The Global War on Terror and Macrosecuritisation:
An Analysis of U.S. Discourse at the
United Nations General Assembly Post-9/11

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Abstract

Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the global and political discourse on security changed. The systems-level macrosecuritisation of terrorism, under the umbrella of the Global War on Terror, began a new era of security politics. Soon, most nation-states around the world had considerations and opinions about terror and what to do about terrorist threat, not just as individuals, but as a collective, international community. In an attempt to dissect this macrosecuritisation, this dissertation focuses on the process of securitisation that considers speech acts as securitising moves against perceived threats. This dissertation aims to discover if the United States made macrosecuritising moves against terrorism, using universalist language, on the platform of the United Nations General Assembly. Using NVivo software and discourse analysis, speeches made by U.S. representatives, Presidents George W. Bush, and New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, are analysed.

Keywords: macrosecuritisation, securitisation theory, terrorism, 9/11, global war on terror, security studies, united nations, universalism, NVivo, discourse analysis.

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1. Introduction

The Copenhagen School's development of Securitisation Theory in the late-twentieth-century was extremely beneficial to the field of critical security studies. It offered a framework for explaining how issues move from the regular political agenda, and onto the security agenda. It is within the theoretical framework of securitisation that the processes of the Global War on Terror and macrosecuritisations of terrorism can be understood more clearly. The global chain of events which unfolded following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, led to changes in policy across many sectors. However, these changes did not happen as a natural result of the attacks. Through discourse, within the United States and around the world, the macrosecuritisation of terrorism shaped the international political-military and agenda for years to come.

The global macrosecuritisation of terrorism, under the umbrella of the Global War on Terror, began a new era of security politics. Following the most significant foreign attack on American soil since Pearl Harbor in 1941, discourses surrounding terrorism blossomed within the United States and other Western nation-states. Almost overnight, political dialogues turned to the issue of terrorism. Soon, most nation-states around the world had considerations and opinions about terror and what to do about terrorist threat, not just as individuals, but as a collective, international community. How and why did this happen?

The conception of the securitisation process, designed by Ole Wæver and Barry Buzan, the original authors of securitisation theory, has been a helpful tool in understanding historical and contemporary security discourse. This understanding is no less true with regard to the widespread focus on terrorism we have seen in the past two decades. Macrosecuritisation, as an extension of this original model, is a concept which helps to recognise threat-frameworks of international systems of security. Being able to identify and distinguish certain discourses which label threats and call for measures against them to protect referent objects of identity is the first step in analysing how this, or any, macrosecuritisation happened.

This contemporary macrosecuritisation, created by the Bush administration in the United States (and to a lesser extent the Blair administration in the United Kingdom), established one of the most prominent macrosecuritisations of recent history. Links between the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Global War on Terror, and U.S. policy and rhetoric, have already been studied from many angles by various scholars. However, deeper understandings of where the securitising moves for this macrosecuritisation took place have been neglected.

The importance of broad-reaching, systems-level securitisations (macrosecuritisations) has been underscored, yet literature and research have not yet sought out answers to unanswered questions surrounding them. There are publications on macrosecuritisations, the securitisation of terrorism, and even the macrosecuritisation of terrorism. There has been much discussion on The Global War on Terror, including responses to terrorism, national and multi-lateral defense initiatives, and the 2003 Invasion of Iraq. We know that the macrosecuritisation of terrorism was successful, framing various elements of terror as a global threat, but through which channels and on which platforms securitising moves occurred is largely overlooked.

This dissertation fills gaps in the literature by attempting to determine if the United States made securitising moves at the United Nations, an established international platform with the ability to communicate discourse widely.

Though the United States may have employed many outlets to distribute the macrosecuritisation of terrorism, the widely-recognised institutional power of the United Nations, may have been the key to performing an internationally-reaching securitisation move via speech act.

1.1. Research Question

This dissertation aims to explore whether the United States performed securitising moves through speech acts given by U.S. representatives through the international institution of the United Nations, in order to macrosecuritise terrorism after 9/11 and within the context of the Global War on Terror.

2. Background

This section endeavors to describe the essential elements needed for consideration in order to carry out my research on the chosen topic. Securitisation theory, the expanded concept of macrosecuritisations, a brief overview of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and related research that has already been conducted in this field, will be considered. These central items need to be understood and considered prior to inspecting the methodology undertaken and observing conclusions.

2.1 The Copenhagen School's Securitisation Theory

Securitisation Theory was developed by the Copenhagen School, with the term 'securitisation' coined by one of its original authors, Ole Wæver (Wæver, 1995). The concept of securitisation joined the field of international security studies, offering a multifaceted process in

which traditionally, non-security-related political items move into the security realm. In subsequent years, securitisation theory has become a key part of IR academic thought concerning national and global security frameworks and has produced much literature and research on the topic. The theory describes the process whereby actors depict certain issues as threats to a particular group, moving items from the traditional political agenda onto the security agenda. (Buzan, et al., 1998). If done successfully, issues are understood as threatening, and the use of extraordinary measures in order to prevent or deter them can be justified and legitimised.

Every securitisation has the same components: securitising actors, securitising moves, existential threats, referent objects of security (which must be protected), the audience (which is to be persuaded of the threat), and extraordinary measures (Balzacq, et al., 2016). In its initial conception, securitising actors are state-level political actors, securitising moves are speech acts, existential threats can be real or perceived, the referent object of security is the state (government, citizens, territory, ideals), the audience are members of the group (citizens or decision makers), and the extraordinary measures are policies or actions taken that would not usually be granted otherwise. Therefore, a securitisation process would see an actor describe to an audience some danger which poses a threat to the object of security. The audience can then either accept or reject the move. If the audience accepts the securitising move, the issue at hand is successfully securitised and extraordinary measures may be taken against it. Alternatively, the audience may reject the securitising move, making it unsuccessful.

The theory describes threats within a society as being created through discourse and processes of securitisation; despite how threatening an issue may or may not be, how threatening it is defined as being, and appears is what matters. There are a number of reasons why an actor might wish to securitise any given issue. Items on the security agenda are generally given more attention and more resources, than items on the traditional political agenda due to the risks associated with them. Securitisations can also increase the respectability, influence, and clout of the actors who successfully perform them.

Traditionally, these securitisations are framed at the state-level, with political actors within countries being the primary makers of securitising move speech acts, and audiences focusing on citizenry. This state-centred focus fits with the realist view of political thought but has not been without its critics. Securitisation has been described as being both analytically and normatively too narrow, in the form, context, and nature of originally defined securitisation acts (McDonald,

2008). The Copenhagen School has been said to limited itself by disregarding the increasing impact of technological advancements, international institutions, and other features of an increasingly globalised world (Williams, 2003). Other critiques focus on shortcomings in areas regarding non-verbal securitisations (Möller, 2007), the role of the audience (Balzacq, 2005), understanding what 'normal politics' or the traditional political agenda entails (Stritzel, 2007), the absence of gender (Hansen, 2000), the Eurocentric nature of research (Vuori, 2008) (Wilkinson, 2007), the absence of desecuritisation literature (Aradau, 2004), and what constitutes an extraordinary measure and how they are utilised (Caballero-Anthony & Emmers, 2006).

Weaknesses in the initial theory have been pointed out by many scholars who have sought to recognise and fix these holes, including the original authors. In *Macrosecuritization and security constellations: reconsidering scale in securitization theory,* Buzan and the other authors acknowledge that the state-centred approach, or middle-level securitisations, are not the only securitisations. Though the focus has been on the middle-level, in large part due to states' ability to construct threats, find acceptable target audiences, and have the authority and resources to implement measures, they recognise that the individual-level or microsecuritisations, and systems-level or macrosecuritisations, also exist. Securitisations within the systems-level are referred to as macrosecuritisations (Buzan & Wæver, 2009).

2.2 Theoretical Conception of Macrosecuritisation

The importance of supranational organisations and international actors has not been wholly neglected by IR and security studies scholars. Buzan has long argued that security has been too narrowly founded. In *People States and Fear* he argued that regional security is part of the broader security complex and important to consider due to security as a relational phenomenon. This understanding of regional security helped develop his conception of macrosecuritisation as an overarching securitisation which relates to, and possibly incorporates, middle-level securitisations (Buzan & Wæver, 2003). In the recent expansion of the theory, he acknowledges that the systems-level has been underdiscussed, and securitisations can and do happen on a global scale; scale being important to provide insight into political patterns (Buzan & Wæver, 2009). This contribution to the epistemology of IR theory can aid in the understanding of patterns of global security within countless sectors, including political, military, economic, societal, environmental, health, and more (Buzan, 1991). Many scholars agree with, and praise, Buzan's development of macrosecuritisation and his merging of neorealism and constructivism. There is agreement that

both micro and macro methodology are imperative in order to understanding global security frameworks (Stone, 2009).

Buzan and Wæver have also researched how securitisations work at regional levels. Then, when expanding into systems-level securitisations, they considered how levels of security within global frameworks interact and interdepend on one-another. For example, the India-Pakistan rivalry, during the context of macrosecuritisations during the Cold War, also concerned the religious, racial, and ethnic divisions which exist between the two nations (Buzan & Wæver, 2003). Here we see that multiple lower-level securitisations can be incorporated into a higher-level securitisation. This incorporation delves into the topic of security constellations, which will not be considered further in this dissertation, but are important to mention due to strong link between the author's development of macrosecuritisation alongside the development of 'security constellations' (or simply 'constellations') as a concept within securitisation theory (Buzan & Wæver, 2009).

An important thing to note about the systems-level, is that fundamentally it follows the same processes that are visible in the middle-level. All the key components of a securitisation exist, just on a different scale. It is noted that securitisation at this scale is more difficult than at the other two levels. As mentioned previously, the referent object at the middle-level is the state and everything that constitutes it as a sovereign power. At the individual-level the referent objects are human beings, and at the systems-level the referent object is, in some sense, all of human kind (Buzan & Wæver, 2009). Buzan cites the Crusades as a historical example of a macrosecuritisation in order to highlight that they are not a new phenomenon and have been occurring for centuries (as have large-scale constellations that encompass them). He states that the main contemporary example of a macrosecuritisation is the Cold War, which overall embodied multiple macrosecuritisations, the two main ones coming from the U.S. and USSR. When discussing the ending of the Cold War, Buzan describes the event as an act of macrodesecuritisation. At the end of the twentieth century, macrosecuritisations cropped up in sectors outside of the military, reflecting liberal, inclusive orders of universalism in such areas such as human rights and the environment (Buzan, et al., 1998).

The systems-level has received less attention than the middle-level for a number of reasons, in part, due to fewer examples being available. This may change in the future if we see disruptive changes to the current global, political status-quo, brought on by effects such as globalisation.

Some systems-level securitisations have been observed, in which all of humankind was made the referent object of security. A historical example can be seen in the risk of nuclear annihilation during the Cold War, and a more contemporary example concerns current environmental fears around global warming. Rivalry is seen as a facilitating condition for securitisation to be successful, and it is in this area that middle-level securitisations have the advantage. For a nation-state and nation within the middle-level, survival is about sovereignty and identity. Therefore, security actions are performed in order to protect broad collectives that exist within these units. Systems-level securitisations generally lack the mass-identity that is needed to label something as a threat against a collective referent object of security. It is for this reason that systems-level securitisations take on universalist forms. In principle, all individuals, peoples, cultures, faiths, states, and nations can collectively share a common threat under a universal framework.

Buzan describes some of the main types of universalisms: inclusive universalism, existing order universalism, and physical threat universalism (Buzan & Wæver, 2009). Inclusive universalism can be directly related to all of humanity and is related to ideological (secular or religious) beliefs such as Christianity, socialism, capitalism, and democracy. Existing order universalism constitutes the belief that the current status quo regarding institutions, instruments, and frameworks of international society should be upheld; in this universalist approach, a political threat could undermine the referent object of the established global structure. Physical threat universalism involves dangers to humankind as a species and includes nuclear weapons, diseases, and extensive environmental hazards such as global warming, asteroids, or comets. In this regard, the two macrosecuritisations mentioned above, the threat of nuclear annihilation during the Cold War and current environmental fears, both exist under the physical threat universalism. Other features of the Cold War macrosecuritisation existed within other universal views, Marxist and capitalist ideology would have fit within inclusive universalism, with both the United States and Soviet Union creating the threat of the other.

The link between macrosecuritisations and universalisms help the idea that securitising moves at the systems-level, or even in large-scale state-level political mobilisations, will be undertaken as hegemonic projects by large or revolutionary actors. Transnational actors such as al-Qaeda or globally-mobilised environmentalists may attempt macrosecuritisations under principles of universalism, speaking either for or against these principles, and communicating a common threat in relation to them. The relative power of these different actors is important, but

not as critical as their ability to construct threats, referent objects, and measures of security to their audience. This construction requires highlighting positive similarities, such as shared values, and unifying against agreed upon negatives, which threaten them. Under the wing of these actors, collective identity may be formed, despite differences, as there is a common threat, where a common enemy, opponent, or force must be fought against (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) Buzan continues to mention that the ability to adapt all of these factors is required in order to maintain a successful securitisation over time, to fit with shifting narratives and affairs. He also highlights the potential rewards that can be reaped if a macrosecuritisation is successful. As mentioned previously, securitising actors at the state-level can increase clout if successful. Similarly, a successful macrosecuritisation can underscore legitimacy, power, and leadership on a multi-national scale, and increase a sphere of influence.

In *The United States and the Great Powers* Buzan looks at the politics of macrosecuritisations: who constructs them, what they look like, what forms they take, under what conditions they are created, and how they are linked to other levels of securitisation. He describes that in macrosecuritisations, threats are not just presented to domestic audiences, but also international ones (states and people). In these endeavors, the use of words that relate to shared values help to facilitate the creation and furthering of a collective identity. In this article he also states, "Achieving global scale macrosecuritisation is difficult, but using bodies that have international superiority, power, influence, etc. can help diffuse the macrosecuritisation if one state on the middle-level is able to successful push up their agenda in order to be diffused down again to other middle-level actors" (Buzan, 2004). It is in this vein that considerations of global institutions, such as the United Nations, are important to consider as platforms for macrosecuritising moves to occur. In his work *The 'War on Terrorism' as the new Macro-Securitization*, Buzan underscores the importance of "framing security issues, agendas and relationships on a system-wide basis," in his acknowledgement that the U.S.-led macrosecuritisation of terrorism occurred after 9/11 (Buzan, 2006).

2.3 Macrosecuritisation of the Global War on Terror

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks by al-Qaeda on the United States ended the post-Cold War period and shifted the U.S. security agenda significantly. The Global War on Terror (GWoT) has been recognised by the main authors of securitisation theory as being a macrosecuritisation, following the basic format, structure, and organisation of a securitisation. The

GWoT provided a dominant macrosecuritisation around which Western, and even Russian, Chinese, and Indian foreign policy became coordinated (Wagner, 2003). Terrorist threats were viewed from violent state and non-state actors, and the macrosecuritisation encompassed all three universalisms required to unite the world. For inclusive universalism the threats were to democracy, human rights, and market capitalism. For existing order universalism, the threats were against standing, accepted institutions such as the United Nations, and the international order in general. The physical threat universalism was expressed through the fear of further terror attacks and the connection of terrorists to weapons of mass destruction. Together, the macrosecuritisation posed the threat as a physical, emotional, and existential one.

