and perpetuates a distinctly homogeneous societal culture. As already mentioned, the contemporary market does not extinguish consumer's need, it reconstructs new false ones (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). This positions marketing forces as deceitful actors who exploit unaware consumers' identity for profit. Combined with Billig's (2004) idea of banal nationalism, this theory applies to the consumers of national identity commodification in Slovak advertisement since it flashes them with national connotations in a subtle way.

In contrast, the second theory proposes the idea that customers are fully aware of their position in the market. It asserts that consumption is of a positive nature and that individuals can construct their identity through their consumption choices, while being aware of the process. In this way they are able to create their identity by choosing what they consume and relate to other social groups of their choosing (Ibid.), such as upper class, sport enthusiasts or band lovers.

In fact, Woodward (2011) argues that even though most consumption forces aim to appeal to individual identity of the customer, they provide a bridge to collective identity. According to her, piecing identity together through consumption is a social process, that follows social rules and norms meaning it has a collective element. For instance, assuming that people buy into lifestyle, then buying luxury brands connects them with the upper class. Consumption of luxury goods is usually associated with "aspirations to elite status or to assert symbolic dominance over others" (Dion and Arnould, 2011:503). Therefore, people do not necessarily seek the product itself but the social group and feeling of belonging that may be associated with it.

Indisputably, the postmodern society has seen a steep increase in everyday consumerism since the variety of sellable goods grew into vast dimensions. Ideas, services, goods and other elements can be turned into sellable commodities by merely treating them that way. Prodnik (2012) argues that anything, including creativity or culture, can be transformed into a commodity. Baudrillard (1998) implies that consumption is taking over the consumer's whole life and has been extended to all of culture. This means that if anything can be commodified and sold, the distinction between high and low culture is dropping significantly. Featherstone (1991) suggests that this culture of mass production and consumption is rooted in the new forms of entertainment of the postmodern world, such as movies or mass circulation magazines. According to him, advertising is the principal force encouraging people to participate in the culture of buying and consuming commodities that were previously available only to upper classes. This is reflected through the increase of individual obsession with consumption and the ways in which it connects to identity and lifestyle (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). A new system of mass production and mass commodification however needs a 'continually responsive consumer market' (Ewen, 1976:32), meaning that the market needs to ensure that customers continue to engage and purchase. This is where advertising comes into play, (Featherstone, 1991), portraying desirable lifestyles that encourage people to buy into them (Corrigan, 1997).

The Role of Advertising

"We become what we consume" (Mackay, 1997:2) is the perfect phrase to describe the relationship between identity and consumption. Consumers choose their commodities according to who they are or who they want to be. This logic suggests that consumerism plays an important role in identity creation and positions customers as identity seekers, which they then validate through their purchases (McClimens and Hyde, 2012).

When words have positive connotations, consumers are more likely to project a product's identity on themselves. Advertisements are known to use optimistic language (Delinm 2000), therefore, when having a nationalistic theme, consumers are prone to identify with the national

identity. Furthermore, consumption is not only an essential part of identity formation but it is a way in which customers seek to differentiate themselves from others. Consumption practices are socially structured and can indicate whether a consumer is a member of specific groups, such as nationalities or culture such as class (Ibid.). Advertising adds to this structure by indirectly addressing and assessing members of these classifications while they create outgroups. Individuals are only part of a particular group if they consume in the same way. Therefore, when consumers choose to consume Slovak national food or support the Slovak national team in the World Cup, they classify themselves as members of the Slovak inner group.

As Jackson et al. (2004:4) highlights, "contemporary social life is not only dominated by advertising, it is defined by it" as at the beginning of 21st century the global ad spending 'outpace[d]s the growth of the world economy by one-third' according to the United Nations Human Development Report (Klein, 2000:9 as cited in Jackson et al., 2004:4). This was usually done by different linguistic and visual marketing techniques such as play with words and moving images.

Advertisements are full of presuppositions. These are specific conditions that have to be understood and accepted for the commercial to make sense. Presuppositions in a broader, cultural sense are always present in advertising (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006), especially advertising using national elements and symbols. If the Slovak national hymn is used as a background music in an ad, the marketers rely on consumer's knowledge of the melody. Both, the sender and the receiver of the 'information' must be familiar with the presupposition for it to fulfil its purpose. Presupposition is assumed to be truthful though it is not specifically stated (Beaver, 2001).

