

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro

Instituto de Relações Internacionais

[The economic rhetoric and the nationalism of the 21st Century: the cases of Brexit and the American elections]

[Laura Neves Penido]

Orientador: Sérgio Veloso

Rio de Janeiro

2019.2

Laura Neves Penido

A retórica econômica e o nacionalismo do século XXI: os casos do Brexit e eleições americanas

Artigo Científico apresentado ao Instituto de Relações Internacionais da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) como requisito parcial para obtenção do título de Bacharel em Relações Internacionais

Orientador: Sérgio Veloso

Rio de Janeiro

2019.2

Resume

In face of tremendous changes in international relations and political domestic scenarios, there is a incredible rise of conservative policies gaining strength and continuously recurring to economic discourses. Utilizing a constructivist point of view, this article analyses the economic discourses from Brexit and the American elections of 2016. Through these discourses characteristics of the nationalist ideology and national identity are identified and analyzed compared to new neoliberalism presented in the last decade. As no discourses can be completely understood without its context, the social, economic and political circumstances of each case are also explicated in order to comprehend more deeply the arguments of the speeches.

Key words: nationalism, identity, economy, constructivism

Contents

Introduction.....	3
Understanding economic speeches through IR lenses.....	9
Revising a neglected knowledge: what is nationalism.....	11
Brexit.....	13
United States.....	21
Conclusion.....	25

References.....	27
List of tables	
Table 1.....	7

Introduction

A wide variety of theoretical works have claimed that the arrival of globalization and the expansion of liberalism and neoliberalism would proportionate the deterioration of trade barriers, and, consequently, several other barriers. As pointed out by David Held, the role of

national economies have been corroded or even put into question by the major transformations in the division of the International Labor, [...] and the corresponding development of international centers and economic transaction networks that are, for practical purposes outside the control of the Government of the States. (Held, 1988, p. 15)

Such reflections provided inputs for predictions that saw a continuous weakening of nationalist ideologies. However, during the last decade, the world experienced unexpected transformations in the domestic political landscape of several countries and, consequently, in the international context. Most of these transformations have an incentive on the part of the population and carry perspectives of a strenuous nationalism.

One of the first events that demonstrated that the tendency to strengthen nationalist ideology was not limited to conflict scenarios in the global South, as in the case of Palestine and Israel, was the phenomenon of Brexit. The referendum took place in 2016, and the completion of the UK exit from the European Union had the support of 52% of voters. (Hunt, 2018) The resolution resulted in the resignation of the British Prime

minister, who preached for the protection of the common good and national interest, resulting in an exchange that allowed Theresa May to rise (May, 2018) and recently the rise of the new Prime minister Boris Johnson.

However, the progress of this political bias was accentuated in the domestic scenario before this unexpected change in international politics. Theresa May, before the events of 2016, worked on a police reform that included the formulation of arduous policies in relation to immigration issues. (May 2018) It is observed by that, that the preaching for the insufficiency of the state in meeting the ideals of sovereignty was pre-existent in the 2016 political reform.

Altogether, it is observed how many economic justifications guided the proposal of the UK exit. Many British citizens saw the exit of investments to contribute to the maintenance of the European Union but did not perceive the return of these contributions. (BBC, 2016) This and other various factors presented through the article had a substantial contribution to the population gaining a social movement that allowed the crowding of votes in favor of Brexit.

Movements that resemble the events of 2016, due to its nationalist character, which was also infused with economic concerns, continued to appear on the international stage. In 2017, Donald Trump takes over the White House, backed by a discourse that seeks to increase the barriers of immigration and aims to achieve political and economic importance imagined by the American people. This desire gains materiality in the dissemination of the phrase "Make America Great Again" used as a slogan in Trump's campaigns

Given this scenario, it is fundamentally essential the economic justification used in the nationalist discourses, as they construct a narrative of urgency of the

insufficiency of State action to deal with national problems. This dynamic aims to establish the reform of a political model and propagating this trend in the international panorama. Above all, the economic discourse emerges as an instrument that carries in its constitution the most essential ideas to nationalism, such as national identity, and to the new reactionary ideologies of this century.

A scenario of fear and urgency is built to protect certain *status* and political-economic values in the international environment. Such a factor is exemplified in the American fear of loss of employment vacancies for immigrants, in which President Trump uses as justification for formulating more arduous policies for immigration. (Gomez, 2017)

In the face of economic issues, it is perceived how these concerns can leverage the strength of nationalist discourses. This point gains excellent importance in the current context for the understanding of the political-economic reformulation of the state, as well as to understand the reasons why new political leaders are gaining momentum in international politics.