From its conception, the GWoT was not only presented as an American, state-level securitisation, required to protect the nation from further attack after 9/11, but also as a macrosecuritisation with which the whole world is involved. The GWoT used universalisms to galvanise people, states, and nations around the world to securitise terrorism. One criticism of the Bush administration's neoconservative doctrine during this time was that it implemented an imperial, universalist outlook. This outlook culminated in the usage of the hegemonic and military power of the U.S. to enforce its beliefs across the world. Buzan states in *The United States and the Great Powers*, "It is a well-recognised feature of American exceptionalism that the U.S. polity sees itself as owning, or at least representing, the future of humankind, and as therefore having the right and the duty to speak and act for humankind" (Buzan, 2008, p. 558). Buzan also asserted that it is sometimes necessary for the threat to be treated with a vagueness, and that this was the reason why the U.S. securitisation of terrorism was loose in most areas, including the relationship between measures and their corresponding threats (Buzan & Wæver, 2003).

While some macrosecuritisations encompass large, trans-national groups of people (such as those living in the Communist Bloc during the Cold War) and other macrosecuritisations encompass all of humankind (the threat of largescale environmental catastrophe), the GWoT operated by relating to a large collective of people, but not all. The threat labeled was terrorism and its perpetrators. The referent object of security in this instant were peoples, ideologies, nation-states, and international institutions vulnerable to terrorist belief and actions. It was the presentation of threat against these referent objects that the GWoT used to call on all states to fight initially against non-state terrorists, and later, regimes of state-sponsored terror. Just a few years after the 9/11 terror attacks, the status of the macrosecuritisation had already begun to decline,

somewhat becoming desecuritised (Buzan, 2006). Buzan stated then that the GWoT would not reach the level of macrosecuritisation that the Cold War had, in global dominance and in length of time, though he states that both securitisations were of the same caliber, even postulating that the GWoT might have happened in part to fill a "threat-deficit" in international relations after the dispansion of the Soviet Union.

It is understood that the macrosecuritisation of terrorism included co-securitisations and brought many lower-level and niche securitisations into its fold. Didier Bigo conceptualised the 'security continuum' in order to explain the linking of many areas where insecurity is felt in order to justify classifications of risk and threat when creating an overarching securitisation. For example, issues of crime, drugs, immigrants, are listed together for no clear, apparent reason. This horizontal interlinkage is then overarched by larger securitisations, such as the macrosecuritisation of terrorism. This creates a higher level of fear and anxiety in society, aiding the acceptance of securitisations (Bigo, 2000). These interwoven aspects of macrosecuritisations make them more difficult to study. In a security continuum the macrosecuritisation or overarching feature becomes a symbolic "master signifier," whereby its key terms are automatically associated with features of the threat. Within the macrosecuritisation of terrorism, the term "terrorism" now has the power to move other issues to the security agenda without as much effort as might have been required otherwise. Terrorism, seen as a major security issue, often works in this manner, with any issue linked to it moving swiftly into the securitisation arena (Bigo, 2001). This relates to the concept of institutionalised securitisation, which describes how successful securitisations become established overtime.

A rather important sub-theme to this macrosecuritisation was the concentrated effort by U.S. and world leaders to prevent the securitisation from subsuming religion, specifically Islam. The securitisation occurred with many attempts to discard the idea that all terrorists were Islamic extremists (Wæver, 2008). This would have contributed to a 'Clash of Civilizations' movement, as envisaged by Huntington (Huntington, 1996), and would have had a negative, politically polarising effect (though some, such as al-Qaeda, may have welcomed such an outcome). This proved a difficult task, as the securitisation came after 9/11, an attack coordinated by Islamic terrorists. In following years, further prominent terror attacks across the world, in the Middle East, United Kingdom, Spain, Russia, and India, were also perpetrated by Islamic terrorists (Newsday, 2015). The success of the effort to separate religion from the securitisation may be measured in

different respects by various scholars, but the effort itself was crucial for two main reasons. First, in order to maintain some boundary for the macrosecuritisation to exist within. Second, to avoid casting the Islamic world as the enemy, a large portion of which was wanted and needed to be seen as part of the referent object of security, also to be protected from terrorists.

To observe the full effects of this systems-level securitisation, further examination of its many facets is required. Within the key elements of a macrosecuritisation, and side elements such as countersecuritisaions, co-securitisations, domestic relations, and international institutions, much further research can be undertaken (Wæver, 2011). It is important to analyse the discourse used by the U.S. during this period in order to understand the macrosecuritisation. Narratives, terminology, and the usage of ultimatums such as "You're either with us or against us in the fight against terror" all contributed to the successful macrosecuritisation (Wæver, 2008). Considering what is known, and has been discussed above, on the GWoT, it is interesting to consider the intersection two elements: securitising moves, specifically speech acts, and international institutions. When, where, and how the United States presented the macrosecuritisation that shaped the world during the first years of the new millennium.

2.4 Related Research: Thematic and Practical

In the past decade much literature has considered the processes of securitisations and macrosecuritisations and have also considered discourses and speech acts in regard to various topics. Some of these are useful to consider in order to further understand what research can help shed a light on, in terms of the GWoT, and in helping develop a methodology that brings forth helpful conclusions.

In the past few decades we have seen historically non-traditional security issues, such as health, immigration, and religion, be moved onto the security agenda both nationally and internationally. While some scholars believe that the issue of migration, specifically immigration, has been securitised, Christina Boswell has argued that migration has not become a securitised issue. She states that European countries have shaped migration policies insofar as it relates to counterterrorism measures after 9/11, as a co-securitisation of the GWoT, and not in and of itself (Boswell, 2007).

Many authors have written insights on how terrorism, and religion, have been securitised at state levels over the past decade. Jocelyne Cesari has written on how the banning (and attempted banning) of religious dress, such as the burqa, across many nations in Europe shows how religion,

specifically Islam, has been securitised in a post-9/11 context. She studies how securitisation in nations such as Denmark and the Netherlands show how administrative and legislative practices can be altered based on rhetoric (Cesari, 2018). Additionally, in a paper by Fred Vultee, the changes in portrayals of the GWoT itself have been highlighted. He noted that over a five-year period between 2001 and 2006 the portrayals of this topic changed in U.S. media, and that political figures were highly important in invoking the importance of security issues regarding terror (Vultee, 2010).

Considering the United States as a hegemonic actor portraying and molding what is seen as a threat, extremism, or otherwise illegitimate violence on the global stage, Elizabeth Hurd, argues that the U.S. has played a role in the global securitisation of religion as a co-securitisation of the GWoT. Her arguments regarding this rest upon her observation and interpretation of a report published by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, *Engaging Religious Communities Abroad: A New Imperative for U.S. Foreign Policy* (Appleby & Cizik, 2010). She describes the U.S. strategy as one which projects American power, and a "certain kind of religious power." She argues that focus on values and beliefs has led the U.S. National Security Council (NSC) to selectively target religious-based terrorism. Citing views of American exceptionalism and legitimatised secular violence, she states that the GWoT has subsumed religious activity as terrorism, securitising religion within the U.S. and globally (Hurd, 2010).

Buzan's macrosecuritisation framework has also been the starting point for explanations regarding global responses to Antimicrobial Resistance (AMR), a health threat recognised as a physical threat toward all of humanity. Researchers Catherine Yuk-ping Lo and Nicholas Thomas found that AMR received international attention and acceptance as a threat at the global level, however, that this did not translate to a perceived threat with necessary actions to be taken against it within individual states. Evaluating the success of this macrosecuritisation in the Asian region, they found that while the macrosecuritisation could be considered successful at the global level, the practicality of AMR strategy was limited by the power and resources within individual states. They found that middle-level actors in Asia often pull away from health-related issues in pursuit of other avenues of political speech and action. They also found it important to note that health security, and global public health, is often viewed in a different light in the global context than other forms of political items that may be securitised. "just because states accepted the threat posed by AMR at the global level, this did not automatically translate into a threat perception within the

state." Considering these findings together, they concluded that whilst macrosecuritisation is a useful tool for understanding AMR and other global threats, "it is necessary to understand local realities within which the process is embedded" (Yuk-ping Lo & Nicholas, 2018).

A 2006 text on International Organisations and Trafficking in Post-Soviet Central Asia found that international organisations have motivates to, and attempt to, securitise the issue of people trafficking on the international level. In the cases studied, the author found that international organisations advance their agendas through the language of security (Jackson, 2006). Additionally, literature, citing the United Nations specifically, described another contemporary international securitisation. In the *International Journal of Drug Policy*, Emily Crick explores how Speech Acts at the U.N. Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs depict the development of 'drugs as an existential threat' narrative at a global level (Crick, 2012).

Finally, in his work on security, technology, and control, Jonathan Bright looks into how the threat of terrorism is transformed into concrete policy output. His paper claims that the technical means employed by the state in order to securitise an issue are, though often ignored, highly important in understanding the methods of securitisation in action. In short, looking at the 'how?' as well as the 'why?' or 'what?' of securitisation (Bright, 2010). His work also looks at how these means are incorporated using both existing institutional contexts and policy construction to leverage desired outcomes. Bright argues that whilst security threats in our current information age are non-traditional in many ways, one striking difference is in the way they are challenged— through networks of interlocking policies. He states, "the war on terror (for better or for worse) has been prosecuted through a series of international state-building efforts, combined with domestic pieces of legislation which increase the power of security forces to monitor potential terrorists."

3. *Methodological Framework: Discourse Analysis*

In order to determine if the United States made a macrosecuritising move of terrorism using the platform of the United Nations, this dissertation will be exercising methods of discourse analysis. Foucault described discourse as a social practice that can refer to either spoken or written contexts (Hatlen, 1988), and discourse analysis is a general term that encompasses many different approaches to analysing forms of human communication within society and culture. Securitisation theory is inherently a theory of discourse, whereby a specific series of representations and practices construct meaning, constitute identity, establish social relations, and produce political and ethical

outcomes (Campbell, 1998). Therefore, in order to undertake this research, which focuses on securitisation theory, discourse analysis is an appropriate methodology to employ.

There are some criticisms of discourse analysis, and in its relation to securitisation theory. In *Diagnosing the Securitisation of Immigration at the EU Level: A New Method for Stronger Empirical Claims*, the authors argue that whether or not an issue has been securitised is a difficult question, all the more complicated by the problem that scholars researching this topic often wish to provide a deliberate and final 'yes' or 'no' conclusion, even when one may not be clear or possible (Baele & Sterck, 2015). Another criticism of the methodology concerns the level of transparency with which researches choose certain documents, events, or items to include within their analysis. The biased selection of data is a problem in research, and in an attempt to prevent this dissertation from falling into this unscientific faux pas, a description of why each item was both important and relevant to consider is described in *Section 3.1*. However, discourse analysis is always subjective, and it is important to understand that despite attempts at being as objective as possible, implicit biases exist.

In order to answer the research question, and attempt to determine whether the U.S. macrosecuritised terrorism at the UNGA, this dissertation analyses speeches made at the platform by U.S. representatives. By choosing speeches, there is less ambiguity regarding intent of any potential move, and by looking at representatives, we can fairly assume that what they say is on behalf of the U.S. government and citizens of the country. Speeches that were made during the time of the macrosecuritisation, in the immediate, post-9/11era will be chosen, as they are the most logical selections given contextual components of the macrosecuritisation. Each speech studied will be considered a macrosecuritising move if it includes the elements of the process of securitisation, a threat to the referent object (constructed with the use of universalisms), requiring an extraordinary response.

It is important to note that while discourse primarily refers to spoken and written language, there are scholars who argue that discourse also includes visual expression, such as pictures and videos) and systemic processes. As mentioned previously, in *Section 2.1*, one of the criticisms of securitisation theory is the focus, or even over-emphasis, on linguistic communication and verbal speech acts as the primary mode of securitising moves (Möller, 2007) (Williams, 2003). Other variations of securitising moves that have been claimed include body language, imagery, and even the historic, systemic cultures within institutions (McDonald, 2008). Discourse is not just

linguistic, and many studies have shown that non-verbal communication is highly important in human communication (Phutela, 2015). However, verbal communication is less subjective than non-verbal communication. As words are less ambiguous to analyse, language will be the main form of discourse used in the research of this dissertation.

There are many examples of social and political scientists using discourse analysis as the methodological tool when conducting research that considers various aspects of the securitisation process, including identifying how threats are constructed through rhetoric. In *What is the effect of terrorist attacks on the securitization of migration? Case studies from the UK and Spain*, Natalia Umansky measured the frequency of certain words in the legislative arena in order to analyse political discourse on the intersection of the topics of terrorism and migration (Umansky, 2016). Considering the frequency of certain words, a measure of their usage, is an easy way to determine which attitudes and ideas are most important within a discourse and is one method of analysis that is highly useful to undertake. Coding is another method within discourse analysis; by labeling and categorising certain phrases, expressions, and sentences, we may be able to observe themes in attitude (Creswell, 2009, p. 186). Individually, certain expressions within a discourse might not be noteworthy, but when considered together with other comparable ideas, narratives and patterns may emerge, giving a better understanding of the purpose and intent of the discourse.

These two methods of discourse analysis—word frequency and coding—will be used in this dissertation, using the assistance of NVivo 12 software. NVivo is a computer-assisted, qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) that allows a user to store, analyse, and visualise large amounts of data (NVivo, 2019). The analysis capabilities of this software made it the perfect choice for the discourse considered in this dissertation. The speeches chosen can be analysed through the word frequency query and coding (through 'Nodes') certain attitudes and themes which aid in inferring conclusions.

3.1 Speech Selection

In the data collection stage, the speeches to be analysed were chosen. It was important to consider the contextual factors of speeches chosen. The date of the speech, the platform and audience of the speech, and the speaker were all considered before selecting the speeches. The speeches selected were within the timeframe of the first four years following September 11, 2001. This was in order to have a closer time proximity to the event of 9/11, the catalyst for the GWoT and the macrosecuritisation of terrorism. The platform chosen was the United Nations General

Assembly (UNGA), as it is the body of the United Nations in which most state-level political actors make speeches, and its assembly is a highly important event across the world. The audience in this instance is the then 189-member states, and other observing actors and bodies—a truly global stage. Finally, the speeches must have been made by U.S. representatives, who can express beliefs on behalf of the nation. The chosen speakers were U.S. President George W. Bush, the head of state, and New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, acknowledged as an American leader domestically and internationally after 9/11. Both of these political actors are good representatives to consider for reasons that are elaborated in the following subsections. Using these parameters, five speeches were chosen. Each of them was made between 2001 and 2004, by one of the two U.S. representatives mentioned, at the UNGA in front of a global audience.

3.1.1 Speaker: President George W. Bush

George Walker Bush served as the 43rd President of the United States for two terms, between the years of 2001 and 2009, having won both the 2000 and 2004 U.S. Presidential election. The son of former U.S. President George H. W. Bush, he had long been in politics, previously serving as the Governor of Texas. A longstanding criticism of the 2000 election was that he won fewer popular votes, by more than half a million, than that of his opponent, Al Gore (Greenhouse, 2001). Although he began office with a rocky beginning, and left office with somewhat of a rocky end, the public perception vote being just 22% in July 2008, President Bush was seen as a strong national and global leader and dedicated American following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Following the attacks, President Bush's approval rating jumped to 86% with many praising his response, campaign against terrorism, and use of the military (Pew Research Center, 2008). Later, these approval rating figures would go down again when the policies over the 2003 Invasion of Iraq were disapproved of by many or seen as destructive measures for the long-term. Still, a 2016 Pew Research Center study found that almost one-fifth of Americans said they felt most proud of the United States during the response period after the attacks of 9/11, almost 15 years later (Gramlich, 2017).

