

**Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches Delivered during  
Presidential Elections in the USA**

**A thesis submitted to the Department of English Education  
In partial fulfilment for the Master of Education in English**

**Submitted by  
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Faculty of Education  
Tribhuvan University  
Kritipur, Kathmandu, Nepal  
2022**

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This is to certify that **Mr. Shyam Raj Ojha** has completed his M.Ed. thesis entitled **Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches Delivered during Presidential Elections in USA** under my guidance and supervision.

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**Declaration**

I, hereby, declare that to the best of my knowledge; this research is original; no part of it was earlier submitted for the candidature of research to any university.

Date: January 16, 2022

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**Shyam Raj Ojha**

**Dedication**

*Dedicated to*

*My mother, family members and teachers whose  
blessings are with me forever.*

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This study is an output of the continuous encouragement of my respected thesis supervisor, teachers, parents, dear friends and seniors who supported and provided proper guidance during this process. I therefore would like to thank to all for their regular inspiration.

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**Shyam Raj Ojha**



## Abstract

The present thesis entitled **Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches Delivered during Presidential Elections in the USA** was carried out to find out the discursive devices (micro level properties) prevalent in the speeches of the recent three American presidents linking them with macro level phenomena to reveal positive self-representation and negative other-representation in the speeches. To meet the objectives of the study both qualitative and quantitative designs were used. Non-random purposive sampling strategy was used to select only three speeches of recent three election-winning American presidents. Obama's speech delivered on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2007 at Springfield, Illinois, Trump's speech delivered on 25<sup>th</sup> June, 2016 and Biden's speech broadcasted through a video on 21<sup>st</sup> August, 2020 were analyzed to show how they delivered speeches during their candidacy to win people's vote. The micro-level linguistic properties (discursive devices) were analyzed to show their techniques of positive-self representation and negative other representations using the socio-cognitive model of Van Dijk 2005. The major findings of the study were that all politicians used discursive devices to control the mind of voters by positive self-representation and negative other-representation. Both techniques of positive-negative representation were to capture the mind and votes of the audiences by showing oneself better than others. They all wanted to represent themselves superior to their opponents. All of them used US versus THEM to create poles between in groups and out groups. They tried to create similarities with the audiences regarding their ethnicity, society, and interest along with the national self-glorification. While analyzing political speeches following Van Dijk's 25 discursive devices, discursive devices like; burden, irony, disclaimer, implication, euphemism, and evidentially were used less in number whereas actor description, counterfactuals, illustrations, lexicalization, national self-glorification, number game, and norm expressions were used high in number. The discursive devices to present self-positively and others-negatively differed in number from each other. Obama and Trump used negative other-representation in greater number but Biden used positive self-representation in greater number. However, both techniques were used to capture the mind and votes of the audiences by showing oneself better than others.

This thesis consists of five different chapters. The first chapter deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research

questions, significance of the study, delimitations of the study and operational definition of the key terms. The second chapter includes review of related theoretical literature, review of related empirical literature, implications of the review for the study and conceptual framework. The third chapter covers all the areas of methodology; design and methods of study, populations, sample and sampling strategy, source of data, data collection tools and techniques, and procedures. Similarly, the fourth chapter presents the results, findings and discussion. And the fifth chapter includes conclusion, and policy and practice related recommendations for further research.

## **Table of Contents**

<b>Declaration</b> .....	ii
<b>Recommendation for Acceptance</b> .....	iii
<b>Recommendation for Evaluation</b> .....	iv
<b>Evaluation and Approval</b> .....	v
<b>Dedication</b> .....	vi
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	vii
<b>Abstract</b> .....	viii
<b>List of Symbols and Abbreviations</b> .....	xiii
<b>Chapter I</b> .....	1
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
Background of the Study .....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	3
Objectives of the Study.....	4
Research Questions .....	4
Significance of the Study .....	5
Delimitations of the Study .....	5
Ethical Considerations .....	6
Operational Definitions of the Key Terms.....	6
<b>Chapter II</b> .....	7
<b>Review of Related Literature and Conceptual Framework</b> .....	7
Review of Theoretical Literature .....	7

Discourse.....	7
Discourse Analysis.....	7
Critical Discourse Analysis.....	9
Social Cognition.....	26
Review of Related Empirical Literature .....	28
Implications of the Review for the Study .....	31
<b>Chapter III.....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Methods and Procedures of the Study .....</b>	<b>33</b>
Population, Sample and Sampling Strategy.....	34
Source of Data.....	34
Data Collection Tools and Techniques .....	35
Data Collection Procedures.....	35
Data Analysis and Interpretation Procedures.....	35
<b>Chapter IV .....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Results and Discussion.....</b>	<b>36</b>
Micro and Macro Level of Analysis of Discourse based on Van Dijk's Model of CDA 2005 .....	36
Micro Level of Analysis of Discourse (Quantitative Data Analysis) .....	37
Linking Micro Level (discourse devices) to Macro Level (mind control) .....	39
Macro Level (positive self-representation and negative other-representation) .....	57
Macro Level of Analysis of Discourse (Qualitative Data Analysis) .....	58
Findings.....	60

<b>Chapter V</b> .....	63
<b>Conclusion and Implications</b> .....	63
Conclusion .....	63
Recommendations.....	64
Practice Related Recommendations.....	64
Further Research Related Recommendations .....	64
<b>References</b> .....	1
<b>Appendixes</b> .....	5

**List of Symbols and Abbreviations**

CDA - critical discourse analysis

DA - discourse analysis

VDC – village development committee

M.Ed. – Master of Education

## **Chapter I**

### **Introduction**

This study will be about **Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches Delivered during Presidential Election in the USA**. This unit consists of background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations of the study and operational definitions of the key terms.

#### **Background of the Study**

Language is a means of communication which helps for sharing the ideas, information, emotions, thoughts and feelings. Human cannot avoid using language. It plays vital role in our life, no matter for what purpose it is used. Used language can have different contextual purposes. So, language can be analyzed critically relating to the contexts. Such critical language analysis focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. The used continuous stretches of language are discourses. Discourse is a fundamental factor in all communication worldwide and is necessary for our understanding of language and language use. The nature of a given discourse is determined by the sender and receiver, and communicative situation in which it occurs. The discourses used in day-to-day life are different from the discourses used in any kind of formal settings. Speeches during elections are in formal settings which contain different discourses to create differences between them (speech deliverers) and others.

Speeches have many functions, one of them is to create a conducive situation in which only need a person who commits a speech so as can give a positive impression to those who hear that speech. Therefore, discourse is an important tool in a political world where one's words are the primary means of communicating visions and ideologies, and ultimately making people act on these.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the sociopolitical analysis of a discourse. Van Dijk (2005, p.532) defines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the

social and political context. Van Dijk gives three levels of discourse analysis or three structures of discourse. They are micro-structure (topic level), super-structure (structure and element level) and macro-structure (words, sentence, and paragraph). Language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis. "CDA should be essentially diverse and multi-disciplinary" (Van Dijk, 1993). Good CDA should integrate the best work of many people famous or not, from different disciplines, countries, culture and directions of research. CDA is a trans-disciplinary approach to the study of discourse and discourse analysis, which views "language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1989) and focuses on the ways social and political domination and how the distribution of 'social goods' are represented and reproduced by text and talk semiotically. Norman Fairclough, in his work *Language and Power* (1989), wishes to examine how the ways in which we communicate are constrained by the structures and forces of those social institutions within which we live and function.

Political speeches are to influence actions and policies in government or society. One of the aims of politics is to use power to affect others' behavior. In politics, people need different political strategies and the methods which depend on the purpose. Political strategy proposes a pathway to success when the society understands the background of candidates and reasons for them to vote for. Basic way to do it is use speech campaign because society will know personality of candidates by sharing their thoughts. By using speech, society feels that the candidate stands beside them and have the people-like thought. Different politicians use different discourse to influence people or to convince people about what they say. Political discourse is an instrumental tool in the hands of politicians to establish certain objectives for their audience, recruit support, place value on their political views, secure power, shape the general department of the society, and more importantly, to spread the dominant ideology. For this purpose, politicians can use different techniques, which can be analyzed from the different discourse analytical point of view, such a contextual definition at the same time suggests that the study of political discourse should not be limited to the structural properties of text or talk itself, but also include a systematic account of the context and its relations to discursive structures. Critical Discourse analysis doesn't take anything as granted.



As CDA tries to go in depth of text and talk and tries to investigate hidden reality, I attempted to explore the hidden techniques used by politicians during election to influence the people. When I was reading in grade six, I delivered a speech on the day of general assembly of my VDC (Bashudevi VDC, Doti). I was highly appreciated by all the villagers for my performance. I became a regular speaker from the day and onwards. I used to notice others' speeches to learn techniques of speaking. I started delivering speeches at political programs too. When Barak Obama won the US presidential election for the first time, I started watching his speech videos and was influenced by his speeches. After getting chance to read CDA in M. Ed. Second semester, I got myself engrossed in analyzing political speeches. As per my interest, I choose a topic, **Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches Delivered during Presidential Elections in the USA**. For that, I analyzed the political speeches delivered by Obama's speech delivered on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2007 at Springfield, Illinois, Trump's speech delivered on 25<sup>th</sup> June, 2016 and Biden's speech broadcasted through a video on 21<sup>st</sup> August, 2020 during presidential election in the US. The study followed the CDA framework of van Dijk, relying on Van Dijk's 2005 framework for political discourse analysis, van Dijk's way of doing CDA is that of 'socio-cognitive' discourse analysis. Discourses used in speeches were analyzed on the basis of Van Dijk's three level; micro-level analysis, super-structure and macro-level analysis.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Since CDA came into existence, political speeches have been analyzed by different scholars. Van Dijk (1993) and Fairclough (1989) have argued that there can be multiple ways of discourse analysis. Different speeches of Barak Obama and other US presidents are also analyzed. No any single method can analyze political speeches, and no one can claim of having full analysis of every aspect of speech. So that explicating US presidents' personal, state and international interests, their emancipatory and regulatory strategies of the utterances, the way they delivered political discourse, the aim of the utterances, effect of the utterance to people, etc. cannot be analyzed easily. Hence, the present study attempts to consider a variety of discursive devices introduced by Van Dijk (2005) to reveal the ideological stances of US presidents at the micro-structure, super-structure and macro semantic-level.

Therefore, analyzing more than one talk of a leader can provide more insights into the ways the leaders use language manipulatively to affirm their ideology-laden beliefs for the favorable outcomes. This study tried to present the linguistic evidences to carry out US presidents' techniques of delivering speeches to influence voters.

Most of the researches done in the arena of political discourse analysis have focused mostly on the grammatical features of discourse and not on a wider semantic construction of discourse. Hence, the present study attempts to consider a variety of discursive devices, particularly the 25 discursive devices introduced by Van Dijk (2005) to reveal the ideological stances of the speakers at the macro semantic-level. Moreover, many researches are conducted to analyze solo speeches like; Rachman & Yumanti (2017) analyzed only Donald Trump's one speech, Antari (2016) analyzed only Barak Obama's one speech, similarly, Obiero (2017) conducted research on Barak Obama's an announcement speech. So, this research dealt with different political figures' speeches to find out common techniques used to influence others/voters.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The study attempted to find linkage between analyzed micro-level linguistic properties to macro-level political phenomena, and to assess the functionality of these discursive strategies in their wider political context. The study was based on the following objectives:

- a) To find out what discursive devices (micro-level) are used in the speeches of the recent American presidents.
- b) To link the analyzed micro-level linguistic properties to macro-level political phenomenon in their wider context.
- c) To find out the similarities and differences in the use of discursive devices in the speeches by the recent three American presidents to reveal ideological positive self-representation and negative other-representation.

### **Research Questions**

The study found out the answers of the following research questions:

- a) What kind of discursive devices are used in political speeches during presidential election in US by candidates of the president of America?

- b) How micro-level linguistic properties in speech are linked with macro-level context?
- c) Are there similar or different ways of using discursive devices to the micro-level which reveal ideological positive self-representation and negative other-representation at the macro-level?

### **Significance of the Study**

This study can be useful for those who are directly and indirectly concerned with CDA. The study attempted to reveal the strategies of manipulation, legitimating and other discursive ways to influence the minds and actions of people in the interest of those who are in power. Similarly, this study gave the ways of using discursive devices to the micro-level which reveal ideological positive self-representation and negative other-representation at the macro-level. So, this study can be helpful for politicians or other people who deliver speeches in public. This research is also useful for me too because my area of interest is politics as well as research. By this study I got more ideas about critical discourse analysis, the area of my interest. Similarly, this study can be useful to the prospective researchers who want to undertake researches in the area of CDA, especially CDA of political speeches. It can be useful for language teachers to teach different discursive devices along with their contextual analysis. Furthermore, it can be significant to the students who are learning the ways of CDA. The policy makers can link their policies with such kind of analysis. Language curriculum designers can get ideas to link critical discourse analysis of political speeches with language learning.

### **Delimitations of the Study**

The study was confined with the delimitations presented below:

- a) The area of study as the title indicates was limited to the political speeches during presidential election in the USA delivered by three candidates; Barak Obama, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden, who won the election.
- b) The study was limited to the Van Dijk's 2005 CDA model for analyzing political discourses.
- c) Only announcement speeches of the candidates of the USA president who won election were analyzed.

**Ethical Considerations**

The research does not make any misuse of the selected literatures as well as speeches. The available speeches are used only for the purpose of research. Selected speeches are downloaded from authentic sources and sources are kept in references. No any part of research is copied from others. All the reviewed literatures; theoretical as well as empirical are cited as well as kept in references with due respect to all the scholars.

**Operational Definitions of the Key Terms**

**Political speeches-** political speeches refers to the announcement speeches by Barak Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden

**Discursive devices** - 25 discursive devices purposed by Van Dijk (2005)

**Actor description** - description about politicians (speaker him/herself or opponents)

**Micro level analysis** – analysis of linguistic properties (discursive devices)

**Macro level analysis** – analysis of the influence or mind control created by the use of discursive devices

## **Chapter II**

### **Review of Related Literature and Conceptual Framework**

This chapter includes all the theoretical and empirical literatures reviewed to carry out this research. Discourse, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, different scholars' views on CVA and research works are included. Moreover, this chapter includes conceptual framework of the study.

#### **Review of Theoretical Literature**

This part was closely associated with the existing concepts and theories on the topic. For example, I reviewed topics like; discourse, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, different models of CDA by different scholars, power and ideology, speech, social cognition, and political discourse.

#### **Discourse**

The term 'discourse' came into existence by the contribution of the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure with his work 'Course de Linguistique Generale (1916)' (Locke, 2005). The term discourse has sometimes been used interchangeably with the term text. Discourse is simply defined as a stretch of talk or text with some meaning. A discourse is a set of meanings through which a group of people communicate about a particular topic. Discourse can be defined in a narrow or a broad sense, in a narrow definition of discourse might refer only to spoken or written language whereas discourse in broad sense covers the contextual use of language. As a structure, discourse is an organization beyond the sentence. Fairclough, (1992) defines it as the structured collection of texts and associated practices of textual production, transmission and consumptions located in a historical and social context. Foucault (1972) defines discourse as 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment'.

Defining discourse, Crystal (2003, as cited in Locke, 2005) says, "discourse is a behavioral unit which has a pre-theoretical status in linguistics: it is a set of utterances which constitute any recognizable speech event, e.g., a conversation, a joke, a sermon." So, the discourses have some meaning when they are purposively used. Thus, discourse is a continuous stretch of language, larger than the sentence which is coherent and gives clear meaning in a particular context.

#### **Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis covers the area of language use. So, it is an activity of describing different texts and talks used in different contexts. Discourse Analysis (DA) is the analytical framework which was created for studying actual text and talk

in the communicative context. Cook (1989) argues that discourse analysis not only focuses on language but also examines the context of communication where it concerns things like; who is communicating with whom; in what kind of society and situation; how different types and acts of communication involved; and their relation with each other. It is often considered as a general methodology, theory or merely critique tied to social constructionism or social power. American linguist Zeling Harris in 1992 introduced discourse analysis for the first time. He explained discourse analysis as a way of analyzing the connected speech and writing. Regarding discourse analysis, Richards (1999, p.52) deals with:

- how the choice of articles, pronouns, and tenses affect the structures of discourse.
- the relationships between utterances and sentences in a discourse.
- the moves made by speakers to introduce a new topic, change the topic or a higher role relationship to other participants.

Thus, DA has become an immediate interest of teachers, students, literacy practitioners, text linguists and conversation analysts for explaining the properties of text and interactions of everyday communication. It is concerned with the study of language beyond sentence level including the general inquiries of textual features, inter-relationships between language and societies, language use in higher level, meaning and context and features of interaction of everyday language. According to Yule (1996, p.83), he states that: Discourse analysis covers an extremely wide range of activities, from the narrowly focused investigation of how words such as ‘oh’ or ‘well’ are used in casual talk, to the study of the dominant ideology in a culture as represented, for example, in each educational or political practices. When it is restricted to linguistic issues, discourse analysis focuses on the record (spoken or written) of the process by which language is used in some contexts to express intention. Discourse Analysis (DA) is a more generic name for a set of methodological approaches which are utilized to scrutinize language in use, either written or oral, in various social sciences, namely psychology, sociology, linguistics, anthropology and communication studies. Regarded as an interdisciplinary approach (Wiggins, 2009; Brown & Yule, 1983), DA originates in ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967; Wiggins, 2009, as cited in Shakoury, 2018). For Gee (1991, cited in

Shartiely, 2013, p. 36), DA is “an instrument of social construction of experience. Such experience in lectures would be constructed by lecturers’ choice and use of discourse strategies.” Discourse analysis, in addition to the pattern and structure of the discourse (text or talk), considers the contexts within which the language functions (Brown and Yule, 1983). Making a differentiation between language analysis and DA, Johnstone (2008, p.3) clarifies that DA does not regard language as an abstract system but views language as a communicative tool to pool information about memories and voice feelings.

Therefore, discourse analysis treats the act of communication by describing the process involved on it. Discourse analysis is a modern discipline of the social science and linguistics. It is linguistic, cognitive, textual, social and holistic approach. Moreover, discourse analysis is being perceived and conducted differently by different scholars. It captures the grammatical, phonological, situational, sociolinguistics and purely textual features while analyzing discourses, so it has a vast area of study within linguistics.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the study and analysis of talks and texts from a politically committed perspectives which focuses on the ways language exercises power in a society. Both written and spoken discourses have power. If such written and spoken discourses are analyzed using different CDA theories or any new ideas, it can be taken as CDA. We are free to analyze discourse from different perspectives as our choice. Regarding this, Tuen Van Dijk (as cited in Wadak & Meyer, 2001) says CDA is not a direction of research among others, like TG grammar, or systemic linguistics, nor a sub-discipline of discourse analysis such as the psychology of discourse or conversation analysis. It is not a method, nor a theory that simply can be applied to social problems. CDA can be conducted in, and combined with any approach and sub-discipline in the humanities and the social sciences.” Thus, CDA is trans-disciplinary (Fairclough 1989), multi-disciplinary (Van Dijk, 1993).