The investigation of those who are in a position of threat concerning the old political scenario, making them at the same stage be led to support a logic contrary to the old international political tendencies, is essential for the monitoring of how this social group enables the stimulation and weakening of certain ideologies and discourses.

Furthermore, it is essential to point out the need for understanding economic rhetoric as essential variables for the construction of certain political actions, as well as for the support of extremely excluding discourses. Economic issues are

dealt with as an emergency in a way that leads to a specific neglect of social inclusion agendas.

In addition to this attribute, there are tendencies of thought that conceal the economy as human science, influencing the perpetuation of a vision in which: the economy is exercised separately from politics, that the economy would have more importance than politics and that through the Resolution of the economic issues all other problems would be solved. (Tiburi, 2018) Thus, the research to be drafted demonstrates to be valuable to kick in such a perspective that is presented with constancy in the political, social, economic and academic debates.

However, internationally it is not thought of the reformulation of an inclusive policy that could lead to an exit that increases the consumer market by decreasing economic inequality. This happens because of the economic and political interests of certain groups and that exert a political force that manifests itself on a large scale.

Given such a scenario, there are multiple questions that are related to economic discourses and new relationships with the nationalistic ideologies, driving this article to attempt to fulfill the theoretical gap in International Relations concerning the new overturn of political economy.

To contribute to the construction of this research the most appropriate theoretical paradigm of International Relations is constructivism. Other paradigms may be also useful to understand such scenery. However considering how many of the informations and numbers that were cited in the economic arguments weren't all necessarily true, it is possible to argue that the data was used to reinforce determined priorities and ideas. Thus, it can be understood how the ideologies of

the agents and their perceptions about the consequences of previous political decisions ultimately influence the institutional and structural change in the middle International and domestic.

One of the main methods in which it will be used to answer such doubts as explained in the preceding paragraphs will be the discourse analysis. This method will better serve the purpose of discovering what economic interests would be in political agendas that rescue a given discourse that ultimately broadened the force of nationalist ideology.

In this way, analysis will be exercised from the discursive level of the nationalist oral manifestations proclaimed by political representatives and supporters who share a new political wave suggesting an excluding national integrity for those who do not fit into the image of a homogeneous nation. Much of this ideology is shown in the discourses and not only reflects a new political-economic will, but also has impacts on the national and International Society (ONUF, 1998).

The idea of *topoi* is used in this article in order to enlighten how economic discourses are constructed. Originally this terminology comes from the Rhetorical Book of Aristotle and received a rereading by Reisigl and Wodak about discriminatory discourses to unravel the discursive processes and the identity paradigms inserted in them. (2001) Below is the table developed by the authors and the respective types of discourse observed concerning the new argumentative tendencies:

Table 1

Topos	Warrant
--------------	----------------

Topos of advantage or usefulness	If an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one should perform it.
Topos of uselessness or disadvantage	If one can anticipate that the prognosticated consequences of a decision will not occur, then the decision has to be rejected
Topos of threat or Topos of danger	If there are specific dangers or threats, one should do something against them
Topos of humanitarianism	If a political action or decision does or does not conform to human rights or humanitarian convictions and values, then one should or should not perform or make it.
Topos of burden or weighing down	If a person, an institution or a country is burdened by specific problems, one should act in order to diminish those burdens.
Topos of finance	If a specific situation or action costs too much money or causes a loss of revenue, one should perform actions that diminish those costs or help to avoid/ mitigate the loss.
Topos of reality	Because reality is as it is, a specific action/decisions should be performed/made.
Topos of numbers	If the numbers prove a specific claim, a specific action should be performed/not be carried out.
Topos of history	An action A had beneficial/terrible consequence in the past. So, as the lessons were learnt, we commit an action in order to achieve a new scenario.

Source: (Boukala; Wodak, 2015) and (Wodak, 2015)

Admitting these definitions, we portray two case studies that allow for an analytical and descriptive research, that is, allow to acquire a study that can offer a greater familiarity on the subject being approached at the same time that they can establish characteristics and correlations of these phenomena through discourses and perceptions presented in this paper. With such methodology, it seeks to identify the factors that contribute or not to (Freitas and Jabbour, 2011) the phenomenon of resurgence of nationalism and the transformation of the political and institutional structures that are increasingly based on this ideology.

Nationalism being a contemporary global trend, one can point out several cases in which similar characteristics of discourse become present, but with the aim of deepening more intensively, the political complexity expressed through the discursive act of each event was necessary a selection of reduced cases. In this sense, the cases of Brexit and the U.S. elections of 2016 were selected to guide the research.