As the President of the United States, speeches made by George W. Bush over the course of his presidency can be viewed as the voice of the United States as a country and nation. As the head of the executive branch of government, he and his administration led the U.S. on issues of domestic and foreign policy for eight years, during the significant years of the Global War on Terror. For these reasons, speeches made by President Bush can be seen as a mouthpiece for the

United States agenda, policy, and direction. Some information is also available on the speechwriters that the Bush administration used during this time. Michael Gerson serviced as President Bush's chief speechwriter between the years of 2001 and 2006. He was involved in the speechwriting process even immediately following the 9/11 attacks, helping draft the speech President Bush gave at the U.S. National Cathedral in Washington D.C. on September 14, 2001 (Bush, 2001). Gerson was also a senior policy advisor during that time, and a member of the White House Iraq Group, WHIG (the purpose of which was to keep the public informed about the 2003 Iraq War). This combination of positions shows that the Gerson was not only the leading speechwriter but was also very involved in policy motivations and action. His involvement in the WHIG shows that he was at the forefront of decisions made on Iraq, choices and results of which play a large role in the 2002 and 2003 UNGA speeches made by President Bush. Therefore, it is shown that there was coordination and understanding based on what was said and meant in the President's speeches, the administration's plans, and the U.S. government's position on issues addressed to American citizens and the global community. Another speechwriter for the Bush administration, in the first few years of George Bush's presidency, was David Frum, who is credited with creating the phrase "axis of evil," which was used in the January 29, 2002 State of the Union address that President Bush gave before a joint session of the U.S. Congress. This term, the "axis of evil" was used to describe Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, in the context of the global War on Terror. It also sometimes included other governments that were seen as sponsoring terrorism and was repeatedly applied for years after this first use.

The speeches President Bush gave to the United Nations General Assembly in the immediate years following the attacks of 9/11 can show us America's focus and goals, and whilst the macrosecuritisation of the Global War on Terror is acknowledged by securitisation scholars, we can analyse whether the speeches the President gave from 2001 to 2004 (coded as GWB01, GWB02, GWB03, and GWB04 in NVivo software) constituted a macrosecuritisation move, using the United Nations as an international platform for a globally attempted securitisation.

3.1.1 Speaker: Mayor Rudy Giuliani

Rudolph Giuliani, commonly known as Rudy Giuliani, is a U.S. politician who served as the Mayor of New York City between 1994 and 2001 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019). Viewable as a somewhat unremarkable, and even unlikeable, politician for most of his elected tenure, Mayor Giuliani received wide national and international attention after the events of September 11, 2001.

He was praised for his leadership during the crisis, and the recovery and reconstruction efforts by the city during and after it. In the years following the terrorist attacks Mayor Giuliani has been criticised by many over his actions, and framing of both the situation and his role at Ground Zero. This being said, his importance during the time of the attacks cannot be downplayed. He was the most prominent spokesperson for the City of New York during the catastrophe. And many around the world saw him as a leader within the United States. During a 9/11 memorial service in New York on September 23, 2011, popular television personality and pop-culture icon, Oprah Winfrey, called Giuliani "America's Mayor" and introduced him to the audience as the "man of the hour," with the audience responding with cheers of agreement (Haller, 2001). *Time* magazine named him as the 2001 "Person of the Year" in December of that year. (Pooley, 2001), and in February 2002 Queen Elizabeth II gave him an honorary knighthood (KBE) (Reynolds, 2002).

The speech Mayor Giuliani gave to the United Nations General Assembly less than a month after the attacks of 9/11 can show us America's beliefs and opinions during this time. As established, the macrosecuritisation of the Global War on Terror is widely acknowledge, but whether or not this actor used the UNGA platform in order to make a securitising move is unknown. Using his 2001 speech (coded as RG01 in NVivo software), and analysing the language used in his speech, this dissertation hopes to discover if a securitisation of terrorism was attempted in this instant.

3.1.3 Uploading Speeches to NVivo

Once the speeches were chosen, transcripts of them were found through online sources, where the verbal speech had been converted into readable text. These speeches were checked to confirm their suitability before being copied into their own, individual .docx files. Corrections to fix formatting issues or punctuation abnormalities were made in the document. Then the speeches were uploaded, individually, into the NVivo software, and given a coded-title to identify the speech within the software. Coded-titles were given based on the speakers initials and the year the speech was made.

Here a visualisation of the speeches chosen for consideration and analysis can be seen:

Speech			NVivo Coded-Title
Year	Speaker	Platform	
2001	President George W. Bush	UNGA	GWB01
2002	President George W. Bush	UNGA	GWB02
2003	President George W. Bush	UNGA	GWB03
2004	President George W. Bush	UNGA	GWB04
2001	Mayor Rudy Giuliani	UNGA	RG01

3.2 Coding in NVivo: Creating Nodes and Sub-Nodes

To code information into themes and categories within the NVivo software, you must create what is called a 'node,' which allows you to gather related material together. These nodes then allow observations to be made, and patterns to be found, within and between cases and classifications (NVivo, 2019). Sub-nodes can also be made under parent-nodes, dividing groupings further. Once nodes and sub-nodes have been created, text from speeches uploaded to NVivo can be added to one or more of them. In order to code text into nodes or sub-nodes, the information must be selected and entered into the desired location through the software's 'Code Selection' feature. When the coding of a speech is complete, the software can count how many references within each node exist, and what percentage coverage that node makes up of the entire speech. It is important to note here that the percentage coverage is a more accurate depiction of how weighted a particular theme or category was within the speech. This is because references count individual pieces of text that were coded, and the length of the text can vary from a phrase to several sentences at once.

In this dissertation, six parent-nods were used to undertake the coding process. Four of these six contained two sub-nodes each. The nodes were mostly created by their relevance to the elements within the process of securitisation, but also highlighted attitudes within the speech and took note of other issues that may have been mentioned. Once the nodes were created the speeches were coded individually, with multiple read-throughs of each performed in order to code text into each node one by one. It is important to note that text may be coded into more than one node at once, and many phrases and sentences in the speeches analysed did fit into more than one category at a time. The node structure used in this dissertation is shown in *Chart 1*, and a description of each node follows in *Section 3.2.1 to Section 3.2.6*.

Diagram 1:

```
                              ┌──────────────┐
                              │     Node     │
                              │   Structure  │
                              └──────┬───────┘
      ┌──────────┬──────────┬────────┼────────┬──────────┬──────────┐
┌─────────┐┌──────────┐┌──────────┐┌─────────┐┌─────────┐┌──────────┐
│ General ││  Global  ││  Terror  ││Solutions││ Religion││  Other   │
│Attitude ││  Threat  ││Referenced││Proposed ││Referenced││  Issues │
│         ││ Labeled  ││          ││         ││         ││Mentioned │
└────┬────┘└──────────┘└────┬─────┘└────┬────┘└────┬────┘└──────────┘
     │                      │           │          │
┌─────────┐          ┌──────────┐┌────────────┐┌─────────┐
│ Negative│          │9/11 Terror││Call for    ││  Islam  │
│         │          │           ││Global      ││         │
│         │          │           ││Action      ││         │
└─────────┘          └──────────┘└────────────┘└─────────┘
┌─────────┐          ┌──────────┐┌─────────┐┌─────────┐
│ Positive│          │ Non-9/11 ││   U.S.  ││  Faith  │
│         │          │  Terror  ││Measures ││(General)│
└─────────┘          └──────────┘└─────────┘└─────────┘
```
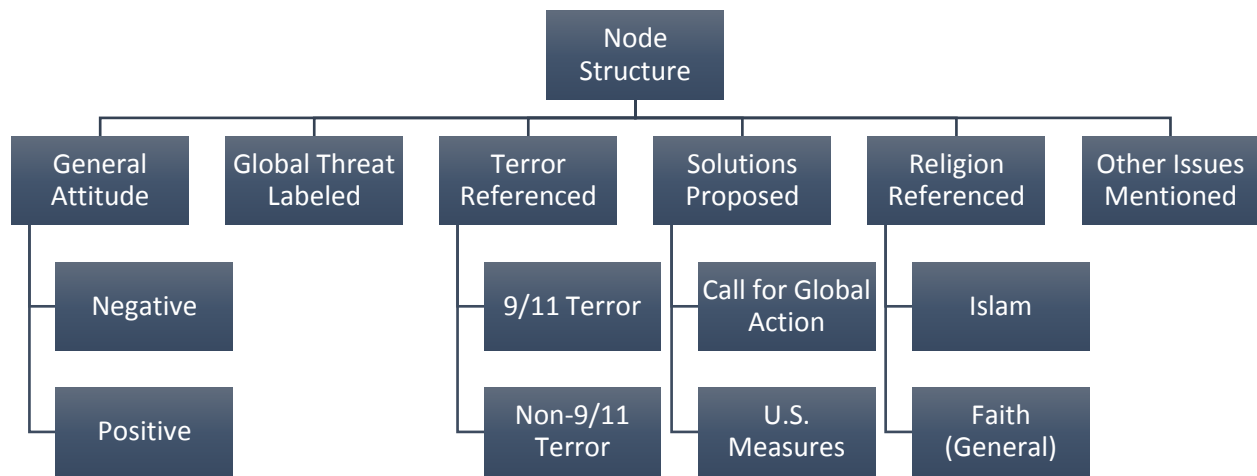
3.2.1 General Attitude

The 'General Attitude' node is comprised of two sub-nodes: **a) Negative** and **b) Positive**. Instead of categorising specific language into thematic groups, this node focuses on the general attitude, or tone, of the speech. If part of the speech conveys a negative impression, then it is entered into the 'Negative' sub-node. Negative impressions include emotions such as anger, disappointment, and fear, and include the labeling of threats. If part of the speech conveys a positive impression, then it is entered into the 'Positive' sub-node. Positive impressions include emotions such as optimism, and descriptions of resilience and togetherness. The connotations of specific words are less important than the context of the phrases or sentences they are used in.

3.2.2 Global Threat Labeled

This node encompasses language that labels global threats. This includes the framing of terrorism, and related items such as weapons of mass destruction or specific regimes, as issues which threaten specific countries (called by name), regions, or the world as a whole. It also

includes text that portrays the existential threat of terrorism by appealing to one or more of the three universalisms (inclusive, existing order, physical threat). The main difference between this node and the 'Terror Referenced' node is that 'Global Threat Labeled' considers descriptions of future potential threats and destruction.

3.2.3 Terror Referenced

The 'Terror Referenced' node has two sub-nodes: **a) 9/11 Terror** and **b) Non-9/11 Terror**. The '9/11 Terror' sub-node includes any references to the September 11, 2001 attacks, including the people (victims, terrorists, first responders, etc.), places, and other features of the event. The 'Non-9/11 Terror' sub-node includes any references to other instances of terror across the world and throughout time. This does not just comprise of terrorist attacks, but also war, human rights abuses, and oppressive regimes.

3.2.4 Solutions Proposed

The Solutions Proposed node has two sub-nodes: **a) Call for Global Action** and **b) U.S. Measures**. This node is significant as it relates to the 'extraordinary measures' aspect of the process of securitisation. The sub-node 'Call for Global Action' includes any attempt at calling on specific nations, regions, states in general, or international institutions, to fight against terror in any form. This sub-node also includes the framing of action as a responsibility. The sub-node 'U.S. Measures' includes any description or explanation of U.S. policy, principles, or beliefs.

An important note is that text not involving solutions proposed to terror, but some other issue that is being discussed, also is coded into this node. For example, if a speech mentions the global AIDS crisis and then calls for action or mentions U.S. measures on this topic, it is included.

3.2.5 Religion Referenced

The 'Religion Referenced' node has two sub-nodes: **a) Islam** and **b) Faith (General)**. Due to the effort by world leaders to prevent the securitisation of terrorism from subsuming religion, as described in *Section 2.3*, this node provides an opportunity for a side-observation. The sub-node, 'Islam', is used to identify parts of the speech in which Muslims, or anything related to the Islamic faith is mentioned, in any capacity. The 'Faith (General)' sub-node includes instances in which many religions are mentioned, God is mentioned, or any faith-based term or reference is used without a specific link to any one religion.

3.2.6 Other Issues Mentioned

This node relates to references of any other issues. If a speech considers items on the political agenda that are that are not directly related to terror, they are coded into this Node. This helps to give an idea on what proportion of the speeches relate to terrorism or not.

3.3 Generating Data

After speeches are coded, data generated from the nodes can be exported from NVivo into tables which provide information on the number of references within a node, and what percentage coverage that node had within a speech. The sum total of the percentage coverage column may be more than 100%, as coded items can overlap and be coded under more than one node. The most prominent example of this is the node on 'General Attitude' in which the 'Positive' and 'Negative' sub-nodes, which focus on tone, contain many parts of the speech which appear under more categorical nodes.

NVivo also allows users to generate word frequency tables under their 'Run Query' tool. Individual and multiple speeches can be selected, what number of 'most frequent words' can be decided, and a listing of the most used words is exported in table format. For this dissertation, the top twenty words were selected for analysis, though a greater or fewer number may have been chosen. NVivo automatically filters out words with less than three letters, and common words such as 'and' and 'the'. Words pulled from the text to be counted included stem words and its variations. For example, if the software were to count the word 'peace,' it would also count the number of times 'peaceful' and 'peacefully' also appear. When NVivo generates word frequency tables, variants of a frequently used word are listed in the far-right column. These tables also generate a default second column when exported, which contains data on the word length. This was removed and disregarded as the length of the most frequently used words has no significance in this dissertation.

3.4 Analysing Data and Inferring Results

After the data on nodes and word frequencies was generated for individual speeches, and grouped speeches, the quantitative information was considered. Alongside it, discourse such as phrases, sentences, and passages from the speeches were considered. Citing specific quotes from the speeches, and comparing them with features of securitisation theory, a discussion was had on whether securitising elements were found.

The analysis was first done within individual speeches, and then across speeches. Both speeches from 2001, by President Bush and Mayor Giuliani, were considered together: GWB01

and RG01. Additionally, all of President Bush's speeches were analysed across the years: GWB01, GWB02, GWB03, and GWB04. These group considerations are necessary in order to explore potential patterns.

In the final section of the dissertation, a conclusion is made regarding whether or not securitising moves were made in or across any of the speeches analysed. A determination of whether the macrosecuritisation of terrorism was made by the United States at the UNGA will be made.

4. Findings and Analysis by Speech

This section presents data generated using NVivo software and offers an analysis of the data and discourse within each of the five speeches chosen. In the analysis considerations are given to the weighted percentage of the most frequently used words, the percentage coverage of various nodes and sub-nodes, and specific phrases used within each speech. While the quantitative data is useful, and can offer a general idea of the beliefs, intentions, and purposes of the speaker, an interpretation of the specific language is also needed in order to determine if elements of the securitisation process are visible.

4.1 President Bush's 2001 UNGA Address

Following the attacks of September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush gave a speech at the UN headquarter in New York City. On November 10, 2001 he addressed global leaders at the UNGA, speaking on behalf of the United States government and people. During the speech, he expressed grief, gratitude, determination, and resolve (Bush, 2001). Data generated from NVivo's word frequency tool and coding instrument is shown in the following sub-sections and followed by an analysis of certain parts of the monologue, a format continued for subsequent speeches.