The evolution of the term CDA has been attributed to the Lancaster school of linguistics by the publication of Fairclough’s ‘Language and power’ in 1989 (Wadak and Mayer 2015). But the root of critical discourse analysis is ‘critical linguistics’

developed at the University of East Anglia in 1970s, and the terms are now often interchangeable. Its leading scholars include; Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Tuen Van Dijk, and Paul Clinton. Other scholars who contributed in the field of CDA are; Gunther Kress, Theo Van Leeuwen, Margret Wetherel, Micheal Billing, etc. Similarly, the roots of CDA lie in Classical rhetoric, CL, text linguistics, Marxism, Foucauldian discourse, Systemic functional linguistics, sociolinguistics, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics (Sherwani, 2011). Some of the tenets of CDA can be found in Aristotle's rhetoric, then after two millennia in the critical theory of Frankfurt school before the Second World War. Its current focus on language and discourse was initiated in CL which emerged mostly in Britain and Australia at the end of the 1970s. CDA has also counterparts in critical developments in sociolinguistics, psychology and the social sciences. Like its neighboring disciplines, CDA may be seen as a reaction against the dominant form (asocial) paradigms of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Chomsky's TGG, (van Dijk, 2008a, p. 85). So, when it comes to the origin of CDA, "Critical Linguistics" can never be ignored. It's believed that the rise of CDA has its root in Critical Linguistics. Specifically speaking, CDA can be seen as a development of Critical Linguistics, which broadens the criticism perspective in discourse analysis studies. The term "Critical Linguistics" was first coined in the book *Language and Control* (Fowler & Hodge, 1979) written by Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress in 1979. Fowler and Kress are two acknowledged pioneering linguists in the study of Critical Linguistics. In their book, Halliday's SFL was adopted as the fundamental theoretical framework, based on which they conducted their researches from the following perspectives: over-lexicalization, classification, modality and transitivity. According to Fowler and Kress, Critical Linguistic Analysis can be a "powerful tool for the study of ideological processes, which mediate relationships of power and control" (ibid).

A critical perspective on discourse analysis, then, explores the connections between language use and the social and political context in which it occurs. It does this in a way that deals critically with the norms and expectations of particular discourse communities, raises issues of social, economic and political concern, yet aims to provide students with the tools they need to succeed. It examines discourse about how the existence, maintenance and reproduced in social, political and historical context. Furthermore, CDA is aimed to make clear connection between



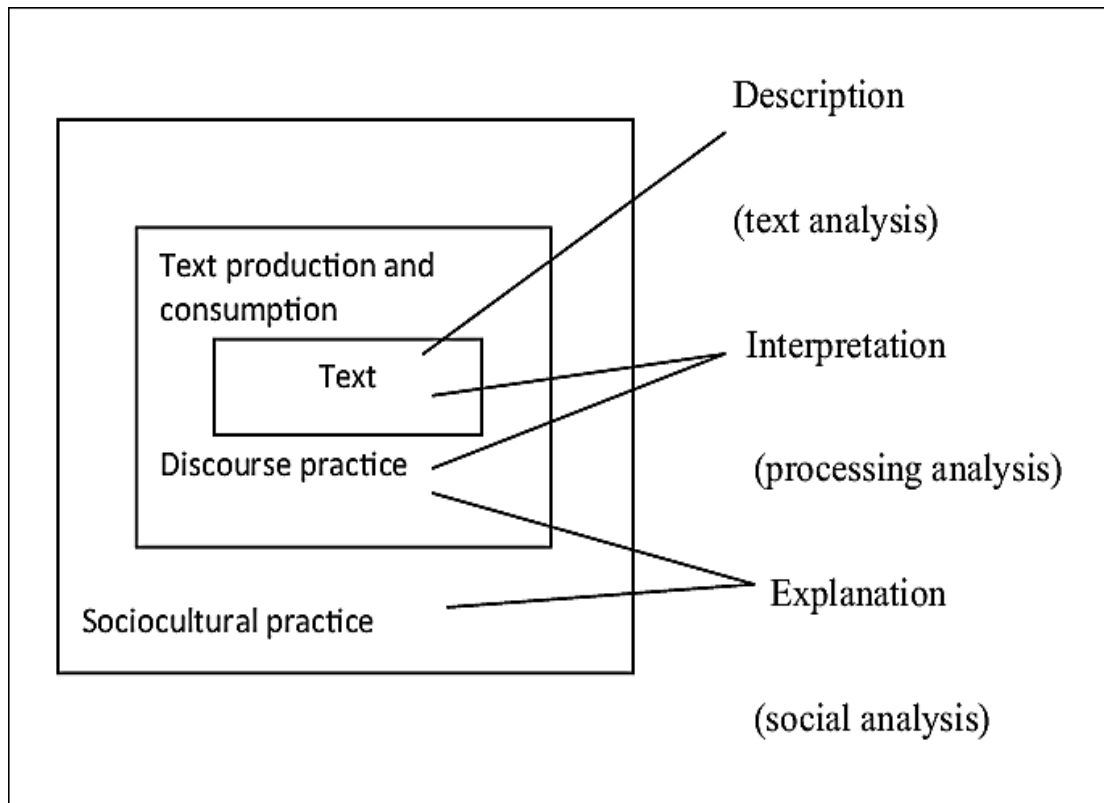
discourse, social practices and social structure which is not clear for several people (Fowler, 1991). CDA explores social context to embrace the sociopolitical conditions that shape discourse in order to analyze how power structures are constructed and analyzed. It means that it also can be used for describe, interpret, analyze, and critique social life that is reflected in speech. CDA explores relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and also wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes (Fairclough, 1992.)

CDA does not only focus on the study of discourse and its function in society but it also attempts to examine patterns of access and control over contexts, genres, text and talk, their properties as well as the discursive strategies of mind control. So that a discourse analyst by principles takes an explicit socio-political stance with a focus on dominant relations by elite groups and institutions as they are being enacted, legitimated or otherwise reproduced by text and talk (Fairclough, 1989).

*Here are some scholars' views on Critical Discourse Analysis*

Norman Fairclough's views on CDA. Norman Fairclough, in his work *Language and Power* (1989), wishes to “examine how the ways in which we communicate are constrained by the structures and forces of those social institutions within which we live and function” (Fairclough 1989, vi). In his view, there are three levels of discourse, firstly, social conditions of production and interpretation, i.e., the social factors, which contributed or led to the origination of a text, and, at the same time, how the same factors affect interpretations. Secondly, the process of production and interpretation, i.e., in what way the text was produced and how this affects interpretation. Thirdly, the text, being the product of the first two stages, explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context. “Explanation is related with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects” (Fairclough 1989, p. 26).

**Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis**



In the above figure, Fairclough’s three-dimensional model offers a simplified overview on how to carry out CDA. At the first level, represented by the inner box, the analyst conducts a syntactic analysis of the discourse focusing on grammatical aspects or other points that can be read directly from the text, which ultimately requires as much objectivity as the analyst can master. Therefore, as Fairclough writes, the first level is a description of the object of analysis (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91). The second level represents the semantic part of the discourse analysis, and involves interpreting the meaning of the text in its communicative situation. In other words, from this perspective “the discourse is seen as a communicative action where the focus is on the sender and the receiver” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91). The third level, represented by the outer box, focuses on placing the text in a sociocultural context. “This is done by combining the analytical data from the two previous levels and explaining their significance contextually” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91). +

**Ruth Wadak's Views on Critical Discourse Analysis.** The Historical Discourse analysis approach of CDA is developed by Wodak, who conducted a study on the anti-Semitism discourses in 1990 and emphasized the role of historical context in discourse analysis. She argues that language that both in speaking and written form is a kind of social practice. One of the distinguished features that set the historical-

discourse analysis approach apart from other approaches is its emphasizing on the historical contexts of discourse in the explaining and interpreting process. Wodak (1989) defines this field, which she calls 'critical linguistics', as an interdisciplinary approach to language study with a critical point of view for the purpose of studying language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance. Wodak also stresses the importance of diverse theoretical and methodological concepts and suggests that these can also be used for analyzing issues of social relevance, while attempting to expose inequality and injustice. Besides, Wodak encourages the use of multiple methods in language research while emphasizing the importance of recognizing the historical and social aspects. Therefore, through absorbing ideas and thoughts from other subjects, this approach works on the strength of large amounts of empirical data from an interdisciplinary perspective. That is to say, it integrates the existing knowledge of both the historical context and the social-political backgrounds, with a further exploration of the ways in which diachronic changes happen towards particular genres of discourses. Further, Wodak's approach just like Fairclough's approach prefers that readers and participants' interpretation of text differ not only on the basis of background knowledge but also on the basis of their prepositions. According to (Wodak & Ludwig 1999; as cited in Sheyholislami, 2001), viewing language this way entails three things at least. First, discourse "always involves power and ideologies. No interaction exists where power relations do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role". Second, "discourse ... is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before". This is similar to Fairclough's notion of intertextuality, as we will see. The third feature of Wodak's approach is that of interpretation. According to (Wodak & Ludwig 1999; as cited in Sheyholislami, 2001), readers and listeners, depending on their background knowledge and information and their position, might have different interpretations of the same communicative event.

**Gunther Kress's Views on Critical Discourse Analysis.** Gunther Kress is another prominent figure in the field of CDA. His most well-known publications include 'Social Semiotics' (with R. Hodge, 1988) and 'Reading Images' (with Theo van Leeuwen, 1990), (CaldasCoulthard and Coulthard, 1996, p.66). He is regarded as one of the pioneers and contributors of CDA. The term "Critical Linguistics" was first

coined in the book *Language and Control* (Fowler, 1979) written by Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress in 1979. Fowler and Kress are two acknowledged pioneering linguists in the study of Critical Linguistics. As the pioneering scholars of Critical Linguistics, Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress have opened up new approaches for the follow-up linguists and scholars to dedicate themselves into the development of CDA. Their explanations of key terms and concepts, of the analytical viewpoints and theoretical framework related to CDA are employed by many linguists in their own studies. In the past few decades, all of them have contributed a lot to the development of CDA. Kress believes that CDA is a kind of linguistic instrument, which should be used and can be applied to practical discourse analysis situations, e.g., the analysis of popular discourse. In this period, through the employment of the analytical method of social and linguistic analysis, Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, and many other critical linguists conducted a series of researches on how discourse functions in both the political process and the ideological process

**Teun van Dijk's Views on Critical Discourse Analysis.** Teun A. van Dijk regards discourse as a communicative event, a kind of manifestation pattern of a variety of meanings. He places particular emphasis on text linguistics and cognitive linguistics, and concentrates on analyzing discourses in a Social Cognitive Approach. Van Dijk (Socio-cognitive model) among CDA practitioners, is one of the most often referenced and quoted in critical studies of media discourse, even in studies that do not necessarily fit within the CDA perspective (e.g., Karim, 2000; Ezewudo, 1998). In the 1980s, he started to apply his discourse analysis theory to media texts mainly focusing on the representation of ethnic groups and minorities in Europe. In his *News Analysis* (1988), he integrates his general theory of discourse to the discourse of news in the press, and applies his theory to authentic cases of news reports at both the national and international level. The following are some of the masterpieces of van Dijk; *News as Discourse* (1988), *Racism and the Press* (1991), *Discourse, Power and Access* (1995), and *Political Discourse and Ideology* (2000). In terms of cognition, it is not hard to understand that this approach creatively introduces the study of cognition into the analytical studies in the field of CDA by exploring the interrelationship between cognitive phenomenon and discourse structures, as well as social structures. In other words, it is the discourse, cognition and society that formulate the triangle model in terms of van Dijk's Social Cognitive Approach. Teun

van Dijk generally argues, that 'a complete discourse analysis of a large corpus of text or talk, as we often have in CDA research, is therefore totally out of the question' (van Dijk, p. 99). If the focus of research is on the ways in which some speakers or writers exercise power in or by their discourse, the focus of study will in practice be on those properties that can vary as a function of social power. Van Dijk therefore suggests that the analysis should concentrate upon the following linguistic markers: stress and intonation, word order, lexical style, coherence, local semantic moves such as disclaimers, topic choice, speech acts, schematic organization, rhetorical figures, syntactic structures, propositional structures, turn takings, repairs, and hesitation. He supposes that most of these are examples of forms of interaction which are in principle susceptible to speaker control, but less consciously controlled or controllable by the speakers. Other structures, such as the form of words and many sentence structures are grammatically obligatory and contextually invariant, and hence usually not subject to speaker control and social power. He further suggests six steps in an analysis:

- 1 analysis of semantic macrostructures: topics and macro propositions;
- 2 analysis of local meanings, where the many forms of implicit or indirect meanings, such as implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, omissions and polarizations are especially interesting;
- 3 analysis of 'subtle' formal structures: here most of the linguistic markers mentioned are analyzed;
- 4 analysis of global and local discourse forms or formats;
- 5 analysis of specific linguistic realizations, for example, hyperbolas, litotes;
- 6 analysis of context.

Another standpoint hold by van Dijk is that the relationship between discourse and its context is a key issue in CDA. The relationship between discourse and context is not a kind of determination, and there is an adjusting layer between these two elements. Van Dijk believes that it's the social representation that plays such an effective role as the adjusting layer, which includes knowledge, attitude, ideology, etc. and is embodied in the discourse by the cognitive mental model. Rather than using the term CDA, he prefers to use Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). He argues that Critical Discourse Study combines various methods and ideas from psychology, critical linguistics, social sciences and humanities, thus it is not only a method (van Dijk,

2009, p.62). In order to make further discussions, van Dijk introduces and defines some of the key notions related to cognition, such as cognition, cognitive process, and ideology. in his books (van Dijk, 2009, pp.64-65). However, an important point that needs more attention is that the so-called Social Cognition Approach is not simply restricted to the social and cognitive studies. To be specific, it also explores the mental representation of discourse user, the production process and comprehension process of discourse, as well as the ideologies shared by society. For example, in van Dijk's studies on racism (1984, 1987, 1991) and ideology (1998), both social and mental phenomena are investigated through his analytical approach. Recently, van Dijk attaches more attention on the reproduction of social inequalities and the abuse of power. Besides, he also makes great efforts to explore the importance of context on discourse production and discourse understanding by presenting his context models. What he firmly believed is that it is context models that managed the ways in which we produce and receive discourses.

What distinguishes van Dijk's (1988) framework for the analyses of news discourse is his call for a thorough analysis not only of the textual and structural level of media discourse but also for analysis and explanations at the production and reception or comprehension level. By structural analysis, van Dijk posited analysis of structures at various levels of description which meant not only the grammatical, phonological, morphological and semantic level but also higher-level properties such as coherence, overall themes and topics of news stories and the whole schematic forms and rhetorical dimensions of texts. Van Dijk (1995) essentially perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis, because according to him, "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies" (p. 17). His approach for analyzing ideologies has three parts: social analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis (1995, p. 30). Whereas the social analysis pertains to examining the "overall societal structures," (the context), the discourse analysis is primarily text based (syntax, lexicon, local semantics, topics, and schematic structures). In this sense, van Dijk's approach incorporates the two traditional approaches in media education discussed earlier: interpretive (text based) and social tradition (context based), into one analytical framework for analyzing media discourse. For van Dijk it is the socio-cognition,

social cognition and personal cognition that mediates between society and discourse. He defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" (p. 18). In this sense, for van Dijk, "ideologies are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes" (p. 18). Ideologies, thus, "indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members" in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (p. 19). He calls the mental representations of individuals during such social actions and interactions "models". For him, "models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others" (p.2).

**Tuen Van Dijk's Discourse Elements.** The analysis of discursive devices at the micro-level which reveal ideological positive self-representation and negative other-representation at the macro-level. The micro-level of analysis is the building block of the macro-level. At the microstructure level, analysis is focused on the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text, and other rhetorical elements such quotations, direct or indirect reporting that give factuality to the news reports. At the micro level, using the 25 devices, the framework helps to examine the discourse to decode the meanings of words and phrases. Decoding the meaning at the micro-level facilitates the revelation of ideology at the macro-semantic level. The analytical tool in this study draws on the framework of political discourse analysis presented by Van Dijk (2005). The analysis is conducted at the semantic micro-level with a focus on the use of the 25 subtle discursive devices introduced to reveal if the speeches fall within the 'fundamental dichotomy' (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010, p. 69) of 'Positive Self-representation' and 'Negative Other-representation' (the semantic macro-level) postulated by Van Dijk (2005). These 25 discursive devices with their discourse analysis domain according to Van Dijk (2005) are: actor description (meaning), authority (argumentation), burden (topos), categorization (meaning), comparison (meaning, argumentation), consensus (political strategy), counterfactuals (meaning, argumentation), disclaimers (meaning), euphemism (rhetoric, meaning), evidentiality (meaning, argumentation), example/illustration (argumentation), generalization (meaning, argumentation), hyperbole (rhetoric), implication (meaning), irony (meaning), lexicalization (style), metaphor (meaning, rhetoric), national self-glorification (meaning), norm expression (normalization), number game (rhetoric,

argumentation), polarization; US-THEM categorization (meaning) populism (political strategy), presupposition (meaning), vagueness (meaning), and victimization (meaning). (pp. 735-36). The definitions of Van Dijk's 25 discursive devices according to Van Dijk 2005 are as follows:

- 1 Actor Description: The way actors are described in discourses also depends on our ideologies. Ingroup members tend to be described in a neutral or positive way, and outgroup members in a negative way. Similarly, people tend to “mitigate negative descriptions of members of our own group and emphasize the attributed negative characteristics of Others” (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 735).
- 2 Authority: People of different ideologies typically cite different authorities. These authorities, according to Van Dijk (2005), are “usually organizations or people who are above the fray of party politics, or who are generally recognized experts or moral leaders. Leaders use this device to support their case mentioning authorities." Authority is an influential, superior power which is used to support ingroups or to demoralize out groups.
- 3 Burden (Topos'): Topoi represents the premises that are taken for granted, as self-evident and as sufficient reasons to accept the conclusion (Van Dijk 2005). People analyze any events linking to any standard arguments.
- 4 Categorization: Van Dijk (2005) says " As we also know from social psychology, people tend to categorize people, and so do speakers in parliament, especially when Others (immigrants, refugees, etc.) are involved." This is done to classify people in terms of their originality, religion, nationality, and ideology.
- 5 Comparison: Van Dijk (2005) says comparison is made to “compare ingroups and outgroups”. He adds “outgroups are compared negatively, and ingroups positively” (2005). Different kinds of similes or comparisons can occur to show positivity and negativity. It is an act of looking for similarities and dissimilarities in discourse. For example; claims vs actions, norths vs south, rich vs poor, black vs white, and privatization vs nationalization.