Both examples were used by similarity factors and for having happened longer, which enables the analysis of the repercussions of the policies claimed by the population and carried out by the *policy-makers*. Through these studies, it is intended to be possible a better understanding of the participation of discourses of economic nature and the movement of nationalism as the new trend of international politics.

The speeches in the case of Brexit were selected from the main economic motivations identified in the speeches of the VoteLeave campaign, the speeches and motivations can still be easily accessed on the official website created in the year 2016. In the case of American elections, the speech selected was the speech presented in Pennsylvania in Monessen due to its symbolic character and the extensive concentration of the economic worries denounced by the speech.

Understanding economic speeches through IR lenses

To do this, the use of case studies, the constructivist theory of Nicholas Onuf becomes essential to understand the social dynamics that influence a discourse as well as demonstrates its social consequences. According to the author, "saying is doing: talking is undoubtedly the most important way that we go about making the world what it is".(Onuf, 1998) This reflection takes into

account that humans as social agents are all the time suffering certain social influences and exerting an influence on society.

Thus, speech, discourse would be in itself including several ideas of society, because the one who speaks is in itself a social being that is inserted in a certain dynamics of society. The *policy-makers* are considered by Constructivism as agents because they are actively participating in society, jointly acting in a constant way for structuring it. These agents have a consequence of their choices that can take the shape of stable patterns that ultimately can provide society with a certain structure. (Onuf, 1998)

In the case of American elections and the departure of the United Kingdom of the European Union, certain agents inserted in institutions began to see the consequences of old decision-makers' decisions as harmful to the international structure that was desired. In both cases, it was perceived that the States were losing their status within the international environment and that they were losing their level of authority within and outside the territorial boundaries.

Much of this reflection also assumes a perspective on the economic factors that are generated from a certain consensus on the part of conservative political agents within the institutions. The information about these factors is propagated to the population according to the perception of the agents, which ultimately help in the legitimation of various policies that end up reinforcing existing ideologies. This dynamic is verified through campaigns such as VoteLeave that had several agents of conservative parties pointing to the economic risk of staying in the Eurozone.

As such movement allowed to revise the consequences of the former decision to participate in the European Union, this revisionism of economic policies that even questioned the economic sustainability of immigration movements, allowed a large reproduction and input of contemporary national values that were already being developed by the population itself.

A similar phenomenon appeared in the U.S. elections of 2016, in which it was conceived that treaties with great powers such as China had detrimental consequences to the American economy due to a little assertive governmental character before the "National interests". As well as an international structure of multilateralism, and the low strength and assertiveness of the state, would be harmful to North American growth.

All these perceptions made by the conservative agents involved in the elections were some of the factors that generated a great contribution and an extreme impetus for the strengthening of nationalist politics, making it increasingly International relations of cooperation and multilateralism, which can lead to the denial of the participation of international institutions.

Such cases demonstrate how institutions and certain political decisions of the past exerted influence on political agents (Onuf, 1998), which in turn built a certain economic ideology. Through this perception, the political agents, such as the *policy-makers*, were able to influence a political force through the engagement of other agents (the population) that allowed the transformation of the institutions and that potentializes the change in the structures of society, whether in the domestic or international sphere.

Revising a neglected knowledge: what is nationalism

In order to understand the economic rhetoric of the agents to be addressed in the research, as well as to unveil their influence for the option by nationalist policies, it is necessary to exert a theoretical effort to understand the fundamentals of this ideology and its main characteristics through the use of studies of nationalism. This task becomes laborious and indispensable because the nationalist ideology has a chameleon attribute that allows transformations to be made according to the specific feelings of a time. (Smith, 1991)

However, Smith provides some alternatives in which nationalism can be interpreted based on the issue of national identity. In this way, nationalism is classified as an ideology that seeks to achieve or maintain autonomy, identity, and unity over a population that follows certain similarities and constitutes, or aims to constitute, a nation. (1991)

Although certain characteristics are defined by the perceptive, ideational and emotional idiosyncrasies of a deliberate period, there are properties of the nationalist ideology that can be identified at various historical moments. A first distinction that can be made is the differences between ethnic nationalism and territorial nationalism. (Smith, 1991)

Territorial nationalism refers to the concept of nation linked to civic and territorial issues by integrating another kind of political community, in general, of the ethnic population, creating a "territorial nation", and this movement may be characterized as a nationalism of integration. On the other hand, ethnic nationalism is based on a national identity reinforced by ethnicity and genealogy, receiving an appointment by the author of irredentist nationalism or 'pan'-nationalism. (Smith, 1991)

Nevertheless, there are other forms of nationalism that have proven strong during the Second World War, but that they would be sub-variations of the nationalisms of integration and irredentist. (Smith, 1991)