4.1.1 GWB01 Word Frequency Data and Analysis

Table 1. GWB01, Word Frequency Query, 20 most frequent

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
nations	30	2.36%	nation, national, nations
every	23	1.81%	every
terrorists	23	1.81%	terrorist, terrorists

terror	17	1.34%	terror, terrorism
united	17	1.34%	unite, united, uniting
world	16	1.26%	world
must	15	1.18%	must
country	13	1.02%	countries, country
people	11	0.87%	people, peoples
many	8	0.63%	many
murder	8	0.63%	murder, murderer
peace	8	0.63%	peace, peaceful, peacefully
taliban	8	0.63%	taliban
governments	8	0.63%	government, governments
responsibility	8	0.63%	response, responsibilities, responsibility
including	7	0.55%	include, including
laws	7	0.55%	law, lawful, laws
names	7	0.55%	name, names
cause	7	0.55%	cause, causes
september	7	0.55%	september

The most used word (and derivates of) was 'nations,' which had a weighted percentage of over 2%. This word, along with 'united' and 'world' indicate a sense of togetherness. 'governments,' 'responsibility,' and 'laws' were also frequently used, giving an impression of accountability or obligation from states; this implication may also be understood through the 15-time use of 'must.' 'Terrorists' and 'terror,' and variations of these words are very high on the list, together appearing 40 times within the speech. Knowing this, even if one were unaware of the 9/11 context, it would be unsurprising that the main topic of this address was terrorism.

4.1.2 GWB01 Node Data and Analysis

Table 2. GWB01, Node Data: Reference Number and % Coverage

File Name	Node: Sub-node	References	Coverage
GWB01	General Attitude: Negative	45	34.58%
GWB01	General Attitude: Positive	24	21.36%
GWB01	Global Threat Labeled	13	10.25%
GWB01	Terror Referenced: 9/11 Terror	22	17.71%
GWB01	Terror Referenced: Non-9/11 Terror	14	11.42%
GWB01	Solutions Proposed: Call for Global Action	26	26.59%
GWB01	Solutions Proposed: U.S. Measures	10	13.00%
GWB01	Religion Referenced: Islam	11	6.67%
GWB01	Religion Referenced: Faith (General)	7	3.81%
GWB01	Other Issues Mentioned	4	5.36%

The mood and tone of this speech was quite varied. More than one-third of it had a negative attitude, and slightly more than one-fifth had a positive attitude. The high frequency of negative coverage is unsurprising considering the fact that the speech came less than two months after the attacks of 9/11, and much of the speech, almost one-fifth, included direct and indirect references

to the event and people involved. Understanding this, the positive attitude of the speech may appear surprisingly high at first, considering the seriousness of the contextual backdrop of the speech. However, when looking at the words and phrases coded within the 'general attitude, positive' sub-node, it becomes clear why this is the case. Phrases such as "So let us go forward, confident, determined, and unafraid," are declared, signaling a theme of resolve and resilience. This, and other positive expressions, came towards the end of the speech, and especially in relation to future outcomes which may occur if pre-proposed measures are enacted to prevent acts of terrorism from occurring again.

The node 'global threat labeled' and two sub-nodes within 'references to terror' concerning 9/11 and non-9/11 terror concern two of the main components of a securitising or macrosecuritising move, the existential threat and the referent object of security. The references to 9/11 terror in GWB01 were understandably high, as President Bush's first address came shortly after the tragedy. The 22 references to 9/11 which were coded made up almost one-fifth of the speech, a substantial amount. These references included many aspects of 9/11, from denouncing the attacks to mourning the victims, and from celebrating the heroism of first responders to thanking the condolences received from empathetic nations around the world. The references to non-9/11 terror had a coverage of more than 10%, showing the broader problem of terror. The 'global threat labeled' had a similar coverage and presented the argument that no country is safe from terrorism, that every country is a "potential target." The threat of terror is presented not just in terms of terrorist attacks, but in the conceivable ability of terror networks from acquiring weapons of mass destruction, "the tools to turn their hatred into holocaust." These are clear examples of physical threat universalism, presenting a collective threat to all states and peoples as a collective. Inclusive universalisms are used within the speech also, framing the referent object of security as humanity and humankind when the statement, "Civilisation itself, the civilisation we share, is threatened," is made.

The node 'solutions proposed' parallels the extraordinary measures component of securitisation. There were 26 references throughout GWB01 that were calls to action, where there were attempts to galvanise the audience at the UNGA, and public spectators around the world, into accepting U.S. measures and undertaking their own, individually and as part of a global effort. This sub-node made up more than one-quarter of the speech in terms percentage coverage. The adoption of 'Resolution 1373,' by the UN Security Council (UNSC) was mentioned with

positivity. This resolution was adopted on September 28, 2001 and took measures against terrorist action, including preventing terrorist financing (United Nations Security Council, 2001). President Bush encouraged states to pass necessary laws to enact it. In the speech, the phrase "we have a responsibility to…" was used three times, in succession, and was followed by measures ranging from intelligence sharing to denying terrorist sanctuary and transit. "These obligations are urgent," shows an imperative nature on these measures.

Within the address, there is also "with us or against us" rhetoric, leaving little room for disagreement. President Bush states, "The allies of terror are equally guilty of murder and equally accountable to justice." This statement subtly implies that any actor not standing with the U.S., is equivocal to the perpetrators of terror. In this part of the speech, we the existing order universalism presented, the United Nations, and its moral authority, being considered a referent object for security which faces destabilisation from terrorism. Based on the global threats of terror labeled, the usage of all three universalisms to demonstrate a unity in principles, institutions, and shared-humanity, and the presentation of extraordinary measures, it is clear that a macrosecuritising move was made in President Bush's 2001 UNGA speech.

The other nodes, 'religion referenced,' and 'other issues mentioned,' had much lower coverages than other nodes. Islam was referenced 11 times, mostly not being directly linked to terror, but a few times being used to provide background on the perpetrators of 9/11. Faith, more broadly, was referenced 7 times and included phrases such as, "the teaching of many faiths," when describing good prevailing over evil. Other issues were mentioned briefly in GWB01, but their coverage was negligible. Momentary lip service was given to the political agenda items of development, trade, education, and AIDS. There was also a nod to "Peace in the Middle East," when President Bush described hope for a future in which Israel and Palestine can live peacefully within "secure and recognised borders."

4.2 President Bush's 2002 UNGA Address

In 2002 President Bush made his second address at the UNGA. It was made on September 12, 2001, one year and one day after 9/11, a fact that he included his opening. Overwhelmingly, the main focus of this speech was Iraq. Throughout, there were many references to the state, government, and people of Iraq, with the government continuously described as a 'regime' and associated with terror. With the power of retrospection, the speech was a clear precursor to the 2003 U.S.-led Invasion of Iraq, with much of the language indicating future action (Bush, 2002).

4.2.1 GWB02 Word Frequency Data and Analysis

Table 3. GWB02, Word Frequency Query, 20 most frequent

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
iraq	45	2.87%	iraq
regime	35	2.23%	regime, regimes
security	26	1.66%	security
nations	24	1.53%	nation, nationals, nations, nations'
united	23	1.47%	united
iraqi	22	1.40%	iraqi, iraqis
weapons	20	1.28%	weapon, weapons
council	18	1.15%	council
world	17	1.08%	world
resolutions	15	0.96%	resolution, resolutions
peace	14	0.89%	peace
people	12	0.77%	people
year	12	0.77%	year, years
states	11	0.70%	state, states
nuclear	10	0.64%	nuclear
one	10	0.64%	one
demand	10	0.64%	demand, demanded, demands
continues	8	0.51%	continue, continued, continues

hussein	8	0.51%	hussein
kuwait	8	0.51%	kuwait

'Iraq' was the most used word in the speech, with a weighted percentage of almost 3%. When considered with 'Iraqi,' the sixth most used word, there was a count of 67 usages. 'Hussein,' the leader of the country, was named 8 times, and 'regime,' which was the second most used word was used 35. All of these items considered together give a clear indication that the main topic of the speech was the nation-state of Iraq. The other most frequent words give context to how these discussed words were framed during the speech. 'Security,' 'weapons,' and 'nuclear' were all used at least 10 times throughout the speech, all powerful and highly-charged words.

When considering certain phrases in the speech, repetitive language can be seen. The sentence, "If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will…" was repeated several times, and always precured policy and actions to be taken. These repetitions pushed desired suggests from the American position, in order to fix negatively-view attributes of the state.

4.2.2 GWB02 Node Data and Analysis

Table 4. GWB02, Node Data: Reference Number and % Coverage

File Name	Node: Sub-node	References	Coverage
GWB02	General Attitude: Negative	35	54.83%
GWB02	General Attitude: Positive	15	20.01%
GWB02	Global Threat Labeled	13	18.18%
GWB02	Terror Referenced: 9/11 Terror	4	3.03%
GWB02	Terror Referenced: Non-9/11 Terror	12	11.25%

GWB02	Solutions Proposed: Call for Global Action	9	5.84%
GWB02	Solutions Proposed: U.S. Measures	9	6.41%
GWB02	Religion Referenced: Islam	2	1.74%
GWB02	Religion Referenced: Faith (General)	1	0.08%
GWB02	Other Issues Mentioned	1	0.53%

The tone of GWB02 was overwhelmingly negative. Over half of the speech, almost 55%, was coded into the 'general attitude: negative' node. About one-fifth of the speech was positive, being coded into the opposed general attitude sub-node. The way this coverage was split within the speech is interesting to note; the attitudes would switch back and forth between negative and positive tones throughout. The negative attitudes were used to describe the terror delivered by the Iraqi government, described mostly as a 'regime,' a word with a strong negative connotation. 'Regime' is usually reserved to describe governments that oppose democratic and liberal principles (Biehn, 2013). The positive attitudes in GWB02 were mostly coded from descriptions of measures the United States had taken over the past year, since President Bush's last address to the UNGA.

The speech is very much about Iraq, and the regime in power, headed by Saddam Hussein. This can be seen in *Section 4.2.1*, where words related to this topic are ranked high on the speech's most frequently used words list. Unlike the previous speech, where the main issue was terrorism with a focus on terror attacks, this speech focuses on state-terror. This specific issue was a more focused item under the terrorism umbrella presented within the context of the Global War on Terror. Overcoming the stated terror of the Iraqi regime is presented as being central to fighting terrorism. This main focus, the Iraqi regime and its leader, was mentioned early within the speech. Much of the first half of the speech was used to provide fact-based evidence as to why Iraq constitutes a terror threat within the world. Previous issues, UNSC resolutions, and sanctions regarding the country were described. The phrase, "In 1991," begins several sections of the speech where President Bush states which international agreements were agreed to by Iraq, followed by

dissatisfaction that those agreements were broken. The rejection and non-compliance with Resolutions 686, 687, and 688 are cited, as is the violations of Resolution 1373 which was passed prior to President Bush's first address to the UNGA in 2001 and mentioned in that speech as a measure which much be undertaken by all to prevent terrorist organisations from access to funds. We can see a global threat labeled towards specific states when President Bush mentions by name Iran, Israel, and more generally, "Western governments," in describing Iraq's "shelter and support of terrorist organisations" which threaten them. Here we see somewhat of a physical threat universalism, and also a direct connection between the state of Iraq, terrorism, and vulnerabilities of several countries.

GWB02 only references 9/11 terror 4 times throughout the speech, a coverage percentage of 3.03%. This appears remarkably low considering the large-scale terror attack happened just one year previous to this speech. One of the references to terror directly related the Iraqi government to the tragedy with, "Iraq's government openly praised the attacks of September the 11th." References to terror not linked to 9/11 were higher and presented more examples of Iraqi terror. In addition to citing the killing of Iraqi and Kurdish people within Iraq, President Bush also describes broader instances of violence, "Saddam Hussein attacked Iran in 1980 and Kuwait in 1990. He's fired ballistic missiles at Iran and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Israel." This expanded the physical threat universalism further, mentioning more countries at risk. The likelihood of an unsafe future is presented in the 'global threats labeled' node. Coverage within this node was almost a fifth, and one reference within it described Saddam Hussein's regime as, "a grave and gathering danger." Terrorists "plotting further destruction" was also presented as a "war against civilisation," in an example of an inclusive universalism. Perhaps the most affecting language used in the speech was when President Bush described that proponents of terror obtaining weapons of mass destruction would mean that the attacks of 9/11 would "be a prelude to far greater horrors."

The positive attitudes within the speech were used to describe proposed U.S. measures and calls for action, which together made up just over 10% of the speech. Most of the measures listed were vague, with declarations of a U.S. commitment to work with the UNSC, and not much else. Other positive attitudes were coded when Iraq could have a government "based on respect for human rights" and "economic liberty," nodding once more to inclusive universalism. Based on this discourse, it is clear that a macrosecuritising move was made against terror, Iraq, and Iraqi terror within this speech. The global threat was clear and repeated, and the referent objects were

presented; some states were called out specifically, whilst others were included through usage of two universalisms. In terms of extraordinary measures, they were visible, but with a certain vagueness, something that Buzan stated is sometimes necessary when links between threats and measures are unclear (Buzan & Wæver, 2003). President Bush ended the address by pushing for an acceptance of this macrosecuritising move, seeking to win approval and legitimacy in U.S. actions regarding Iraq. He presented two futures, one in which we "stand up for our security," and one in which the Middle East will be condemned to "more years of bloodshed and fear."

References to religion were few, but one that stood out was a description of a future Iraq that could "inspiring reforms throughout the Muslim world." 'Other issues mentioned' within GWB02 was less than 1%, highlighting that the key issue in this speech was one issue and one state; Iraq being presented as the literal and metaphorical battleground of the Global War on Terror. During the address, President Bush stated that the U.S. would return to UNESCO), "as a symbol of our commitment to human dignity" (U.S. Department of State Archive, 2002).

4.3 President Bush's 2003 UNGA Address

The third address of President Bush to the UNGA was delivered two years after 9/11, on September 23, 2003. As in the 2002 speech, the distance in time from this event was noted at the beginning, though described as "yesterday in the memory of America." This was the only reference to 9/11 throughout the entire speech. Another terrorist event was also mentioned by President Bush in his opening statements, the then-recent assault on the United Nations offices in Baghdad which killed twenty-two people. At this point in time, U.S. and allied forces had already entered Iraq, and he expresed incredible foresight by stating at one point, "Our good intentions will be credited only if we achieve good outcomes" (Bush, 2003).