- 6 Consensus: For Van Dijk (2005), in political context, consensus is a “cross-party or national” device to defend a country against external threats. Consensus is done for social or national unity.
- 7 Counterfactuals: Counterfactuals “is a persuasive argumentative move that is also related to the move of asking for empathy” (Van Dijk, 2005). Counterfactual is an expression to show what something or somebody would be like if certain conditions are or are not created.
- 8 Disclaimers: A well-known combination of the ideologically based strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are the many types of disclaimers. Van Dijk says that “disclaimers briefly save face by mentioning Our positive characteristics, but then focus rather exclusively on Their negative attributes” (2005). Discourse producers disclaim their wrong deeds. They don't want the blames in their shoulders.
- 9 Euphemism: A euphemism is the use of milder or less harsh words instead of derogatory or direct terms. It is a semantic move of mitigation. Van Dijk (2005, p. 736) says that euphemism is used to mitigate “negative impression formation” of others and “the negative acts of the own group”. This is the replacement of an apparently unpleasant or offensive word or expression with one that is mild or pleasant.
- 10 Evidentiality: Claims or points of view in argument are more plausible when speakers present some evidence or proof for their knowledge or opinions. This may happen by references to authority figures or institutions, or by various forms of evidentiality: How or where did they get the information (Van Dijk, 2005). To highlight the importance of evidentiality, Van Dijk adds it is “an important move to convey objectivity, reliability, and hence credibility” (2005). Facts, figures, and statistics are used to provide evidences.
- 11 Illustration: A powerful move in argumentation is to give concrete examples (Van Dijk, 2005). Example/illustration is providing the audience with factual or fictional examples by which a discourse producer tries to back up his opinion or make his or her beliefs more conceivable.
- 12 Generalization: Instead of providing concrete stories, speakers may also make generalizations. Generalization is the attribution of negative or positive aspects of a person or small group to a larger population (Van Dijk,

2005). People make prejudices. People seek for specific examples and try to generalize according to the specific examples.

- 13 **Hyperbole:** Hyperbole is the employment of exaggerated language to intentionally lay stress on something. Van Dijk contends hyperbole is “a semantic rhetorical device for the enhancement of meaning” (2005, p. 737). People exaggerated good deeds of ingroup members and bad deeds of other groups. It’s a deliberate exaggeration of certain facts or figures used for the sake of heightened effect.
- 14 **Implication:** For many pragmatic (contextual) reasons, speakers do not (need) to say everything they know or believe (Van Dijk, 2005). Indeed, a large part of discourse remains implicit, and such implicit information may be inferred by recipients from shared knowledge or attitudes and thus constructed as part of their mental models of the event or action represented in the discourse. Therefore, this is the recipients’ responsibility to infer what more is expressed in the discourse.
- 15 **Irony:** Irony is the deliberate contrast between what is said and what the speaker intends to convey through language use, often humorously. Van Dijk asserts that “accusations may come across as more effective when they are not made point blank (which may violate face constraints), but in apparently lighter forms of irony” (2005, p. 737). It gives different or opposite to the literal meaning.
- 16 **Lexicalization:** Similar meanings may thus be variably expressed in different words, depending on the position, role, goals, point of view, or opinion of the speaker, that is, as a function of context features. Lexicalization refers to using semantic features of words to portray somebody or something positively or negatively (Van Dijk, 2005).
- 17 **Metaphor:** Metaphor is the comparison of two things or phenomena which bear no resemblance to assign the attributes of one to another. Few semantic-rhetorical figures are as persuasive as metaphors, also in debates on immigration. Abstract, complex, unfamiliar, new, or emotional meanings may thus be made more familiar and more concrete.
- 18 **National self-glorification:** Especially in parliamentary speeches on immigration, positive self-presentation may routinely be implemented by various forms of national self-glorification: positive references to or praise

for one's own country, its principles, history, and traditions. National self-glorification creates a positive representation of one's country through "positive references [such as] its principles, history, traditions" (Van Dijk, 2005).

- 19 Norm expression: Norm Expression is used to convey the norms of how something should/not be done, or what somebody should or should not do (Van Dijk, 2005).
- 20 Number game: Van Dijk (2005) emphasizes much argument is oriented to enhancing credibility by moves that emphasize objectivity. Numbers and statistics are the primary means in our culture to persuasively display objectivity, and they routinely characterize news reports in the press.
- 21 Polarization: Polarization refers to the categorization of people; the in-group and out-group. This suggests that especially talk and text about immigrants or refugees is also strongly monitored by underlying social representations (attitudes, ideologies) of groups, rather than by models of unique events and individual people (unless these are used as illustrations to argue a general point). Polarization may also apply to 'good' and 'bad' subcategories of outgroups, as is the case for friends and allies on the one hand and enemies on the other. Note that polarization may be rhetorically enhanced when expressed as a clear contrast, that is, by attributing properties of 'us' and 'them' that are semantically each other's opposites (Van Dijk, 2005). So this is a kind of division of people and idea into two opposing groups. This is a clear-cut division into two.
- 22 Populism: Populism refers to political ideas and activities that are intended to represent ordinary people's needs and wishes. The basic strategy is to show whether people support or not.
- 23 Presupposition: Discourses are like the proverbial icebergs: most of their meanings are not explicitly expressed but presupposed to be known, and inferable from general sociocultural knowledge. Strategically, presuppositions are often used to assume the truth of some proposition when such truth is not established at all (Van Dijk, 2005). This is part of what is communication but not said.
- 24 Vagueness: (Van Dijk, 2005), Virtually in all contexts speakers may use vague expressions, that is, expressions that do not have well-defined

referents, or which refer to fuzzy sets. Vague quantifiers ('few,' 'a lot'), adverbs ('very') nouns ('thing'), and adjectives ('low,' 'high'), among other expressions may be typical in such discourse.

- 25 **Victimization:** Victimization is the use of "binary us–them pair of ingroups and outgroups in order to emphasize the 'bad' nature of immigrants, people may tell horrible stories about poor nationals (Van Dijk, 2005). This is used to represent the ingroup members as the victims by the hands of the outgroup members.

These all above devices are linked with macro level of mental representation. Teun van Dijk, mental representations are often articulated along US versus THEM dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms (p.22). Analyzing and making explicit this contrastive dimension of Us versus Them has been central to most of van Dijk's research and writings (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998a, 1998b). Themes and topics are structure characterized as the most important because it contains underlying the ideology in the sequence of sentence (Van Dijk, 2008). Teun van Dijk's (1998) discourse structures and elements are given in the following table:

**Table 1:. Text Structure Analysis (Teun van Dijk's (1998) discourse structures and elements).**

<b>Discourse structure</b>	<b>The objects</b>	<b>Elements</b>
<b>Macro structure</b>	<b>Theme</b> What is said?	Topic
<b>Super structure</b>	<b>Schematic</b> How an argument or text is arranged?	Scheme
<b>Micro structure</b>	<b>Semantic</b> The meaning which is wanted to be delivered on the text. For example, by giving details on one side	Setting, detail, Meaning, pre-assumption

	or make explicit the one hand and reduce the others.	
<b>Micro structure</b>	<b>Syntaxes</b> How the sentence (shape or composition) is selected?	Sentence form, coherence, preposition
<b>Micro structure</b>	<b>Stylistic</b> How does the choice of words used in the text of news?	Lexicon
<b>Micro structure</b>	<b>Rhetoric</b> How and what is the way pressure is done?	Graphic, metaphor, expression

(Source: van Dijk (1998) Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Study Chapter 21

The above table makes clear that such kind of various elements are interconnected, equipped, and supported by each other.

Elements of thematic refer to the general description of a text. It could also be referred as main idea of the text. Topic is to demonstrate dominant concept, central message of the text. The theme of the text and topic comes under macro structure of discourse. The super structure schematically illustrates the general form of text. Any writing or speech must have scheme from introductory to the end. Discourse can be organized in introduction, content, problem, solution, closing and so on. Semantic is a field of study about meaning of semiotic, which explains about symbols, signs and language as a unit of symbol system. It further includes the implicit and explicit meanings. Van Dijk mentions the elements of semantic such as setting (background), detail (communicators), meaning and pre-assumptions.

Micro structure of discourse analysis includes syntax, stylistics and rhetoric. Syntax includes sentence forms, coherence and prepositions. Different elements of syntax such as the use of pronouns, word order rules, the use of specific words, use active and passive sentence, the use of clauses, and the use of complex sentences. This is a strategy to bring them positively and negatively by using syntax. Stylistic includes the diction or choice of lexicons. It deals with how the words are used in the

text? Rhetoric is the art, practice and science of human communication. Rhetoric is used to emphasis on certain parts of speech. Van Dijk has taken three elements; graphic, metaphor and expressions of rhetoric in consideration.

**Principles of CDA.** CDA is a research paradigm. Though it's a multidisciplinary, it has its own fundamental norms, values and assumptions to make its destination clear. Principles of CDA, outlined by CDA practitioners (Fairclough, 1995a; Kress, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Van Dijk, 1998a; Wodak, 1996; as cited in Sheyholislami, 2001) can be summarized as follows:

1. Language is a social practice through which the world is represented.
2. Discourse/language use as a form of social practice in itself not only represents and signifies other social practices but it also constitutes other social practices such as the exercise of power, domination, prejudice, and resistance.
3. Texts acquire their meanings by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation.
4. Linguistic features and structures are not arbitrary. They are purposeful whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious.
5. Power relations are produced, exercised, and reproduced through discourse.
6. All speakers and writers operate from specific discursive practices originating in special interests and aims which involve inclusions and exclusions.
7. Discourse is historical in the sense that texts acquire their meanings by being situated in specific social, cultural and ideological contexts, and time and space.
8. CDA does not solely interpret texts, but also explains them

As these eight key principles show, CDA has a clear concern about the exercise of power in social relations, including gender and race. As these eight key principles show, CDA has a clear concern about the exercise of power in social relations, including gender and race. As these eight key principles show, CDA has a clear concern about the exercise of power in social relations, including gender and race. These eight key principles show, CDA has a clear concern about the exercise of power in social relations, including gender and race. These eight principles show,

CDA has a clear concern about the exercise of power in social relations, including gender and race.

**Ideology.** An ideology is the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group. More than 200 years ago, the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy introduced the term in order to denote a new discipline that would study ‘ideas’: ideologies (Van Dijk, 2005). In Discourse Analysis, ideology is defined as “significations or constructions of reality which are built into various dimensions of the forms or meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough, 1992, p.87). Ideologies not only have general social functions but more specifically (also) political functions in the field of politics, we will call them political ideologies. People of different ideologies do not have different grammars, although they use such grammars sometimes a bit differently. Different politicians use different types of strategies to influence people but the strategies are influenced by ideologies. Van Dijk (2005) research has shown that ideological discourse often features the following overall strategies of what might be called the ideological square:

- Emphasize Our good things
- Emphasize Their bad things
- De-emphasize Our bad things
- De-emphasize Their good things.

**Power and Dominance.** Power involves control, namely by (members of) one group over (those of) other groups. Such control may pertain to action and cognition: that is, a powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds. Besides the elementary recourse to force to directly control action (as in police violence against demonstrators, or male violence against women), modern and often more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one’s own interests. It is at this crucial point where discourse and critical discourse analysis come in managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk. Note that such mind management is not always bluntly manipulative. On the contrary, dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear natural and quite acceptable. Hence, CDA also

needs to focus on the discursive strategies that legitimate control, or otherwise naturalize the social order, and especially relations of inequality (Fairclough, 1985). Despite such complexities and subtleties of power relations, critical discourse analysis is specifically interested in power abuse, that is, in breaches of laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice by those who wield power. To distinguish such power from legitimate and acceptable forms of power and lacking another adequate term. We use the term dominance. If the minds of the dominated can be influenced in such a way that they accept dominance, and act in the interest of the powerful out of their own free will, we use the term hegemony. One major function of discourse is precisely to manufacture such consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance (Herman and Chomsky, 1988 as cited in Van Dijk, 1993). For the purpose of the theory sketched here, power and dominance of groups are measured by their control over (access to) discourse. The crucial implication of this correlation is not merely that discourse control is a form of social action control, but also and primarily that it implies the conditions of control over the minds of other people, that is, the management of social representations. More control over more properties of text and context, involving more people, is thus generally (though not always) associated with more influence, and hence with hegemony.

**Social Cognition.** This is neo-colonial era. Not only military forces have power these days but mind management, knowledge, attitudes, plans, etc. have also power to create dominance in the society. This is related with power and dominance. Socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking, arguing, and learning. Van Dijk (2005) defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members".

**Speech.** According to Oxford dictionaries, there are two definitions of speech, the first is the expression of or the ability to express thoughts and feelings by articulate sounds. From this definition it can be elaborated into 'a person's style of speaking' which closely related with the way a person speak and 'the language of a nation, region, or group'. That means speech as the representation of a nation or a group of people. Meanwhile, still with the same source, the second definition of speech is a formal address or discourse delivered to an audience. It means that there is



one person as the speaker who talks about certain topics in front of people. That second definition is that speech is a process to deliver an important problem verbally to the public in official situation. Basically, anyone can do a speech, but if it is done to the public and in an official situation, so only certain people can do, those persons who has the power, which are in this case are leaders. Speech is commonly used by a leader, which is in the form of an utterance with a good arrangement to be delivered to the people with a specific purpose. The goals are influencing, encouraging, educating, changing opinions, giving explanation, and providing information to people in certain places. Sometimes speeches are delivered without good preparation, sometimes spoken with manuscripts and sometimes with full coherence in speech with full preparedness. More importantly the purposes of speech are like; persuading, influencing, entertaining, etc. The general purpose of the speech itself involves several things like: giving an understanding or information to others, influencing other person to follow our willingness to voluntarily, making other people to participate in. It means the message aims to be followed or be a role model for others who hear and observe. In this case, speaker is as a role model for the mob.

**Political Speeches as Discourse:** All the modes of communication; written; spoken; and audio-visual carry some discourses. Political speeches are delivered in formal settings. All the words and sentences are selected very carefully. So, almost all the political speeches are full of discourses. In linguistics, pragmatics, and discourse studies, political discourse has received attention outside the more theoretical mainstream. So far most of this work has been carried out by linguists and discourse analysts, because political science is among the few social disciplines. Although studies of political discourse in English are internationally best known because of the hegemony of English, much work has been done (often earlier, and often more systematic and explicit) in German, Spanish, and French. Critical political discourse studies in Spain and especially also in Latin America has been very productive ( van dijk, 1993). Those who have more power control the language, so politicians control the discourses. If controlling discourse is a first major form of power, controlling people's minds is the other fundamental way to reproduce dominance and hegemony. Within a CDA framework, "mind control" involves even more than just acquiring beliefs about the world through discourse and communication (van Dijk, 1993). But mind control is always contextual. Contextually based control derives from the fact

that people understand and represent not only text and talk, but also the whole communicative situation. Van Dijk (2006) notes that political situations do not simply cause political actors to speak in certain ways, instead “there is a need for a cognitive collaboration between situations and talk or text, that is a context”. Thus, CDA typically studies how context features (such as the properties of language users of powerful groups) influence the ways members of dominated groups define the communicative situation in "preferred context models" (van Dijk, 1997). CDA also focuses on how discourse structures influence mental representations. The topic and argumentations on it influence the mental representations of people. Thus, catchy topics and logical argumentations create mind control and help for political influences. Such kind of discourses in political scenario can be analyzed in different ways.

### **Review of Related Empirical Literature**

Here, empirical literature refers to previous researches conducted in the related field. Various studies related to critical discourse analysis of political speeches have been carried out by different scholars from home and abroad. Some available empirical literatures are reviewed to find out the research gaps and to get the guidelines to move ahead. So, here are some reviews of related literature as below

Bhatta (2013) carried out research on ‘Critical Analysis of Classroom Discourse’. He aimed to analyze the classroom discourse critically in terms of interactional control, politeness and power. He recorded conversations with nine teachers and students from three schools. He observed the classes as well. The teachers’ dominance was found. Power was shown by teachers overlaps, questions, commands, and addressing by names. Teachers’ speeches were commanding whereas student’s speeches were more polite and less direct.

Jensen, Jakobsen & Pichler (2016) carried research on ‘A Critical Discourse Study of Hillary Clinton’s 2015/2016 Presidential Campaign Discourses’. The specific aim was to identify elements of gender references, persuasive techniques and social inclusion and exclusion. The thesis uncovered underlying discursive structures in Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign discourse during 2016. The study was carried out through the use of the theory and methodology of Critical Discourse

Analysis and corpus linguistics. The primary analysis (with focus on Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech from June 2015) showed that the campaign launch discourse relies heavily on constructed frames, such as the family frame and the battle frame. Furthermore, gender references were marked by implicitness, and Clinton performed both stereotypical masculine and feminine genders. They also found elements of rhetorical tools of persuasion. As for social inclusion and exclusion, Clinton's use of pronouns revealed her attitude towards her supporters and opponents alike. The secondary analysis was a corpus-based analysis with focus on comparing selected aspects from the primary analysis. Result brought that Clinton's main purpose of her campaign discourses was to construct a narrative of herself as President of the United States of America, and additionally, she pushed the boundaries of the historical perception of the American presidency in regards to gender.

Antari (2016) submitted a thesis at Faculty of Arab and Humanities, State Islamic University, Jakarta entitled 'Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis on Barak Obama's Speech on 'Osama Bin Laden's Dead'. The aim of this research was to describe the discourse analysis using the Tuen Van Dijk's theory. The researcher analyzed the discourse structure and types of speech used in speaking about Osama Bin Laden's death. He used qualitative method in research. Findings of the story was that each element of the discourse namely thematic, schematic, semantic, syntax, stylistic, and rhetoric contributed to imply the meaning in the speech.

Chapagain (2016) conducted research entitled 'A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political News stories in English Dailies' aiming to analyze the formal features of political news stories critically in terms of metaphor, modality and transitivity for analyzing discursive practices and ideologies. He used Fairclough's model of Discourse Analysis. He selected nine political news stories from three leading English dailies in Nepal via using non-random purposive sampling strategy. Observation checklist was the main tool of data collection. The finding was that the politicians as well as news writers had used various linguistic features to communicate their ideological underpinnings. The used different discursive as well as non-discursive strategies to sustain their ideological influences.

Rachman & Yumanti (2017), conducted another research entitled 'Critical Discourse Analysis in Donald Trump's Presidential Campaign to Win America's Heart'. This research aimed to analyze Donald Trump's utterances in his presidential campaign at November 16th, 2015 in Knoxville Convention Center. It focused on the utterances that illustrated political discourse in Donald Trump Speech, the way he delivered his political discourse, the aim of the utterances, and the effect of the utterance to people. Descriptive qualitative was applied as the method of the research and the data of the research were the utterances that illustrated Donald Trump's political discourse. The utterances were being analyzed using CDA's Van Dijk thematic theory. The result showed his way to deliver his ideology in gaining power where in power; there is an ability to control people which in line with his purpose to win American's heart. Trump's political strategies succeeded to gain many supports that made him elected as the presidential candidate from the Republic party.