Research procedure and methodology

This paper presents a sample of a single advertisement from the most liked advertising campaign in Slovakia, COOP Jednota. Official market research by NMS Market Research Slovakia has determined that every fifth Slovak proclaimed COOP Jednota's ads as their favourite[3] in March 2018 (Jandl, 2018). The official Slovak TV market statistics and research show that March 2020[4] has seen an increase in views to more than 1 million viewers a day, representing one fifth of the Slovak nation (PMT, 2020). This research provides a detailed analysis of one advertisement, using elements that are repetitive in the whole campaign that reflect 3 interpretative narratives of Slovak identity and Slovak nationality collected from Slovak researchers by Václavík (2019) This is represented in the table 1.

[3] NMS Market Research Slovakia used a sample of 1000 participant aged between 15 to 55 years.
[4] Due to the outbreak of Covid-19.

Table 1. Three interpretative/narratives of Slovak identity and Slovak nationality collected from Slovak researchers by Václavík (2019)

	1. Us vs. them	2. Low vs. high	3. Countryside vs. cities
Figure 1. Traditional Slovak clothes	+	-	-
Figure 2. Countryside	-	-	+
Figure 3. Food	+	-	-
Figure 4. and 5. Colours	+	-	-
Figure 6.	-	-	-
Line 1.	-	-	-
Line 2.	+	-	+

These themes ('us versus them', low versus high and countryside versus cities) will be identified and categorized in the analysis and will help to answer the research question "How is Slovak national identity commodified in the domestic market advertising?" However, as this is a small sample, generalisability might be an issue as well as subjectivity because I am analysing these themes based on my personal judgement. I was born in Slovakia and speak the language therefore all of the Slovak sources were translated by me. As this study did not collect data from people, there are no any ethical considerations.

The methodological approach applied in this article is multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) (Machin and Mayr, 2012). This is a hybrid methodology combining multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Multimodal discourse analysis emerged as a consequence of wider usage of new technologies such as photography and videos (Lyons, 2015). The earliest multimodal works can be found in Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and current publications highlight its alignment with the aims of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as they both try to present the ideologies and power

relations hidden behind modes (Machin, 2016).

The main element in MDA is a mode, a channel through which we socially produce meaning and make it culturally evident (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2004). Because MDA communicates meaning through modes, which include things other than writing such as colour or music it allows me to analyse images by semantically describing their features (Lyons, 2015). It is generally used to analyse images and moving pictures, which is where a TV commercial fits. However, even though advertisements use modes such as clothes, environment and colours very often, not looking at the spoken and written text would be quite reductionist. Therefore, lexical analysis has to be performed in order to examine the advertisement thoroughly. MCDA helps to analyse the potential meaning of texts and their purpose in particular contexts. The choice of incorporation of specific signs in the overall visual and textual message is constructing and perpetuating social ideologies and practices according to MCDA (Kress, 2010).

Multimodal critical discourse analysis will be conducted by a two-part examination. The first part explores the connotations of visual semiotic modes used in the advertisement such as clothes and colours. The second part contains lexical analysis focusing on elements such as presuppositions and adjectives.

Analysis

Contextualising

Slovak supermarket chain COOP Jednota introduced an ongoing campaign with Bača[5] and Honelník[6], two old Slovak traditional jobs. The analysed advertisement presents a line “Mamičkine dobroty” [Mommy’s Delicacies] by the supermarket chain and shows the consumer a funny story, where Bača’s mother comes for a visit and cooks them lunch. The men are going to work – watch their herd of sheep. First, she asks them what they want to eat and they reply to her by making the sheep spell out the word Halušky[7] – traditional Slovak food, which she then sends via a drone (see the JANDL BRATISLAVA, 2015 reference for the video).

Image analysis

The romanticized campaign uses pre-existing signs and symbols (McGovern, 2002) that are familiar to Slovak society because of cultural norms. Bača, on the left and Honelník, on the right (Figure 1) are wearing different pieces of traditional Slovak folklore clothing, which is called kroj[8] (Figure 1).