4.3.1 GWB03 Word Frequency Data and Analysis

Table 5. GWB03, Word Frequency Query, 20 most frequent

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
nations	38	2.46%	nation, national, nations
iraq	30	1.94%	iraq
united	21	1.36%	united
security	16	1.04%	secure, security

people	16	1.04%	people
working	15	0.97%	work, worked, working
must	15	0.97%	must
weapons	15	0.97%	weapons
states	14	0.91%	state, stated, states
help	12	0.78%	help, helped, helping
new	11	0.71%	new
world	11	0.71%	world
country	11	0.71%	countries, country
governments	11	0.71%	governing, government, governments
regime	11	0.71%	regime, regimes
peace	10	0.65%	peace, peaceful
terror	10	0.65%	terror, terrorism
terrorists	10	0.65%	terrorist, terrorists
free	9	0.58%	free
iraqi	9	0.58%	iraqi, iraqis

Many of the words that were most frequently used in President Bush's 2002 speech were once again present to a great extent in his 2003 speech. Words such as 'Iraq,' 'Iraqi,' 'regime,' 'security,' and 'weapons' all made a return, and show that discussion on this topic was still on-going. Many words with the stem 'terror' made a return to the most frequent list, having been present in the 2001 frequency list (*Table 1*.), but absent on the 2002 frequency list (*Table 3*.). We can also see that words which could symbolise togetherness were used, these include, 'nations,' 'united,' and 'world,' though the first two, which appeared 38 and 21 times respectively may have been used together in order to address, or call on the United Nations. Positive words such as

'peace,' and 'free,' were also frequently used. Finally, urgency and obligation can be seen in the, once again, heavy use of 'must,' which had a coverage of almost 1%.

4.3.2 GWB03 Node Data and Analysis

Table 6. GWB03, Node Data: Reference Number and % Coverage

File Name	Node: Sub-node	References	Coverage
GWB03	General Attitude: Negative	26	24.31%
GWB03	General Attitude: Positive	27	24.47%
GWB03	Global Threat Labeled	12	15.28%
GWB03	Terror Referenced: 9/11 Terror	1	0.99%
GWB03	Terror Referenced: Non-9/11 Terror	29	19.05%
GWB03	Solutions Proposed: Call for Global Action	20	13.61%
GWB03	Solutions Proposed: U.S. Measures	26	27.06%
GWB03	Religion Referenced: Islam	0	0.00%
GWB03	Religion Referenced: Faith (General)	2	0.37%
GWB03	Other Issues Mentioned	15	27.12%

Beginning once more by looking at the 'general attitude' sub-nodes, there is an intriguing observation to be made. The negative and positive coverage within GWB03 are almost equal. The

difference between them is negligible, with a variance of 0.16%. Not only was the percentage coverage similar, but so was the reference count (due to the coding of different lengths of phrases and sentences, the percentage coverage is the better indicator of the relevancy of a node as described in *Section 3.2*. The negative sub-node included 26 references, whilst the positive sub-node included 27 references. Most of the negatively framed discourse was similar to that of past speeches, in which various elements of terror were discussed, from terrorist acts to undesirable regimes. Most of the positive references within the speech related to descriptions of U.S. actions in Iraq over the past year, since President Bush's 2002 UNGA address. At this point in time, the U.S.-led Invasion of Iraq had taken place, and America and its allies had helped the Iraqi people overthrow Saddam Hussein. The framing of actions undertaken, and positive changes that happened as a result of them, contributes greatly to the overall lighter mood of the speech in comparison to President Bush's last appearance at the UNGA. Examples of this include, "life is being improved by liberty" in Iraq, and that "Across the world, nations are more secure because an ally of terror has fallen." At the beginning of the speech, President Bush acknowledges the presence of Hamid Karzai, "Afghanistan's President, who is here today, now represents a free people who are building a decent and just society" also stating that they are building a country that is committed to the "war against terror."

The node 'global threat labeled' had 12 references and a 15.28% coverage within the speech. The node 'terror referenced, non-9/11 terror' had 29 references and a 19.05% coverage. Somewhat surprisingly, there was just one reference to 9/11 terror at the very opening of the speech. Following on from this acknowledgement President Bush listed a number of terrorist attacks that had happened around the world since September 11, 2001. The cited examples of terrorism in Bali, Mombasa, Casablanca, Riyadh, Jakarta, and Jerusalem, and described these attacks with words such as 'chaos,' 'suffering,' and 'contempt.' In references to non-9/11 terror, descriptions of what Saddam Hussein's regime did to Iraqi citizens and other populations in the region were listed. "The torture chambers, and the rape rooms" amongst other horrors were pronounced to be over due to the actions and efforts of the United States. Although positive outcomes are mentioned, the terrorism is still presented as an ongoing threat. The American and coalition presence in Iraq is portrayed as on-going out of necessity as, "these killers…have made Iraq the central front in the war on terror." In these nodes and sub-nodes, we can see physical threat

universalism being employed, especially with regard to the listing of global cities which had suffered from terrorist activity in the previous two years.

"Us versus them" language can be seen in this address. Beginning with "Events during the past two years have set before us the clearest of divides" President Bush continues a narrative technique visible in GWB01 and GWB02. He divides the world into "those who seek order" and "those who spread chaos." The first category includes the United States, U.S. allies, and those who accept the securitisation of terrorism, agreeing with or allowing the construct of the Global War on Terror. The second category is made up of terrorist groups and networks, states protect or tolerate terrorist activity within their borders, and, implicitly, those who do not accept securitisation of terrorism. President Bush states, "between these alternatives there is no neutral ground." In the sub-node 'solutions proposed, call for global action,' President Bush calls on a number of actors. Member states at the UNGA are called on generally, and "Arab nations" are mentioned specifically, with the request that they immediately cut off funding and support for terrorist organisations. Challenges presented are said to require "urgent attention and moral clarity," making the threats labeled not only causes requiring immediate notice, but ones that states are ethically bound to address.

About a third of the way into the speech, President Bush mentions another challenge that must be confronted together, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. These were also named as a global terror threat in the 2002 speech. In GWB03, President Bush calls for regimes that have nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons to be outlawed. He stated that these weapons have been used to blackmail nations around the globe and are a high, existential threat to people everywhere as they could "bring sudden disaster and suffering on a scale we can scarcely imagine." He makes an appeal to the audience at the UNGA stating, "nations of the world must have the wisdom and the will to stop grave threats before they arrive." Any response will be too late if it comes after the danger has already materialised.

Coverage of both 'religion referenced' sub-nodes was low. Unlike the other speeches, the 2003 address did not mention Muslims, or reference the religion of Islam even once. The two references to faith in general were brief and not particularly noteworthy. Coverage in the 'other issues mentioned' was relatively high, with more attention on non-terror related political items here than in previous speeches. Within GWB03 this node covered more than one-quarter of the speech, with a total of 15 references. These agenda items became present in the second half of the

speech, with the first half focused on issues related to terrorism. President Bush cited numerous causes of importance to the United States and stressed that other states around the world should concern themselves with these causes also. These included the AIDS crisis, famine and poverty, disease, and human trafficking and the illegal sex trade. These issues are mentioned one by one, with U.S. measures implemented to tackle them coming after they have been presented. Most of the measures describe previous and future pledges of money, and some of them describe American laws enacted to fix problems. Some of the references coded in the sub-node 'solutions proposed, U.S. measures' relate to the same references in the node 'other issues mentioned.' As mentioned in (*Section 3*.) some of the coverage seen in the sub-nodes of 'solutions proposed' are not always linked to terrorism. An example of this can be seen in the 'solutions proposed, call for global action' sub-node when President Bush states, "Every nation on every continent should generously add their resources to the fight against disease and desperate hunger"

Considering all nodes and specific language used within GWB03, a move to continue the macrosecuritisation of terrorism within the framework of the ongoing Global War on Terror can been seen. This speech was far more information based than the previous two UNGA speeches by President Bush. Measures and plans for what "must be done" were less vague, with clearer, more specific descriptions of necessary individual and collective action. Though the securitising move is visible, it is less prominent than previous speeches. The substantial inclusion of other issues gave less time to the securitising move for terror and showed that the United States also had focus on addenda items outside of the Global War on Terror. The majority of universalist language used in this speech was physical threat universalism, highlighting dangers of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. However, there were also some instances of inclusive universalisms, with jointly-held principles being championed. As mentioned above, this speech came following an attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, Iraq. This attack on the international institution that all audience members present at the UNGA are a party to may have stressed the idea that terrorism collective issue, an impressing the notion of existing order universalism, however, this was mentioned briefly by President Bush, so this universalism may not have been purposeful, or even apparent. In the closing of his address, President Bush states, "all nations that fight terror, as if the lives of their own people depend on it, will earn the favorable judgment of history." This statement may have been designed in order to facilitate an acceptance of the securitising move.

4.4 President Bush's 2004 UNGA Address

       The fourth address of President Bush to the UNGA was delivered on September 21, 2004. It marked a departure from the previous three speeches in both tone and content and was the first speech made at the assembly which did not reference the 9/11 terrorist attacks once. He opened with a message of welcome and respect to those who "stand for peace and human rights in every part of the world." After this welcoming message, he stated that in the past three years the UNGA had met in a "time of tragedy," but goes on to say that this has changed into a "time of tremendous opportunity" (Bush, 2004).

4.4.1 GWB04 Word Frequency Data and Analysis

Table 7. GWB04, Word Frequency Query, 20 most frequent

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
nations	45	2.67%	nation, national, nations
human	23	1.36%	human, humane
world	21	1.25%	world
people	20	1.19%	people, peoples
peace	18	1.07%	peace, peaceful
governments	17	1.01%	governing, government, governments
security	16	0.95%	secure, secured, security
democracy	15	0.89%	democracies, democracy
terrorists	15	0.89%	terrorist, terrorists
every	14	0.83%	every
help	14	0.83%	help, helped, helping
rights	14	0.83%	right, rights
believe	13	0.77%	believe, believes
countries	13	0.77%	countries, country

freedom	13	0.77%	freedom	
iraq	13	0.77%	iraq	
dignity	12	0.71%	dignity	
states	12	0.71%	state, states	
united	12	0.71%	united	
must	11	0.65%	must	

Nations (nations, nation and national) was the most frequently used word in this speech, with more than a 2.5% weighted percentage. This, and the following three most frequently used words, 'human,' 'world,' and 'people,' highlight the importance of three levels of referent objects; individuals, states, and the global community together. The word 'must' appears once again, having been frequently used in the 2001 and 2003 speeches. The negatively-charged words 'security' and 'terrorists' are also present once again, but they appear lower on the list, with a lesser count than before. Overall, the language in the fourth address by President Bush seems to focus more on positive notions. Positive words as such as 'freedom,' 'rights,' 'dignity,' 'democracy,' and 'peace' were each used between 12 and 18 times each. This positivity shows a mood change, and a substantial departure from previous speeches.

4.4.2 GWB04 Node Data and Analysis

Table 8. GWB04, Node Data: Reference Number and % Coverage

File Name	Node: Sub-node	References	Coverage
GWB04	General Attitude: Negative	34	23.76%
GWB04	General Attitude: Positive	65	59.83%
GWB04	Global Threat Labeled	17	14.91%

GWB04	Terror Referenced: 9/11 Terror	1	0.75%
GWB04	Terror Referenced: Non-9/11 Terror	16	17.94%
GWB04	Solutions Proposed: Call for Global Action	16	14.14%
GWB04	Solutions Proposed: U.S. Measures	17	19.55%
GWB04	Religion Referenced: Islam	1	0.70%
GWB04	Religion Referenced: Faith (General)	3	0.99%
GWB04	Other Issues Mentioned	16	41.19%

The first notable aspect of GWB04 is that it is overwhelmingly positive, especially when compared to the previous three speeches. In terms of percentage coverage, the sub-node 'general attitude, positive' was almost 60%, whilst the sub-node 'general attitude, negative' had almost one-third that amount. The positive mood and tone of the speech prevails throughout the entire address. Messages of optimism, future successes for peaceful nations, and the belief that the U.S. and its allies have done good work are prevalent throughout. President Bush states, "The security of our world is found in advancing rights of mankind" when citing the need to continue this work, helping populations across the globe enter into democracies. Though negative statements are less frequent, compared both to the positive statements in this speech and negative statements in previous speeches, the ones that occur paint a picture of pervasive terror. "Rights are advancing across the world," a positive declaration, is immediately followed by "and across the world, the enemies of human rights are responding with violence," one of the 34 negative references. President Bush also uses key phrases linked to terror, such as, "murderous ideologies," "shadow of death," and "regions in turmoil."

Like in GWB03, 9/11 was hardly mentioned at all in GWB04. There was 1 reference to the terror attack throughout and its percentage coverage was less than 1%. In the 'terror referenced, non-9/11 terror' there were 16 references, with almost one-fifth coverage. Terror attacks which had occurred around the world were mentioned, with the recent ones in Madrid, Jerusalem, and Baghdad being cited. The 'global threats labeled' node had less coverage than in recent speeches, with less than 15% coverage. However, the information given in the speech that was coded under this node had similar language to previous speeches, even if it did not dominate as much of the speech relatively. Terrorists, terror organisations, and terror networks were all discussed, with language of condemnation used to describe their beliefs and tactics. With the sentence, "Eventually, there is no safe isolation from terror networks, or failed states that shelter them, or outlaw regimes, or weapons of mass destruction." President Bush highlights all the sub-targets that the United States wishes to tackle under the umbrella of the Global War on Terror. He describes terrorists as "enemies of human rights" whose goal is to hinder the progress made by peaceful and democratic nations with violence. This is an example of both inclusive and physical threat universalisms, with the upheld principles of peace and democracy being met with violence to people and states. Another physical threat universalism is presented when describing terrorist justification of acts such as suicide, torture, and murder in order to carry out beliefs and serve ultimate goals.

With the speech, Afghanistan and Iraq are both mentioned. In GWB04, President Bush says, "Since the last meeting of this General Assembly, the people of Iraq have regained sovereignty. Today, in this hall, the Prime Minister of Iraq and his delegation represent a country that has rejoined the community of nations." He then went onto state that this Iraqi government and leader has support from nations that desire peace, automatically putting those who may not fully support the new government as to not supporting peace. President Bush also mentions UNSC resolutions 1511 and 1546 which were passed, concerning Iraq and forming an interim government (Otterman, 2005). Phrases such as "we must" appear throughout the speech and are used primarily when seeking to extend U.S. measures to others, urging all other nations to help "reformers of the Middle East" towards the path of freedom, peace, and democracy. The two sub-nodes of the 'solutions proposed' node have a combined speech coverage of almost 35%. American resolves such as the determination to destroy terror networks, to end state sponsorship of terror, and to prevent proliferation all fit within U.S. measures. These national policy positions are then

attempted to be exported, with phrases such as, "Every nation… has an obligation," "struggle together," "we must continue," and "I call on…" There were also calls for specific nations and regions to undertake action based on the recommendation of the United States. In one part of GWB04 policy suggestions are given to certain audience members to carry out. "The Palestinian state should," "Arab states should," "Israel should," and finally "World leaders should," are all said during the address. These direct calls are then followed by what the United States views as the best course of action in order to fulfil "Our great purpose [for] a better world beyond the war on terror."

In this speech we see the only instance across all speeches considered where President Bush quotes directly from another world leader. He quotes Burmese democracy advocate, Aung San Suu Kyi who stated, "We do not accept the notion that democracy is a Western value. To the contrary, democracy simply means good government rooted in responsibility, transparency, and accountability." This statement aligns with U.S. beliefs, and perhaps the reason it was used was to highlight the fact that these beliefs are not fundamentally Western in nature, but inherently global. In this case we see an inclusive universalism used to unite all people under democratic principles of governance. One of the key policy features that President Bush highlights towards the end of the speech is the Democracy Fund, linking human rights and security to democratic principles (McMahnon, 2004). It was in this speech that President Bush proposed establishing the fund, "Because I believe the advance of liberty is the path to both a safer and better world." It showed the commitment of the U.S. to the United Nations as an organisation, and its commitment to democracy.