Obiero (2017) conducted research on 'A Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Announcement Speech' aiming to investigate how the language used in Donald Trump's speech positions various actors. Furthermore, the focus of study was on how language is used to signify, produce and contest unequal power relations and to create ideology. The data was taken from different excerpts of Donald Trump's announcement speech. The study made a qualitative research design using Fairclough's three tier model of description, interpretation and explanation by focusing on both micro and macro level of discourse analysis. The findings of the research were that the transitivity patterns and modality structures can be shown to bring out social actors who appear common and natural when in essence they perpetuate inequality and injustice as can be seen in the analysis of the recent themes in which the speaker's linguistic choices communicate specific world views preferred by him. Transitivity system have shown how speakers not only encode their mental reflection of the world in language but also how they account for their experiences of the world around them. Modality choices used in the text shed more light on the ideologies and power relations.

Shakoury (2018) carried out research entitled 'Critical Discourse Analysis of Iranian Presidents' Addresses to the United Nations General Assembly', which scrutinized the use of language by politicians striving to win public opinion and votes.

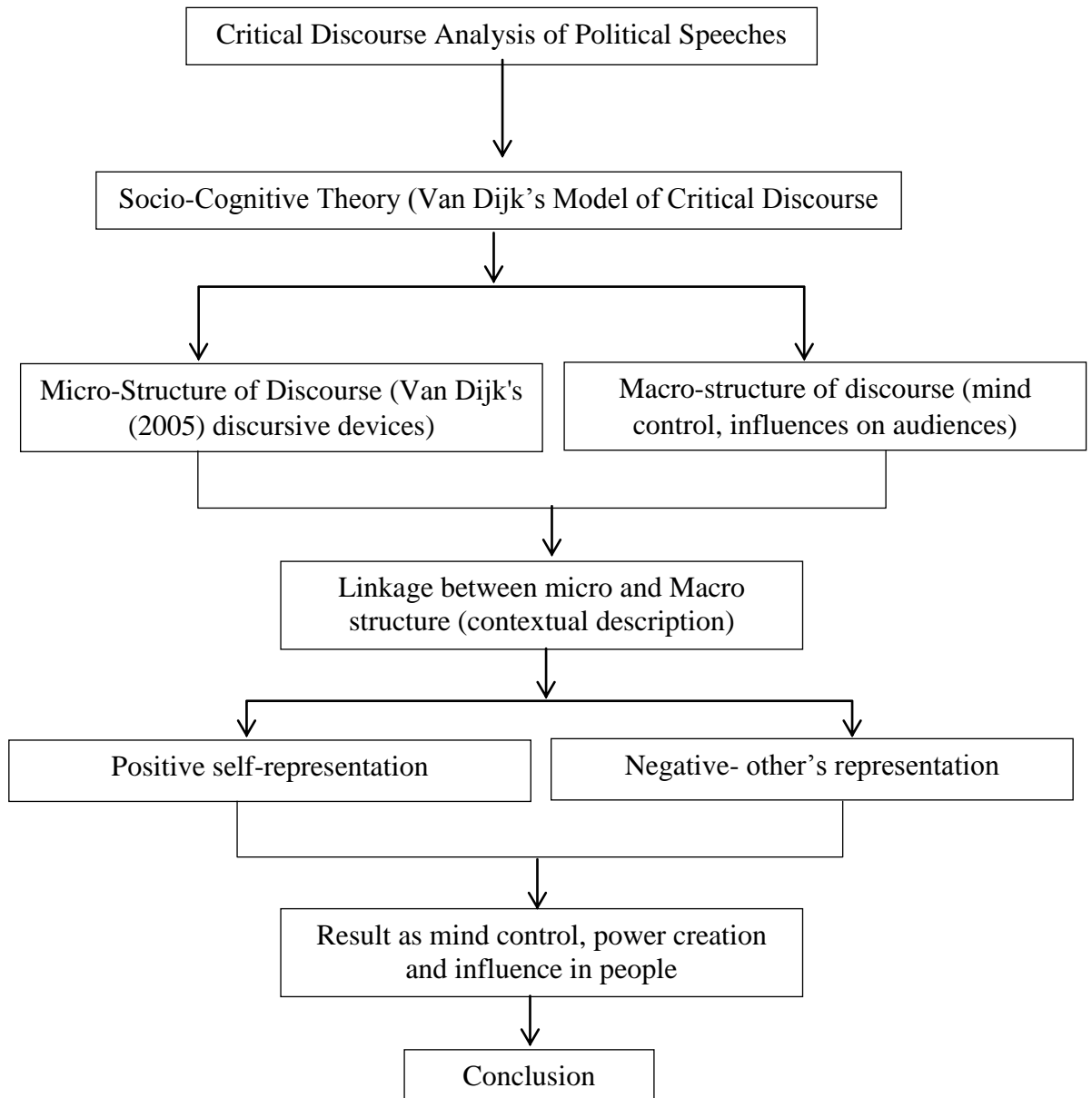
Utilizing Teun A. van Dijk's framework for political discourse analysis, the researcher examined linguistic features in eight addresses of Iranian Presidents, Hassan Rouhani and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, to the United Nations General Assembly. The study combined micro-level text analysis (following 25 discursive devices introduced by Van Dijk, 2005) with a macro-analysis focusing on the dichotomy of 'positive self-representation' and 'negative other-representation.' The finding of the study was that President Rouhani made more use of the discursive devices 'consensus', 'illustration', 'hyperbole' and 'polarization', whereas President Ahmadinejad employed more frequently 'lexicalization' and 'vagueness'. The comparison of the speeches by two presidents at macro-level showed that Rouhani relied more on 'positive self-representation' and Ahmadinejad on 'negative other-representation'.

### **Implications of the Review for the Study**

All the above-mentioned research works gave me more insights about theoretical background as well as the knowledge of similar researches and help to find out research gaps. Furthermore, the works were useful to improve my methodology and model of CDA. Antari (2016) provided me the ideas about how to analyze elements of the discourse namely thematic, schematic, semantic, syntax, stylistic, and rhetoric contributed to imply the meaning in the speech. Similarly, Rachman & Yumanti (2017) gave the ways to conduct CDA using Van Dijk's Thematic Theory mostly related with power and ideology. Shakoury (2018) helped me to make a concept about CDA of political speeches. Chapagain (2016) and Obiero (2017) helped to relate Fairclough's three tier of CDA with micro and macro level of discourse. Jensen, Jakobsen & Pichler (2016) gave evidences of persuasive techniques used by politicians and ideas to analyze them.

This study is different than others because speeches of three presidents of America during presidential elections were analyzed by using Van Dijk's model of discourse analysis. The common techniques to influence voters of the politicians were drawn out by the use of qualitative as well as quantitative design.

### **Conceptual Framework**



### **Chapter III**

#### **Methods and Procedures of the Study**

This chapter deals with the research design, population, sample, and sampling strategy, research tools, sources of data, data collection procedures, data analysis procedures.

#### **Design and Methods of the Study**

A research design is an overall plan and framework which guides the researcher to complete the study. There is no any single design of research. So, the design of the research was selected according to the purpose of research. The purposes of the research determine the methodology and design of the research. According to Kumar (2014, p. 112), “a research design is a roadmap that you decide to follow during your research journey to find answers to your research questions as validly, objectively, accurately and economically as possible”. Similarly, Sellitiz et al. (1962, as cited in Kumar, 2014) define research design as the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. Thus, it gives a model that is followed by the researcher.

The research design of my study was qualitative as well as quantitative. Quantitative design of the study was used to analyze at micro level whereas qualitative design was used to analyze speech at macro level. Use of both qualitative and quantitative design helped me to create the linkage between different discursive devices and the contexts. So, analyzing discursive devices and other socio-cognitive aspects of the speech needs both qualitative and quantitative design of the study. Qualitative research provides in-depth and detailed understanding of meaning and actions of non-observable as well as observable phenomena. Qualitative research design should also not only account for what is said or done, but also the manner in which something is spoken or carried out by a participant. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) say:

Qualitative research is characterized by a loosely defined group of designs that elicit verbal, oral, observational, tactile, gustatory, and olfactory information from a

range of sources including almost others audio, film documents and it draws strongly on direct experience and meaning.

Quantitative research design is defined as a systematic investigation of phenomena by gathering quantifiable data and performing statistical, mathematical, or computational techniques. Quantitative research collects information from existing and potential customers using sampling methods and sending out online surveys, online polls, questionnaires, etc., the results of which can be depicted in the form of numerical. This study will have some statistical phenomena to find reoccurrence as well as similarities and differences in the use of different discursive devices.

Critical Discourse analysis is always related with social issues or problems and always in the favor of those who are dominated. It is neither a qualitative nor quantitative research, but a manner of analyzing the important statements in the contexts. Therefore, I used quantitative design to deal with statements used by politicians in their speeches and qualitative design to deal with the contexts as well as their ‘positive-self and negative-other representation’. Quantitative design helped to deal with discursive devices introduced by Van Dijk in 2005 whereas, qualitative design dealt with linkage between micro structures and macro structures of discourse. Micro structure of discourse analysis includes syntax, stylistics and rhetoric whereas the theme of the text and topic along with contexts comes under macro structure of discourse.

### **Population, Sample and Sampling Strategy**

The population of this study was latest three presidents of America who won elections namely; Barak Obama, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden. The sample of population was selected with a special purpose to find out winners' strategies to deliver speeches. So, this study adopted non-random purposive sampling. The speeches to be analyzed were the announcement speeches delivered by latest three US presidents. The full speeches were analyzed to meet the objectives of the study.

### **Source of Data**

The sources of data of the study were the three announcement speeches of latest three American presidents; Barak Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden. These



three people's speeches were selected because the techniques to deliver speeches of such winning leaders would be drawn out and analyzed. The original videos of speeches were downloaded from reliable sources and they were matched with the available text for accuracy. Texts of the speeches were downloaded from google sites, which are given in references.

### **Data Collection Tools and Techniques**

The data for this study were collected from three different speeches delivered by three latest presidents of America. The speech videos were downloaded from authentic and reliable sources. All the speeches were matched with the available transcribed texts for their accuracy. But the body expressions, interruptions, pauses, apologies, and clapping were not transcribed except their unavoidable importance.

### **Data Collection Procedures**

The following procedures was applied while collecting the data:

- The videos and text of speeches of three announcement speeches delivered by three latest presidents of America were downloaded.
- The downloaded texts of the speeches were matched with the videos to check accuracy.
- The main points and statements were selected.
- Different discursive devices were noted down according to Van Dijk's model of CDA 2005.

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation Procedures**

The collected data were analyzed by following the given procedure:

- Reading the transcribed speeches.
- Pointing out main statements and selecting different discursive devices (Van Dijk's model of CDA 2005) used by three presidents in their announcement speeches.
- Analysis of the findings through the contextualized interpretation of discursive devices, linked micro and macro aspects of speeches based on Van Dijk's model of CDA 2005.
- Making a conclusion.

## **Chapter IV**

### **Results and Discussion**

This chapter includes results and discussions. The discourses in speeches were divided into Van Dijk's 25 discursive devices, were analyzed and results were drawn out into points. Before categorizing data, the data were downloaded from website; the transcribed speeches of three American presidents. The downloaded data were examined to check the accuracy and reliability of the scripts of the talks. Then the analysis of data began. Candidacy announcement speeches delivered by latest three presidents of America; Barak Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden are analyzed by using 25 discursive devices of Van Dijk (2005). These speeches are the speeches of those who won elections. Regarding, Barak Obama his first term announcement speech of 2008 is selected because his second term announcement is more related with his actions and it is assumed that the positional power may influence the production of discourse. Obama's speech delivered on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2007 at Springfield, Illinois, Trump's speech delivered on 25<sup>th</sup> June 2016 and Biden's speech broadcasted through a video on 21<sup>st</sup> August 2020 are analyzed to show how they delivered speeches during their candidacy to win peoples' vote. The micro-level linguistic properties (discursive Devices) were analyzed to show their techniques of positive-self representation and negative other representations.

#### **Micro and Macro Level of Analysis of Discourse based on Van Dijk's Model of CDA 2005**

The 25 discursive devices were explained with relation to macro level of ideology: the ideology of positive self-representation and negative-other representation. Some excerpts of speeches are also kept here to present the examples (speech sentences are numbered in appendix). To show the similarities and dissimilarities in the speeches of Obama, Trump and Biden, the general discussion of the findings from quantitative data and qualitative data are discussed here with supporting details.

### Micro Level of Analysis of Discourse (Quantitative Data Analysis)

The frequency and percent of total number of the use of the discursive devices in three politicians' speeches are as follows:

**Table 1: Discursive Devices in Three Political Speeches**

Use of the discursive devices is categorized as follows:

Discursive Devices	Barak Obama (%)	Donald Trump (%)	Joe Biden (%)
Actor description	22 (22.44%)	12 (11.76%)	19 (16.37%)
Authority	5 (5.10%)	2 (1.96%)	4 (3.440%)
Burden (Topos')	1 (1.02%)	1 (0.98%)	1 (0.86%)
Categorization	3 (3.06%)	2 (1.96%)	3 (2.58%)
Comparison	0 (0%)	6 (5.88%)	4 (3.44%)
Consensus	3 (3.06%)	0 (0%)	4 (3.44%)
Counterfactuals	2 (2.04%)	14 (13.72%)	4 (3.44%)
Disclaimers	0 (0%)	1 (0.98%)	0 (0%)
Euphemism	1 (1.02%)	1 (0.98%)	0 (0%)
Evidentiality	0 (0%)	2 (1.96%)	1 (0.86%)
Illustration	4 (4.08%)	12 (11.76%)	4 (3.44%)
Generalization	6 (6.12%)	1 (0.98%)	3 (2.58%)
Hyperbole	3 (3.06%)	4 (3.92%)	5 (4.31%)
Implication	2 (2.04%)	1 (0.98%)	1 (0.86%)
Irony	0 (0%)	1 (0.98%)	0 (0%)
Lexicalization	9 (9.18%)	12 (11.76%)	15 (12.93%)
Metaphor	2 (2.04%)	4 (3.92%)	5 (4.31%)
National self-glorification	8 (8.16%)	2 (1.96%)	9 (7.75%)
Norm expression	5 (5.10%)	6 (5.88%)	7 (6.03%)
Number game	3 (3.06%)	8 (7.84%)	7 (6.03%)
Polarization	3 (3.06%)	2 (1.96%)	5 (4.31%)
Populism	3 (3.06%)	2 (1.96%)	3 (2.58%)
Presupposition	8 (8.16%)	3 (2.94%)	2 (1.72%)
Vagueness	3 (3.06%)	1 (0.98%)	3 (2.58%)
Victimization	2 (2.04%)	2 (1.96%)	7 (6.03%)
Total	98	102	116

The above table represents the total number of discursive devices used in three speeches. As it can be seen in the table that the highest number of discursive devices was used by Biden (116), and the lowest number of devices is used by Obama (98) whereas Trump used greater number than Obama but lower number of devices than Biden (102).

It is seen that the total number of discursive devices used by Obama was 98 times. Among these devices actor description was used most; 22 times, which is 22.44%. Similarly Authority 5 times (5.10%), Burden (Topos) 1 (1.02%), Categorization 3 (3.06%), Consensus 3 (3.06%), Counterfactuals 2 (2.04%), Disclaimers 0 (0%), Euphemism 1 (1.02%), Illustration, 4 (4.08%), Generalization 6 (6.12%), Hyperbole 3 (3.06%), Implication 2 (2.04%), Lexicalization 9 (9.18%), Metaphor 2 (2.04%), National self-glorification 8 (8.16%), Norm expression 5 (5.10%), Number game 3 (3.06%), Polarization 3 (3.06%), Populism 3 (3.06%), Presupposition 8 (8.16%), Vagueness 3 (3.06%), Victimization 2 (2.04%) whereas three devices Comparison, Evidentially and Irony were not used at all.

In the speech of Trump, the total number of discursive devices used was 102 times. Among the used devices counterfactuals occurred in the highest number; 14 expressions which is 13.73% of total. Actor description 12 (11.76%), Authority 2 (1.96%), Burden (Topos) 1 (0.98%), Categorization 2 (1.96%), Comparison 6 (5.88%), Disclaimers 1 (0.98%), Euphemism 1 (0.98%), Evidentiality 2 (1.96%), Illustration 12 (11.76%), Generalization 1 (0.98%), Hyperbole 4 (3.92%), Implication 1 (0.98%), Irony 1 (0.98%), Lexicalization 12 (11.76%), Metaphor 4 (3.92%), National self-glorification 2 (1.96%), Norm expression 6 (5.88%), Number game 8 (7.84%), Polarization 2 (1.96%), Populism 2 (1.96%), Presupposition 3 (2.94%), Vagueness 1 (0.98%), Victimization 2 (1.96%) but consensus was not used.

The data provided in the table four show that president Joe Biden used discursive devices almost 116 times. Among them actor description is used mostly; 19 times (16.37%). Whereas Authority 4 times (3.440%), Burden (Topos) 1 (0.86%), Categorization 3 (2.58%), Comparison 4 (3.44%), Consensus 4 (3.44%), Counterfactuals 4 (3.44%), Evidentiality 1 (0.86%), Illustration 4 (3.44%), Generalization 3 (2.58%), Hyperbole 5 (4.31%), Implication 1 (0.86%), Lexicalization 15 (12.93%), Metaphor 5 (4.31%), National self-glorification 9

(7.75%), Norm expression 7 (6.03%), Number game 7 (6.03%), Polarization 5 (4.31%), Populism 3 (2.58%), Presupposition 2 (1.72%), Vagueness 3 (2.58%), Victimization 7 (6.03%) but Disclaimers, Euphemism and Irony were not used by Biden.

The data demonstrate that all three presidents who won election utilized actor description in higher number: Obama 22 (22.44%), Trump 12 (11.76%) and Biden 19 (16.37%). They used Categorization lexicalization, generalization, polarization, and actor description to represent themselves positively and others negatively. Irony and disclaimers were used rarely. For more details the description section below can be helpful.

### **Linking Micro Level (discourse devices) to Macro Level (mind control)**

All the discursive devices are used to create influence on audiences to get votes. So, the some of the examples are presented below, as:

**Actor Description:** All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device; *Actor Description* many times in their speeches. They utilized actor description to show in groups positively and out-groups negatively. Different actors are described differently according to their traits and characteristics. The way actors are described in discourses also. In group members tend to be described in a neutral or positive way, and out group members in a negative way. Obama used 22 times, Trump used 12 times and Biden used 19 times to describe their own characteristics positively and others' negatively. Some actor descriptions used by Obama to represent himself positively like:

*That's why we were able to reform a death penalty system that was broken; that's why we were able to give health insurance to children in need; that's why we made the tax system right here in Springfield more fair and just for working families; and that's why we passed ethics reform that the cynics said could never, ever be passed (line 29).*

This shows that Obama wanted to get credit by showing the unity among the change agents of death penalty. He wanted to represent his in group positively. Similarly, he represented his group and supporters in positive way by repeating the same sentence time and again. He said "*we can do that*" for five times (in line number

82,87, 90, 94, and 104). He wanted to make a group of change-lovers who can make colleges affordable, who can pay more to teachers and army, provide better treatment, etc. Trump has also used actor description for positive self-representation and negative other description. Trump represents Obama as a negative force:

*You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, “Well, the one thing, I think he’ll do well. I think he’ll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he’d be a great spirit.” He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader. He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right about that. But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He’s been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader; he was the opposite (Line 48,49,50).*

Similarly, Trump wanted to represent himself positively as *.I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I’m building all over the world, and I love what I’m doing (line 131)*. He wanted to show his abilities to work. He tried to win the votes by showing his abilities to bring economic progress in the country. Biden described Trump as the most irresponsible president as...