Exploring these concepts, we observe the essentiality of the identity issues for nationalist movements. One of the main substantive conceptions for identity constructions are the distinctions between the ' I ' and the ' other '. It is important to clarify though, that “the constitution of identity in relation to difference does not mean that the constitution of identity necessarily involves the agency and discourse of outsiders, but that it presupposes the existence of alternative identities.” (Rumelili, 2003)

In this sense, it is possible to expose how the identity issue, in which is in the core of the nationalist ideology, will be transformed into an act of exclusion and belligerency depending on a variety of social factors. In order to contemplate the economic discourses, the concept of an identity formed through assertive notion, the conception of Othering,(Rumelili, 2003) is pointed out throughout the speeches.

Brexit

Brexit was one of the first events on the international scene that alerted the world to the seriousness of the growth of conservative and nationalist ideology. Although the liberal and neoliberal logic is highly present in the rhetoric about economic growth-especially in the face of the integration issues of the European Union-the Vote Leave campaigns have embraced another kind of vision and rhetoric about the economy that dictated itself highly from current economic policy trends.

Moreover, the Brexit is a phenomenon that demonstrates how the agents, whether in this case the population and the conservative representatives, have great influence on the institutions and how their visions end up outlining what types of economic and social policies are effectively implemented (Onuf, 1998) despite the factual variables. In much of the speeches defending the departure of the United Kingdom, there were economic argumentations. However, it is necessary to carefully analyze how these argumentations are being constituted in order to clarify what feelings and principles are behind it.

The first speech to be explained speaks specifically about the free movement between borders, which is one of the principles that have been governing treaties of the European Union, such as the Schengen agreement, but receiving a certain disapproval by the British agents:

Free movement without consent is dangerous and a risk to stability. In Britain, the impact is felt above all by those on the lowest incomes. For them, the Bank of England has calculated that every 10% increase in migration leads to a 2% fall in wages. They are the ones who have to worry most if they can get a doctor's appointment, a school place or a home—and who face the constant undercutting of their wages by migrant workers. While we remain in the EU, they can only look forward to more of the same. Or worse. Nearly ninety million people in Turkey and four Balkan countries are being lined up for free movement followed by EU membership. [...] But Britain's openness is being tested as never before. While we remain in the EU, no one can be held accountable for the shambles. But when the British people take back control on June 23, we will design a migration system fit for our economy. (Stuart, 2016)

In the above discourse, the British political agent demonstrates a great deal of concern as issues of the microeconomics presented as being at the mercy of regulatory processes on immigration that would greatly diverted from their economic interests. The speech made by Stuart presents a rhetoric based on a *topos* of threat (Boukala; Wodak, 2001) which is explained in the first sentence "free movement without consent is dangerous and a risk to stability" (Stuart, 2016).

Subsequently, the discourse explains how the free movement would lead to a lack of stability based on wage issues. The immigrant population is demonstrated as a cause of wage instability by classifying it as a burden on the local population, as is cognoscible in the phrase "they are the ones who have to worry most if they can get a doctor's appointment, a school place or a home--and who face the constant undercutting of their wages by migrant worker ". (Stuart, 2016)

Thus, it presents two types of rhetorical processes, the *topos* of threat and the *topos* of the weighting down (Boukala; Wodak, 2001) that are based on an irredentist view of nation, (Smith, 1991) but does not adopt a pan-nationalism as described by Smith.

The pan-nationalism takes into account an identity integration beyond the state boundaries, but the ideas of discourse show a clear distinction between individuals originating in the British territory of those who have distinct origins from The UK region. The pan-nationalism that would contrast this discourse would be the European identity, which will be explicated as in counterpoint to the other arguments that identify mainly with a British identity.

Subsequently, Stuart concludes his speech emphasizing the desire to delineated the movement of the second group of individuals in order to limit their access to the economic resources of the region at the same time that it emphasizes how the displacement should be coordinated by the understanding of national agents. This perspective has elements that refer to the nationalist reflection on the economy and resources of a particular national territory encompassing the conception that the resources of the homeland and its land must be exclusive to

the national population and not to the exploitation and use of others. (Smith, 1991)

The rhetoric on threat and danger is emphasized by the submission of the possibility for Turkey and the Balkan countries to participate as members of the European Union, suggesting that such a measure would lead to an automatic increase in immigration flows, despite the United Kingdom not to have signed the Schengen agreement conferring on the citizens of the European Union the possibility of free movement between countries.