The 'other issues mentioned' node made up the bulk of the speech, with non-terror related political items covering more than 40% of the speech. While this is a significant departure from previous speeches made by President Bush at the UNGA, it is important to remember that terrorism and its many related components still comprised the largest part of the speech, and other items received most coverage only when considered together. Within the 'other issues mentioned' node, President Bush discussed political issues such as AIDS, human trafficking, poverty, and corruption. All of these issues had been mentioned in previous UNGA speeches, but more briefly than in GWB04. A ban on human cloning was also discussed, with the U.S. stating that they would support Costa Rica's sponsored resolution (Wired, 2004). Labor rights and the status of women were two other issues that were mentioned in this speech and had not previously been discussion

by President Bush on this platform. Problems in the Darfur region of Sudan were also briefly mentioned, with the "terrible suffering and horrible crimes" denounced, stating that the American government considers these crimes genocide. In this speech there much overlap between the nodes and sub-nodes, 'other issues mentioned,' 'solutions proposed, U.S. measures,' and 'general attitude, positive' Many of the non-terror related issues that are mentioned in GWB04 also present descriptions of how the United States is, or plans on, tackling them. The framing of these policies and measures are done in a positive way, by showing what has been done or expressing what will be done.

When looking at the sub-nodes under 'religion referenced,' we see again, like in GWB03 that faith, Islam or general, is hardly mentioned within the speech. Throughout the entire address, there is only one reference to Islam, and that is done with the statement, "To any who still would question whether Muslim societies can be democratic societies, the Afghan people are giving their answer." This addresses that there may have been doubt on this issue, and the United States affirms that there shouldn't be. Both of the religious sub-nodes had a coverage of less than 1% in GWB04.

A securitising move of terrorism can be seen once again by President Bush. While appearing to happen at a lesser extent, due to the speech not focusing as intensely as previous speeches, the speech act is a securitising move as it embodies the elements of the process of securitisation, the threat labeled, referent objects of security established, and measures described. The relative subtly of this securitising move may be due to the fact that previous speeches had already established the macrosecuritisation of terrorism, and only a slight prompt to continue it further was needed (Bigo, 2001). Otherwise, it could be that the rhetoric had changed, and such a strong macrosecuritisation was no longer desired. Mentioned previously, the rhetoric surrounding the Global War on Terror declined between 2001 and 2006 across all U.S. channels and outlets (Vultee, 2010). However, the speech ended on a call for global action, citing responsibility and legacy. "Each of us alone can only do so much. Together, we can accomplish so much more," and "Every nation that wants peace will share the benefits of a freer world. And every nation that seeks peace has an obligation to help build that world."

4.5 Mayor Giuliani's 2001 UNGA Address

On October 1, 2001, less than a month after 9/11, Mayor Giuliani was invited to speak at the United Nations meeting of the global forum on international terrorism, a UNGA special session. At this meeting he was accompanied by the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi

Annan, who introduced by him by saying, "we have also drawn strength from your leadership, your resilience…Thank you for helping all of us in this city to at least begin to recover from this crisis." Mayor Giuliani addressed representatives from 189 nations and became the first New York City mayor to address the UN General Assembly since 1952. During his full speech he denounced terrorism, praised rescue workers, thanked supporting nations, proclaimed American resilience, and called for joint action moving forward (Giuliani, 2001).

4.5.1 RG01 Word Frequency Data and Analysis

Table 9. RG01, Word Frequency Query, 20 most frequent

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
terrorism	28	2.08%	terror, terrorism
new	27	2.01%	new
nations	25	1.86%	nation, nations
city	24	1.79%	city
york	22	1.64%	york
united	19	1.41%	unite, united
freedom	14	1.04%	freedom, freedoms
human	14	1.04%	human, humanity
terrorists	14	1.04%	terrorist, terrorists
america	12	0.89%	america
world	12	0.89%	world
attack	12	0.89%	attack, attacked
life	11	0.82%	life
people	11	0.82%	people
different	10	0.74%	differences, different
live	10	0.74%	live, lively, lives

many	10	0.74%	many
peace	10	0.74%	peace
every	9	0.67%	every
principles	9	0.67%	principles

'Terrorism' was the most frequently used word in this speech, appearing 28 times and a weighted percentage of more than 2%. 'terrorists' and 'attack' also made the list at high positions, indicating that the speech was overwhelmingly focused on the terrorist attacks which had happen less than a month prior. 'New,' 'York,' and 'city,' all appeared high on the list, and though these words may have been used individually at times, it is clear that they were used together frequently in order to describe one of the locations of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and where Mayor Giuliani, the speaker, is a public servant. The city itself was a central part of the speech, being referred to in contexts outside of the recent tragedy. Not all of the most frequent words were negative, 'united,' 'freedom,' and 'peace,' also made the list, showing that the speech included a more optimistic side.

4.5.2 RG01 Node Data and Analysis

Table 10. RG01, Node Data: Reference Number and % Coverage

File Name	Node: Sub-node	References	Coverage
RG01	General Attitude: Negative	29	36.78%
RG01	General Attitude: Positive	31	36.19%
RG01	Global Threat Labeled	7	8.49%
RG01	Terror Referenced: 9/11 Terror	32	32.50%
RG01	Terror Referenced: Non-9/11 Terror	16	13.97%

RG01	Solutions Proposed: Call for Global Action	23	25.61%
RG01	Solutions Proposed: U.S. Measures	20	20.64%
RG01	Religion Referenced: Islam	2	1.28%
RG01	Religion Referenced: Faith (General)	16	7.36%
RG01	Other Issues Mentioned	0	0.00%

RG01 was mostly a discussion and reflection of the events of September 11, 2001 and the weeks that followed it, prior to the address on October 1. When looking at the text of the speech, it is obvious why some of it was so heavily negative as most of the focus was on the tragedy surrounding the terror attacks. The lives lost, and the malicious intentions of the terrorists were discussed with sadness, grief, and contempt. What is initially surprising is the generally positivity within the speech also. Mayor Giuliani lauded the bravery of rescue workers, thanked the international community for their empathetic messages of collective mourning, and made declarations that this event would not change America or Americans for the worse. The 'general attitudes, negative' and 'general attitudes, positive' sub-node coverage of this speech was within a 1% margin of each other, with the negative attitude node having 36.78% coverage, and the positive attitude node having 36.19% coverage. The difference in attitude being almost equal makes more sense when looking into the specific discourse within the speech. Mayor Giuliani, as a representative of the United States, not only condemned the acts of terror, but also brought an uplifting position of resilience and determination to the City of New York, the country, and the world. At the UNGA he called on nations to believe in this resilience and determination, and to join with the United States in passing laws and other measures to ensure an event like this could never happen again.

In this speech, the nodes with the highest percentage coverage (excluding 'general attitude') were 'references to terror: 9/11 terror', and 'solutions proposed, call for global action.' There were 32 references to 9/11 terror, a 32.50% coverage of the speech. This coverage, which

was almost one-third of the entire speech seems appropriate due to the close proximity in time to the event itself, and the role of Rudy Giuliani as the Mayor of New York. As the spokesperson for the city, and the speech made at a time when wreckage clean-up efforts were still underway, Mayor Giuliani describes that New York, and the U.S., was "viciously attacked in an unprovoked act of war." Here, and in other places throughout the speech we can see the presentation of a physical threat universalism, in which humankind became the referent object of security, needing to be protected from terror. During his speech, Mayor Giuliani mentions guests who were present at the UNGA during that time, calling on the "fire commissioner of New York City, Tom Von Essen" to stand up, and calling the "police commissioner of New York City, Bernard Kerik." He not only mentions representatives of emergency works but praises them for their actions.

The node 'terror referenced, non-9/11 terror' was much lower in regard to the percentage of the speech it covered. Examples of non-9/11 terror that were given focused on historical rather that contemporary events. Pearl Harbor and D-Day were referenced in comparison to 9/11, two events of World War Two, a traditionally fought military war bound by more conventional conceptions of war. It was also an event that was global in nature, perhaps a chance foreshadowing the future Global War on Terror that would cross borders in the years to come. Toward the end of the speech, Mayor Giuliani mentioned British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain. He stated that PM Chamberlain had good intentions with his policy of appeasement, but that it was at the "cost of millions of lives." The phrase, "Hitler's wave of terror" subtly compares the regime of Nazi Germany to the terror of today, in the context of 9/11. This association also highlights that 'appeasement' in this scenario will not do, and he calls on nations to take action, something that will be discussed more later. Most other references to non-9/11 terror were not to specific events of terror, instead they were more general descriptions of the purpose and intent behind terrorism, the purpose and intent behind terrorists' actions, and their ultimate goals. These goals were described as being counter to the ideals of freedom and democracy that the United States and member states of the UN seek to uphold, providing an inclusive universalism. An existing order universalism was also made with the statement, "this was not just an attack on the city of New York or on the United States of America. It was an attack on the very idea of a free, inclusive and civil society. It was a direct assault on the founding principles of the United Nations itself."

There were 7 references in the node 'global threats labeled,' with a coverage of 8.49%. Mayor Giuliani references multiple times throughout the speech that New York is a diverse and

global city, with people from all backgrounds and origins. One key example of this (though there are many more throughout the address) is, "Each of your nations, I'm certain, has contributed citizens to the United States and to New York. I believe I can take every one of you someplace in New York City and you can find someone from your country, someone from your village or town, that speaks your language and practices your religion." In this manner, the threat to global peoples, populations, and cultures was shown.

The 'solutions proposed, U.S. measures' sub-node had a reference count of 20 and a coverage of 20.64%, more than one-fifth of the speech. The U.S. measures discussed covered the beliefs and principles such as freedom, and also current position, such as, "we are unified, and we will not yield to terror." A brief discussion of U.S. policy occurs when Mayor Giuliani praises the passage of Resolution 1373 by the UNSC which was aimed to prevent the activities of terrorists through means such as stopping financial flow. He mentions how U.S. laws have previously used similar measures in countering organised crime groups. The "solutions proposed, call for global action" sub-node had a count of 23 references, and a coverage of 25.61%. More than one-quarter of the speech being considered a call for global action is substantial. Mayor Giuliani called for states to enact laws that comply with Resolution 1373, and to continue to uphold and promote shared virtues. This call went not just to member states, but also to the United Nations as an organisation itself. The United Nations must, "ostracise any nation that supports terrorism. It must isolate any nation that remains neutral in the fight against terrorism." Ostracise and isolate are both key and powerful words here. Mayor Giuliani also uses "with us or against us" language seen in President Bush's speeches, stating, "you're either with civilisation or with terrorists. On one side is democracy, the rule of law and respect for human life. On the other is tyranny, arbitrary executions and mass murder," and "we are right, and they are wrong. It's as simple as that."

There were no 'other issues mentioned' during the address, which is expected given the context of the speech. Under the node, 'religion referenced, Islam' there were only 2 references, with a coverage of 1.28%. In one instance, Mayor Giuliani states that New York has "strong and vibrant Muslim and Arab communities," and affirms that their religious beliefs are respected. He also states that "I've urged New Yorkers not to engage in any form of group blame or group hatred" and "this is not a dispute between religions." This discourse highlights a sub-theme of the macrosecuritisation of terror that Wæver described, the effort of leaders to separate the securisation of terrorism with impressions of religion, noteably Islam (Wæver, 2008). The references to

multiple religions, or faith in general, was high, with 16 separate references covering 7.36% of the speech. Some of these references are included in the many statements regarding the diversity of the city and country. Others are used when relating the American belief that all religions have equal value and rights.

It is clear based on the analysis of RG01 that a macrosecuritising move of terrorism was presented by Mayor Giuliani in his address to the UNGA. The existential threat of terrorism was labeled, with clear examples of the recent attacks of 9/11 to support the danger. All three universalisms, inclusive, existing order, and physical threat, were present in this speech, uniting all people and states into one collective and forming the referent objects of security. Finally, measures, though vague, were called for. Mayor Giuliani ended his address to the UNGA representatives with a powerful statement that showcased the macrosecuritisation smoothly, "The only acceptable result is the complete and total eradication of terrorism."

5. Findings and Analysis Across Speeches

Now that data has been reviewed and analysed for each of the individual speeches made by U.S. actors, it is pertinent to view them collectively. By looking across and between speeches made at the UGNA we may be able to notice patterns or trends. Analysis will be made on GWB01 and RG01, viewing the two speeches made in the same year, 2001. All of President George W. Bush's speeches will also be considered, analysing across the four years between 2001 and 2004. President Bush did address the UNGA several more times during his tenure as President, after winning a second term in 2004, however they were not considered individually, nor will they be considered as part of the sequence of speeches.

5.1 UNGA Speeches in 2001

The two speeches made at the UNGA by the U.S. representatives and politicians in 2001 were important statements to the world. Both President Bush and Mayor Giuliani were key political leaders during the period immediately following 9/11, both in the United States and internationally. They're leadership throughout the tragedy was praised by many domestically and abroad. GWB01 and RG01 will be view together, as rhetoric from. The United States, to see if a joint-securitising move was made, or if there were any other patterns and cohesions between the two speeches. Mayor Giuliani's speech came first, on October 1, 2001, during a special meeting of the UNGA. President Bush's speech came a month later, on November 10, 2001.

5.1.1 GWB01 and RG01 Word Frequency Data and Analysis

Table 11. GWB01 and RG01, Word Frequency Query, 20 most frequent

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
nations	55	2.11%	nation, national, nations
terrorism	45	1.72%	terror, terrorism
terrorists	37	1.42%	terrorist, terrorists
united	36	1.38%	unite, united, uniting
every	32	1.23%	every
new	29	1.11%	new
world	28	1.07%	world
city	26	1.00%	city
people	22	0.84%	people, peoples
must	22	0.84%	must
york	22	0.84%	york
peace	18	0.69%	peace, peaceful, peacefully
many	18	0.69%	many
humanity	18	0.69%	human, humanity
america	17	0.65%	america, americas
country	17	0.65%	countries, country
time	16	0.61%	time, times
freedom	16	0.61%	freedom, freedoms
live	16	0.61%	live, lively, lives
life	15	0.57%	life

In Table 11. we can see the twenty most frequently used words that the NVivo software generated when a query was made. The most frequently used words in both speeches individually

were similar and had much overlap. So, when considering both speeches together we can see the same language appearing once more on the most frequent list generated through NVivo. On this joint-list we can see that 'terrorism' and 'terrorists' (and their variations), appeared 82 times throughout both speeches and were the second and third most frequent words. This highlights once more, that terrorism was the key focus of the speech, an unsurprising discovery due to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 just weeks and months before these speeches were made. The most frequently used word, and the only one with a weighted percentage of more than 2%, is 'nations' (nation and national also). Many of the other words conveyed notions of global togetherness with, 'united,' 'world,' 'people,' 'humanity,' and 'country' being frequently used. More positive words such as 'peace' and 'freedom' also appear in the most frequently used words, albeit closer to the bottom of the list.