*What we know about this president is if he’s given four more years, he will be what he’s been the last four years. A president who takes no responsibility, refuses to lead, blames others, cozies up to dictators, and fans the flames of hate and division. He will wake up every day believing the job is all about him. Never about you (line 50, 52, 52).*

This is how Biden tried to represent Trump negatively. Biden utilized actor description to represent himself positively but the current president negatively as ... *That’s why my economic plan is all about jobs, dignity, respect, and community. Together, we can, and we will, rebuild our economy. And when we do, we’ll not only build it back, we’ll build it back better (line 83, 84)*. This statement represents Biden as a good planner but Trump as a destroyer of economy. So, Biden wanted to win the votes by telling he will rebuild it back. These all above examples make us clear that politicians use 'actor description', a discursive device to create positivity about oneself or own's supporters (ingroup) but negativity about others (outgroup). “Mitigate

negative descriptions of members of our own group and emphasize the attributed negative characteristics of Others” (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 735).

**Authority:** People of different ideologies typically cite different authorities to support their own statements. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) utilized Authority; a discursive device in their speeches to make their views more powerful. President Obama made connection of his speech with Abraham Lincoln for three times as

*...And that is why, in the shadow of the Old State Capitol, where Lincoln once called on a house divided to stand together, where common hopes and common dreams still live, I stand before you today to announce my candidacy for President of the United States of America (Line 36). That's what Abraham Lincoln understood. He had his doubts. He had his defeats. He had his skeptics. He had his setbacks. But through his will and his words, he moved a nation and helped free a people (Line 47). As Lincoln organized the forces arrayed against slavery, he was heard to say this: "Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought to battle through" (Line 128).*

By announcing Abraham Lincoln's name thrice, Trump wanted to show similar kind of attributes in him too. Trump made the use of authority as... *Now, our country needs— our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote “The Art of the Deal” (line 48).* Here, Trump gives reference to a book entitled 'The art of Deal' written by himself and a journalist to make more authentic. Similarly, Joe Biden made a reference to an Irish poet as... *The Irish poet Seamus Heaney once wrote: “History says, don't hope on this side of the grave, but then, once in a lifetime, The longed-for tidal wave, of justice can rise up, And hope and history rhyme” (Line 132).* Biden made reference to a poet to make his sense of 'building passion to change the nation' stronger. So that, this scenario of using authority make more superior. Though, none of them has used authority to support others negativity, but to support their own positivity, authority can be used for both negative other-representation and positive self-representation. These authorities, according to Van Dijk (2005), are “usually organizations or people who are above the fray of party politics, or who are generally recognized experts or

moral leaders. Leaders use this device to support their case mentioning authorities." Authority is an influential, superior power which is used to support ingroups or to demoralize out groups.

**Burden (Topos')**: It is a kind of discursive device, which is used to present self-evidences to make conclusion. Topoi represents the premises that are taken for granted, as self-evident and as all the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) utilized sufficient reasons to accept the conclusion (Van Dijk 2005). People analyze any events linking to any standard arguments. In the analyzed three speeches, we see less use of it. for once in their speeches. Obama utilized this device as... *I know there are those who don't believe we can do all these things (line 113). I understand the skepticism.* Here Obama made a granted sentence. He assumed that his opponents had skepticism on his visions for nation. Trump in line 180 said " *Sadly, the American dream is dead.*" This statement is created by Trump himself and is taken as granted to create the meaning that America has reversive progress. Referencing his father Biden makes the use of Burden as

... *He used to say, "Joey, I don't expect the government to solve my problems, but I expect it to understand them. "And then he would say: "Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. It's about your dignity. It's about respect. It's about your place in your community. It's about looking your kids in the eye and say, honey, it's going to be okay. I've never forgotten those lessons.*

By this it becomes clear that he took his father's statement as granted. Such types of self-evident creation and taking them as granted is included under Van Dijk's 2005 model.

**Categorization**: Different politicians make use of categorization to show differences between themselves and others. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) utilized categorization. Obama makes use of Categorization as... *that beneath all the differences of race and region, faith and station, we are one people (Line 126), Today we are called once more, and it is time for our generation to answer that call (line45).* In line 45 Obama wanted to categorize people according to the ability to change. He wanted to show that their generation can be a change agent. Though he hadn't directly told that others cannot change, but he



meant so. He wanted to categorize them different than others according to their generation. In line 126 he wanted to make his supporters more united. He categorized between those who want change/want get unity and those who don't want. Trump categorized himself and other candidates according to their intelligence as

*... But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, "Is he intelligent?" (Line 119).*

Trump wanted to make category of intelligent and unintelligent people. He represented Bush and other candidates as unintelligent who don't know even the answers of general questions. He meant he was intelligent than other candidates. Similarly, Biden in line 139 categorizes between those who are going to win and lose. He used categorization as... *And this is a battle that we, together, will win (line139)*. Here, Biden wanted to make a category between winners and losers. Moreover, winners are taken as united and standing in favor of change. This shows that people are categorized to show their roles and ideological views (the ideology of change-lovers and others). Van Dijk (2005) says " As we also know from social psychology, people tend to categorize people, and so do speakers in parliament, especially when Others (immigrants, and refugees) are involved." This is done to classify people in terms of their originality, religion, nationality, and ideology.

**Comparison:** Comparison are used to show similarities and dissimilarities between in-groups and out-groups. Ingroups are presented positively and outgroups are presented negatively. Van Dijk (2005) says comparison is made to "compare ingroups and outgroups". He adds "outgroups are compared negatively, and ingroups positively" (2005). Different kinds of similes or comparisons can occur to show positivity and negativity. Obama had not made the use of comparison here in the analyzed speech. Trump made use of comparison six times in his speech. Trump utilized comparison as...*And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs (line 4)*. Trump made a use of a simile 'they sweated like dogs' to represent others negatively. Similarly, Trump compared the leaders of China and America to represent American leaders less smart as

... *No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can't sustain ourselves with that. There's too much— it's like— it's like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That's the difference between China's leaders and our leaders (line 77).*

Joe Biden used comparison for four times in this speech. Biden tried to show the similarities between himself and Kamala Harris, the candidate for vice-president of America by comparing both of their families. He said... " *Kamala and I both draw strength from our families. For Kamala, it's Doug and their families. For me, it's Jill and ours (line 96).*" This shows that Biden wanted to represent both of them in positive way by using discursive device 'comparison'. So, comparison is used to represent self-positively and others-negatively.

**Consensus:** Consensus means general agreement. Politicians seek for consensus among different parties, agencies when they feel any kind of threat. Here, in the analyzed speeches Obama used consensus for three times and Biden for four times but Trump didn't use 'consensus' device. For Van Dijk (2005), in political context, consensus is a “cross-party or national” device to defend a country against external threats. Consensus is done for social or national unity. In line 110 Obama said... *Let the Iraqis know -- Letting the Iraqis know that we will not be there forever is our last, best hope to pressure the Sunni and Shia to come to the table and find peace.* Obama wanted to make a national consensus to fetch their military from battle field in Iraq. Biden in line 69 made use of consensus to get determination as well as unity among people to prevent themselves from Covid- 19 as... *We'll have a national mandate to wear a mask-not as a burden, but to protect each other. It's a patriotic duty.* Similarly, Biden looked for national unity to wipe the racism from the nation as... *History has thrust one more urgent task on us. Will we be the generation that finally wipes the stain of racism from our national character (line 104)?* These all expressions were used to create national unity to avoid the existing problems.

**Counterfactuals:** Counterfactual is an expression to show what something or somebody would be like if certain conditions are or are not created. Mostly politicians use counterfactuals to show if/imaginary cases or persuasive cases. In the analyzed speeches all three candidates of president made use of counterfactuals. Obama used

twice (2.04%), Trump used counterfactual 14 times (13.72%) and Biden for 4 times (3.44%). Obama in line 133 said

*... And if you will join with me in this improbable quest, if you feel destiny calling, and see as I see, the future of endless possibility stretching out before us; if you sense, as I sense, that the time is now to shake off our slumber, and slough off our fears, and make good on the debt we owe past and future generations, then I am ready to take up the cause, and march with you, and work with you – today.*

He meant to say if he wins election, he will work for all generations together with people. According to Trump, not being the president of America, trump couldn't do things otherwise he would do differently. He gives such message in line 95 as

*... But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice \$2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border.*

Similarly trump made use of counterfactual as

*... So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare (line 152) I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall (line 153) Mark my words. Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody. I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around (line 155).*

These all statements are used by Trump to represent the things that are going to happen if he wins the election. Similarly, Biden made use of counterfactuals as

*... I will not let it happen. If I'm your president, we're going to protect Social Security and Medicare. You have my word (line 91). If I'm president on day one we'll implement the national strategy I've been laying out since March (line 64).*

These all lines mean that if the condition is that the thing will happen in that way. All give situations and their outputs. They all are used to get more empathy from voters. Counterfactuals “is a persuasive argumentative move that is also related to the move of asking for empathy” (Van Dijk, 2005).

**Disclaimers:** This is a discursive device used to save own face by hiding own mistakes/ faults and focusing on others activities. Van Dijk says that “disclaimers briefly save face by mentioning Our positive characteristics, but then focus rather exclusively on Their negative attributes” (2005). Discourse producers disclaim their wrong deeds. They don't want the blames in their shoulders. Here in the analyzed speeches disclaimer is not used by Obama and Biden but used by Trump at once. Trump used as

*...They're controlled fully— they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They're great. But you know what? it won't happen. It won't happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it's destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.*

Here, Trump focused more on their negative aspect i.e., previous presidents are controlled by lobbyists. Though Trump has his lobbyist, he wanted people to believe him that he won't use lobbyist. He may have used this technique to hide the real relation of Trump with lobbyist by showing the relation of Obama with lobbyist. This is his own negative face-saving technique.

**Euphemism:** A euphemism is the replacement of an apparently unpleasant or offensive word or expression with one that is mild or pleasant. Politicians use less harsh words to lessen bad feelings in listeners. Biden did not make use of euphemism in his analyzed speech whereas Obama and Trump use for one/one time. Obama in line 34 said... *I know that I haven't spent a lot of time learning the ways of*

*Washington*. He tried to mitigate that he was less aware about Washington city. He didn't say I know less or I know nothing about Washington but he said I haven't spent a lot of time in Washington to reduce negative impression formation. Trump made use of euphemism as ... *He's weak on immigration. He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can't do it. We have to end education has to be local (line 164)*. Here Trump made use of less harsh words to Bush. He used harsh word for voting 'hell' but not such words to Bush. He just said he is in favor of common core. But it was indirectly negative impression formation about George W, Bush.

**Evidentiality:** Facts, figures, statics, etc. are used to provide evidences in political speeches. Obama didn't use evidentiality in his analyzed speech. Trump made use of evidentiality as

*...Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It's going in and that's going to be it, going into Tennessee (line87). You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports (line 173).*

Biden made use of it as

*... Nearly a century ago, Franklin Roosevelt pledged a New Deal in a time of massive unemployment, uncertainty, and fear. Stricken by disease, stricken by a virus, FDR insisted that he would recover and prevail and he believed America could as well. And he did (line16).*

These all above lines are used by politicians to proof their logics. The claims or points of view in argument are more plausible when speakers present some evidence or proof for their knowledge or opinions in above examples. To highlight the importance of evidentiality, Van Dijk adds it is “an important move to convey objectivity, reliability, and hence credibility” (2005).

**Illustration:** All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device; illustration. Obama used illustrations for 4 times (4.08%), Trump used for 12 times (11.76%) and Biden used for 4 times (3.44%). For example; Obama illustrated the prevalent challenges in America as

*... All of us know what those challenges are today: a war with no end, a dependence on oil that threatens our future, schools where too many children aren't learning, and families struggling paycheck to paycheck despite working as hard as they can (line 50).*

Trump tried to give negative sense about Obamacare and said as

*... But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who's a doctor, and he said to me the other day, "Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It's a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now (line 39)."*

Similarly, Biden illustrated as

*... One of the most important conversations I've had this entire campaign is with someone who is too young to vote. I met with six-year-old Gianna Floyd, a day before her Daddy George Floyd was laid to rest. She is incredibly brave (Line 116).*

By these lines Biden wanted to give examples of the responses got from public. He wanted to show the child's brevity to call for action. Thus, a powerful move in argumentation is to give concrete examples (Van Dijk, 2005).

Example/illustration is providing the audience with factual or fictional examples by which a discourse producer tries to back up his opinion or make his or her beliefs more conceivable.

**Generalization:** Instead of providing concrete stories, speakers may also make generalizations. Generalization is the attribution of negative or positive aspects of a person or small group to a larger population (Van Dijk, 2005). People make prejudices. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump,

Biden) used a discursive device; generalizations. Obama used generalization for 6 times (6.12%), Trump used for 1 time (0.98%) and Biden used 3 times (2.58%). Obama in line 77 said ... *Let us be the generation that reshapes our economy to compete in the digital age.* Here Obama encouraged people to reshape the economy to compete in the digital age but he didn't say how to reshape. Trump said ... *But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people (line13).* He Trump makes negative generalization about Mexico, which sends not good people to America. Biden said " *it will be the work of the next president to restore the promise of America to everyone.*" (Line 94). By this line Biden wanted to show the series of the works to be done by upcoming president. Though the actions needed to be done are not specified, he just makes generalizations to show present president as not-working-president and himself as the capable president. These all-examples proof that politicians just use generalizations without concrete examples.

**Hyperbole:** All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device; Hyperbole. It is the employment of exaggerated language to intentionally lay stress on something. People exaggerated good deeds of ingroup members and bad deeds of other groups. It's a deliberate exaggeration of certain facts or figures used for the shake of heightened effects. Obama used Hyperbole for 3 times (3.06%). Trump used for it 4 times (3.92%). And Biden used for 5 times (4.31%). *It's because of the millions who rallied to his cause that we're no longer divided, North and South, slave and free (line 48).* Here Obama wanted show the unity among people who participated in rallies. He wanted to associate them with Abraham Lincoln. Similarly, Trump said ... *Wow. Whoa. That is some group of people. Thousands (line 1).* By this Trump wanted to show the greatest number of people to listen to him. Biden said... *Working families will struggle to get by, and yet, the wealthiest one percent will get tens of billions of dollars in new tax breaks (line 45).* By the lexicons 'billions of dollars' Biden wanted to exaggerate future earning of the present one precent rich people of America. By this he wanted to show the tax break created by Trump and want to proof him as a bad president. These all points proof that the politicians use hyperbole to stress something bad about others or good about own self. This is a deliberate activity.

**Implication:** This is the recipients' responsibility to infer what more is expressed in the discourse. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device; implication. Obama used for twice (2.04%), Trump used for once (0.98%) and Biden used for once (0.86%). Obama in line 12 said... *"In the face of a politics that shut you out, that's told you to settle, that's divided us for too long, you believe that we can be one people, reaching for what's possible, building that more perfect union."* Here, he does not tell everything to audiences but lets audiences to infer the meaning that earlier politics has divided them and he is going to make them united, if he wins. Similarly trump for Obamacare in line 41 said... *Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it.* Here, he wanted audiences to understand the implicit meaning that the program Obamacare is not good and is very expensive. Moreover, he wanted to show his ability to make less expensive health facilities. Biden in line 56 said... *As president, the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus that's ruined so many lives.* By this Biden wanted audiences to be aware of inability of trump to control corona virus. These all presented examples show that politicians hope audiences to understand implicit meaning. For many pragmatic (contextual) reasons, speakers do not (need) to say everything they know or believe (Van Dijk 2005).

**Irony:** Irony is the deliberate contrast between what is said and what the speaker intends to convey through language use, often humorously. Van Dijk asserts that "accusations may come across as more effective when they are not made point blank (which may violate face constraints), but in apparently lighter forms of irony" (2005, p. 737). Trump used for once (0.98%) but Obama and Biden didn't use irony in their speeches. Trump in line 36 said ... *I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, "What's going on?"* Here, Trump wanted to create humor about the words of his opponents. He made humor on the statement 'the sun will rise' to show the fake statements made by opponents by this he meant opponents said sun will rise in the country where many people are jobless even after their government. By this we can say irony gives different or opposite to the literal meaning



**Lexicalization:** Similar meanings may be variably expressed in different words, depending on the position, role, goals, point of view, or opinion of the speaker, that is, as a function of context features. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device Lexicalization. Obama used it for 9 times (9.18%), Trump used for 12 times (11.76%) and Biden used for 15 times (12.93%). Some examples are as follows: Barak Obama in line 53 and 54 said

*... What's stopped us is the failure of leadership, the smallness -- the smallness of our politics -- the ease with which we're distracted by the petty and trivial, our chronic avoidance of tough decisions, our preference for scoring cheap political points instead of rolling up our sleeves and building a working consensus to tackle the big problems of America. For the past six years we've been told that our mounting debts don't matter.*

Here, Obama wanted to show the smallness and failure of the other leaders who have let the debt be increased. By these words he wanted to present his opponents as very negative forces for national economy. Trump in line 121 said ...

*How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna— how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can't. They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.*

Here, Trump wanted to prepare negative mentality toward Obama and creating his fake inability to answer the questions. By asking questions he made such a negative image of Obama. Biden in line 9 said ... *For make no mistake. United we can, and will, overcome this season of darkness in America. We will choose hope over fear, facts over fiction, fairness over privilege.* Here, Biden wanted to create positive image of oneself. Similarly, his words meant that the current situation of the nation is not good. So lexicalization refers to using semantic features of words to portray somebody or something positively or negatively (Van Dijk, 2005).

**Metaphor:** Metaphor is the comparison of two things or phenomena which bear no resemblance to assign the attributes of one to another. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device; Metaphor Obama used 2 times (2.04%), Trump used for 4 times (3.92%) and Biden used for 5

times (4.31%). Abstract, complex, unfamiliar, new, or emotional meanings may thus be made more familiar and more concrete. Obama in line 7 said ... *I know it's a little chilly -- but I'm fired up*. Here, he did not mean to real fired up but meant to excited after looking at the mass present to support him. In line 11 Trump said ... *The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems*. Here, he did not mean to a real dumping ground but a place where bad people from other countries migrate there. Similarly, Biden in line 34 said

... *Character is on the ballot. Compassion is on the ballot. Decency, science, democracy. They are all on the ballot. Who we are as a nation? What we stand for. And, most importantly, who we want to be. That's all on the ballot.*

Here, he did not mean the democracy is on ballot but he meant that the vote casted on ballot will determine the position of individual as well as democracy. He wanted to compare the ballot with characteristics of upcoming leader. These abstract characteristics of leader are compares with the concrete ballot. Thus, this device is used to resemble one thing by using another.