With such approval, it is analyzed jointly that the adherence of these actors is portrayed as a greater risk than existing immigration as can be seen in the following passage: “While we remain the EU, they can only look forward to more of the same. Or worse. Nearly ninety million people in Turkey and four Balkan countries are being lined up for free movement allowed by EU membership”. (Stuart, 2016)

Such a statement is largely based on issues of unique identities, a recurring problem in European territory, which are strengthened by ideational movements of dissociation. (Rumelili, 2004) The passage that explicates the *topos* of threat (Boukala; Wodak, 2001) for the possibility of extending the European Union to the regions in Eastern Europe, presents a conduct of othering of political agents. The discourse thus reifies identity perceptions about Britain and states that are conceived as an "other" in a way that does not present the process in which identities are constituted and differentiated, but that demonstrates the effect of these processes cognitive impairment.

The British case equally presents a concern about State sovereignty, principally related to the frontiers and the problem of immigration. This concern is justified not only by the issue of immigration, which is based on wage arguments as presented first discourse but also by the conception that the economic policy of the European Union would be focused on interests divergent to national wills. Such mentality is cognizable in the speeches given by British agents such as Longworth, which support a less integrated political and economic dynamics due to presumed divergences and uncertainties of the current institutional system:

To try and safeguard the future of the single currency, the euro zone will need to consolidate into what looks very like a single state; financial, economic, legal and political integration. The plans have already been sketched out in some detail. It will be driven by a mercantilist Germany benefiting greatly from the euro, which means its exports are significantly underpriced. This has come at the expense of other euro zone members, especially in southern Europe. It has "beggared its neighbors". If we in the UK, remain as part of that setup, we will be on the margins, paying the bills, burdened by the regulations, with no say and, most importantly, no freedom to control our own economy. (Longworth, 2016)

For political agents such as Longworth, the granting of part of British sovereignty to an institution that gradually becomes more integrated generates a system that benefits only one actor at the expense of other Member States. Although nationalism is portrayed through the media as an ideology that obtains strong perceptions about the state and social organization, it also has a presence in the way of thinking economically. As written by Smith, "there is too an economic level of nationalist activity. Nationalism ideally prescribes a self-sufficiency of resources and purity of life-style in line with its commitment to autonomy and authenticity." (1991)

Thus, as explained in Longworth's discourse, the submission of regulatory decisions to other types of experience and socio-economic practices, would be a burden for the commitment of autonomy of the British nation when considering the spheres of the nationalism described by Smith.

The *topos* of finance is explicated by proclaiming that “The plans have already been sketched out in some detail.[...] This has come at the expense of other eurozone members, especially in southern Europe. It has “beggared its neighbors”. If we in the UK, remain as part of that setup, we will be on the margins, paying the bills.” (Longworth, 2016) Thus, it is established that the British National economic commitment to an organization that prioritizes certain actors to the detriment of others, being the United Kingdom classified as one of the marginalized actors within this process, would For the maintenance of the national economy.

From the perspective pointed out by the discourse, one can denote another dynamic of Othering with internal actors to the institution of the European Union: “The plans have already been sketched out in some detail. It will be driven by a mercantilist Germany benefiting greatly from the euro, which means its exports are significantly underpriced. ” (Longworth, 2016)

This allows the construction of another one in a more hostile way by making it impossible to increase the national competitiveness that prioritizes autonomy and a certain self-sufficiency in the economic regulatory processes. This sort of Othering towards the own States of the European Union can be understood when we observe how UK citizens feel about the European identity. In 2005, the

Eurobarometer registered that only 32% of the British citizens felt somewhat European while 66% never felt as if they were also European.

One of the main values repeated by discourse relates to the issue of state autonomy to exert economic policies based on a specific national economic interest. As pointed out by Harmes, there is in this cognition the harmonization of nationalist policies with neoliberal values.

Besides the apparent contradiction because of the direct dissimulation between these two strains of thought, it must be stated that “in contrast to the other trends of liberalism, neoliberalism is much more opposed to international regimes and institutions that seek to harmonize policies related to wealth distribution and the correction of market failures [...] due to their potential to limit policy competition.” (Harmes, 2012, p. 61)

In this sense, neoliberalism can “advocate fiscal and regulatory sovereignty within the context of international capital mobility”. (Harmes, 2012, p.16) In the following discourse, we experience how numbers can be conceived to align with such rationality.

And if we Vote Leave we can take back the power to make our own trade agreements. At the moment we have no-trade deals with India, China, Brazil- or even Australia and New Zealand. We have to wait for 27 other member states to agree before we can arrange a single trade deal. [...]. If we leave the EU with no trade deal- inconceivable given the tariff-free zone from Iceland to Turkey- our exports would face EU tariffs averaging just 2.4%. But our net contribution to the EU budget is equivalent to a 7% tariff. Paying 7% to avoid 2.4% is mis-selling on a scale that dwarfs the scandal of PPI. (Howard, 2016)

From this statement it is possible to acknowledge the *topos* of number and finance present in the discourse and how it incorporates the logic of neoliberal nationalism. According to the numbers stated, the immersion in the Europe Union

brings financial disadvantages that state the need for a more significant autonomy to gain control over the economic numbers.