[5] A shepherd managing traditional Slovak milk and sheep farms in the past.
[6] Bača’s apprentice, usually a young boy
[7] Slovak national food. Dumplings with cheese and bacon.
[8] Traditional Slovak folklore clothes

A short, low hat that Honelník wears and Bača's bigger version are both symbols of a typical Slovak male garment from the past. Vests, whether short ones with embroidery just like the one Honelník possesses or a woollen one that can be seen on Bača were traditionally worn by working men (Golian, 2017). What may be less noticeable but still essentially important in their looks is their wide leather bracelets. They are parts of male conventional outfits (Ibid.). The process of creating these clothes is rather complicated and requires a lot of time. They are still used and presented in filmography and by national singing and dancing folk groups (Rybáriková, 2005), which use them to highlight their national group membership. The visual semiotic mode of clothing used by the advertisement is of significant importance as it is considered a part of cultural heritage, which is tightly related to the history and development of nationhood. In fact, Vilman-Proje and Bizjak (2018) go even further and suggest that clothes are the carrier of collective identity and define who we are and where we came from. Moreover, Rybáriková (2005) notes that nowadays, a lot of these krojs are sought by foreigners with Slovak roots. They consider them as tokens of where they came from, signifying their Slovak identity. Therefore, traditional garments contain messages of collective membership and communicate it to the group (Vilman Proje and Bizjak, 2018). This correlates with the 'outgroup' and 'ingroup' idea (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). Since this advertisement was created for the internal market of Slovakia, it positions a Slovak consumer as the 'ingroup' member while every other nationality is considered to be an outsider (Václavík, 2019).


Figure 2

Another visual mode used by the advertisers is the background and landscape. In Figure 1, a herd of sheep, green trees and rocky hills can be seen in the background. Figure 2 presents Salaš[9], the place where Bača spends most of his time. A modest wooden house made from dark wood with small windows used to be Bača's home for centuries. It copies simple houses from the past and symbolizes traditional Slovak dwellings. Similar settlements exist in the form of villages preserved today and are on the list of UNESCO world heritage sites (UNESCO, 2020). This depicts a rustic, traditional and realistic portrayal of Slovak countryside. It presents a utopian, green sanctuary with happy and hard-working inhabitants (Vezovnik and Kamin, 2016), presented in the form of Bača and Honelník. Rural locations are usually linked to purity – natural and untouched (Negra, 2001), which is exactly the identity of Slovak countryside the advertisers are trying to capture. Therefore, the marketing strategy uses a romantic narrative.

Since the landscape is picturesque, it makes the consumer feel nostalgic (Ibid.). Furthermore, according to Václavík (2019) Slovakia's countryside is one of the key carriers of a true Slovak identity. Just like shown in the advertisement, it preserves the real, unspoiled way of life lived by peasants and craftsmen. Additionally, there is another benefit to using nature imagery in advertising. Hartmann et al. (2015) argue that scenes and pictures showing pleasant nature features can have similar emotional effect to those experienced in real attractive landscapes. Advertisements using these techniques achieved higher memory recognition than ones using different alluring pictures (Ibid.). Therefore, not only is the effect of the advertisement stronger using nature landscape, but based on Joseph's (2004) theory that identity is constructed and formed throughout one's life, it makes the consumer subconsciously link this mode to his identity and give in to banal nationalism (Billig, 2004).

[9] Salaš: Traditional remote Slovak milk and sheep farm, where Bača and Honelník worked


Figure 3

Ranta (2015) makes an observation that people label food under national cuisines and consumers are being advertised as national food. This can be seen around the globe with French foie gras or Thailand's pad Thai. Food is carrying, constructing and reproducing a specific image and identity of particular nations. Figure 3 shows Halušky, a nationally known Slovak food that is used in the campaign (among other national dishes). This food is conveying a particular message of belonging to the consumer and articulates Slovak national identity and a sense of community. It has been shaped over time, gained social meaning and importance through this process. So much so that governments support the status of food being branded national and see it as a part of national heritage (Ranta, 2015). As this is a national food, it is a sign carrying historical and traditional meaning (Tížik, 2019).

In fact, coming back to Mackay's (1997:2) quote "we become what we consume", by consuming food that's labelled national makes us either belong, or want to belong to this social group. Portraying Halušky in the campaign under the unwritten label Slovak national food brings out romantic ideals in the consumer regarding cultural nationalism (Ichijo and Ranta, 2016). Furthermore, when using Halušky as a symbol of national identity in the domestic market, Slovaks would refer to it as "ours", implying that other dishes labelled as French, Italian or Armenian are "theirs".

Figure 4

Figure 4 portrays Bača's mom, who came to visit and cooks for the men. She is used as a key person in creating the sentiment among consumers as this advertisement is used to promote a Coop Jednota line called Mamičkine dobroty. In translation, Mommy's Delicacies. This line of groceries is presented as Slovak, meaning it sources its ingredients nationally. Mamička is dressed in a white dress, blue apron and a red headscarf. The same colours are used for the logo seen in the upper left corner and all of the products in this line are styled in this tricolour. Advertising does not do anything without reason hence, these colours symbolize the Slovak flag (Figure 5).