**National self-glorification:** National self-glorification creates a positive representation of one's country through "positive references [such as] its principles, history, traditions" (Van Dijk, 2005). All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device; National self-glorification. Obama used 8 times (8.16%) Trump used for 2 times (1.96%) and Biden used for 9 times (7.75%). For example, Obama in line 42 said ... *We landed a man on the moon*. This is Obama's proud on his own country. Trump in line 56 said ... *It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people*. He meant to say that their country has great possibilities of getting developed and Trump has high number of co-helpers. Biden in line 80 said

... *To finally live up to and make real the words written in the sacred documents that founded this nation that all men and women are created equal. Endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*

Here, Biden wanted to show the greatness of his country where is gender equality and freedom. These all examples make leader's audiences happy and proud

on their nation. Thus, this device used to motivate things about own country, culture, tradition, history etc.

**Norm expression:** Norm Expression is used to convey the norms of how something should/not be done, or what somebody should or should not do (Van Dijk, 2005). All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device norm expression. Obama used 5 times (5.10%), Trump used for 6 times (5.88%) and Biden used for 7 (6.03%) times. Obama in line 71, 71, 73 and 74 said: We'll have to make hard choices. And although government will play a crucial role in bringing about the changes that we need, more money and programs alone will not get us to where we need to go. Each of us, in our own lives, will have to accept responsibility -- for instilling an ethic of achievement in our children, for adapting to a more competitive economy, for strengthening our communities, and sharing some measure of sacrifice. By these all points Obama wanted to clarify the responsibilities of all citizens. In line 174 Trump said, " We have to rebuild our infrastructure. Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it. Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it." Here, he meant to show the responsibility of politicians as to avoid some programs designed by Obama. Similarly, in the line 72 Biden said, "And, my fellow Americans, that is unforgivable." He wanted people to punish Trump by not giving him votes. These all the candidates talked about should and should not in their speeches.

**Number game:** All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device number game. Obama used 3 (3.06%) times, Trump used for 8 (7.84%) times and Biden used for 7 (6.03%) times. Some examples are presented here. *I knew no one in Chicago when I arrived, was without money or family connections. But a group of churches had offered me a job as a community organizer for the grand sum of 13,000 dollars a year (Obama in line 16).* He wanted to show objectivity in his speech by showing the amount he got from church every month. *And remember the \$5 billion website? \$5 billion we spent on a website, and to this day it doesn't work. A \$5 billion website. I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me \$3. \$5 billion website Trump in line 31).*

By this Trump persuasively made objective statements. *5 million Americans infected with COVID-19. More than 170,000 Americans have died (Biden in line 38)*. Here, in this statement Trump had used exact data to show authority in his speech. Thus, numbers are used to present something in a persuasive and objective way. Van Dijk (2005) emphasizes much argument is oriented to enhancing credibility by moves that emphasize objectivity.

**Polarization:** Polarization refers to the categorization of people; the in-group and out-group. Polarization may also apply to ‘good’ and ‘bad’ subcategories. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device polarization. Obama used 3 times (3.06%), Trump used for 2 times (1.96%) and Biden used for 5 times (4.31%). Obama in line 61, 62, and 63 stated: *they write the checks and you get stuck with the bill. They get the access while you get to write a letter. They think they own this government, but we're here today to take it back*. Here, he meant that the lobbyist who are near to government control the government. So, he wanted to show differences between the public and the lobbyist who are directly linked to government. Trump in line 64 stated; *Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator*. He meant that the existing president of America Obama was not good negotiator. He wanted to show the bad aspect of outgroup here. Similarly, Biden in line 57 stated; *Because I understand something this president doesn't. We will never get our economy back on track, we will never get our kids safely back to school, we will never have our lives back, until we deal with this virus*. He meant to say that Trump didn't understand the upcoming consequences of Corona virus and didn't try to control it. He wanted to show the less concern of Trump in controlling virus and wanted to show own concern indirectly. So, this is a kind of division of people and idea into two opposing groups. This is a clear-cut division into two, which is used by all.

**Populism:** Populism refers to political ideas and activities that are intended to represent ordinary people's needs and wishes. The basic strategy is to show whether people support or not. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device populism. Obama used 3 times (3.06%), Trump used for 2 times (1.96%) and Biden used for 3 times (2.58%). In line 4 Obama

said; *Giving all praise and honor to God for bringing us here today. Thank you so much. I am -- I am so grateful to see all of you. You guys are still cheering back there?* [to audience on left.] here, he wanted to show the support of many people in his rally. He himself looked surprised at the mass supporting him. Similarly, Trump in line 3 stated the support of crowd as; *And it's an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody's expectations. There's been no crowd like this.* Likewise, Biden in line 105 and 106 said: *I believe we're up to it. I believe we're ready.* These statements were made to show the readiness of people or support of people to eliminate racism. Biden meant that the presented crowd was to support him to reduce racism. Thus, this populism is a discursive device which intends to represent peoples needs and wishes.

**Presupposition:** There are some words whose meanings are not explicitly expressed but presupposed to be known. Strategically, presuppositions are often used to assume the truth of some proposition when such truth is not established at all (Van Dijk 2005). This is part of what is communication but not said. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device presupposition. Obama used 8 times (8.16%), Trump used for 3 times (2.94%), Biden used for 2 times (1.72%). Obama in line 80 and 81 said; *Let's make college more affordable, and let's invest in scientific research, and let's lay down broadband lines through the heart of inner cities and rural towns all across America.* Here he just said that they need to make college more affordable but he presupposed that his audiences were known to existing unaffordability of education. In line 29 Trump said: *We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare. Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof.* Here he thought that the audiences were familiar with the program 'Obamacare' run by Barak Obama. In line 94 Biden stated that; *it will be the work of the next president to restore the promise of America to everyone.* Here, Biden expected that the audiences are familiar with promises of America but they are not established. He meant that the job opportunities, health facilities, educational affordability, etc. would be restored if chance given to him. These all examples say that the politicians use presuppositions in their speeches and eliminate some parts in their speeches expecting good understanding among audiences.

**Vagueness:** Vague quantifiers ('few,' 'a lot'), adverbs ('very') nouns ('thing'), and adjectives ('low,' 'high'), among other expressions may be used in speeches. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device vagueness. Obama used Vagueness for 3 times (3.06%), Trump used for 1 time (0.98%) and Biden used for 3 times (2.58%). For examples:

*It was here, in Springfield, where North, South, East, and West come together that I was reminded of the essential decency of the American people -- where I came to believe that through this decency, we can build a more hopeful America (Obama In line 30).*

Obama expressed his vagueness while telling more hopeful America. It is not clear that to what extent America can be hopeful. There is no use of any measuring element. Similarly, Trump in line 94 said; *But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well.* Trump in this statement did not specify to what extent they were going to do good. The use of the adverb 'very' doesn't determine the quantity. Biden in line 86 made a statement that; *We can, and we will, deal with climate change. It's not only a crisis, it's an enormous opportunity.* Here, the use of vague expression 'enormous' refers to fuzzy sets of opportunities. (Van Dijk 2005), Virtually in all contexts speakers may use vague expressions, that is, expressions that do not have well-defined referents, or which refer to fuzzy sets.

**Victimization:** Victimization is the use of "binary us–them pair of ingroups and outgroups. This is used to represent the ingroup members as the victims by the hands of the outgroup members. All the candidates who won their presidential election (Obama, Trump, Biden) used a discursive device victimization in their speeches. Obama used for 2 times (2.04%), Trump used for 2 times (1.96%) and Biden used for 7 times (6.03%). For example; Obama in line 50 stated;

*All of us know what those challenges are today: a war with no end, a dependence on oil that threatens our future, schools where too many children aren't learning, and families struggling paycheck to paycheck despite working as hard as they can.*

Here, he wanted to make a polar between us and others (government) where others have victimized us. The outgroup created no end of wars, no learning environment, no independence, etc. Trump in line 16 stated

*Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them. They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel. When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.*

Here in the above statement Trump wanted to show the fraud of outgroup that not paying interest but good aspect of own as paying attention. Similarly, Biden wanted to make a clear-cut binary pair of people where some are ingroup and some are outgroup. *One of the most powerful voices we hear in the country today is from our young people. They're speaking to the inequity and injustice that has grown up in America. Economic injustice. Racial injustice. Environmental injustice (Biden in line 92).* These all above examples make clear us that victimization is used by politicians to create binary-polar between us versus them.

### **Macro Level (positive self-representation and negative other-representation)**

The frequency and percentage of positive self-representation and negative other-representation in three political speeches are categorized below in the table.

**Table 5: Positive self-representation and negative other-representation in three political speeches**

Discursive Devices	Barak Obama (%)	Donald Trump (%)	Joe Biden (%)
Positive self-representation	8 (42.10%)	13 (37.14%)	12 (57.14%)
Negative other-representation	11 (57.89%)	22 (62.85%)	9 (42.85%)
Total	19	35	21

### Macro Level of Analysis of Discourse (Qualitative Data Analysis)

As the above table shows that Donald Trump used a greater number of positive/negative representations in comparison to Obama and Biden. Trump used positive/negative representations for 35 times. He used Positive-self representation for 13 (37.14%) times and Negative other-representation for 22 (62.85%) times. Whereas Obama used the least number in comparison to other two. Obama used positive/negative representations for 19 times. He used Positive-self representation for 8 (42.10%) times and Negative other-representation for 11 (57.89%) times. The number of use of positive/negative representations in Biden's speech is greater than Obama and less than Trump, i.e., 21 times. He used Positive-self representation for 12 (57.14%) times and Negative other-representation for 9 (42.85%) times. Obama and Trump focused more on negative other representation than positive self-representation whereas Biden seemed focusing on positive self-representation rather than negative other representation.

By the use of macro-structure of discourse (structure of the society like; gender, ethnicity, and sex) the politicians create positive self-representation and negative other-representation to control the mind of public for power creation. Some examples are discussed below:

*And if you will join with me in this improbable quest, if you feel destiny calling, and see as I see, the future of endless possibility stretching out before us; if you sense, as I sense, that the time is now to shake off our slumber, and slough off our fears, and make good on the debt we owe past and future generations, then I am ready to take up the cause, and march with you, and work with you – today (line 133 by Obama).*

Here, he used counterfactuals to get sympathy on the present condition and to show the hope toward future. He presented himself as the person who had good senses. Such type of positive self-representation controls mind of the public and hopes for vote. Similarly, Obama in line 82, 87 and 90 said: " *We can do that*". By such kind of actor description Obama presented himself as well as his supporters positively. Such kind of positive-representation of in-group influence people's sentiment and makes them to vote. In the similar vein, Trump used positive self-representation to



influence people. For example, in line 137 said: *I've employed— I've employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything.* Here, Trump represented himself as the job creator and expected to get votes for more jobs. He used hyperbole device to exaggerate the number of jobs he created by using the word 'thousands'. Similarly in line 144 Trump stated: *In fact, one of the big banks came to me and said, "Donald, you don't have enough borrowings. Could we loan you \$4 billion"? I said, "I don't need it. I don't want it. And I've been there. I don't want it."* Here, Trump illustrated his own richness by using illustration device. By such positive self-representation, he meant to show his own richness and the beliefs of banks on him. Such cases urge people to believe on him. While talking about the context of Corona virus Biden in line 57 said: *"Because I understand something this president doesn't".* By such polarization Biden wanted to create clear-cut division between him and Trump. He wanted to represent himself positively in the sense that he knew the ideas to control covid-19 but he represented Trump as a person who did not know how to control virus. Similarly in line 95 Biden used actor description device to represent ingroup-positively as... *I won't have to do it alone. Because I will have a great Vice President at my side. Senator Kamala Harris. She is a powerful voice for this nation. Her story is the American story....* Here, he represented themselves positively. These all above represented examples make us clear that politicians use different discursive devices to create positive-representation of self and negative-representation of others. Such kind of representations create control of mind of the public.

To represent others negatively to create negative impressions on others in audiences' mind politicians use different discursive devices. In line 53 Obama represented existing leaderships in negative way to show their inability to overcome many national issues as ... *What's stopped us is the failure of leadership, the smallness -- the smallness of our politics...* Here, he wanted to convince the voters not to believe other failure leaderships by using lexicalization device. While talking about the opportunity to be the generation to change the situation of military and nation, Obama accused others as those who don't believe in change like in line 113, he said... *I know there are those who don't believe we can do all these things...* These examples make us familiar with the techniques of politicians to control mind of voters by representing their competitors negatively. In line 32 Trump said... *Well, you need somebody,*

*because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us— believe me— to the promised land. They will not.* Here, he made negative impressions about politicians to convince people to vote a businessman like him. In line 50 regarding Obama, Trump said... "*But he wasn't a cheerleader. He's actually a negative force. He's been a negative force. He wasn't a cheerleader; he was the opposite.*" Here, he describes Obama as a negative force using 'actor description' device. He wanted to convince his audiences that Obama didn't work as the expectations of people. Similarly, Biden tried his best to create negative impression on his competitor Trump by using discursive devices. While talking about the covid 19 and deaths Biden exaggerated language to lay stress on number of deaths that will occur, if Trump wins. But he didn't use exact number as in line 143... "*If this president is re-elected, we know what will happen. Cases and deaths will remain far too high.*" By such expressions he wanted to create fear in people. In line 51 Biden used 'actor description' device to represent current president negatively as... *A president who takes no responsibility, refuses to lead, blames others, cozies up to dictators, and fans the flames of hate and division.* Here, Trump was represented as a person who is irresponsible, who blames others and who refuses to lead. Such kind of negative representation of out-group control voters' mind. Thus, these all above examples create a linkage between micro and macro structure of discourse which results control of mind and influence in people.

## **Findings**

From the research work on 'Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches Delivered During Presidential Election in the USA', I have derived some notable findings based on the results and discussions. The findings have been presented as follow:

- 1) All the politicians use different discursive devices (25 devices) to control mind of voters/audiences.
- 2) There is a linkage between micro-structure and macro structure of discourse which creates positive self-representation and negative other-representation. For example; actor description is used to describe 'US' positively and 'THEM' negatively.

- 3) Politicians use positive self-representation and negative-other representation tactics to control mind of audiences, to create power and to influence people who favor their opponents.
- 4) There are more similarities and less dissimilarities between three politicians' speeches regarding their use of discursive devices. Like, all used actor description device in high number to represent themselves positively and others negatively. But regarding, 'counterfactuals' the differences between the number of uses of it is high. Trump used in high number but Biden and Obama used in less number.
- 5) Politicians use 'I', 'we', 'us' to show 'ingroup' and 'they', 'them', to show 'outgroup'.
- 6) They create polarization between them and others to give credits of works. 'Ingroups' are attributed with good works and 'outgroups' are attributed with negative works and results.
- 7) Use of 'US' versus 'THEM' is an ideological strategy to create clear-cut differences between oneself and others.
- 8) Politicians represent domestic issues in more positive way by the use of 'national self-glorification' device and foreign issues in more negative way.
- 9) Most of the politicians want to dominate others through use of different discursive devices like; negative other-representation, negative actor description, polarization, comparison, and victimization.
- 10) While analyzing political speeches following Van Dijk's 25 discursive devices, we find less use of burden, irony, disclaimer, implication, euphemism, and evidentiality devices.
- 11) While analyzing political speeches following Van Dijk's 25 discursive devices, we find use of actor description, counterfactuals, illustrations, lexicalization, national self-glorification, number game, and norm expressions in high number.

- 12) High number of uses of norm expression shows that politicians try to create codes of conducts to be followed which creates mind control of the voters.
- 13) Less use of evidentiality makes us clear that the politicians use less facts about their knowledge, i.e., they have less proofs about their knowledge.
- 14) Politicians use negative other representation in higher number than positive self-representation. This means politicians try to make others worse than themselves.
- 15) Regarding positive self-representation and negative other-representation different politicians use different techniques to create environment in their favor. For example, Obama and Trump used negative other-representation in greater number but Biden used positive self-representation in greater number. However, both techniques were used to capture the mind and votes of the audiences by showing oneself better than others.

## **Chapter V**

### **Conclusion and Implications**

This chapter consists of conclusion, and recommendations. On the basis of the discussion and findings the conclusion has been drawn and some recommendations have been presented below.

#### **Conclusion**

This study was conducted to find out the use of discursive devices in political speeches linking them with macro level phenomena to reveal ideological positive-self representation and negative other-representation. Candidacy announcement speeches of recent three American presidents were selected to analyze them on the basis of socio-cognitive model of Van Dijk 2005. To address the questions set for output of the research 25 discursive devices are analyzed separately connecting them with the socio-cognitive aspect of positive self-representation and negative other-representation. The research used qualitative as well as quantitative design to carry out the linkage between micro-level properties (discursive devices) and macro level phenomena (theme/mind control).

Analysis of use of different discursive devices in political speeches gives us the opportunity to recognize how politicians use language to control mind and votes of the audiences. There are many similarities in the ways of using discursive devices among the politicians whose speeches are analyzed here. All three presidents were similar in using discursive devices. They all used actor description device in the greatest number. They used illustrations in the least number. All of them made higher use of positive-self representation and negative other-representation. But the number of using them differs. Obama and Trump used negative other-representation in greater number but Biden used positive self-representation in greater number. The ideology of Biden is more positive towards himself than negative ideology toward others but in case of Obama and Trump it is just opposite. However, both techniques of positive-negative representation were to capture the mind and votes of the audiences by showing oneself better than others. This means that they all wanted to represent themselves superior than their opponents. All of them use US versus Them to create poles between ingroups and outgroups. They tried to create similarities with the

audiences regarding their ethnicity, society, and interest. along with the national self-glorification.

Thus, this study found that all the politicians use different techniques of controlling voters' mind. They use different discursive devices to make them superior than others by positive self-representation and negative other-representation. Recommendations for application at different levels is taken as implication of results.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings and conclusion of the study following recommendations have been made at different levels.

#### **Policy Related Recommendations**

Critical discourse analysis of different political speeches can bring some more insights in the field of language teaching as well as language policy making. This research has some policy related recommendations as follows:

- Language policy makers should include CDA as a part of language learning,
- Language learning and CDA should include the political speeches in contents,
- The use of discursive devices in political speeches along with their influences on audiences should be taken as the part language learning
- Curriculum designers of language teaching/learning should link learning with political speeches.

#### **Practice Related Recommendations**

- English language teachers would better use this study to teach vocabulary related to the politics and the discourses.
- Discourse analysts would better use this study as the reference study in the further analysis.
- Politicians would better use this study as reference tool to get ideas of delivering speeches.