5.1.2 Comparing Node Data Between GWB01 and RG01

Table 12. GWB01 and RG01, Node Data: % Coverage in each speech

Node: Sub-node	GWB01	RG01
General Attitude: Negative	34.58%	36.78%
General Attitude: Positive	21.36%	36.19%
Global Threat Labeled	10.25%	8.49%
Terror Referenced: 9/11 Terror	17.71%	32.50%
Terror Referenced: Non-9/11 Terror	11.42%	13.97%
Solutions Proposed: Call for Global Action	26.59%	25.61%
Solutions Proposed: U.S. Measures	13.00%	20.64%
Religion Referenced: Islam	6.67%	1.28%
Religion Referenced: Faith (General)	3.81%	7.36%

Other Issues Mentioned	5.36%	0.00%

When comparing the 'general attitude' nodes from both speeches it can be seen that they are quite similar. Both speeches have a substantial amount of both positive and negative attitudes. The negative attitudes from both speeches are alike, both with around a 35% coverage, the difference between them being 2.2%. Both speakers discussed terrorism and the terror events of 9/11, so the fact that more than one-third of both speeches was negative is unsurprising. The positive attitudes in both speeches had a much larger of a gap, with a 14.83% difference in coverage. Mayor Giuliani's speech had many more instances of positive attitudes and positive language used than President Bush. This is despite the fact that Mayor Giuliani's speech came first, closer to 9/11 in regard to distance in time. One theory for this might be that as Mayor of New York, Rudy Giuliani had the ability to speak more on the positives of diversity in the city, and the resilience of New Yorkers, whereas President Bush had to speak more on actions and policy from a comprehensive outlook. Mayor Giuliani did not define any specificities in national action during his speech, nor did he really have the authority to. In GWB01 there were more considerations to the global political arena, with President Bush attempting to enforce specific state-level changes regarding terrorism globally. Considering this, the positive coverage of President Bush's speech was quite high, constituting more than one-fifth of his speech. Mayor Giuliani's positive attitude more than one-third of his speech, though that was to a similar to the coverage of the negative.

There is a large difference in the percentage coverage of the sub-node 'terror references, 9/11 terror' Mayor Giuliani having almost 15% more coverage within his speech. References to 9/11 covered under one-fifth of President Bush's speech, and almost one-third of Mayor Giuliani's speech. A reason for this may be that the main focus of RG01 was the event of 9/11 specifically, his address being delivered at a special UNGA session on terrorism just weeks after the tragedy. President Bush's speech was required to be broader in its purpose of conveying the U.S. position on the issue of terrorism, and a few other issues, to the world. It makes sense that Rudy Giuliani, as the Mayor of New York, a city just struck by the biggest terrorist attack on American soil in history, would be concerned with predominantly with that city. For this reason, that it is expected that there was a zero percent coverage for the node, 'other issues mentioned' in RG01. There was only a slight coverage of this node for President Bush.

Both speeches had very similar percentage coverage for the node 'global threat labeled' and sub-node 'terror references, non-9/11 terror.' Mayor Giuliani references non-9/11 terror slightly more, and President Bush references global threats slightly more, highlighting the future threat of terrorism to other nations; nations that have faced this terror before, and nations that may face it in the future. When referencing non-9/11 terror, President Bush cites more specific examples, citing the Taliban's "misrule" in Afghanistan. Mayor Giuliani's examples are more general such as describing the terrorist beliefs and agenda against democratic principles. When specific examples are given by Mayor Giuliani, they are far more historical. For example, in RG01 Pearl Harbor is mentioned. In GWB01 only events that are more recent are provided. These serve different purposes however, as Mayor Giuliani's example links the new terror with great destruction from the past and a war which included many states around the world, and President Bush's examples highlight to immediacy of the current threat.

When comparing the sub-node 'solutions proposed, U.S. measures' the coverage might be misconstrued. RG01 has a higher coverage than GWB01, but the information and content coded into this sub-node was slightly different in both speeches. Both speeches did mention U.S. measures, and President Bush's description of these measures, whilst still rather vague, was noticeably more specific and concrete. For example, GWB01 presented facts and figures regarding aid to Afghanistan. Mayor Giuliani's measures mostly consisted of pronouncing U.S. beliefs, principles, and current sentiments. Both speakers mentioned and praised the passage of UNSC Resolution 1373. For the sub-node, 'solutions proposed, call for global action,' both speeches had a similar coverage, with less than a 1% difference between them. More than one-quarter of each speech was spent calling for action from UNGA representatives and state actors across the world, both as individual governments and as part of a global coalition against terrorism.

The mention of Islam in these two speeches is high, especially when you compare them to the mention of Islam in President Bush's three other speeches. In GWB02 it was 1.74%, in GWB03 it wasn't mentioned at all (0.00%), and in GWB04 it was 0.70%. Mayor Giuliani only mentions Islam and Muslims to mention their "strong and vibrant" communities within the city. President Bush mentions Islamic regimes and, whilst making sure to clarify that not all followers of Islam are terrorists, he mentions Islam in the context of the 9/11 terrorist plotters, and other terrorists that must be fought around the world who adhere to similar destructive beliefs. The difference in coverage of this sub-node is more than 5%, with many more references in President Bush's speech.

Considering the sub-node 'religion referenced, undefined faith' RG01 has a much higher coverage than GWB01. In both speeches, references to other faiths and faith in general is vague. Both speakers seek to mention that there are across religious traditions, and that terrorism is condemned by all.

When these speeches are considered together, it is clear that the United States, as a hegemonic state-actor, presented a securitising move, on the systems-level, at the United Nations in 2001. A Macrosecuritisation was made through speech acts by two of the leaders and representatives of the U.S., known around the world in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Both speeches presented the threat of terrorism not only as an immediate threat, but also as one that threatens all states and people around the world. Both speeches presented civilised nations with principles such as freedom and democracy as the referent object of security, which needs protection the threat of terror. We can see that inclusive universalisms and physical threat universalisms were made in GWB01 and RG01. Both speeches also used an existing order universalism, describing the threat to the global and established institution of the United Nations. Finally, both speeches offered solutions, though measures, that should be undertaken in order to prevent the labeled threat. Considered together, the speeches made by President Bush and Mayor Giuliani in 2001 constituted a powerful macrosecuritising moves at the initiation of the Global War on Terror.

5.2 President Bush's Speeches Over Time (2001-2004)

President George W. Bush made an annual speech at the UNGA every year of his two-term presidency. The first four of these have already been analysed individually. In order to view potential patterns or changes across these speeches, they will be considered together. The speaker, President Bush, and location, UNGA, remained constant throughout. If time, and contextual considerations that are inherently joined with it, made changes between the rhetoric of the speeches, they may be visible through the collective data generated.

5.2.1 GWB01, GWB02, GWB03, and GWB04 Word Frequency Data and Analysis

Table 13. GWB01, GWB02, GWB03, and GWB04, Word Frequency Query, 20 most frequent

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
nations	137	2.26%	nation, national, nationals, nations, nations'

iraq	88	1.45%	iraq
united	73	1.20%	unite, united, uniting
world	65	1.07%	world
security	62	1.02%	secure, secured, security
people	59	0.97%	people, peoples
terrorists	55	0.91%	terrorist, terrorists
regime	53	0.87%	regime, regimes
peace	50	0.82%	peace, peaceful, peacefully
every	49	0.81%	every
must	46	0.76%	must
states	43	0.71%	state, stated, states
governments	42	0.69%	governing, government, governments
country	41	0.68%	countries, country
human	41	0.68%	human, humane, humanity
terror	39	0.64%	terror, terrorism
weapons	39	0.64%	weapon, weapons
iraqi	36	0.59%	iraqi, iraqis
council	32	0.53%	council
help	32	0.53%	help, helped, helping

The language used throughout the four speeches was highly similar, perhaps due to the same person, Michael Gerson, being the chief speechwriter for President Bush during this period of time. The language was powerful in all four speeches, with each address being equally impressive in the elocution and smooth transition between topics and subtopics throughout. In

Table *13.* we can observe what the top twenty most frequently used words were across all four speeches. The 20 most frequent words, across all four of President Bush's speeches analysed, shows us which topics were most important across all years. The word 'nations' (and its variations) is the most frequently used word, with a count of 137 and a weighted percentage of 2.26%. This was also the only word to have a weighted percentage over 2%. 'Iraq' was the second most frequently used word, with 88 counts. This is very high considering the fact that Iraq was not mentioned at all in the 2001 address. 'Iraqi' also made the list, but closer to the end. Many words on this list link in thematic significance. 'People,' 'human,' 'states,' and 'country' together are similar. These words all give the impression of togetherness. Several negative key words make the list, showing what threats included in the speeches were. 'terrorists,' 'regime,' 'terror,' and 'weapons' all made the most frequent list. 'Every' and 'must' show an urgency and responsibility, and the only word which is objectively positive on the list is 'peace,' (and 'peaceful,' and 'peacefully') which appeared 50 times in total. Three words that appear on this list, and have already been mentioned, are 'world,' and 'terror.' Considering these words, along with 'security' which is used 62 times, are synonymous with the Global War on Terror, the key undertaking of the U.S. during these years.

5.2.2 Comparing Node Data Across GWB01, GWB02, GWB03, and GWB04

Table 14. GWB01, GWB02, GWB03, and GWB04, Node Data: % Coverage in each speech

Node: Sub-node	GWB01	GWB02	GWB03	GWB04
General Attitude: Negative	34.58%	54.83%	24.31%	23.76%
General Attitude: Positive	21.36%	20.01%	24.47%	59.83%
Global Threat Labeled	10.25%	18.18%	15.28%	14.91%
Terror Referenced: 9/11 Terror	17.71%	3.03%	0.99%	0.75%
Terror Referenced: Non-9/11 Terror	11.42%	11.25%	19.05%	17.94%
Solutions Proposed: Call for Global Action	26.59%	5.84%	13.61%	14.14%

Solutions Proposed: U.S. Measures	13.00%	6.41%	27.06%	19.55%
Religion Referenced: Islam	6.67%	1.74%	0.00%	0.70%
Religion Referenced: Faith (General)	3.81%	0.08%	0.37%	0.99%
Other Issues Mentioned	5.36%	0.53%	27.12%	41.19%

Considering *Table 14*. we can see that the sub-nodes on 'general attitude, negative,' and 'general attitude, negative,' shifted considerably between the four speeches and over the four years. GWB02 saw the most negative attitudes and least positive attitudes, whereas GWB04 saw the least negative attitudes and the most positive attitudes. In the 2002, the speeches main focus was on Iraq, as previously discussed in great detail in *Section 4.2.2*. At this time the United States viewed Iraq in a highly negative light, as an immoral regime with malevolent intent, causing disastrous effects on the Iraqi people, the region, and the world. It was the negative tone of this consideration that contributes so highly to the negative attitude. In GWB04 the speech takes the most drastic departure from the previous three, as it is the only one that has a high level of positivity. This may be due to the fact that many other issues, other than terrorism were discussed, and a higher sense of optimistic language and attitudes were used throughout the speech.

Over the four speeches, *GWB01, GWB02, GWB03, and GWB04,* the range for 'global threats labeled' node stays quite constant, with little variation. The biggest range in coverage is 7.93%. The global threat labeled in GBW03 is at a higher percentage coverage than GWB01, however the threat language used in 2001 is stronger and more dire. Knowing this, the frequency and coverage of language might not relate to the emotional strength of the words used. The reference to non-9/11 terror also stayed quite constant, with the percentage coverage in the sub-node for this topic remaining highly similar between certain speeches. Between GWB01 and GWB02 this was highly similar, and between GWB03 and GBW04 it was also highly similar. The references in the sub-node 'terror reference, 9/11 terror' had the highest variation of all nodes coded across the years, with President Bush mentioning it far less frequently in each subsequent speech. In GWB01 is was almost one-fifth of the speech, but by GWB03 and GWB04 this sub-node had less than 1% of the coverage of the speech. This is probably due to an increased distance in time from the event. Yet, due to its importance to the U.S. as a horrific event which catalysed

the Global War on Terror, it was mentioned in every speech, even if only once, or very briefly, in the later ones.

The node 'solutions proposed' didn't vary too widely for either of its sub-nodes between the speeches and over the years. The U.S. measures in GWB01 were almost exclusively regarding countering the terrorist threats and describing the U.S. position. By GWB04 most of the measures regarded the 'other issues mentioned' node, describing measures on agenda items such as AIDS, poverty, and human trafficking. The speeches GWB02 and GWB03 are intriguing to consider in this sub-node as there was a jump from 6.41% coverage in 2002, to 27.06% coverage in 2003. The main focus of both speeches was Iraq. However, when the first speech focused on describing the Iraqi regime as a threat in terms of terror, there was little talk about what the U.S. could or would do about it. Following the 2003 Invasion of Iraq, in the next speech, a high coverage of U.S. measures is given to the description of what the U.S. had done in the past year and the steps taken. This was also positively framed, and the overlap of discourse coded into this sub-node, and the 'general attitude, positive' sub-node was significant. The 'solutions proposed, call for global action' sub-node was the highest in GWB01, following the attacks of 9/11, and remained at similar levels in GWB03 and GWB04. Whilst the coverage in GWB02 is much lower than the rest, the call for global action was more implicit, and can be understood through the urgency with which action against the regime of Iraq was sought.

The 'mention of religion' node is the highest in GWB01, for both sub-nodes, 'Islam' and 'faith (general),' In the following three speeches, the % coverage for both sub-nodes were low, and religion, of any type, did not make a large appearance or hold any particular significance in the speeches. 'Other issues mentioned' is an interesting node to consider when looking at the pattern of themes and topics in President Bush's speeches over the years. It was low during GWB01, considering that the attacks of 9/11 had just happened less than two months before. Coverage of this node declined further in GWB02 when the focus was overwhelmingly on one specific area of the Global War on Terror, Iraq, which was presented as the focal point of terror in the world. Between GWB02 and GWB03 the increase in discussion of other issues spiked, with more than a 25% increase in coverage. And in GWB04 the node hit a peak of 41.19%. The topic coverage in the speeches can show us the what the United States placed significance on, and what they wanted to present to the world as the most important issues to the U.S.

Considering the quantitative data gathered by analysing and coding the four speeches, a pattern of continued securitisation can be seen across all years, from the U.S. speeches made by the President Bush to representatives of states at the UNGA. The macrosecuritisation was most notable in GWB01, during his first speech, which can be seen most clearly in the sub-node 'solutions proposed, call for global action' where there was a 25% coverage of discourse which requested global action on the issue of terrorism. The securitising moves always labeled the threat of terrorism, even if the specific type of terror changed between speeches (terrorist attacks, state-sponsored terror, weapons of mass destruction, etc.). The securitising moves also pointed to referent objects of security, collective objects created through the framing of universalisms which occurred in every speech. Whilst following securitisations in subsequent speeches were not as bold, there are clear elements of the securitising moves in GWB02, GWB03, and GWB04 also, each building on what had been said before. Judging these speeches as a collective, we can see continuous securitising moves occurred across all four speeches.

6. Conclusion

The Global War on Terror and political-military frameworks established in the first decade of the twenty-first century marked a change in the discourse around national and international security. Many scholars agree that the issue of terrorism was macrosecuritised after September 11, 2001, with rhetoric led by the United States, and, to a lesser extent, other Western leaders. Whilst it may be impossible to determine which rhetoric, delivered on what platform, and at which time, contributed to the acceptance of securitising moves in this area, it is possible to highlight which of these discourses can be considered securitising moves at all. Focusing on the speeches considered within this dissertation, it is clear from analysis that each UNGA address by U.S. representatives between 2001 and 2004, four from President Bush and one from Mayor Giuliani, constituted a securitising move.