Concluding this scenario, we can comprehend that the Brexit was moved by an economic rhetoric that was embedded in two kinds of Othering, the one related to the immigration and other one related to member states and the Europe Union institution itself. However, there were also factors that do not include the demonstrated versions of Othering, but an effect that might come from this process within the social domestic scenario.

This can only be comprehended looking at how the population perceives those two 'others' that were denounced in the economic discourses. As it was previously said, the feeling of belonging regarding the British and European identity is greatly different. While a minority of the population feels somewhat as if belonging to Europe, the majority identifies themselves mainly with the British nation. It was also observed, that the feeling of belonging to the European identity also varies according to class distinctions. In other words, this identity fails to be spread on the national population since its concept is mainly "based on an elite-centred vision." (Boukala; Wodak, 2015, p.91)

This argument thus, can explain the Othering mechanism concerning other state members of European Union, even more when considering the financial crisis of 2008 which raised the number of unemployment in such a magnitude that was uncommonly experienced in the United Kingdom.

It is also essential to point out the strategy of fear that was being spread through these discourses as most of them denounces or predicts a probability of another financial crisis. Also there is a historical and cultural factor concerning the

worries of autonomy considering Britain's past industrial history which entailed on a powerful politics of sovereignty and liberty on its own economic agenda. (Castells, 2018) The nation then has a cultural history that differs immensely from the political and economic strategy of shared sovereignty which is repeatedly seen as a threat to autonomy.

United States

Trump's campaigns began in 2015 and he already had an established image as a successful entrepreneur. In its campaigns, economic issues related to the new globalized world were brought continuously on.

One of his most emblematic discourses was in the state of Pennsylvania in Monessen, popularly recognized as the steel town. The speech was taken inside the Alumi source in front of a wall made of scrap metal, propagating a potent symbolism when the discourse is presented to the public.

. Symbols were of great importance in this specific discourse. It must not be forgotten that "nationalism, the ideology, and movement, must be closely related to national identity, a multidimensional concept, and extended to include specific languages, sentiments and symbolism. (Smith, 1991)

Today I am going to talk about Make America Wealthy Again. We are thirty miles from Steel City, Pittsburgh played a central role in building our nation. The legacy of Pennsylvania steelworkers lives in the bridges, railways and skyscrapers that make up our great American landscape. But our workers' loyalty was repaid with betrayal. Our politicians have aggressively pursued a policy of globalization – moving our jobs, our wealth and our factories to Mexico and overseas. Globalization has made the financial elite who donate to politicians very wealthy. But it has left millions of our workers with nothing but poverty and heartache. When subsidized foreign steel is dumped into our markets, threatening our factories, the politicians do nothing. For years, they watched on the sidelines as our jobs vanished and our communities were plunged into depression-level unemployment. (Trump, 2016)

A *topos* of weighing down (Boukala; Wodak, 2015) towards the government and past policies can be demonstrated in such speech. It then presents the government as an institution that has diminished specific characteristics of the nation. One of the main characteristics exalted by the politician is the portraying of the nation as a massive symbol of industrial development. This symbolism is remarked not only by the scene in which the speech takes place but also by an imaginary construction of the American landscape.

This discourse, presenting the *topos* of history, fits in the fourth type of element that constructs national identities by including myth-memories and golden ages. In this sense, the discourse reconstructs an *ad hoc* official narrative (Wodak, 2015) about a golden age of a wealthy America that has been diminished by a series of economic politics that will be expressed later on the discourse.

Differently from the previous case of the Brexit, the blame or threat in this paragraph not only comes from the outside but also from within the State, requiring a fundamental change towards political economy to reassure what was identified as a remarkable characteristic of the nation.

Latterly, Trump speaks about the cause of the diminishing of the national attribute of the national state.