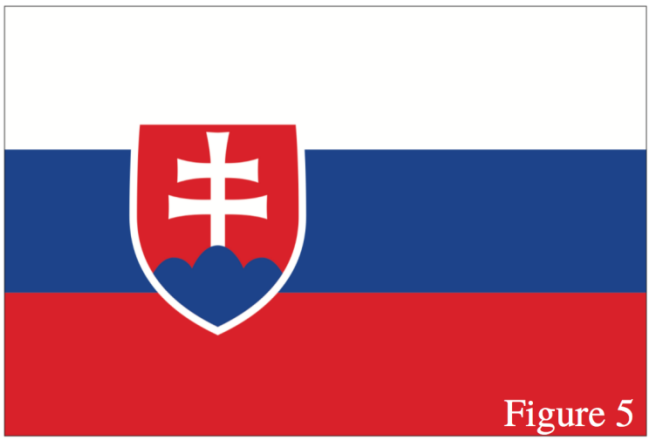


Figure 5

Using the colours of national symbols is usually encouraged by public policies because they enhance national identification at an unconscious level. Feeling of attachment to one's nation brings about sense of belonging in people. After all, national symbols are representing group membership (Butz, 2009). Therefore, by using the colours blue, red and white, the advertiser makes a link between the feeling of national identity and the product, commodifying the relationship, making the consumer buy into this feeling of national belonging.

The advertisement also uses an element of comedy by portraying Bača's mom as his female version (Figure 4). They dressed the actor as a woman and made him play his mother, which is obvious to the viewers the first moment they look at her. Using humour enables the advertiser to connect with the consumer, creating a form of intimacy shared between them (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) even though in fact, there is none. Furthermore, humour is associated with joy and happiness (Weinberger and Gulas, 2019). Connecting these feelings subconsciously with Slovakia makes the consumer more susceptible to wanting to be a part of the group constituted by people identifying with Slovak identity.

Figure 6

Let's take a closer look at the typographic elements (Serafini and Clausen, 2012) of the logo used in the advertisement (Figure 4 and 6), Mamičkine dobroty [Mommy's Delicacies]. The main text is bigger and bolder. Usually, the larger the text, the more salience attributed to it (Ibid.). Blue coloured text Mamičkine dobroty is slightly romantic meanwhile the Coop Jednota (name of the grocery store chain) is smaller. However, the word Coop is the boldest font on the logo, with striking red colour, which makes it catch attention immediately. The whole logo is complemented by rustic, traditional patterns, which give it a feel of Slovak folklore and signify its historic feel.

Lexical analysis

The chosen advertisement does not use an excessive amount of speech because most of the meaning is communicated through moving images. There are 3 spoken lines, with only two of them (Line 2 and 3) directly addressing the consumer.

(Line 1) 0:04 Mamička: "A dajte mi vedieť, čo mám navariť na obed!"

(Line 1) 0:04 Mommy: "And let me know what to cook for lunch!"

Line 1 is the only line uttered by a character in the commercial, mommy. The whole concept of a mother cooking lunch is trying evokes feelings of nostalgia in consumers. It transfers them back in time to a time when mothers took care of them and usually brings optimistic memories. The exclamation mark and emphasis on the whole sentence indicates strong feelings, which are intensifying consumer's experience.

(Line 2) 0:34 Narrator: "Slovenské špeciality COOP Jednota Mamičkine dobroty chutia vždy ako od mamičky."

(Line 2) 0:34 Narrator: "Slovak specialities COOP Jednota, Mommy's Delicacies always taste like made by mommy."

Words such as specialities, delicacies or mommy have positive connotation. By referring to something as a speciality, we are suggesting it is special and the consumer cannot find it anywhere else. The word also indicates luxury, which differentiates one commodity from another and positions the buyer as a member of a particular culture class. Together with

other modes portrayed earlier in the analysis and the word Slovak specifically used in combination with specialities, it gives the consumer incentives to buy into a desirable identity, which is Slovak, portraying all the other ones as 'the others' (Václavík, 2019). Saying Slovak also makes the reader identify with the object. By stating a specific nationality in this context, it rules out all other nationalities. Therefore, according to this logic, only Slovak specialities are always going to taste like they were made by mommy.