In each of the speeches the basic elements of the securitising process are observable. The threat of terror (in many forms) was labeled, referent objects of security were presented (through universalist language), and extraordinary measures were called for. Some of the many forms of terror that were presented included terrorist attacks from extremists, state-sponsored regimes that perpetrate violence, and the threat of nuclear proliferation. All three of the universalisms (inclusive, existing order, and physical threat) discussed by the original authors of securitisation theory (Buzan & Wæver, 2009) are present in the macrosecuritisation of the Global War on Terror,

and also within each of the five speeches that were analysed. Highlighting inclusive universalisms based on principles such as democracy and freedom were present in every speech, as was descriptions of physical threat universalism, where acts of terror were described and denounced. Existing order universalisms were present in some, but not all, speeches, when dangers to shared, global systems of governance were mentioned. The most notable existing order universalism labeled threats to the institution of the United Nations itself. The extraordinary measures called for, though vaguer in some speeches and more prominent in others, included calling for immediate and decisive global action and seeking international approval for U.S. measures expressed and undertaken. Understanding that the platform of the UNGA is highly distinguished, any individual or actor delivering an address here would know the significance and impact of taking to the podium. These narratives were deliberate attempts to secure this macrosecuritisation by convincing representatives from UN member states, and the worldwide population, of the existential and urgent nature of the threat of terrorism. A sub-theme of the macrosecuritisation discussed earlier and explored by Wæver was the effort by world leaders to prevent religion from being incorporated into securisation (Wæver, 2008). This effort focused on separating Islam from terrorism, a task that faced difficulty due to the terror attacks executed by Islamic extremists, and actors and outlets which perpetuated the linkage of these things. The 'religion referenced: Islam' sub-node showed that this effort was undertaken throughout these speeches at the UNGA also, where three key observations can be made. Firstly, there were not many references to Islam. Secondly, no mention of Islam was made with negative attitudes conveyed. And thirdly, in most references to the religion (the majority of which came in Mayor Giuliani's speech), positive attitudes of acceptance and commonality were made.

All of the above-mentioned features are not only present within individual speeches, but noticeable when considering them together (between U.S. representatives as speech actors, and across time). Both 2001 speeches show the greatest securitising effort when studied as cooperative and parallel discourses. The spokespeople for the United States used vivid and extensive language, framing the terrorist threat to global referent objects of security. The joint-efforts of President George W. Bush and Mayor Rudy Giuliani in the immediate post-9/11 environment created a strong, double securitising move at the UNGA. Both used "with or against us" language, creating an ultimatum for audience members in which acceptance was the most desirable option. The first two macrosecuritising moves at the UNGA in 2001 preluded more speeches over subsequent years

that continued the securitisation and expanded it to include additional factors under the umbrella of terrorism. Looking at President Bush's four UNGA speeches between 2001 and 2004, we see securitising moves through all, albeit with various degrees of firmness. As time went on, a decline in the amount of coverage terrorism received in each speech was visible, and across speeches different facets of terror were highlighted over others. For example, in 2002 and 2003, Iraq was keenly presented as the geo-political center of the Global War on Terror, something not considered at all in 2001. Additionally, in 2001, many references to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 were mentioned, but by 2003 and 2004 there was barely any note of it at all. Though the reason, or reasons, for these variations cannot become clear by merely analysing the speeches themselves as many further contextual features of national and international discourse must have played a role, potential explanations can be pondered. As Fred Vultee described, U.S. rhetoric on this topic declined across all channels within the United States over a five-year period between 2001 and 2006, not just at the UNGA (Vultee, 2010). These changes included the portrayals of the Global War on Terror itself and could mean that a partial de-macrosecuritisation of terrorism was sought by the lead actor which established it initially. Another explanation could be interpreted with the concept of the 'security continuum' which suggested that when previous securitisations of an issue were powerful enough, future or further securitising moves do not need to expand as much effort in order to create or continue an already accepted threat (Bigo, 2000).

Ultimately, what emerges from this observation is a further understanding that securitisations of every level have many layers which contribute to efforts of threat-framing. In this instance, the global securitisation of terrorism contained multiple actors, moves, threats, referent objects of security, and extraordinary measures. Moreover, within each of these, there were many sub-elements, which also shifted over time. As explained by Buzan in *The United States and the great powers*, and considered earlier in this dissertation, global-scale macrosecuritisations are difficult, but through the utilisation of institutions with international influence, middle-level actors might be able to push their agenda up to the higher, systems-level, to be diffused back to other middle-level actors (Buzan, 2004). The robust and durable bodies of the United Nations can provide this systems-level power. An important note on this idea is that nation-states have their own intentions when considering their individual policy agendas. Many countries changed aspects of their security, defense, immigration, and other policies post-9/11, but

inferring that this was done solely as an acceptance of the macrosecuritisation of terrorism and not for distinctive reasons could be a critical misjudgment.

There is a wide range of further research that may be done relating to this dissertation and concerning the securitising move aspect of securitisation theory. Those who agree with the criticisms of securitising moves focusing on speech acts could consider viewing other forms of securitising moves which may have occurred. Written documents and reports, or even visual content such as images and video, could be considered (McDonald, 2008). Discourse in UN bodies other than the UNGA, such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), might also prove useful. These endeavors could be undertaken in order to further understand the macrosecuritisation of terrorism or be employed to consider other macrosecuritisations that have been attempted utilising this institution. Further research may also be done on other international and regional institutions within the systems-level, the European Union being an example of strong and established body with a strong influence and authority within its region. There are many ways in which securitisation theory, macrosecuritisations, and securitising moves can be studied in order to deepen understandings of the global security complex and shared, international frameworks.

It is the conclusion of this dissertation that the United States used the platform of the United Nations General Assembly in order to make securitising moves via speech acts. And that these speech acts, made by representatives of the U.S. government, expressed the policy goals of the Bush administration to macrosecuritise terrorism across the world; to be accepted by international institutions, other nation-states and their representatives, and global populations. Though these macrosecuritising moves may not have been accepted by all global actors, or agreed upon by allies without reservation, macrosecuritising moves did occur in the instances studied. The global threat of terrorism was presented through universalisms, uniting the world as a collective whose principles, institutions, and physical well-being must be protected. The confirmation that this dissertation provides in determining these macrosecuritising moves, elements of the Global War on Terror, at the United Nations helps to develop a deeper understanding of the processes of securitisation theory. Recognising when, where, and through which institutions securitisations are built can help to further the cognisance of historical and contemporary events in international relations, adding nuance to areas within the security studies field.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Screencaps of Word Frequency Results in NVivo

A.1 Word Frequency Query, GWB01

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage ∨	Similar Words
nations	7	30	2.36%	nation, national, nations
every	5	23	1.81%	every
terrorists	10	23	1.81%	terrorist, terrorists
terror	6	17	1.34%	terror, terrorism
united	6	17	1.34%	unite, united, uniting
world	5	16	1.26%	world
must	4	15	1.18%	must
country	7	13	1.02%	countries, country
people	6	11	0.87%	people, peoples
many	4	8	0.63%	many
murder	6	8	0.63%	murder, murderer
peace	5	8	0.63%	peace, peaceful, peacefully
taliban	7	8	0.63%	taliban
governments	11	8	0.63%	government, governments
responsibility	14	8	0.63%	response, responsibilities, responsibility
including	9	7	0.55%	include, including
laws	4	7	0.55%	law, lawful, laws
names	5	7	0.55%	name, names
cause	5	7	0.55%	cause, causes
september	9	7	0.55%	september

A.2 Word Frequency Query, GWB02

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage ∨	Similar Words
iraq	4	45	2.87%	iraq
regime	6	35	2.23%	regime, regimes
security	8	26	1.66%	security
nations	7	24	1.53%	nation, nationals, nations, nations'
united	6	23	1.47%	united
iraqi	5	22	1.40%	iraqi, iraqis
weapons	7	20	1.28%	weapon, weapons
council	7	18	1.15%	council
world	5	17	1.08%	world
resolutions	11	15	0.96%	resolution, resolutions
peace	5	14	0.89%	peace
people	6	12	0.77%	people
year	4	12	0.77%	year, years
states	6	11	0.70%	state, states
nuclear	7	10	0.64%	nuclear
one	3	10	0.64%	one
demand	6	10	0.64%	demand, demanded, demands
continues	9	8	0.51%	continue, continued, continues
hussein	7	8	0.51%	hussein
kuwait	6	8	0.51%	kuwait

A.3 Word Frequency Query, GWB03

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
nations	7	38	2.46%	nation, national, nations
iraq	4	30	1.94%	iraq
united	6	21	1.36%	united
security	8	16	1.04%	secure, security
people	6	16	1.04%	people
working	7	15	0.97%	work, worked, working
must	4	15	0.97%	must
weapons	7	15	0.97%	weapons
states	6	14	0.91%	state, stated, states
help	4	12	0.78%	help, helped, helping
new	3	11	0.71%	new
world	5	11	0.71%	world
country	7	11	0.71%	countries, country
governments	11	11	0.71%	governing, government, governments
regime	6	11	0.71%	regime, regimes
peace	5	10	0.65%	peace, peaceful
terror	6	10	0.65%	terror, terrorism
terrorists	10	10	0.65%	terrorist, terrorists
free	4	9	0.58%	free
iraqi	5	9	0.58%	iraqi, iraqis

A.4 Word Frequency Query, GWB04

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
nations	7	45	2.67%	nation, national, nations
human	5	23	1.36%	human, humane
world	5	21	1.25%	world
people	6	20	1.19%	people, peoples
peace	5	18	1.07%	peace, peaceful
governments	11	17	1.01%	governing, government, governments
security	8	16	0.95%	secure, secured, security
democracy	9	15	0.89%	democracies, democracy
terrorists	10	15	0.89%	terrorist, terrorists
every	5	14	0.83%	every
help	4	14	0.83%	help, helped, helping
rights	6	14	0.83%	right, rights
believe	7	13	0.77%	believe, believes
countries	9	13	0.77%	countries, country
freedom	7	13	0.77%	freedom
iraq	4	13	0.77%	iraq
dignity	7	12	0.71%	dignity
states	6	12	0.71%	state, states
united	6	12	0.71%	united
must	4	11	0.65%	must

A.5 Word Frequency Query, RG01

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage ∨	Similar Words
terrorism	9	28	2.08%	terror, terrorism
new	3	27	2.01%	new
nations	7	25	1.86%	nation, nations
city	4	24	1.79%	city
york	4	22	1.64%	york
united	6	19	1.41%	unite, united
freedom	7	14	1.04%	freedom, freedoms
human	5	14	1.04%	human, humanity
terrorists	10	14	1.04%	terrorist, terrorists
america	7	12	0.89%	america
world	5	12	0.89%	world
attack	6	12	0.89%	attack, attacked
life	4	11	0.82%	life
people	6	11	0.82%	people
different	9	10	0.74%	differences, different
live	4	10	0.74%	live, lively, lives
many	4	10	0.74%	many
peace	5	10	0.74%	peace
every	5	9	0.67%	every
principles	10	9	0.67%	principles

A.6 Word Frequency Query, GWB01 and RG01

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage ∨	Similar Words
nations	7	55	2.11%	nation, national, nations
terrorism	9	45	1.72%	terror, terrorism
terrorists	10	37	1.42%	terrorist, terrorists
united	6	36	1.38%	unite, united, uniting
every	5	32	1.23%	every
new	3	29	1.11%	new
world	5	28	1.07%	world
city	4	26	1.00%	city
people	6	22	0.84%	people, peoples
must	4	22	0.84%	must
york	4	22	0.84%	york
peace	5	18	0.69%	peace, peaceful, peacefully
many	4	18	0.69%	many
humanity	8	18	0.69%	human, humanity
america	7	17	0.65%	america, americas
country	7	17	0.65%	countries, country
time	4	16	0.61%	time, times
freedom	7	16	0.61%	freedom, freedoms
live	4	16	0.61%	live, lively, lives
life	4	15	0.57%	life

A.7 Word Frequency Query, GWB01, GWB02, GWB03, GWB04

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage ⌄	Similar Words
nations	7	137	2.26%	nation, national, nationals, nations, nations'
iraq	4	88	1.45%	iraq
united	6	73	1.20%	unite, united, uniting
world	5	65	1.07%	world
security	8	62	1.02%	secure, secured, security
people	6	59	0.97%	people, peoples
terrorists	10	55	0.91%	terrorist, terrorists
regime	6	53	0.87%	regime, regimes
peace	5	50	0.82%	peace, peaceful, peacefully
every	5	49	0.81%	every
must	4	46	0.76%	must
states	6	43	0.71%	state, stated, states
governments	11	42	0.69%	governing, government, governments
country	7	41	0.68%	countries, country
human	5	41	0.68%	human, humane, humanity
terror	6	39	0.64%	terror, terrorism
weapons	7	39	0.64%	weapon, weapons
iraqi	5	36	0.59%	iraqi, iraqis
council	7	32	0.53%	council
help	4	32	0.53%	help, helped, helping

Appendix B: Screencaps of Node and Sub-Node Coverage in NVivo

B.1 General Attitude, Negative

File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	45	34.58%
GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	35	54.83%
GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	26	24.31%
GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	34	23.76%
RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	29	36.78%

B.2 General Attitude, Positive

general attitude, positive			
Summary Reference			
File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	24	21.36%
GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	15	20.01%
GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	27	24.47%
GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	65	59.83%
RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	31	36.19%

B.3 Global Threat Labeled

global threat labeled			
Summary Reference			
File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	13	10.25%
GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	13	18.18%
GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	12	15.28%
GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	17	14.91%
RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	7	8.49%

B.4 Terror Reference, 9/11 Terror

terror referenced, 911 terror			
Summary Reference			
File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	22	17.71%
GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	4	3.03%
GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	1	0.99%
GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	1	0.75%
RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	32	32.50%

B.5 Terror Referenced, Non-9/11 Terror

	File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
●	**terror referenced, non-911 terror**			
	Summary Reference			
	GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	14	11.42%
	GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	12	11.25%
	GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	29	19.05%
	GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	16	17.94%
	RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	16	13.97%

B.6 Solutions Proposed, Call for Global Action

	File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
●	**solutions proposed, call for global action**			
	Summary Reference			
	GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	26	26.59%
	GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	9	5.84%
	GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	20	13.61%
	GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	16	14.14%
	RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	23	25.61%

B.7 Solutions Proposed, U.S. Measures

	File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
●	**solutions proposed, U.S. measures**			
	Summary Reference			
	GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	10	13.00%
	GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	9	6.41%
	GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	26	27.06%
	GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	17	19.55%
	RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	20	20.64%

B.8 Religion References, Islam

File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
religion referenced, Islam			
Summary Reference			
GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	11	6.67%
GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	2	1.74%
GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	1	0.70%
RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	2	1.28%

B.9 Religion Referenced, Faith (General)

File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
religion referenced, faith (general)			
Summary Reference			
GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	7	3.81%
GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	1	0.08%
GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	2	0.37%
GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	3	0.99%
RG01	Files\\SG Speeches	16	7.36%

B.10 Other Issues Mentioned

File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
other issues mentioned			
Summary Reference			
GWB01	Files\\GWB Speeches	4	5.36%
GWB02	Files\\GWB Speeches	1	0.53%
GWB03	Files\\GWB Speeches	15	27.12%
GWB04	Files\\GWB Speeches	16	41.19%