America changed its policy from promoting development in America, to promoting development in other nations. We allowed foreign countries to subsidize their goods, devalue their currencies, violate their agreements, and cheat in every way imaginable. Trillions of our dollars and millions of our jobs flowed overseas as a result. I have visited cities and towns across this country where a third or even half of manufacturing jobs have been wiped out in the last 20 years. Today, we import nearly \$800 billion more in goods than we export. We tax and regulate and restrict our companies to death, then we allow foreign countries that cheat to export their goods to us tax-free. As a result, we have become more dependent on foreign countries than ever before. Ladies and Gentlemen, it's time to declare our economic independence once again. America has lost nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997 - even as the country has

increased its population by 50 million people. At the center of this catastrophe are two trade deals pushed by Bill and Hillary Clinton. First, the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA. (Trump, 2016)

In this excerpt, the politician declares that more liberal international economic policies brought decadence to national greatness, compared to the ages of financial development and higher competitiveness among other nation-States. In this sense, this argument does compare to the arguments made by the Brexit politicians advocating for the Vote Leave, as it preaches for more autonomy and independence in order to attend to its imagery of greatness. Following this train of thought, the speech also abject the participation of the national State in other international institutions, negating those as useful to the construction of the American prominence.

This discourse also fits with neoliberal values since, in the political-economic strain of thought, the governmental intervention in the market is likely to be ineffective and maleficent, although the State shall be used to secure a political foundation able to maintain the market flowing.(Harmes, 2012) Relating to the discourse, there is an explicit questioning of the contemporary american politics and its capabilities to maintain market values that would be intrinsic to a historical identity of America.

As it is identified by Harmes, this strain of thought relates mainly to a populist conservative point of view, that promotes domestic free market, however “their populist roots often lead to views which are anti-elitist and opposed to big business and free trade, both of which are seen as hurting the interests of working families. They are also opposed to most other international regimes and

institutions which they view as threats to national sovereignty and cultural identity.” (Harmes, 2012)

In this case, as it can be observed, there is also a construction of the other that emphasizes the blame on political entities of the democratic party.

Then, as Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton stood by idly while China cheated on its currency, added another trillion dollars to our trade deficits, and stole hundreds of billions of dollars in our intellectual property. The city of Pittsburgh, and the State of Pennsylvania, have lost one-third of their manufacturing jobs since the Clintons put China into the WTO. Fifty thousand factories across America have shut their doors in that time. Almost half of our entire manufacturing trade deficit in goods with the world is the result of trade with China. It was also Hillary Clinton, as Secretary of State, who shoved us into a job-killing deal with South Korea in 2012. As reported by the Economic Policy Institute in May, this deal doubled our trade deficit with South Korea and destroyed nearly 100,000 American jobs.[...] Massive trade deficits subtract directly from our Gross Domestic Product.(Trump, 2016)

In this passage, the issue of the commercial relations with Asiatic partners is finally pointed out while also inserting the narrative of the economic trajectory of American international policies. While there is a straightforward inclusion of the political opponent in the narrative as a campaign strategy, it includes the antagonist in the discursive history on the American international relations as a collaborator in the process of a historical deterioration of the nation's industrial identity.

In this section, the politicians and international commercial agreements are placed in the *topos* of burden by the usage of *topos* of numbers. (Boukala; Wodak, 2015) This allows the speaker to express determined judgment towards these actors, providing also a logic of Othering.(Rumelili, 2003) In other words, the political economic actors that are found outside and within the national institutions are classified as divergent from the actors that work according to national interests.

This discursive cognitive process is quite similar to the one presented in the Brexit speeches. It denotes the actions of an ‘other’, either cultural or political, as being harmful to national’s interest. It thus, depicts a certain characteristic of the contemporary nationalism. The conservative nationalist discourse isn’t anymore focused mainly in constructing an internal identity that differs from the identities of populations outside the national borders, but it also reinforces an identity that excludes certain actors on the inside of political institutions. Therefore, the classification of Smith about the ethnic nationalism can explain just part of the contemporary nationalist ideology, while it has limits to clarify

However, none of the arguments made by the speaker can be understood without the context as earlyly denoted by Onuf in our text. Trump’s campaigns came at a propitious time which the population was unsatisfied with the economy and unemployment related to the financial crisis. The real wage of the workers was reduced as a consequence of the political management of the 2008’s crisis.(Castells, 2018)

On the other hand, there was also the factor of the transference of industries to other nations as a profit strategy, and the consequences of the fourth industrial revolution. This proportionated an uncommon number of unemployment for the workers of the traditional industry, such as from the steel and automobile industry. (Castells, 2018) Not surprisingly, the analysed discourse was taken at an American industry

Conclusion

One of the most remarkable demonstrations of the economic rhetoric shown in this research is that they can be formulated based on a variety of identity

issues, based on a diversity of premises that are rooting in the nationalist strain of thought. A comprehension of these discursive dynamics is essential to emphasize the intrinsic relation between identity, politics, ideology, and economy.

The article thus exposed, the importance of the constructivist theory of International Relations in understanding and correlating the intrinsicity of national ideals and priorities to the construction of the political actors in domestic and international arena.