#### **Further Research Related Recommendations**

Based on the research findings and conclusion of this research, the researcher, the following recommendations have been recommended for further researches.

- This research is complete to meet the objectives set to conduct my research but it is not complete to analyze the discourses used by politicians in their speeches.
- This study was limited to the socio-cognitive model of Van Dijk 2005 but the same speeches can be analyzed from different perspectives based on different theories. This study is based on speeches of only three politicians but it is not enough to generalize all the techniques. So, many speeches can be sampled to bring more reliable conclusion.
- Moreover, further researches can be carried out based on: non-verbal aspects in speeches, the relation between the use of the language and their political ideology, the effects of the discourse on audiences, phonological aspects of the speeches, grammatical aspects in discourse, pragmatic aspects in discourse, and different linguistic aspects with their influence on audiences.

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**Appendixes**  
**Appendix-I**  
**Barak Obama's Speech**

Barak Obama 10<sup>th</sup> feb 2007, Spriengfield Illinois

Link: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobamacandidacyfor-president.htm>

1. Hello Springfield! ...
2. Look at all of you. Look at all of you. Goodness.
3. Thank you so much. Thank you so much.
4. Giving all praise and honor to God for bringing us here today. Thank you so much.
5. I am -- I am so grateful to see all of you. You guys are still cheering back there? [to audience on left.]
6. Let me -- Let me begin by saying thanks to all you who've traveled, from far and wide, to brave the cold today.
7. I know it's a little chilly -- but I'm fired up.
8. You know, we all made this journey for a reason.
9. It's humbling to see a crowd like this, but in my heart I know you didn't just come here for me.
10. You...came here because you believe in what this country can be.
11. In the face of war, you believe there can be peace. In the face of despair, you believe there can be hope.
12. In the face of a politics that shut you out, that's told you to settle, that's divided us for too long, you believe that we can be one people, reaching for what's possible, building that [more perfect union](#).
13. That's the journey we're on today. But let me tell you how I came to be here.
14. As most of you know, I'm not a native of this great state.
15. I -- I moved to Illinois over two decades ago. I was a young man then, just a year out of college.
16. I knew no one in Chicago when I arrived, was without money or family connections. But a group of churches had offered me a job as a community organizer for the grand sum of 13,000 dollars a year.

17. And I accepted the job, sight unseen, motivated then by a single, simple, powerful idea: that I might play a small part in building a better America.
18. My work took me to some of Chicago's poorest neighborhoods. I joined with pastors and lay-people to deal with communities that had been ravaged by plant closings.
19. I saw that the problems people faced weren't simply local in nature, that the decisions to close a steel mill was made by distant executives, that the lack of textbooks and computers in a school could be traced to skewed priorities of politicians a thousand miles away, and that when a child turns to violence -- I came to realize that --
20. There's a hole in that boy's heart that no government alone can fill.
21. It was in these neighborhoods that I received the best education that I ever had, and where I learned the meaning of my Christian faith.
22. After three years of this work, I went to law school, because I wanted to understand how the law should work for those in need.
23. I became a civil rights lawyer, and taught constitutional law, and after a time, I came to understand that our cherished rights of liberty and equality depend on the active participation of an awakened electorate.
24. It was with these ideas in mind that I arrived in this capital city as a state Senator.
25. It -- It was here, in Springfield, where I saw all that is America converge -- farmers and teachers, businessmen and laborers,
26. all of them with a story to tell, all of them seeking a seat at the table, all of them clamoring to be heard.
27. I made lasting friendships here, friends that I see here in the audience today.
28. It was here -- It was here where we learned to disagree without being disagreeable; that it's possible to compromise so long as you know those principles that can never be compromised; and that so long as we're willing to listen to each other, we can assume the best in people instead of the worst.
29. That's why we were able to reform a death penalty system that was broken; that's why we were able to give health insurance to children in need; that's why we made the tax system right here in Springfield more fair and just for working families; and that's why we passed ethics reform that the cynics said could never, ever be passed.

30. It was here, in Springfield, where North, South, East, and West come together that I was reminded of the essential decency of the American people -- where I came to believe that through this decency, we can build a more hopeful America.
31. And that is why, in the shadow of the Old State Capitol, where Lincoln once called on a house divided to stand together, where common hopes and common dreams still live, I stand before you today to announce my candidacy for President of the United States of America.
32. Now -- Now, listen, I -- I... -- thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you. [to audience chanting "Obama"]
33. Look, I -- I... recognize that there is a certain presumptuousness in this, a certain audacity, to this announcement.
34. I know that I haven't spent a lot of time learning the ways of Washington.
35. But I've been there long enough to know that the ways of Washington must change.
36. The genius of our Founders is that they designed a system of government that can be changed.
37. And we should take heart, because we've changed this country before.
38. In the face of tyranny, a band of patriots brought an empire to its knees.
39. In the face of secession, we unified a nation and set the captives free.
40. In the face of Depression, we put people back to work and lifted millions out of poverty.
41. We welcomed immigrants to our shores. We opened railroads to the west.
42. We landed a man on the moon.
43. And we heard a King's call to let "justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."
44. We've done this before: Each and every time, a new generation has risen up and done what's needed to be done.
45. Today we are called once more, and it is time for our generation to answer that call.
46. For that is our unyielding faith -- that in -- in the face of impossible odds, people who love their country can change it.

47. That's what Abraham Lincoln understood. He had his doubts. He had his defeats. He had his skeptics. He had his setbacks. But through his will and his words, he moved a nation and helped free a people.
48. It's because of the millions who rallied to his cause that we're no longer divided, North and South, slave and free.
49. It's because men and women of every race, from every walk of life, continued to march for freedom long after Lincoln was laid to rest, that today we have the chance to face the challenges of this millennium together, as one people -- as Americans.
50. All of us know what those challenges are today: a war with no end, a dependence on oil that threatens our future, schools where too many children aren't learning, and families struggling paycheck to paycheck despite working as hard as they can.
51. We know the challenges. We've heard them. We've talked about them for years.
52. What's stopped us from meeting these challenges is not the absence of sound policies and sensible plans.
53. What's stopped us is the failure of leadership, the smallness -- the smallness of our politics -- the ease with which we're distracted by the petty and trivial, our chronic avoidance of tough decisions, our preference for scoring cheap political points instead of rolling up our sleeves and building a working consensus to tackle the big problems of America.
54. For the past six years we've been told that our mounting debts don't matter.
55. We've been told that the anxiety Americans feel about rising health care costs and stagnant wages are an illusion.
56. We've been told that climate change is a hoax.
57. We've been told that tough talk and an ill-conceived war can replace diplomacy, and strategy, and foresight.
58. And when all else fails, when Katrina happens, or the death toll in Iraq mounts, we've been told that our crises are somebody else's fault.
59. We're distracted from our real failures, and told to blame the other Party, or gay people, or immigrants.

60. And as people have looked away in disillusionment and frustration, we know what's filled the void: the cynics, the lobbyists, the special interests -- who've turned our government into a game only they can afford to play.
61. They write the checks and you get stuck with the bill.
62. They get the access while you get to write a letter.
63. They think they own this government, but we're here today to take it back.
64. The time for that kind of politics is over. It is through.
65. It's time to turn the page -- right here and right now.
66. Now look --
67. [Audience chants "Obama...Obama...Obama"]
68. Okay. Alright. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you.
69. Look, look, we have made some progress already.
70. I was proud to help lead the fight in Congress that led to the most sweeping ethics reforms since Watergate.
71. But Washington has a long way to go, and it won't be easy. That's why we'll have to set priorities.
72. We'll have to make hard choices.
73. And although government will play a crucial role in bringing about the changes that we need, more money and programs alone will not get us to where we need to go.
74. Each of us, in our own lives, will have to accept responsibility -- for instilling an ethic of achievement in our children, for adapting to a more competitive economy, for strengthening our communities, and sharing some measure of sacrifice.
75. So let us begin. Let us begin this hard work together.
76. Let us transform this nation.
77. Let us be the generation that reshapes our economy to compete in the digital age.
78. Let's set high standards for our schools and give them the resources they need to succeed.
79. Let's recruit a new army of teachers, and give them better pay and more support in exchange for more accountability.
80. Let's make college more affordable, and let's invest in scientific research, and



81. Let's lay down broadband lines through the heart of inner cities and rural towns all across America.
82. We can do that.
83. And as our economy changes, let's be the generation that ensures our nation's workers are sharing in our prosperity.
84. Let's protect the hard-earned benefits their companies have promised.
85. Let's make it possible for hardworking Americans to save for retirement.
86. Let's allow our unions and their organizers to lift up this country's middle-class again.
87. We can do that.
88. Let's be the generation that ends poverty in America.
89. Every single person willing to work should be able to get job training that leads to a job, and earn a living wage that can pay the bills, and afford child care so their kids can have a safe place to go when they work.
90. We can do this.
91. And let's be the generation that finally, after all these years, tackles our health care crisis.
92. We can control costs by focusing on prevention, by providing better treatment to the chronically ill, and using technology to cut the bureaucracy.
93. Let's be the generation that says right here, right now: We will have universal health care in America by the end of the next President's first term.
94. We can do that.
95. Let's be the generation that finally frees America from the tyranny of oil.
96. We can harness homegrown, alternative fuels like ethanol and spur the production of more fuel-efficient cars.
97. We can set up a system for capping greenhouse gases.
98. We can turn this crisis of global warming into a moment of opportunity for innovation, and job creation, and an incentive for businesses that will serve as a model for the world.
99. Let's be the generation that makes future generations proud of what we did here.
100. Most of all, let's be the generation that never forgets what happened on that September day and confront the terrorists with everything we've got. Politics

doesn't have to divide us on this anymore; we can work together to keep our country safe.

101. I've worked with the Republican Senator Dick Lugar to pass a law that will secure and destroy some of the world's deadliest weapons. We can work together to track down terrorists with a stronger military.
102. We can tighten the net around their finances. We can improve our intelligence capabilities and finally get homeland security right.
103. But let's also understand that ultimate victory against our enemies will only come by rebuilding our alliances and exporting those ideals that bring hope and opportunity to millions of people around the globe.
104. We can do those things.
105. But all of this cannot come to pass until we bring an end to this war in Iraq. Most of you know -- Most of you know that I opposed this war from the start. I thought it was a tragic mistake.
106. Today we grieve for the families who have lost loved ones, the hearts that have been broken, and the young lives that could have been.
107. America, it is time to start bringing our troops home.
108. It's time -- It's time to admit that no amount of American lives can resolve the political disagreement that lies at the heart of someone else's civil war.
109. That's why I have a plan that will bring our combat troops home by March of 2008.
110. Let the Iraqis know -- Letting the Iraqis know that we will not be there forever is our last, best hope to pressure the Sunni and Shia to come to the table and find peace.
111. And there's one other thing that it's not too late to get right about this war, and that is the homecoming of the men and women, our veterans, who have sacrificed the most.
112. Let us honor their courage by providing the care they need and rebuilding the military they love. Let us be the generation that begins that work.
113. I know there are those who don't believe we can do all these things.
114. I understand the skepticism.
115. After all, every four years, candidates from both Parties make similar promises, and I expect this year will be no different.

116. All of us running for President will travel around the country offering ten-point plans and making grand speeches; all of us will trumpet those qualities we believe make us uniquely qualified to lead this country.
117. But too many times, after the election is over, and the confetti is swept away, all those promises fade from memory, and the lobbyists and special interests move in, and people turn away, disappointed as before, left to struggle on their own.
118. That's why this campaign can't only be about me. It must be about us. It must be about what we can do together.
119. This campaign must be the occasion, the vehicle, of your hopes, and your dreams.
120. It will take your time, your energy, and your advice to push us forward when we're doing right, and let us know when we're not.
121. This campaign has to be about reclaiming the meaning of citizenship, restoring our sense of common purpose, and realizing that few obstacles can withstand the power of millions of voices calling for change.
122. By ourselves, this change will not happen.
123. Divided, we are bound to fail. But the life of a tall, gangly, self-made Springfield lawyer tells us that a different future is possible.
124. He tells us that there is power in words.
125. He tells us that there's power in conviction.
126. That beneath all the differences of race and region, faith and station, we are one people.
127. He tells us that there's power in hope.
128. As Lincoln organized the forces arrayed against slavery, he was heard to say this: "Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought to battle through."<sup>1</sup>
129. That is our purpose here today. That is why I am in this race -- not just to hold an office, but to gather with you to transform a nation.
130. I want -- I want to win that next battle -- for justice and opportunity.
131. I want to win that next battle -- for better schools, and better jobs, and better health care for all.
132. I want us to take up the unfinished business of perfecting our union, and building a better America.

133. And if you will join with me in this improbable quest, if you feel destiny calling, and see as I see, the future of endless possibility stretching out before us; if you sense, as I sense, that the time is now to shake off our slumber, and slough off our fears, and make good on the debt we owe past and future generations, then I am ready to take up the cause, and march with you, and work with you -- today.
134. Together we can finish the work that needs to be done, and usher in a new birth of freedom on this Earth.
135. Thank you very much everybody -- let's get to work! I love you. Thank you.

## **Appendix-II**

### **Donald Trump's Speech**

Donald Trump's Announcement speech

Link: <https://time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/>

1. Wow. Whoa. That is some group of people. Thousands.
2. So nice, thank you very much. That's really nice. Thank you. It's great to be at Trump Tower. It's great to be in a wonderful city, New York.
3. And it's an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody's expectations. There's been no crowd like this.
4. And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs.
5. They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.
6. Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them.
7. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.
8. When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time.
9. When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically.
10. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically.
11. The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.
12. Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.
13. But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people.

14. It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably— probably— from the Middle East.
15. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.
16. Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them. They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel. When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.
17. So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has. And in 19— and I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said— and I love the military,
18. and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever. But I said, "Don't hit Iraq," because you're going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.
19. We spent \$2 trillion in Iraq, \$2 trillion.
20. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they're great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers.
21. And we have nothing. We can't even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it.
22. Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees— these are big vehicles— were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy took them.
23. Last quarter, it was just announced our gross domestic product— a sign of strength, right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It's never below zero.
24. Our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate.

25. And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it.
26. That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.
27. But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it's a statistic that's full of nonsense.
28. Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work. It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don't know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, "That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don't know what they're doing. They don't know what they're doing."
29. We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare. Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof.
30. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it's virtually useless. It's virtually useless. It is a disaster.
31. And remember the \$5 billion website? \$5 billion we spent on a website, and to this day it doesn't work. A \$5 billion website. I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me \$3. \$5 billion website.
32. Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us— believe me— to the promised land. They will not.
33. As an example, I've been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. And they're wonderful people. I like them. They all want me to support them. They don't know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I'm meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don't know— "Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your

support? What do we do? How do we do it?" I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible.

34. They're killing us.
35. But you don't hear that from anybody else. You don't hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches.
36. I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, "What's going on?"
37. I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don't need the rhetoric. I want a job."
38. And that's what's happening. And it's going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in '16, 2016. Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I'd say, you what, if he wants to—I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he'd like to play, that's fine. In fact, I'd love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing.
39. But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who's a doctor, and he said to me the other day, "Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It's a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now."
40. We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be—and—and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody.
41. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it.
42. So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good. And that's what we have representing us. They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance. They're controlled fully—they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully.



43. Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They're great. But you know what? it won't happen. It won't happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it's destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.
44. Now, our country needs— our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote "The Art of the Deal."
45. We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.
46. And we also need a cheerleader.
47. You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, "Well, the one thing, I think he'll do well. I think he'll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he'd be a great spirit."
48. He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader.
49. He's not a leader. That's true. You're right about that.
50. But he wasn't a cheerleader. He's actually a negative force. He's been a negative force. He wasn't a cheerleader; he was the opposite.
51. We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It's not great again.
52. We need— we need somebody— we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that.
53. And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They're saying, "Dad, you're going to do something that's going to be so tough."
54. You know, all of my life, I've heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can't happen. And yet that's the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.
55. So ladies and gentlemen... I am officially running... for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.
56. It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people.

57. We have people that aren't working. We have people that have no incentive to work.
58. But they're going to have incentive to work, because the greatest social program is a job. And they'll be proud, and they'll love it, and they'll make much more than they would've ever made, and they'll be— they'll be doing so well, and we're going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.
59. I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that.
60. I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money.
61. Right now, think of this: We owe China \$1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal's even better.
62. How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?
63. I'm going to tell you— thank you. I'm going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I'm totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons.
64. Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator.
65. He's the one that did Bergdahl. We get Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there.
66. We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That's the negotiator we have.
67. Take a look at the deal he's making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won't exist very long. It's a disaster, and we have to protect Israel. But...
68. So we need people— I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible.

69. Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.
70. So, here's a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again.
71. But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything— everything, they got away with it again. And it's impossible for our people here to compete.
72. So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who's a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He's very upset. I said, "What's your problem?" He said, "You know, I make great product." And I said, "I know. I know that because I buy the product." He said, "I can't get it into China. They won't accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it." I said, "Oh, wait a minute, that's terrible. Does anyone know this?" He said, "Yeah, they do it all the time with other people." I said, "They send it back?" "Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They're not supposed to be doing that. I told them."
73. Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there.
74. Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing's secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing.
75. Hey, I'm not saying they're stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for— I just sold an apartment for \$15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable.
76. I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, "Oh, you don't like China?"
77. No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can't sustain ourself with that. There's too much— it's like— it's like take the

- New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That's the difference between China's leaders and our leaders.
78. They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China. We're rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they're all over the place.
  79. We have all the cards, but we don't know how to use them. We don't even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don't understand the game. We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly.
  80. Now they're going militarily. They're building a military island in the middle of the South China sea. A military island.
  81. Now, our country could never do that because we'd have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn't let our country— we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port.
  82. They're building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China.
  83. And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico.
  84. So this man tells me about the manufacturing. I say, "That's a terrible story. I hate to hear it."
  85. But I have another one, Ford.
  86. So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead.
  87. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It's going in and that's going to be it, going into Tennessee.
  88. Great state, great people.
  89. All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they're not going to Tennessee. They're gonna spend their \$1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good.
  90. Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a \$2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. \$2.5 billion, it's going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company.
  91. So I announced that I'm running for president. I would...