The whole line 2, Slovak specialities COOP Jednota Mommy's Delicacies always taste like made by mommy suggests groceries are going to taste like their mother made it upon purchase, evoking almost childhood sentimentality. It is also a metaphor to express how delicious the commodities are, as using the connotation to one's mother usually brings out nostalgia and positive feelings.

(Line 3) 0:38 Narrator: "COOP Jednota, najlepšie domáce potraviny."

(Line 3) 0:38 Narrator: "COOP Jednota, the best home-made groceries."

Line 3 mentions the best in combination with the product. If the customers become what they purchase and consume (Mackay, 1997), the best is definitely a positive aspect of identity to be associated with. Home-made in this context does not mean grown in one's garden and cooked in one's kitchen but sourced nationally, in Slovakia. Using this turn of phrase with food and nationality emphasizes authenticity in domestic products and traditional ways of growing and producing food (Vezovnik and Kamin, 2016).

Discussion

All of the semiotic resources have their separate meaning for the consumer however, they also create a puzzle, which carries further meaning when combined. The advertisement by COOP Jednota, grasps the concept of identity based on the inclusion and exclusion principle (Václavík, 2019) while positioning all the other nationalities as outgroups. It portrays Slovak countryside as a utopian garden, a place of fair working man. It utilizes several images of Slovak traditional elements to do this. This may correlate with the need to define and communicate nationhood in advertisement in new ways after communism. As it was already mentioned, Slovakia used to be a soviet satellite country, whose identity was ideologically devaluated. Therefore, participating in Slovak national identity construction and commodification was not a socially desirable action. Such oppressive treatment towards Slovak national identity resulted in post-regime redefinition of collective identity, so much so that Slovakia and other former Soviet satellite countries can be referred to as nationalizing states (Dunajeva, 2018). By flashing people with traditional Slovak concepts such as clothes and colours in such a

sensitive period in its nation's identity formation, the advertisers feed an environment susceptible to nationalism. It is important to know the tools and signs of this (Billig, 2004) as it can lead to any number of radical social ideologies such as xenophobia (Dunajeva, 2018). This is the case of many countries of the post-soviet sphere for they endured the same treatment of their national identity as Slovakia.

Furthermore, post-soviet countries such as Slovakia experienced an economic change and became parts of the global market, which is a highly competitive place. Nation-branding has proved to be a logical tool for success. In this spirit, cultural and symbolic resources (like the ones portrayed in COOP Jednota commercial) were used to secure economic prosperity in the world market. Success in the international sphere utilizes the same tactics for the domestic market (Kania-Lundholm, 2016). Moreover, Turner (2016) argues that such national commercialism appears to be the most successful in countries coming out of some kind of authoritarian leadership. It allows for the states to create their "full discursive and symbolic repertoire" (Ibid:14). This however leaves space for extremist interpretation of such repertoire and exploitation of national sentiment. Since media is highly influential in this sphere and it captures the attention of great amounts of consumers daily, it is important to know how it captures national identity. This research makes consumers realize that nationalism sells and "state sanctioned forms of nationalism in the era of the 'enterprise state' piggyback on commercial entities and strategies" (Volcic and Andrejevic, 2016:2). This is especially true for the post-communist markets which have seen the rise of commercial nationalism in the media. Fostering national identity in countries like Slovakia became partly a commercial project (Ibid.) Being aware of it helps the consumers to realize the power and intention of such advertising channels. It also helps them realize their position in the consumption process and provides them with the possibility to choose what parts of the national identity they want to accept as their own.

Conclusion

This study collected data from one advertisement utilizing repetitive themes and symbols representative of the whole campaign. Therefore, there is a limited generalizability. The analysis is subjective as different people may connect different visual and lexical modes to different explanations.

In conclusion, even though Slovakia is a relatively new country with a small market (Teich et al., 2011), it has a substantial significance as it represents the pattern of former post-communist nations and post-authoritarian countries (Volcic and Andrejevic, 2016) and their renegotiation and reconstruction of national identity. This process is done with the help of media and is consequential for the unaware receiver who is influenced by it. Individuals should be aware of what we tend to blindly consume.

There is a lack of research on Slovak and post-communist countries national identities commodified in media and consumption. Further studies would help the customer and make him aware of how national identity is constructed. Similar studies can be done with a larger sample of static and moving advertisements. It can be conducted in other post-Soviet countries as well as countries considered as western, which would provide a quality counterpoint.

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