Then, in the first case of Brexit, it was demonstrated how the discourses involving the *topos* of threat, *topos* of finance and *topos* of number, reinforce and insert the effects of an already constructed imagery about the other. This other is referred not only as the ones who come from beyond the territorial and cultural European borders, but they also come from within the European Union. The portraying of the economic effects that the other has an effect in advocating for policies of autonomy and independence in order to achieve national values and attend to the populations wills.

In the second explicit case we observe a difference towards the construction of an imagery about the nation as reference for industrial development, and how the *topos* of history is employed to advocate against past cooperational and mercadological activities amongst the members of international organizations and institutions. Also the *topos* of finance, numbers and weighing down are observed and analysed concerning the construction of the 'other' that diminishes or threatens the industrial national identity greatly related to the American economic growth.

However in both of the cases, beyond the similarity of the discursive strategy that aims to gain autonomy and control in order to establish a political order that could influence the market in favor of the national values, there is also a phenomenon of Othering which denotes actors within institutions and outside them that would be a threat to the national identity. Therefore, the new nationalism isn't solely charged with traditional ethnic nationalism but also with a exclusion of other identities or nations within a normative and legal organization.

The success of these arguments and discourses only make sense considering the economic and social transformations in a post financial crisis world in which the institutional's identity, economic and political issues are questioned considering the outcomes of the managements of political economic crisis. It is also frequently denounced how the identity and national values are not excluded from a neoliberal economic logic, but it is rather a problem of attending it to the desires of a share of the national population.

References

BBC. (24 de Junho de 2016). **BBC News Brasil**. Acesso em 10 de Novembro de 2018, disponível em <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/internacional-36609225>

BOUKALA, Salomi; WODAK, Ruth.

European identities and the revival of nationalism in the European Union: A discourse historical approach. **Journal Of Language And Politics**, Lancaster, v. 1, n. 14, p.87-109. 2015.

CASTELLS, Manuel. **Ruptura: a crise da democracia liberal**. Zahar. 14 jun. 2018.

FREITAS, W. ;Jabbour , C. (2011). UTILIZANDO ESTUDO DE CASO(S) COMO ESTRATÉGIA DE. *ESTUDO & DEBATE*, pp. 07-22.

GOMEZ, A. (4 de Agosto de 2017). *USA Today*. Acesso em 12 de Novembro de 2018, disponível em <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/08/04/jobs-report-disputes-trump-claim-immigration-hurts-u-s-workers-and-lowers-wages/540206001/>

HARMES, Adam. The rise of neoliberal nationalism. **Review of International Political Economy**. 2012

HELD, David. "Farewell Nation", **Marxism Today**. Dez. de 1988, p. 15

HOWARD, Michael. **Lord Howard to the CBI: the lack of democracy in the EU is hurting business**. 2016. Accessed on 18 Oct. 2019. Available at: http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/lord_howard_to_the_cbi_the_lack_of_democracy_in_the_eu_is_hurting_business.html

HUNT, B. W. Alex. **BBC News**. Accessed 10 Nov. 2018. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>

LONGWORTH, John. London 6 Jun. 2016. **The Risks of Remain- The economy**. Available at: http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/voting_to_stay_in_the_eu_is_the_risky_option.html

MAY, Theresa. **Theresa May Member of Parliament for Maidenhead**. Acesso em 10 de Novembro de 2018. Available at: <http://www.tmay.co.uk/>

ONUF, N. (1998). Constructivism: A User's Manual. In: V. Kubáľková, N. Onuf, & P. Kowert, *International Relations in a Constructed World*. Londres: M.E. Sharpe. 1998. P. 59-78.

RUMELILI, Bahar. Constructing identity and relating to difference: understanding the EU's mode of differentiation. **Review of International Studies**. Cambridge University Press. P.27-47. 2003.

SMITH, Anthony D. **National Identity**. University of Nevada Press. 1991.

STUART, Gisela. London, 6 jun. 2016. **The Risks of Remain – Immigration**.

Available at:

<http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/voting_to_stay_in_the_eu_is_the_risky_option.html>

TIBURI, Marcia. A economia sequestrada: o papel da

retórica econômica em nossas vidas. **Cult**, Rio de Janeiro, 11 jul. 2018.

Disponível em: <<https://revistacult.uol.com.br/home/a-economia-sequestrada/>>. Acesso em: 31 jul. 2019.

TRUMP, Donald. Monessen 28 jun. 2016. **Donald Trump Economic Policy**

Speech in Monessen. Available at:

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cI5cG4yWP5k>>

WODAK, Ruth. **Discourses about Nationalism**. Lancaster University. 2015.