92. ... one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in— and I wouldn't even use— you know, I have— I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones.
93. You get a lot of them that are overrated. They're not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffaloes. But they're not good.
94. But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well.
95. But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice \$2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border."
96. And you say to yourself, "How does that help us," right? "How does that help us? Where is that good"? It's not.
97. So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's it.
98. Now, here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen.
99. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they're going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say, "You can't do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can't do that to Ford."
100. And guess what? No problem. They're going to build in Mexico. They're going to take away thousands of jobs. It's very bad for us.
101. So under President Trump, here's what would happen: The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he'd want to be cool, and he'll wait until the next day. You know, they want to be a little cool. And he'll say, "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political

- people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest," because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money.
102. I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not using donors. I don't care. I'm really rich. I (inaudible).
103. And by the way, I'm not even saying that's the kind of mindset, that's the kind of thinking you need for this country.
104. So— because we got to make the country rich.
105. It sounds crass. Somebody said, "Oh, that's crass." It's not crass.
106. We got \$18 trillion in debt. We got nothing but problems.
107. We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete.
108. We've got nothing. We've got Social Security that's going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn't bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I'm not going to cut it at all; I'm going to bring money in, and we're going to save it.
109. But here's what's going to happen:
110. After I'm called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I'm called by all of the special interests and by the— the donors and by the lobbyists— and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero— I'll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He'll say. "Please reconsider," I'll say no.
111. He'll say, "Mr. President, we've decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we're not going to build it in Mexico." That's it. They have no choice. They have no choice.
112. There are hundreds of things like that. I'll give you another example.
113. Saudi Arabia, they make \$1 billion a day. \$1 billion a day. I love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say "we're gonna protect." What are we doing? They've got nothing but money.
114. If the right person asked them, they'd pay a fortune. They wouldn't be there except for us.
115. And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up. Everybody got out— and they kept our equipment.

116. They always keep our equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right?  
They always keep our equipment. We ought to send some real junk, because, frankly, it would be— we ought to send our surplus. We're always losing this gorgeous brand-new stuff.
117. But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They're gone.
118. And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now— it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running.
119. But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, "Is he intelligent?"
120. Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question.
121. How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna— how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can't. They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.
122. But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.
123. There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money.
124. We're dying. We're dying.
125. We need money. We have to do it. And we need the right people.
126. So Ford will come back. They'll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, that's based on competence.
127. Somebody said — thank you, darlin'.
128. Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person."

129. That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family. By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Ivanka did a great job. Did she do a great job? Great. Jared, Laura and Eric, I'm very proud of my family. They're a great family.
130. So the reporter said to me the other day, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?" I said, "I don't know." I said, "I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person." But, I said, "This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. And they're tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries.
131. But we're becoming a third world country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything. So one of the things I did, and I said, you know what I'll do. I'll do it. Because a lot of people said, "He'll never run. Number one, he won't want to give up his lifestyle." They're right about that, but I'm doing it. Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth.
132. So I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job. I started off— thank you— I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot.
133. But he used to say, "Donald, don't go into Manhattan. That's the big leagues. We don't know anything about that. Don't do it." I said, "I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I've gotta do it." And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and



did a lot of great deals— the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side.

134. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I'm building all over the world, and I love what I'm doing.
135. But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, "Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he's private and he's probably not as successful as everybody thinks."
136. So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever going to know unless I run, because I'm really proud of my success. I really am.
137. I've employed— I've employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything.
138. So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it's big and complex, and they've put together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the government, and we don't [use] extensions or anything.
139. We'll be filing it right on time. We don't need anything.
140. And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, "He had assets of \$9 billion." So I said, "No, that's the wrong number. That's the wrong number. Not assets."
141. So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It's real estate. You know, it's real estate.
142. It's labor, and it's unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren't in unions, and it's all over the place and building all over the world.
143. And I have assets— big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected— 9 billion 240 million dollars. And I have liabilities of about \$500 million. That's long-term debt, very low interest rates.
144. In fact, one of the big banks came to me and said, "Donald, you don't have enough borrowings. Could we loan you \$4 billion?" I said, "I don't need it. I don't want it. And I've been there. I don't want it."
145. But in two seconds, they give me whatever I wanted. So I have a total net worth, and now with the increase, it'll be well-over \$10 billion. But here, a total net worth of—net worth, not assets, not— a net worth, after all debt, after all expenses, the greatest assets— Trump Tower, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, Bank of America building in San Francisco, 40 Wall Street,

sometimes referred to as the Trump building right opposite the New York— many other places all over the world. So the total is \$8,737,540,00. Now I'm not doing that...

146. I'm not doing that to brag, because you know what? I don't have to brag. I don't have to, believe it or not.
147. I'm doing that to say that that's the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking.
148. We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.
149. So I put together this statement, and the only reason I'm telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years— you know, we're at \$8 trillion now. We're soon going to be at \$20 trillion.
150. According to the economists— who I'm not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they're saying— that \$24 trillion— we're very close— that's the point of no return. \$24 trillion.
151. We will be there soon. That's when we become Greece. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.
152. So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare.
153. I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.
154. Mark my words.
155. Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody. I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around.
156. I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal, who's just being tapped along as they

make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg.

157. I won't be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you.
158. I will immediately terminate President Obama's illegal executive order on immigration, immediately.
159. Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.
160. Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are.
161. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump," and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn't want guns. And now since this happened"— it's up in the prison area— "my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We're ready to start shooting." I said, "Very interesting."
162. So protect the Second Amendment.
163. End— end Common Core. Common Core should— it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination.
164. He's weak on immigration. He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can't do it. We have to end education has to be local.
165. Rebuild the country's infrastructure.
166. Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought.
167. I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad.
168. You know, we're building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we're converting it into one of the world's great hotels. It's gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after— or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it.

169. Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we're really good. Number two, we had a really good plan.
170. And I'll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built.
171. So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports.
172. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw.
173. You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports.
174. We have to rebuild our infrastructure. Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it. Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it.
175. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it.
176. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that's being lost.
177. Renegotiate our foreign trade deals. Reduce our \$18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we're in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what's happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated.
178. Be careful of a bubble because what you've seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens.
179. So be very, very careful. And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important.
180. Sadly, the American dream is dead.
181. But if I get elected president, I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again.
182. Thank you. Thank you very much.

**Appendix-III**  
**Joe Biden's Speech**

Joe Biden's announcement speech through a video message 21 August, 2020

Link: <https://www.cnn.com/2020/08/21/joe-biden-dnc-speech-transcript.html>

1. Good evening.
2. Ella Baker, a giant of the civil rights movement, left us with this wisdom: Give people light and they will find a way.
3. Give people light.
4. Those are words for our time.
5. The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long.
6. Too much anger. Too much fear. Too much division.
7. Here and now, I give you my word: If you entrust me with the presidency, I will draw on the best of us not the worst. I will be an ally of the light not of the darkness.
8. It's time for us, for We the People, to come together.
9. For make no mistake. United we can, and will, overcome this season of darkness in America. We will choose hope over fear, facts over fiction, fairness over privilege.
10. I am a proud Democrat and I will be proud to carry the banner of our party into the general election.
11. So, it is with great honor and humility that I accept this nomination for President of the United States of America.
12. But while I will be a Democratic candidate, I will be an American president. I will work as hard for those who didn't support me as I will for those who did.
13. That's the job of a president. To represent all of us, not just our base or our party. This is not a partisan moment. This must be an American moment.
14. It's a moment that calls for hope and light and love. Hope for our futures, light to see our way forward, and love for one another.
15. America isn't just a collection of clashing interests of Red States or Blue States. We're so much bigger than that. We're so much better than that.
16. Nearly a century ago, Franklin Roosevelt pledged a New Deal in a time of massive unemployment, uncertainty, and fear. Stricken by disease, stricken by

a virus, FDR insisted that he would recover and prevail and he believed America could as well. And he did.

17. And so can we.
18. This campaign isn't just about winning votes.
19. It's about winning the heart, and yes, the soul of America.
20. Winning it for the generous among us, not the selfish. Winning it for the workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top. Winning it for those communities who have known the injustice of the "knee on the neck". For all the young people who have known only an America of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity.
21. They deserve to experience America's promise in full.
22. No generation ever knows what history will ask of it. All we can ever know is whether we'll be ready when that moment arrives.
23. And now history has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced.
24. Four historic crises. All at the same time. A perfect storm.
25. The worst pandemic in over 100 years. The worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.
26. The most compelling call for racial justice since the 60's. And the undeniable realities and accelerating threats of climate change.
27. So, the question for us is simple: Are we ready?
28. I believe we are.
29. We must be.
30. All elections are important. But we know in our bones this one is more consequential.
31. America is at an inflection point. A time of real peril, but of extraordinary possibilities.
32. We can choose the path of becoming angrier, less hopeful, and more divided. A path of shadow and suspicion. Or we can choose a different path, and together, take this chance to heal, to be reborn, to unite. A path of hope and light.
33. This is a life-changing election that will determine America's future for a very long time.

34. Character is on the ballot. Compassion is on the ballot. Decency, science, democracy. They are all on the ballot. Who we are as a nation. What we stand for. And, most importantly, who we want to be. That's all on the ballot.
35. And the choice could not be clearer.
36. No rhetoric is needed.
37. Just judge this president on the facts.
38. 5 million Americans infected with COVID-19. More than 170,000 Americans have died.
39. By far the worst performance of any nation on Earth.
40. More than 50 million people have filed for unemployment this year.
41. More than 10 million people are going to lose their health insurance this year.
42. Nearly one in 6 small businesses have closed this year.
43. If this president is re-elected, we know what will happen. Cases and deaths will remain far too high.
44. More mom-and-pop businesses will close their doors for good.
45. Working families will struggle to get by, and yet, the wealthiest one percent will get tens of billions of dollars in new tax breaks.
46. And the assault on the Affordable Care Act will continue until its destroyed, taking insurance away from more than 20 million people – including more than 15 million people on Medicaid – and getting rid of the protections that President Obama and I passed for people who suffer from a pre-existing condition.
47. And speaking of President Obama, a man I was honored to serve alongside for 8 years as Vice President. Let me take this moment to say something we don't say nearly enough.
48. Thank you, Mr. President. You were a great president. A president our children could – and did – look up to.
49. No one will say that about the current occupant of the office.
50. What we know about this president is if he's given four more years, he will be what he's been the last four years.
51. A president who takes no responsibility, refuses to lead, blames others, cozies up to dictators, and fans the flames of hate and division.
52. He will wake up every day believing the job is all about him. Never about you.
53. Is that the America you want for you, your family, your children?

54. I see a different America. One that is generous and strong. Selfless and humble.
55. It's an America we can rebuild together.
56. As president, the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus that's ruined so many lives.
57. Because I understand something this president doesn't.
58. We will never get our economy back on track, we will never get our kids safely back to school, we will never have our lives back, until we deal with this virus.
59. The tragedy of where we are today is it didn't have to be this bad. Just look around. It's not this bad in Canada. Or Europe. Or Japan. Or almost anywhere else in the world.
60. The President keeps telling us the virus is going to disappear. He keeps waiting for a miracle. Well, I have news for him, no miracle is coming.
61. We lead the world in confirmed cases. We lead the world in deaths.
62. Our economy is in tatters, with Black, Latino, Asian American, and Native American communities bearing the brunt of it.
63. And after all this time, the president still does not have a plan. Well, I do.
64. If I'm president on day one we'll implement the national strategy I've been laying out since March.
65. We'll develop and deploy rapid tests with results available immediately. We'll make the medical supplies and protective equipment our country needs. And we'll make them here in America. So we will never again be at the mercy of China and other foreign countries in order to protect our own people.
66. We'll make sure our schools have the resources they need to be open, safe, and effective.
67. We'll put the politics aside and take the muzzle off our experts so the public gets the information they need and deserve. The honest, unvarnished truth. They can deal with that.
68. We'll have a national mandate to wear a mask-not as a burden, but to protect each other.
69. It's a patriotic duty.
70. In short, I will do what we should have done from the very beginning.



71. Our current president has failed in his most basic duty to this nation. He failed to protect us. He failed to protect America.
72. And, my fellow Americans, that is unforgivable.
73. As president, I will make you this promise: I will protect America. I will defend us from every attack. Seen. And unseen. Always. Without exception. Every time.
74. Look, I understand it's hard to have hope right now.
75. On this summer night, let me take a moment to speak to those of you who have lost the most.
76. I know how it feels to lose someone you love. I know that deep black hole that opens up in your chest. That you feel your whole being is sucked into it. I know how mean and cruel and unfair life can be sometimes.
77. But I've learned two things. First, your loved ones may have left this Earth but they never leave your heart. They will always be with you. And second, I found the best way through pain and loss and grief is to find purpose.
78. As God's children each of us have a purpose in our lives.
79. And we have a great purpose as a nation: To open the doors of opportunity to all Americans. To save our democracy. To be a light to the world once again.
80. To finally live up to and make real the words written in the sacred documents that founded this nation that all men and women are created equal. Endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
81. You know, my Dad was an honorable, decent man. He got knocked down a few times pretty hard, but always got up. He worked hard and built a great middle-class life for our family.
82. He used to say, "Joey, I don't expect the government to solve my problems, but I expect it to understand them." And then he would say: "Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. It's about your dignity. It's about respect. It's about your place in your community. It's about looking your kids in the eye and say, honey, it's going to be okay. I've never forgotten those lessons.
83. That's why my economic plan is all about jobs, dignity, respect, and community.
84. Together, we can, and we will, rebuild our economy. And when we do, we'll not only build it back, we'll build it back better.

85. With modern roads, bridges, highways, broadband, ports and airports as a new foundation for economic growth. With pipes that transport clean water to every community. With 5 million new manufacturing and technology jobs so the future is made in America. With a health care system that lowers premiums, deductibles, and drug prices by building on the Affordable Care Act he's trying to rip away. With an education system that trains our people for the best jobs of the 21st century, where cost doesn't prevent young people from going to college, and student debt doesn't crush them when they get out. With child care and elder care that make it possible for parents to go to work and for the elderly to stay in their homes with dignity. With an immigration system that powers our economy and reflects our values. With newly empowered labor unions. With equal pay for women. With rising wages you can raise a family on. Yes, we're going to do more than praise our essential workers. We're finally going to pay them.
86. We can, and we will, deal with climate change. It's not only a crisis, it's an enormous opportunity.
87. An opportunity for America to lead the world in clean energy and create millions of new good-paying jobs in the process.
88. And we can pay for these investments by ending loopholes and the president's \$1.3 trillion tax giveaway to the wealthiest 1 percent and the biggest, most profitable corporations, some of which pay no tax at all.
89. Because we don't need a tax code that rewards wealth more than it rewards work. I'm not looking to punish anyone. Far from it. But it's long past time the wealthiest people and the biggest corporations in this country paid their fair share.
90. For our seniors, Social Security is a sacred obligation, a sacred promise made. The current president is threatening to break that promise. He's proposing to eliminate the tax that pays for almost half of Social Security without any way of making up for that lost revenue.
91. I will not let it happen. If I'm your president, we're going to protect Social Security and Medicare. You have my word.
92. One of the most powerful voices we hear in the country today is from our young people. They're speaking to the inequity and injustice that has grown up in America. Economic injustice. Racial injustice. Environmental injustice.

93. I hear their voices and if you listen, you can hear them too. And whether it's the existential threat posed by climate change, the daily fear of being gunned down in school, or the inability to get started in their first job —
94. it will be the work of the next president to restore the promise of America to everyone.
95. I won't have to do it alone. Because I will have a great Vice President at my side. Senator Kamala Harris. She is a powerful voice for this nation. Her story is the American story. She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind. But she's overcome every obstacle she's ever faced. No one's been tougher on the big banks or the gun lobby. No one's been tougher in calling out this current administration for its extremism, its failure to follow the law, and its failure to simply tell the truth.
96. Kamala and I both draw strength from our families. For Kamala, it's Doug and their families. For me, it's Jill and ours.
97. No man deserves one great love in his life. But I've known two. After losing my first wife in a car accident, Jill came into my life and put our family back together.
98. She's an educator. A mom. A military Mom. And an unstoppable force. If she puts her mind to it, just get out of the way. Because she's going to get it done. She was a great Second Lady and she will make a great First Lady for this nation, she loves this country so much.
99. And I will have the strength that can only come from family. Hunter, Ashley and all our grandchildren, my brothers, my sister. They give me courage and lift me up. And while he is no longer with us, Beau inspires me every day. Beau served our nation in uniform. A decorated Iraq war veteran.
100. So I take very personally the profound responsibility of serving as Commander in Chief.
101. I will be a president who will stand with our allies and friends. I will make it clear to our adversaries the days of cozying up to dictators are over.
102. Under President Biden, America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers. Nor will I put up with foreign interference in our most sacred democratic exercise – voting.

103. I will stand always for our values of human rights and dignity. And I will work in common purpose for a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world.
104. History has thrust one more urgent task on us. Will we be the generation that finally wipes the stain of racism from our national character?
105. I believe we're up to it.
106. I believe we're ready.
107. Just a week ago yesterday was the third anniversary of the events in Charlottesville.
108. Remember seeing those neo-Nazis and Klansmen and white supremacists coming out of the fields with lighted torches? Veins bulging? Spewing the same anti-Semitic bile heard across Europe in the '30s?
109. Remember the violent clash that ensued between those spreading hate and those with the courage to stand against it?
110. Remember what the president said?
111. There were quote, "very fine people on both sides."
112. It was a wake-up call for us as a country.
113. And for me, a call to action. At that moment, I knew I'd have to run. My father taught us that silence was complicity. And I could not remain silent or complicit.
114. At the time, I said we were in a battle for the soul of this nation.
115. And we are.
116. One of the most important conversations I've had this entire campaign is with someone who is too young to vote. I met with six-year old Gianna Floyd, a day before her Daddy George Floyd was laid to rest.
117. She is incredibly brave.
118. I'll never forget.
119. When I leaned down to speak with her, she looked into my eyes and said "Daddy, changed the world."
120. Her words burrowed deep into my heart.
121. Maybe George Floyd's murder was the breaking point.
122. Maybe John Lewis' passing the inspiration.
123. However it has come to be, America is ready to in John's words, to lay down "the heavy burdens of hate at last" and to do the hard work of rooting out our systemic racism.

124. America's history tells us that it has been in our darkest moments that we've made our greatest progress. That we've found the light. And in this dark moment, I believe we are poised to make great progress again. That we can find the light once more.
125. I have always believed you can define America in one word: Possibilities. That in America, everyone, and I mean everyone, should be given the opportunity to go as far as their dreams and God-given ability will take them.
126. We can never lose that. In times as challenging as these, I believe there is only one way forward. As a united America. United in our pursuit of a more perfect Union. United in our dreams of a better future for us and for our children. United in our determination to make the coming years bright.
127. Are we ready?
128. I believe we are.
129. This is a great nation.
130. And we are a good and decent people.
131. This is the United States of America. And there has never been anything we've been unable to accomplish when we've done it together.
132. The Irish poet Seamus Heaney once wrote: "History says,  
Don't hope on this side of the grave,  
But then, once in a lifetime  
The longed-for tidal wave  
Of justice can rise up,  
And hope and history rhyme"  
This is our moment to make hope and history rhyme.
133. With passion and purpose, let us begin – you and I together, one nation, under God – united in our love for America and united in our love for each other.
134. For love is more powerful than hate.
135. Hope is more powerful than fear.
136. Light is more powerful than dark.
137. This is our moment. This is our mission.

138. May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here tonight as love and hope and light joined in the battle for the soul of the nation.
139. And this is a battle that we, together, will win.
140. I promise you.
141. Thank you.
142. And may God bless you.
143. And may God protect our troops.